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JAPAN ANTHROPOLOGY WORKSHOP NEWSLETTER NO. 45

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FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

John W. Traphagan

Dear Members,

With the Austin 2010 JAWS conference, we have seen a variety of changes to the administration of the association, and I want to begin my comments for this edition of the newsletter by thanking all of those who have worked so hard at developing JAWS during their terms of office and who have volunteered a great deal of time in the process. I particularly want to thank Lola Martinez for her leadership as Secretary General and Lynne Nakano for her diligent work as treasurer.

With new leadership comes new initiatives, and we have already seen several developments for JAWS, perhaps the most visible being the new website. Thanks to the tremendous work of Chris Feldman over the summer, JAWS now has a very attractive and professional website that includes detailed information about the organization and its history. The URL for the new site is www.japananthropologyworkshop.org. I encourage members to take a look at the site and even post something to the new discussion area, which we created with the idea of offering a locus of exchange of ideas for Japan anthropologists. Questions about the website can be directed to Chris, who has kindly volunteered as webmaster and designed and built the website. We also now have a page for JAWS on Facebook for those who are so inclined.

Our new treasurer, Anne-Mette Fisker Nielson, has been working hard to streamline the banking arrangements for JAWS and has opened a new account in the UK that will be the primary account for the organization and provide a basis for credit card payments to the organization for annual dues. And the new Newsletter editors—Andrea De Antoni, Emma Cook, and Blai Guarné — are spearheading the shift from paper to electronic newsletter circulation.

While the administrative developments for JAWS are important, more significant is the intellectually stimulating year of conferences we have for 2011. Indeed, the summer of 2011 will be a busy one for JAWS, as there are two conferences planned. The first will take place 10-11 July at Otago University in New Zealand and the second will be 22-26 August at Tallin University in Estonia, held in conjunction with the 13th European Association for Japanese Studies meetings.

The JAWS website has information on both conferences, including a link for paper/panel submission for Otago.

It is an exciting time for JAWS. I look forward to working to support future developments and challenges as Secretary General over the next few years—it is an honor to have the opportunity to serve the anthropology of Japan community in this role.

FROM THE TREASURER

Anne Mette Fisker-Nielsen

In recent months, thanks to Chris Feldman, JAWS has seen the development of its new website, and we have been able to set up a PayPal payment system. In the past, members had to renew their subscription either at JAWS conferences or through money transfers, which were often inconvenient and expensive. Looking into various options, PayPal has proven the cheapest and easiest way for members from around the world to pay the annual fee of £15. Using such new technologies, the membership fee can now be paid simply online by going to www.japananthropologyworkshop.org and clicking "subscribe". When you subscribe there will be, from then on, an automatic yearly withdrawal of £15 or the equivalent in your own currency. For new members, or for updating current membership information, there is a membership form on the website just below where you subscribe. Please fill this in and post/or email it to me and I can add your details to the membership list.

As I have taken over as treasurer from Lynne Nakano, we have closed the Hang Seng account in Hong Kong and opened a new account with the Co-operative Bank in the UK. Previously, another account looked after by Guita Winkel was kept in the Netherlands so as to facilitate cheaper money transfers for European members. Because of the new PayPal system being put in place as well as rising bank fees this account has also been closed leaving us with one main account in the UK. We have set up four signatories for this account who can independently access the funds, John Traphagan, Joy Hendry, Lola Martinez, and myself.

Recent transactions and current funds:

6 Sept. GBP 4,946.87 transfer from Hong Kong

30 Sept. GBP 344.11 Royalties from Taylor & Francis Books Ltd.

4 Oct. GBP -468.76 (US\$700) Payment to Christopher Feldman for setting up JAWS website

TOTAL now: GBP 4822.86

Before the end of December, I will be updating the membership list and sending out reminders of payment. As we begin to pay our yearly fee via PayPal, this process should become automatic with the yearly fee of £15 being withdrawn from your account. If you no longer wish to be a member, simply click "unsubscribe" on the website.

Many thanks to Lynne Nakano who was the treasurer for the last five years, and to Guita Winkel for looking after the account in the Netherlands.

FROM THE EDITORS

Emma Cook, Andrea De Antoni, Blai Guarné

Welcome to this issue of the Newsletter, both the first online and the first under our editorship. As many of you already know, this pdf form of the Newsletter - which is going to be issued bi-yearly - comes along with the new JAWS Website and the Facebook group, both of which project JAWS into cyberspace, thanks to the possibilities offered by the new media.

As Editors, we are very honored and excited to be able to start this experience. We hope that you take up with us the challenge put out by these interactive possibilities, in particular with the "Discussion" forum on the website. The website offers a wider communicational frame that we can all take advantage of. We plan to link the newsletter with this new JAWS medium in a variety of ways to allow for greater scholarly interaction to take place and grow within our community. Yet the advantages of Information and Communication Technology (hereafter ICT) not only involve interactivity, discussion, and the publishing of the Newsletter, they also influence and problematize our very research, both in the field, and in the processes of analyzing and writing.

In fact, one of the most inspiring moments of the last JAWS Conference in Austin was the projection of Professor David W. Plath's film *Can't Go Native*, hosted by Professor William W. Kelly (Yale University) and Professor John Traphagan (University of Texas at Austin). The film portrays the five decades of professional passion, intellectual clarity, and ethical commitment of Professor Keith Brown with the people of Mizusawa, in Northeastern Japan. Overall, *Can't Go Native* is a vibrant witness of the strong research involvement of an anthropologist who uses ordinary tools – a bicycle, note cards, a camera - in his approach to the field.

The projection was followed by a stimulating discussion from which we want to revisit a provocative question that was raised: is this long field engagement an ethnographic practice that is still possible? The velocity of a globalizing world makes us formulate new research strategies and scholarly frameworks in the ethnographic project. Professor Brown himself told how in his ongoing research electronic communication through Skype and email allow him to stay connected with the field and involved in the community, although they cannot substitute fieldwork practice based on direct experience. It goes without saying that ICTs have been naturally incorporated into our professional reality creating a research context full of possibilities and challenges. Are these emerging opportunities less refined and research-productive than those already known? Do they involve a scientific practice less rigorous and methodologically sophisticated than that considered traditional? Are these kinds of questions appropriate and intellectually fruitful? Or do they only represent a new chapter of the *Querelle des Anciens et Modernes* applied to the ethnographic research of a globalized world?

From the anthropologist's impossibility of "going native" to the challenge of "going online" that sees this Newsletter in its first electronic issue, we want to propose an e-discussion on the possibilities and challenges raised by information and communication technologies in the anthropology of Japan. As a key topic in cultural research that refers to the complexity of contemporary anthropology, we know that certainly there is not a single and definitive answer to this debate. However, that is probably what makes its discussion more challenging, necessary, and urgent in the understanding of the interaction and research frameworks of our ethnographic practice. The floor is open.

JAWS PUBLICATION NEWS

Joy Hendry

The JAWS series continues to thrive, with two new books out since the last newsletter and another two in press and about to appear. The most recent one, *Japanese Women, Class and the Tea Ceremony*, by Kaeko Chiba, is a monograph about tea practitioners in Akita prefecture, and a wonderfully personal piece of ethnography that takes the reader right into the homes of the women whose lives it depicts, and dispels a few myths about Tohoku at the same time. Highly recommended! The other, which was almost out at the last writing, is *Making Japanese Heritage*, edited by Christoph Brumann and Rupert Cox, the collection founded on the JAWS meetings at the conference of the European Association for Japanese Studies in Warsaw that includes even more gems of research than the exciting session did! Both books draw on theory that goes beyond Japan, and should make contributions to various disciplinary fields as well as anthropology.

The two books that are in press again comprise a collection and a monograph. The collection, *Home and Family in Japan: Continuity and Transformation*, edited by Richard Ronald and Allison Alexy, was initiated at the JAWS meetings in Oslo, Norway, and finalised in Austin, Texas. A foundation subject for anthropology, this book collectively re-evaluates life at home, and the ideology associated with the continuing concept of the *ie*, through all the momentous changes that have hit Japan in the last decades of recession and revitalisation. Completely new ways for living are presented alongside some remarkably resilient ideas of family life, and this collection again goes beyond anthropology to bring in a selection of other disciplinary approaches. The monograph takes the JAWS series outside the nation of Japan for the first time, as Yeeshan Yang addresses the subject of the *Abandoned Japanese in Postwar Manchuria*, and tells us of *The Lives of War Orphans and Wives in Two Countries* in an excellently researched piece that also brings to life the sad predicament of people who were for long well justified in thinking they had been totally forgotten. Both books are billed to be available in November 2010.

All our books (see complete list below) can be ordered through the website by JAWS members at the paperback price, and all those that have been out for a year, can be ordered as paperbacks direct from the publisher. The books are also available as e-books. The new JAWS member discount code for ordering books from the Routledge website is JAWSMEMBER11.

There are several other interesting proposals at various stages of progress, which I hope to be able to introduce to you within the next year or so, and we are, as always, open to

new ideas, so please let me know if you have manuscripts or proposals that you think might stand well with the list and appeal to fellow members.

Latest publications

Making Japanese Heritage

Edited by Christoph Brumann and Rupert Cox

Japanese Women, Class and the Tea Ceremony: The voices of tea practitioners in northern Japan

Kaeko Chiba

In Press

Home and Family in Japan: Continuity and Transformation

Edited by Richard Ronald and Allison Alexy

Abandoned Japanese in Postwar Manchuria: The Lives of War Orphans and Wives in Two Countries

Yeeshan Chan

Already Published

A Japanese View of Nature: The World of Living Things by Kinji Imanishi

Translated by Pamela J. Asquith, Heita Kawakatsu, Shusuke Yagi and Hiroyuki Takasaki; edited and introduced by Pamela J. Asquith

Japan's Changing Generations: Are Japanese Young People Creating A New Society?

Edited by Gordon Mathews and Bruce White

Community Volunteers in Japan: Everyday Stories of Social Change

Lynne Nakano

The Care of the Elderly in Japan

Yongmei Wu

Nature, Ritual and Society in Japan's Ryukyu Islands

Arne Røkkum

Dismantling the East West Dichotomy: Essays in Honour of Jan van Bremen

Edited by Joy Hendry and Dixon Wong

Psychotherapy and Religion in Japan: The Japanese Introspection Practice of Naikan

Chikako Ozawa-de Silva

Pilgrimages and Spiritual Quests in Japan

Edited by Maria Rodriguez del Alisal, Instituto de Japonologia, Madrid, Peter Ackermann, University of Erlangen, and D.P. Martinez, University of London

Japan and the Culture of Copying

Edited by Rupert Cox

Primary School in Japan: Self, individuality and learning in elementary education

Peter Cave

Globalization and Japanese Organization Culture: An Ethnography of a Japanese Corporation in France Mitchell Sedgwick

Japanese Tourism and the Culture of Travel

Edited by Sylvie Guichard-Anguis and Okpyo Moon.

20th JAWS CONFERENCE REPORT

Religion, Ritual, and Identity in Japan

University of Texas, Austin

14-16 March 2010

In this issue of the Newsletter, we have the privilege to be able to insert this section about the last JAWS Conference. Thanks to Christopher Feldman, the new Web Manager, who sent us all the paper abstracts, we could reprint them below. We think that having all the abstracts gathered together might not only be a good memory of the time spent during the three days in Austin, but may also provide a useful reminder of “who presented on what”, in case some people are interested in contacting any of the presenters for future research collaboration and information sharing.

The Anthropology of Alcohol in Japan

Chair/Discussant: Nathaniel Smith, Yale University, Ph.D. Candidate

This is a panel about the consumption of alcohol in Japan and how observations of this behavior can be translated into ethnographically rich moments. From a phenomenological position we look at drinking as something an anthropologist can use to illustrate, understand, and relate experience. Using fieldwork experiences these papers explore how deeper understanding, and as a result richer ethnography, are possible through observations of alcohol consumption and how this consumption is talked about in the field. We are interested in examining how understanding, insight, and ethnography are possible in an often alcohol saturated setting.

Real Men Don't Hold Their Liquor: The Performance of Drunkenness in Japan

Paul Christensen, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Ph.D. Candidate

This paper looks at the performance of drunkenness among male patrons at a bar in an upscale Tokyo neighborhood. I will explore how my experience working as a bartender and observing the drunken and sometimes performative behavior of customers initially clashed with my preconceptions of gender norms surrounding alcohol consumption. Specifically that to properly perform as a male drinker, one must be able to “hold their liquor” and drink heavily but not become excessively intoxicated. Instead, my fieldwork shows a different framework, in which men adopt myriad strategies to appear intoxicated in order to publicize their masculinity.

Ah-ha! Wine, Experience and Phenomenology

Nicolas Sternsdorff, Harvard University, Ph.D. Candidate

This paper uses Gadamer's concept of the fusion of horizons to show through ethnographic moments how an ethnographer and his/her informants can arrive in place where understanding can take place. Based on research in Boston and Tokyo at various wine events, I argue that wine aficionados often have "ah-ha!" moments, in which their understanding of wine realigns, and that expands the horizon of common experience they share with other wine enthusiasts. Working through these examples, I probe further the moments in which an ethnographer's understanding realigns and can better understand the experience of his/her informants.

Maintaining Social Order Through Liminality

Esra Gokce Sahin, Harvard University, Ph.D. Candidate

Socializing through alcohol is a very common practice. Although such a practice connotes a way of social interaction of ease and relaxation, there are also types of social gatherings which require the liminal state of consciousness provided by drunkenness as a means of social control. Even though there is no such written rule, participation to drinking parties in Japan is considered obligatory among the members of certain social groups and institutions. Such parties take place in a carnivalesque manner, and the participants stress that "whatever is said and done under the influence of alcohol is forgiven and forgotten," however, it is questionable to what extent that statement is valid. Then what kind of a social control is assessed by means of the liminal space of drunkenness?

Drinking With State

Fumitaka Wakamatsu, Harvard University, Ph.D. Candidate

Based on fieldwork at a Japanese corporation that heavily relies on a client-patron relationship with the state, my research explores how drinking serves as an indispensable social realm to solidify connections between politicians, bureaucrats and corporate members. My research draws on the idea of "community of practices," closely examining artisanal mastery of skills and performances to "serve the boss", which corporate members acquire by participating in a series of opportunities to drink with state officials. Therefore, it aims at not only illustrating productivities in informal gatherings as opposed to formal lobbying, but also at detailed processes of acquiring social capital for corporate members to better communicate with state officials.

Identity and Ritual

Identity and the Role of Community Festivals in Urban Japan

Natalie Close, Ph.D. Candidate, Research School of Humanities, Australian National University

Traditionally the annual *mikoshi* festivals held across Japan served, in part, to create a community/territorially based identity. Both the neighbourhood association and the *mikoshi* teams were based on the long-term and often multi-generational support of local community members. Through their organisation a festival for and by the community was held. However, with the increasing urban migration seen in recent years, is this still the case? Does the younger generation of *mikoshi* bearers still identify with the area that their *mikoshi* represents? *Mikoshi* festivals across Japan have recently been experiencing a boom in popularity, and yet arguably the traditional reasons for participating in the festival such as small business ownership and family history within the area, are in decline. Alternative reasons for *mikoshi matsuri* participation and the impact of the festival on community identity in urban Japan today will be investigated.

Ritual in the Historical Periodization of Osaka

Jason Erb, MA, University of Wisconsin-Madison Department of Anthropology

Cities exist on multiple levels, as nodes of economic activity, sites of historical reflection and fields of symbolic struggle. Most residents of a city do not create collective representations of themselves in a straightforward manner. Instead, collective identity may be manifest in a variety of non-representational practices. This is one purpose of ritual: the creation of a historically referential sense of local identity through the punctuation of space and time. In this paper I examine a few recent examples of “semi-religious ritual” in the city of Osaka—including the events surrounding the “Curse of Colonel Sanders”—in order to reconsider the categorical distinction between secular and religious ritual as it pertains to secular and religious time. This will serve as a theoretical prelude to a discussion of the changing role of Osaka within Japanese history.

Beyond Tradition as Identity: “Doing Identity” – “Doing Tradition” – “Consuming Tradition”

Dr. Susanne Klien, JSPS Research Fellow, Waseda University, Graduate School of Political Science (until December 2009) / German Institute of Japanese Studies (DIJ) Tokyo (from December 2009)

Conventionally considered as a means of enforcing cohesion and thus frequently associated with constraint and authority, tradition and its appropriation have been examined as inextricably linked with identity and place. Approaching tradition as an inherently dynamic, negotiable and multifaceted notion and identity as a positional, rather than an essentialist concept, this paper examines selected cases of tradition perpetuation, the dynamics of external validation and internal perpetuation and ensuing commodification in a contemporary art festival in northwest Japan called the Echigo-Tsumari Art Triennale. I investigate how ‘vernacular’ traditions that are on the brink of demise or have been revived are legitimized by what I call ‘aesthetic recontextualization’, i.e. the perpetuation of certain practices in new contexts. I draw on and expand Ananya Roy’s argument that tradition becomes authentic only in the act of consumption, i.e. the claim that there is no intrinsic value to tradition outside such processes of valuation.

Religious Identity and Political Activism: Soka Gakkai Members’ Support for Komeito

Anne Mette Fisker-Nielsen, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Soka Gakkai is one of a number of new religious movements that came into existence in the early part of the twentieth century and which offers its own reading of Nichiren (1222-1282) that in Japan extends to support for the political party Komeito. Soka Gakkai’s religious practice has often been perceived as one of “exclusivism” in a similar way to how Nichiren promulgated the exclusive practice of faith in the Lotus Sutra in thirteen-century Japan. Yet, Soka Gakkai has been successful in attracting millions of young people, a section of society generally found to be both uninterested in religion and in politics. This paper focuses on the connections between religious identity and political activism and what this means to young people in Soka Gakkai. How do ideas such as ‘Buddhism Humanism’ play out in an organisation where political activism is directed rather unquestioningly to support of one political party.

Social Relations

Rethinking En 縁: From Kinship to Friendship

Hirochika Nakamaki, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka

En is originally a Buddhist concept for indicating causal relations, but it is also a term that is used regularly in Japanese social life. It has also proved to be a very convenient term in academic analysis. *Chi-en* and *ketsu-en* are good examples. In the former, the term indicates local social relations, the latter to relations of kith and kin. Also, compound terms that utilize the word *en*, such as 'kin groups' and 'residential groups' or 'local society' are connected to references to society and group. Moreover, within the East Asian civilizations sharing the Chinese writing style, there is a special quality in the application of the term *en* to newer types of human relations. To give two examples, the corporate or company relations of Japan (*shaen* 社縁), and the academic relations (*hagyeon* 学縁) of the Republic of Korea. In recent years, a new type of *en* seems to be growing. This is developing around friendship, and may be called *yuen* 友縁. In this paper, I would like to propose this new concept and discuss its validity.

Inside/ Outside and the Discourse of Politeness

Miki Iida, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, Japan.

In my presentation, I would like to examine the concepts surrounding the use of politeness in Japan. The use of politeness has been discussed as part of the larger discussions on group orientation or *uchi/soto* distinction commonly found in Japan, both in larger social organizations and in traditional households. By using the findings from my fieldwork at hair salons in Japan that I conducted in 2004, I hope to show that the concepts on the use of politeness is still very useful in understanding the ways people interpret the relationships they are involved in. At the same time, I suggest that the concepts need significant modifications: The use of politeness is far more open to process than expected, which is something more than simply functioning to constitute the group boundaries and hierarchy. In particular, I focus on the sense of social distance people evoke through the uses of politeness which introduce various fertile meanings and differing points of view in interaction.

Matagi: Hunters as Intermediaries between "Wild" and "Domestic"

Scott Schnell, Department of Anthropology, University of Iowa

Images of rural Japan are dominated by insular villages engaged in irrigated rice cultivation. This paper will present a different perspective by focusing on the *matagi*—

traditional hunters in the beech forest uplands of northeastern Japan. ‘Hunter’ in this instance implies an intimate association with the natural world. A key to success is mobility, not just in obtaining material resources, but in marketing them to communities that lie well outside the local area. *Matagi* attitudes toward the environment are symbolically enacted through their veneration of the *yama no kami*, or mountain god, which, rather than a matter of literal ‘belief,’ is perhaps more correctly understood as a personification of ecosystemic relatedness. The paper will focus on the role of the *matagi* as intermediaries between the forested mountain and domesticated lowland environments, and particularly on their recent promotion through ecotourism and the popular media as instructive models for “coexisting with nature.”

Death, and After

From Social to Ecological Immortality: Ancestor Worship, Ecological Cemeteries, and Identity in Contemporary Japanese Society

Sebastien Boret, Ph.D. Candidate, Oxford Brookes University

Ancestor worship and the household (*ie*) have been known as two prominent icons of Japanese identity. Ritual for the ancestors at the family grave maintains the continuity (i.e. social immortality) and identity of Japanese families and its members. Since the 1990s, however, the *ie* and the ancestral grave system have faced the diversification of family values and structures, unprecedentedly low birth-rates and new ideas of identity and death. In response, a proliferation of new funeral forms is taking place. One of the most innovative ways of celebrating death is tree burial (*jumokusō*). For ‘*jumokusō*’ the usual gravestone is replaced by a tree and the burial ground becomes a vast forestland (i.e. ecological cemeteries). This ecologically informed practice is not based on family ties but instead preserves the identity of the individual after death. This paper first examines the centrality of individual identity among adherents of tree-burial. Secondly, it argues that for tree-burial members social immortality (i.e. ancestor worship) has given way to ecological immortality.

Death: Ritual Response to the Loss of Charismatic Leaders

Ewa Manek (Masters student), Department of East Asian Languages and Cultural Studies, University of California at Santa Barbara

This paper examines the ritual response of the Buddhism-based new religion, Shinnyōen, to the death of its founder, Ito Shinjō. The death of a founder figure is a critical point in

the life of any religion for it is at this point that most movements shift their focus from charisma to doctrine. This shift, if not handled properly may lead to schism or even dissolution. Based on analysis of both the media and Shinnyoen's publications, I will argue that Shinnyoen's ritual response to Ito's death *facilitate* such a shift making it a vital element of religious crisis management. Heavily influenced by the founder's own teachings about death, the response included formalizing changes to the ritual calendar and the pantheon as well as easing the shift to new leadership, effectively creating an environment that allowed the movement to survive the death of its founder.

Vitality and Pollution: Scattering Coins in Japanese Mortuary Rituals

Hyunchul Kim, University of Edinburgh, UK

In Ibaraki prefecture, after the funeral and just before their departure for the grave, members of the bereaved household scatter coins (*makisen*) to the assembled people. As if it is a competition, the coins are picked up by community members, guests and onlookers. On their way back home, using the coins they managed to pick up, they buy soft drinks such as bottled green tea and fruit juice and drink them or take them home for other family members. By doing so, it is suggested that they will be blessed with good health, rejuvenation and a long life. However, they must spend all their coins on that day and must never take them into their houses, because the coins are considered to be extremely contaminated by death pollution and thus, may cause harm to other household members. In this paper, I shall explore the action of scattering coins and its relation to the distribution of 'vitality' and 'pollution'.

Fields of Ghosts: Making Meaning of Religious Narratives, Memory and Identity in Contemporary Mutsu

Andrea De Antoni, Ph.D. Candidate, Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Mutsu むつ (Aomori Prefecture) is the closest city to Osorezan 恐山. This mountain is considered to be an actual afterlife, in which spirits of the deceased gather. This belief has produced a number of ghost (*yūrei* 幽霊) stories, set not only on the mountain, but also along the street that connects the mountain to the temple that manages it – Entsūji 円通寺 in Mutsu – and in particular places within the city. People in Mutsu debate ghost stories in public spaces, thus making them a part of public culture, representative of shared values, social memory and construction of identity. Stories of vengeful spirits symbolically identify liminal areas that, in many cases, are linked back to a Korean presence in the area during World War II. Reporting the data I collected through

fieldwork, my presentation will focus on this complex ideoscape, in order to understand how symbolic narratives and socio-economic dynamics determine the “fields of possibility”, in which the meaning of religious symbolism is negotiated in the interactions among people in contemporary Mutsu.

Kuyō Egaku: Folk Visions of the Afterlife In Nineteenth Century Iwate, Rediscovered

Christopher Thompson

Since ancient times, Japanese have utilized a variety of talismanic objects to mediate their earthly existence with the spiritual realm. Among the most colorful and abundant of these are *ema* - votive portraits - found at Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples all across Japan. Most Japan scholars agree that a majority of Japanese votive paintings, like those in other parts of the world, constitute a mode of problem solving, crisis prevention, and/or thanksgiving, rarely addressing the topic of death. Then, in 2001, a long forgotten variety of votive portraiture was rediscovered in a remote corner of northeastern Honshū. Dubbed *kuyō egaku* (“mourning picture frames”), this form of *ema*, once prevalent in central Iwate prefecture, challenges popular scholarly notions about the nation’s spiritual heritage regarding death, the afterlife, and the connection of the living to both. This paper articulates the significance of this finding for understanding, *ema*, spirituality, and folk culture in Japan’s northeast.

The Osutaka Pilgrimage: Remembering the Victims of the Flight JL123 Crash

Christopher P. Hood, Reader at and Director, Cardiff Japanese Studies Centre, Cardiff University

On 12 August 1985, Japan Air Lines flight JL123 took off from Haneda bound for Itami Airport. An explosion was heard 12 minutes into its flight. Some wrote final messages. The plane finally crashed 32 minutes after the initial explosion. 524 crew and passengers were on board the Boeing 747. When rescue teams finally reached the crash site, all but 4 people were dead. JL123 is Japan’s and the aviation world’s equivalent to the *Titanic*. It remains the world’s largest single plane crash in terms of human fatalities. Today Osutaka-no-one, as the crash site is now known, and the village of Ueno, in which the site it located, are the focal point for a variety of events which take place to mark the anniversary of the tragedy. This paper will look at the way in which the dead are remembered and consider a variety of issues relating to pilgrimage.

Women and Gender Issues

Creating a Social Space at a Tokyo Ramen Shop: An Analysis of Class and Gender in Eateries

Satomi Fukutomi, Department of Anthropology at University of Hawai'i at Manoa

This paper examines the popular perception of ramen (noodle soup) shops as being “low” class and male-dominated. Eateries are liminal spaces in which a host of players negotiates public and private boundaries. Some eateries provide an extension of the “home” while others attempt to differentiate themselves from the home; as a result, types of customers, their perceptions and acts vary from establishment to establishment. I argue that individual eateries create distinctive spaces on the basis of public-private boundaries that may appeal to a particular class and gender. Based on my ethnography of a Tokyo ramen (noodle soup) shop, I analyze the ambiguous delineation of the boundaries and the influence of creating social spaces on eateries.

Single(woman)hood and Social Agency: Ohitorisama in Contemporary Japan

Dr Laura Dales, Lecturer in Japanese, University of South Australia; Visiting Research Fellow, Osaka University

“Ohitorisama is a woman with the established sense of individuality that is a given for any human being” (www.ohitorisama.net.jp)

Marriage and childrearing remain implicit markers of the ideal Japanese feminine life course, despite demographic shifts which suggest decreasing relevance. The appearance of the term konkatsu (marriage activities, or activities designed to prepare one for marriage) suggests the resilience of marriage as an ideal despite its decline in reality. However, emerging concurrently with this term is the discourse of ohitorisama, the single (woman), disseminated popularly through literature and the internet. These sites enjoin a challenge to marriage as a universal or inevitable goal for women, building on ideals of resilience, independence, freedom and fun. This paper looks to explore the discourse of the single woman (ohitorisama), drawing on recent literature, ethnographic fieldwork and interviews conducted as part of a current research project on women whose life-patterns diverge from the mainstream. I look to explore the ways that singlehood, both as an intentional and an incidental locus, shapes women as social and political agents.

“Grave” Problems? - The Legacy of Hidden Christians among Catholic Women in Tokyo
Hisako Omori, McMaster University

It is common among female members of the Catholic Church in Tokyo to conceal their religious identity. As the only Catholics in their households, these women frequently decide not to tell other family members about their conversion. Some of these women even receive both Catholic and Buddhist funerals. Building on previous scholarship on the Japanese sense of self as primarily “relational,” this paper argues that concealing their Catholic identity is a strategy whereby these women maintain their socially assigned role as *yome* in the primarily Buddhist cultic context of Japan. This paper illustrates that the legacy of persecution of Japanese Christians in previous centuries still haunts present-day Catholics through their historical consciousness as a minority group and through the strong ties that the government instituted between Buddhist temples, especially with their graves, and households.

A Discourse-Centered Approach to Japanese Culture

Chair: Cyndi Dunn, University of Northern Iowa

This panel examines the mutually constitutive relationship between language and culture in the sense of shared meanings and webs of signification. The papers explore how attention to language structure and use can provide insight into cognitive frameworks and sociocultural norms within Japanese society. At the same time, they demonstrate how language use in interaction is one of the most powerful mechanisms through which groups create, recreate, and contest those understandings. Papers by Adachi and Stanlaw examine how certain linguistic and discourse patterns reveal contrasting cognitive frameworks between speakers of Japanese and English. Ide and Dunn offer contrasting examples of the formation of cultural norms for interaction, whether as part of an emerging community of practice, or as imposed from above. Together, the papers in the panel demonstrate the contribution that linguistic anthropology can make to the understanding of social and cognitive frameworks in Japanese society.

Can You Wear Your Heart on Your Sleeve in Japanese? - Cognition Meets Formal and Biological Constraints in Japanese Discourse.

James Stanlaw, Illinois State University

Since the Chomskyian revolution in the 1970s, Japanese has been one of the most frequently used examples besides English to demonstrate innate universals of language processes. Another alternative holds that grammar is conceptualization rather than a set of rules, and that meaning emerges not only within specific contexts of discourse, but also through particular world views and cognitive frameworks. I demonstrate this latter argument using several simple Japanese verbs—"eat," "drink," and "wear"—to show how the typical formal linguistic paradigms fail to account for everyday usage. That is, to explain even mundane Japanese conversations, an appeal must be made to how the Japanese speaker implicitly imagines the world—a view, I argue, that is significantly different from that of an English speaker. These differences also apply to alleged psychological universals: I show that the commonly accepted standard model of color nomenclature fails to account for much Japanese data.

"There is a Squirrel in the Tree:" Spatial and Other Cognition Differences Between Japanese and English Speakers

Nobuko Adachi, Illinois State University

Despite the close relationship between Japan and the United States, Japanese and Americans seem to know very little about some crucial everyday linguistic differences in the ways Japanese and English represent the world. This is due to both the taken-for-granted assumptions native speakers of both languages bring into daily discourse, but also in the ways the two languages grammatically depict these cognitive differences. A simple factual sentence like "There is a squirrel in the tree" brings to mind different pictures: A Japanese would imagine that a squirrel is in a hole in the tree-trunk, while an American might imagine a squirrel sitting on a tree branch. These differences are seen not only in mutually-puzzling basic translation mistakes, but also in higher levels of discourse and conversation. This paper explores some of these linguistic and cultural differences by looking at selected examples from daily conversation rituals.

Language and the Emergent Sense of Community: The Case of Nichanneru Residents in Cyberspace

Risako Ide, University of Tsukuba

The goal of this paper is to describe *nichanneru*, Japan's largest internet bulletin board (<http://www.2ch.net>), as a community of practice by analyzing the ways in which anonymous participants create an emergent sense of "being together" through their particular writing practices. Taking a specific thread as an example, I do this by describing the pragmatic and metapragmatic rules of communication that the users abide by. Specifically, I describe the gender, age, and social status-neutered style of writing as a shared norm of appropriate participation. I also demonstrate "teasing" and "bursting-into-laughter" as a collective performance which creates the sense of togetherness in the immediate context of interaction. Lastly, I analyze the metalinguistic comments that the participants use to describe their writing, focusing on what is referred to as "high quality" communication. Through these analyses, I demonstrate how the immediate and emergent sense of community is manifested through the practice of writing.

Institutionalized Discourse in the Workplace: Japanese "Business Manners" Training

Cyndi Dunn, University of Northern Iowa

This paper examines the institutional standardization of discourse patterns in business etiquette training for new employees in Japanese companies. Many companies provide new employees with seminars on "business manners" covering everything from how to bow and present business cards to how to use polite language when answering the telephone. This paper will examine the language ideologies constructed in such training based on participant-observation of business manner seminars offered by five different training companies as well as interviews with instructors and students. I examine the perceived deficiencies in self-presentation that these courses are meant to address, as well as what types of speech practices are held up as ideals to be emulated. I also explore the issue of how the training companies use the widespread cultural practice of personal goal setting as a way to motivate students to internalize these standards as part of their daily practice.

Discussant: Karen Nakamura, Yale University

Anthropologies of the Japanese Aged

Chair: Mitchell W. Sedgwick, Oxford Brookes University

As the most rapidly-aging population in the world, Japan increasingly generates domestic worry while it attracts international attention from an audience impressed by Japan's statistical profile, and aware of its successful postwar public policy initiatives. Japan's audience includes social scientists, gerontologists, health experts, economists and policy makers, especially from similarly rapidly-aging Western European countries, and the media that piggybacks on their work. What is the story of the Japanese aged as it is understood by Japan anthropology, however? This panel unpacks the "state of play" in this important arena of research, gathering together anthropologists working on the Japanese aged but on quite different specific topics: from re-assessment of perceptions of the statistics, to the experience of retirement and reflections upon a life of work; from an evolving public and private division of labor in altering the traditional meaning of elderly care, to consideration of the very end of life among the Japanese. We encourage a collation of materials, a conversation about methods, and a collaboration of thought from co-panelists and a Japan anthropology audience alike regarding the present and future of this burgeoning general area of research.

Does Japan's Ageing Population Really Constitute a "Crisis?"

Roger Goodman, University of Oxford

Demographic change is certainly at the base of almost all current economic, social and political policy-making in Japan. Government reports predict the population will shrink to half of its present size in 70 years and to a third in 100 years. The combination of the unprecedented rapid decline in the fertility rate with rapidly increasing longevity has led to the sense that the country faces a 'demographic crisis'. The big question in Japan, however, is whether the ageing of the population really is the 'crisis' that it is reported to be in the media. The fact that the fertility rate is declining at the same time as the population is ageing means that there are fewer young people to support and hence the overall dependency ratio (the so-called 'productive population' of those between the ages of 15 and 64 divided by those under 15 and over 64) will be virtually the same (1.5 workers per dependent) in 2020 as in 1950 and is not expected to be far out of line with that of its OECD competitors during the first half of the twenty-first century. Moreover, Japan's older population is relatively affluent: a national livelihood survey from 2002 showed that the average per capita income of so-called 'senior households' (households with no-one between the ages of 19-64) was 91% of the average of all households; a 2003

White Paper on the Economy suggested that almost 80% of Japanese seniors considered themselves free of financial difficulties. ‘Active ageing’ is on the rise in Japan and many people well into their seventies increasingly contribute directly to the economy. Moreover, the current generation of retirees, especially those who retired from government service or from large companies, enjoy benefits that are better than anywhere else in the world other than Scandinavia. Rather more surprisingly, while Japan is a much more mature society than the US, its expenditure on medical care as a proportion of GDP is roughly half, due to a much more efficient system of allocating medical resources. The Japanese experience of an ageing population is in many ways a test case for other societies. The dramatic demographic shift which is taking place in the country directly or indirectly affects every sector of society from maternity wards to undertakers. A new, more positive, view however is beginning to emerge that the changing demographic structure in Japan rather than constituting a ‘crisis’ could lead ultimately to a more open, international, egalitarian society with a high quality of life for the population as a whole.

Life after “Lifetime Employment”

Mitchell W. Sedgwick, Oxford Brookes University

Anthropological and other literatures on the experience and trajectories of education and work in Japan are extensive. However, apart from awareness of “golden parachutes” among hyper-elites and reports of a spike in divorces once Japanese salaryman finally get home, very little is understood about the anticipation, evolution and experience of “retirement” for Japanese men, women and their families. Various suggested to formally begin at 55 or 60, but often reaching beyond 65, what of the 20 or 30 or more years of “retired life” healthy middle-aged Japanese can expect? Based in close relations with Japanese salaryman/informants (and their families) from large Japanese firms that I have researched for many years, this project appreciates their (and their spouse’s) experience, or anticipation, of retirement. Along with tracking their day-to-day lives and concerns in Japan and abroad, I am interested in the evolution of their self-perceptions and attachments to the firms within which they have experienced, so-called, “lifetime employment”. As relative elites in Japanese society, with comparatively few financial worries, their story is less troubling than many at present, or that we can anticipate in Japan’s future. Nonetheless, they are and will continue to be highly influential, indeed “model,” members of Japanese society. Often living abroad in Japanese enclaves, but always returning to Japan, they are a slice of a fascinating and evolving story of the Japanese aged.

The Global and the Local: Changing Meanings of Elder Care in Japan

Brenda Jenike, Lawrence University

This paper examines how Japan's national long-term care insurance program - by allowing for new forms of global and local forces in community-based elder care - is replacing traditional meanings of aging and intergenerational care for the elderly with new, consumer-driven meanings. Japanese elderly are no longer viewed simply as deserving the indulgence of family members, but as clients and significant business opportunities. Yet to stem the high costs that have resulted from this newfound sense of entitlement and growth in "Silver Business", the Japanese state has also recently worked to shift care back to local communities by encouraging, through civil society discourse and policy changes, the proliferation of local non-profit organizations in caring for dependent elders. New meanings stemming from the resulting local competition for elderly clients are now emerging.

Thinking about the End of Life in Japan.

Susan Orpett Long, John Carroll University

In this paper I explore thinking about late life from two perspectives. One is methodological. In the past 15 years, I have worked alone on an ethnographic study of end-of-life decisions and on a multidisciplinary project studying the effects of the long term care insurance system on frail old people and their families. These two experiences provide overlapping but somewhat disparate views of late life in Japan. Secondly, I want to explore the thinking about the last stages of life expressed by the ill and/or elderly themselves and their close family members whom I have interviewed. Not surprisingly, socio-centric and interpersonal concerns appear to be more important than more individually focused themes of growth or journey. Common issues in both studies include the desire not to be a burden, a strong interest in graves and in the possibility of reunions with family members who had already died, and ambivalence about social change experienced in their lifetimes.

Discussant: Dr. John Traphagan, University of Texas at Austin

Trajectories and Cohorts in Japan Anthropology

Chair: Lola Martinez (SOAS) & William W. Kelly (Yale)

The formal anthropological study of Japan dates from a few studies in the 1930s, but it really began to develop as a scholarly field in the decade after World War II. In the past six decades there have been over 400 doctoral dissertations on Japan topics in sociocultural anthropology world-wide, and it has had a continuing influence on the wider discipline.

Japan may not have been a conventional site for anthropological field research, but for that very reason, it has been in the discipline's vanguard of new topics and methods. Before many of our colleagues who have worked elsewhere, anthropologists of Japan have had to learn to do research on, and theorise about, modernisation, urban forms, corporate enterprise structures, classroom education and apprenticeship learning, plural medical systems, secularisation and new religious fundamentalism, mass media, mass culture, advertising, and globalization. Moreover, even the earliest anthropologists of Japan understood that historical context matters, that 'native' scholars and other locals might well read and respond to our work, and that well-grounded fieldwork can involve lengthy and continuous return visits to the same sites. In short, our 'expertise' has long included a sense that our knowledge and theorising are perspectival and contingent. What does this mean for anthropology in general and for our own understanding of the anthropology of Japan itself?

Some of these issues have been addressed in writings by ourselves and other colleagues and at meetings, including earlier JAWS gatherings. Our specific ambition in this roundtable is to ponder the differences that what we might call 'entry cohort' may make in shaping and tempering our research interests, our perspectives on Japan anthropology, and its relation to the broader discipline. How do the conditions at the time of professional entry shape the course of a career and the direction of a field?

This question has led us to compose a panel of Japan anthropologists whose point of career beginnings span four decades. The panel will be co-chaired by Bill Kelly (Yale), who began fieldwork in the 1970s, and Lola Martinez (SOAS), whose first fieldwork was in the 1980s. We will be joined by two of our students who began field research in the 1990s, Dixon Wong (CUHK)¹ and Karen Nakamura (Yale), and two of our students who

¹ Unfortunately Dixon Wong was unable to attend, therefore Anne Mette Fisker-Nielsen (SOAS) replaced him.

have began their research careers in the past ten years, Gavin Whitelaw (ICU) and Emma Cook (SOAS). Both sociocultural anthropology and Japan anthropology itself changed much over those four decades, and we are led to wonder the differences that this has made to anthropologists entering the field. There are many motivations for research interests, topical priorities, and theoretical agendas. Here we wish to assess the contributions that conditions of entry cohort may have made to the historical trajectory of Japan anthropology.

The roundtable panel will begin with **brief** presentations by each member that will raise a few key issues around which we can then have an open discussion with our colleagues in the audience to draw in their experiences and assessments.

Escaping 'Japan': integration, dissidence and location

Chair: Blai Guarné, Paul Hansen

Since the publication of Émile Durkheim's *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, religion has frequently been presented in social scientific discourse as a central component to understand a given society. Religion is formulated most often in social terms, such as in Durkheim's notion of 'collective representation' or in the definition of ritual as a 'total social fact' by his disciple Marcel Mauss. In these terms, religion and ritual are seen as central notions to the social construction of community and identity. Reviewing the idea of social construction through ethnographic analysis, this panel will explore the experiences of integration and dissidence in the spheres of personal belonging, collective identity, and political interaction. The goal of the panel is to consider critically the discourses and practices that configure, develop and signify social experience of continuity and rupture in contemporary Japan.

Outsider, Insider, Lo-sider, No-sider: Religion and Belonging on a Hokkaido Dairy Farm

Paul Hansen, Japan's National Museum of Ethnology

Both Hokkaido and dairy farms are treated as peripheral in the context of Japan; locations and livelihoods on the fringe of a popularly imagined Japan. In the Durkheimian or Marxian tradition religion is seen as an essential tie that binds 'a people' together or pulls them apart; joining them in collective effervescence, dulling or alienating them as a metaphoric opiate. Based on fieldwork carried out in an industrial

dairy farm in the Tokachi region of Hokkaido, this paper outlines how change, otherness and the search for security are central in the construction of religious interests and actions of young dairy farmers; individuals who loosely fit into categories of outsider, insider, lo-sider, and no-sider, related to their shifting positions on the dairy and in the broader community. Through explanation and analysis of religious practices I question if applying macro social concepts is appropriate for understanding religious identities, rites, or rituals in ethnographic research contexts.

Religion as a Bureaucratic System: Managing Problematic Sentiment in Li Ying's Yasukuni

Daniel White, Rice University

Classic thinkers of the social theorized religion in terms of emotion and sentiment: for Durkheim such sentiment was indispensable to society; for Marx it was its enemy; and for Freud its neurosis. Nation states too have their theories of religion, and at least since *Aum Shinrikyō's* sarin gas attacks on Tokyo's subways in 1995, religious sentiment has been made into what John Dewey called a "public problem." This paper analyzes the administrative management practices of one of Japan's most emotionally volatile public problems: Yasukuni Shrine. Based on fieldwork with cultural administrators, this paper analyzes the problems surrounding the national funding and troubled release of the documentary film *Yasukuni*, by Chinese filmmaker Li Ying. The paper analyzes how religion emerges not as a necessary component of collective life but as a problem for a modern, highly rationalized national bureaucracy.

Growing Good Citizens: Functionalism and the Role of Religion in the Early Anthropology of Japan

Elizabeth Marks, Rice University

Early anthropological writing on Japan employed a Durkheimian (functionalist) model in attempting to classify the character of the Japanese nation as one monolithic whole. This argument looked to the ways children were raised in Japan as a means to explain the 'Japanese character', using the Durkheimian assumption that society imprints itself upon the individual before *he* is mature (and thus, that we can only truly understand a culture by assessing what is taught to children). Where religion enters the picture is a topic considered by most early anthropologies of Japan. Religion, according to some of these authors, is understood largely as synecdochical for the empty symbolism of an obligation-oriented Japanese culture. In this paper, I explore the early anthropological

interpretations of Japanese culture in terms of religion's (perceived) relationship to child rearing and contribution to an American interpretation of Japanese character.

Yakiimo no jikan desu yo (It's yakiimo time!): Difference and Estrangement in Tokyo's Suburbia

Blai Guarné, Stanford University / Autonomous University of Barcelona

Through a narrative approach and revisiting the Durkheimian conception of 'society', the paper focuses on the ethnographic analysis of the experience of difference in urban Japan. Every afternoon during the cold months, the *yakiimo* ('baked sweet potatoes') vendor's van drives through Tokyo's Inokashira Park. As an advertising strategy, he plays over loudspeakers a song by the famous Cuban duo *Los Compadres* (1976) about sweet potato street vendors. The song tells about the surprise felt when hearing the voice of the *yakiimo* vendor around the city, just like the Cuban peanut vendors in their home country. The story of that moment mingles with the real vendor's voice announcing his arrival in the area. Japanese with Caribbean accent, Cuban rhythms, and the Spanish lyrics of the song fashion a comic and nostalgic spectacle that embodies the experience of difference in Tokyo's suburbia. The paper aims to articulate an open reflection on personal experiences of difference and estrangement in the Japanese social landscape

Discussant: Dr. Dolores Martinez, University of London's SOAS

The Japanese Home and Family: Continuity and Transformation

Chair: Joy Hendry, Oxford Brooks University, UK

Japanese homes and families have long been understood in relation to an ideal of the 'Japanese house' as both a spatial structure and model of family organization. The Japanese word '*ie*' denotes both actual houses and the stem-families that are supposed to inhabit them. Moreover, the term has been a powerful rhetorical concept extending beyond family, and is used frequently to explain other forms of relatedness in Japan, such as company life or the national 'family'. The enduring significance of *ie* is visible in how normative imaginings of "Family" have withstood modern social, economic and urban changes. More recently, however, ideologies of, and lived experiences within homes and families have moved more substantially away from previous norms, with household patterns and life-courses becoming increasingly fragmented. Changes in society and the home suggest qualitative transformations in the ways that family membership and ideals are lived. Participants in this panel discuss both changing

experiences and resilient features of family and home, focusing on the various dimensions and meanings of *ie*.

The Exclusion of Japanese Single Women in the Housing and Family System

Richard Ronald, OTB Research Institute, Delft University of Technology, Netherlands

In Japan, fertility rates have seen decline along with falling marriage rates in recent decades. There has been a concomitant growth in numbers of adult's remaining in the parental home and single-only households. This has exacerbated an already dramatic trend in societal ageing. Public discourses have been quick to blame feckless younger generations and in particular women, whose failure or reluctance to marry and start their own families has been put down to selfishness, individualism and advancing female career aspirations. However, this paper focuses on the housing situation of young and single Japanese women, identifying the role of the housing system, in combination with features of socioeconomic restructuring in Japan since the 1980s, in emerging patterns of gender inequality and decline in new family households.

Single Women and the Problems of Home and Family in Japan

Lynne Nakano, University of Hong Kong

This paper considers how single women view family. It finds that single women wish for intimate, caring relationships but resist dominant forms of marriage with its gender role division of labor, in-law relationships, and pressures to marry on schedule. Most women wish to wait to meet an appropriate partner defined as someone with whom they feel comfortable and who they love. Women who live with their parents may enjoy home life, but they feel that they should decide between marrying and providing elder care for their parents, and they worry about how to survive emotionally following the passing of their parents. The paper finds that single women feel generally satisfied with their lives even though they lack a clear vision of their future.

'Sutekina kurashi' – Reconsidering Home and Family in Urban Japan

Anemone Platz, Aarhus University, Denmark

The social and economic changes since the 1990s, on the one hand, and housing and interior trends on the other, are shaping the living styles of people and are affecting thoughts concerning housing and home as well as familial involvement. The paper deals with the Japanese versions of some phenomena also perceptible in other societies such as

homing and *cocooning*. Quantitative and qualitative data shed light on how these trends have influenced younger generations in their understanding of and concern for their homes and new ways of home space organization, as well as how they have led to a growing interest in questions of interior and homeliness.

Older Residents in Communal Housing in Japan: Meaning of Home and Family

Maren Godzik, DIJ, Tokyo

The ageing of Japan's society, the transformation of family structures and new lifestyles have caused a diversification of living arrangements of older people. Three-generation-households have been decreasing rapidly since the 1980s, while older-couple-households and elderly-single-households, in contrast, have been steadily increasing. A smaller number of elderly people are pioneering new forms of living: communal housing similar to the co-housing concepts in Europe and the US. This housing form enables older people to lead a relatively independent life while living in surroundings that can be described as being 'family-like'. On the basis of in-depth interviews with elderly residents of alternative housing projects, conducted in 2009, I try to understand how individual housing histories may account for the residents' choosing a form of living that differs considerably from common norms of living arrangements. A focus of my research is on the meaning of home and family.

Discussant: Joy Hendry, Oxford Brooks University, UK

Ritualization and Sacrality

De-ritualization of Kankonsōsai

Peter D. Ackermann

Materials on Kankonsōsai (Instruction manuals for the correct performance of ceremonial occasions related to becoming adult, weddings, funerals, and other crucial points in time) are extremely visible in Japanese bookstores and homes. This bears witness to the idea that at certain moments in life faultless interaction with others (on a social level) and, as it were, with a transcendental level (through which one aims to secure protection, well-being and prosperity) is essential. It has always been evident that in Japan normative rules and concepts should not be mistaken for reality. They may, indeed, correspond closely to what actually happens, in which case we need to ask what

motivates people to adhere to prescriptive norms, or they may represent something people just want to know about "in case they need it" (but never actually adhere to). Recently, however, an increasing amount of materials is becoming available that openly discusses the contrast between norms and reality, in the case of Kankonsōsai both as actual performance and on the level of interpretation. My paper wishes to present some insights into these debates.

Change and Continuity in a Japanese Childhood Ritual. The Evolution of Shichigosan

Melinda Pappova, Ph.D. candidate Charles University Prague, Czech Republic

Observing the evolution of a childhood ritual as Shichigosan through time, allows me to analyze a custom that has maintained a certain continuity from the distant past to present. Its practice was never discontinued to a significant degree. Even if certain patterns observed in rural areas have disappeared, they have been replaced by the pattern that was created in Tokyo during the Edo period. The continuity of the ritual depends on a set of factors and these factors can emerge from a careful tracing of those circumstances that have accompanied, helped or affected its development such as: historical and social change, changes in life style, taste, and values, growth of industries and influences from the market economy. The study of this ritual, on the one hand can demonstrate that the practice of a custom, today viewed by the majority of Japanese as part of their cultural traditions, represents a social process through which actors decide to adopt certain patterns of a ritual and to drop others in order to meet needs required by changes in circumstances. On the other hand, the study of this family ritual throws light on the values related to family life and children, in particular, and on the modifications that these values underwent through time. The paper would like to place the analyses of Shichigosan in a broader study of Japanese childhood rituals and in the theoretical discourse on issues as tradition, and the role of rituals in a contemporary modern society.

Ritual Boundary Crossing and the Emplacement of Time: Japanese Year Changing Customs Via the Anthropology of Religion

Millie Creighton, University of British Columbia

This paper explores Year-End (Omisoka) and New Year (Oshogatsu) customs in Japan utilizing perspectives from the Anthropology of Religion. While providing the ethnography of Year-End and New Year in Japan, it also shows how time gets conceptualized as a place and put in its appropriate placement. The paper applies classic

anthropological paradigms derived from Malinowski on Magic, Science, and Religion, from Radcliffe-Brown on Ritual Value, and from Turner on Ritual Liminality, to show how Japanese Year End and New Year customs separate the sacred from the profane in Japanese life and the passage of time, while showing the greater importance of placing ritual boundaries on the annual cycle in Japan than in some other cultures. This is highlighted by showing how the same application of classic anthropological perspectives on religion and ritual reveal that the same emphasis on “changing times” in North America only occurs once a century or even millennium.

Purity and Danger in the Censorship of Videogames in Japan

William H. Kelly, Professor, School of Global Studies, Tama University, Associate Member, Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies, University of Oxford

Emile Durkheim has defined a crime in terms of the degree to which it offends the sensibilities of a community of people, noting that it does not offend because it is a crime, but rather it is a crime because it offends. Applying this notion to the censorship of videogames in Japan and focusing specifically on the censorship of violence, this paper examines the ways in which violence is treated by the Japanese organization responsible for the rating of videogames. Drawing on a wide range of examples, it is argued that the sensibilities of Japanese censors with regard to particular patterns of violence are at least partially elucidated with reference to notions of purity and danger vis-à-vis death, the corpse, bodily injury and blood for example.

Winning Souls, Hearts, and Minds: Debating Christianity and Buddhism in Omihachiman, Shiga Prefecture

Bruce White, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Doshisha University, Kyoto Japan

Takahashi is a practical and independent man in his forties. Growing up in the town of Omihachiman, Shiga Pref., once home to the American-born missionary, teacher and architect William Merrell Vories (1880-1964), Takahashi is used to the presence of Christian ideas, churches and priests in his hometown. The town of Omihachiman even has a "Vories hospice" where Christian approaches to pastoral care continue under the supervision and guidance of the resident chaplain. Takahashi was born into a typical household in the town. His great grandfather was the local Buddhist temple priest, and his family house has relied on the temple for practical, religious and spiritual guidance, rites and celebrations over the last known generations. This paper follows the story of how Takahashi and his hippie (California-resident) older brother oversee their mother's

last months in the local Vories hospice, and then, following her death, how they begin to negotiate her funeral and the rites and costs associated with her passing. The paper looks to uncover some of the tensions that arise when the power of local temple priests and practices is challenged by the relative efficiency and economic advantages of Christian ways of dealing with the concrete and spiritual practicalities of death. For Takahashi and his brother, now the only two surviving members of the family, a decision to change religions is tempting but may be outweighed by a sense of familial loyalty to the local temple. But will such loyalty remain after this event, will it be strong enough to maintain any future dependence on the religious structures which have traditionally managed and dominated life for people in towns such as Omihachiman?

Public Events and the Japanese Self-Defense Forces: Aesthetics, Ritual Cycles and the Normalization of Military Violence

Eyal Ben-Ari, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

In this paper, I examine two annual public events held by the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (SDF): an air-show conducted at Hamamatsu Air-Base and an open-day organized by an infantry regiment in a camp in the north of Kyoto Prefecture (in Fukuchiyama). My aim is to explore the relationship between military violence and its acceptability. In other words, I would like to explore how the armed forces' potential for war-making is socially and culturally "normalized," that is, turned into "natural" – albeit important – parts of society. My assumption is that if one wants to understand the social and cultural significance of violence, then the armed forces would seem to be a key research site. It is in this light that my focus on the SDF should be seen: on the groups and people who variously prepare for, perpetrate, perform, or simulate organized violence and the ways in which this violence, or its potential, have been socially and culturally normalized. As I show, however, the historical context of Japan – with its anti-military ethos, constitutional limits on the military, and terrible memories of World War Two – make this normalization especially problematic. I thus focus on the aesthetic aspects of the two events held by the SDF and then place them in the context of a wider ritual cycle by which the Japanese military's potential for violence is turned into an accepted part of contemporary Japan.

“Can’t Go Native?” and Long Field Engagements

Chair: David W. Plath, Professor Emeritus, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

L. Keith Brown. Professor Emeritus, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh.

William W. Kelly, Department of Anthropology, Yale University

John Traphagan, Department of Religious Studies, University of Texas at Austin

In 1961 as a graduate student in the University of Chicago, Keith Brown went to the Tohoku area for dissertation research. Out of his total immersion in village life grew friendships and family-like bonds that have endured for two generations. Keith has returned every year since 1961 to continue his field studies in that community. He and the people of Mizusawa-ku have grown older together for five decades. Is it research? friendship? or both at the same time?

Can’t Go Native? is a media portrait of Keith’s ongoing involvement in the evolution of a Japanese community. Handy as the internet is for capturing snapshots of activity we need extended fieldwork in order to apprehend those rhythms of human relations that anchor Japanese society in the tidal surges of global change. We present a Japanese case study that addresses the emerging anthropological discourse on the values of longitudinal research.

The presentation will begin with a film segment of approximately 60 minutes, followed by discussion.

Gender Rituals and Ritualized Gender: Men, Women, and Identity in Contemporary Japan

Chair: Cindi L. SturtzSreetharan

That actors *do* gender is not surprising – and the performative aspects of gender have been well documented. We know that many accoutrements – ritual and otherwise – are donned when performing gender. The set of stereotypical linguistic rituals associated with Japanese women’s language are, for example, well known; how women employ these various rituals for specific, discursive ends is, however, less clear. And, both women and men call upon gendered language forms for goals far beyond crafting gender. This panel investigates the use of stereotypically gendered language and

gendered language rituals to create and/or subvert normative gender or to enact it in culturally ritualized contexts for specific gender effects. Each paper in this panel addresses the question of what kinds of gendered linguistic rituals result in a ritualized gendered body and to what contextualized purpose, from the work of the workplace performance to the gendered work of making and consuming food.

Elevator Girls: Ritualized Performances and Identity Disparities

Laura Miller, Department of Anthropology, Loyola University Chicago

The regularity and ritualized nature of service work performed by uniform-wearing Elevator Girl make her an appealing object of the popular imagination. Her professional role provokes questions about what she is really like behind the scripted veneer. This paper will survey how popular culture plays with the contrast between the Elevator Girl's unvarying public presentation and her private life or true self. The persona of the Elevator Girl allows us to track the way women in this occupation have been viewed not only as an exemplary type of female service worker, but also as an example of the disparity between the crafted image of a trained employee and her private life. When young women from diverse backgrounds move into the Elevator Girl slot, they are trained in uniform ways of speaking and performing the role, highlighting awareness of the gap between their "authentic" selves and the new occupational expectations.

Ritualized Language in the Cinema: Gender, Class and Play in Benshi Scripts

Hideko Abe, East Asian Studies, Colby College

Silent cinema was never actually silent. At the dawn of cinema, all films were accompanied by lecturers that stood beside the screen and narrated the films in various styles. These narrators were called *benshi*, some of whom were powerful enough to re-edit films and supply narratives that departed from the original filmic texts. Their narrative expositions helped segue from scene to scene and, most fascinating of all, they read the intertitles and mimicked the characters—all characters, from children to women to men to senior citizens. This paper looks into the *benshi's* command of language and performance and explores how ritualized language is used for characters of different genders, classes, and ages. Using old recordings and current performances, this will be the first close study of actual *benshi* practice with all its linguistic and performative force.

Where are the Passionate Kisses?: Japanese Gendered Rituals of Falling in Love in Ren'ai Dorama 'Romance Dramas'

Janet S. Shibamoto-Smith

How do young Japanese women and men learn to love? Japanese media resound with explicit messages, from official governmental messages, to the new *konkatsu* 'marriage activities' schools, to lifestyle magazines. All are directed at getting young women and men together, into marriage, and on to producing children. But these are not the only agencies concerned to instruct youth on romance. Implicit messages about how women and men "should" go about getting together also circulate through televisual media. This paper reports an analysis of the messages offered in *ren'ai dorama* with respect to the physical rituals and the verbal expressions of love, from gaze, touch, and kisses to the *kokuhaku* 'love confession,' with particular focus on how these activities are gendered and, thus, send additional messages about appropriately gendered behavior in this intimate sphere. Data are drawn from a complete corpus of dramas aired in the Fall season, 2004.

Kyara-ben: Ritual Homage to Soft, Cuddly Power

Debra J. Occhi

A good woman makes her child a good *obento* (packed lunch). Ten years ago, Anne Allison described *obento* as an 'ideological state apparatus,' training mothers of preschoolers, and communicatively, through its consumption, training their children as model citizens. A good *obento* contains a variety of foods, typically reshaped to resemble natural objects (e.g., a wiener resembling an octopus). However, the permeation of popular aesthetics by cute anthropomorph-ized characters (*kyara*) nowadays displaces the re-creation of natural objects in *obento* in favor of character-shaped foods. Such anthropomorphism of non-human animals and objects is a religiously motivated Japanese practice of great antiquity and ongoing popularity. Contemporary mothers of small children, having been reared on Hello Kitty and her ilk, are now no longer simply the targets of character merchandising, but the perpetuators. *Kyara-ben* thus reproduce established communicative, gendered rituals of good motherhood while tying them to the contemporary rituals of soft power.

Eating Honorifics: Casual Conversations, Linguistic Rituals, and Kansai Women

Cindi L. SturtzSreetharan

Robust verbal morphology in Japanese is taken for granted; even native speakers take classes to learn how to use honorific forms appropriately. Honorific language is considered an integral part of a 'good' Japanese woman's linguistic repertoire. In *tatema* (public) settings honorific language is deployed for many reasons, including prescriptive ones like raising up the inter-locutor or lowering the speaker. In *honne* (private/intimate) settings, the use of honorifics becomes less straightforward. This paper examines the use of highly ritualized honorific language use by Kansai women in casual (peer) conversations. Specific focus is given to the use of such language when food is ordered, served, offered, and/or consumed. The data are drawn from a corpus of conversations collected in the Kansai region over the span of 14 months from 2006 – 2007.

Japan in the International Community

Globalization and Identity

Kuniko Miyanaga

It has been evident that global economic integration, in its progress, has facilitated cultural diversity as well as cultural unity. At the macro-level, the world appears to form a somewhat unified economic culture following shared global standards. At the same time, however, micro-level reactions against, or in response to, integration are diverse and even suggestive of backward movements toward local traditions. A basic conflict appears between the integration at the macro-level and diversification at the micro-level developing against each other. A solution is typically offered in local traditions to harmonize given conflicts. Ritual, a traditional method, continues to organize one's self based on the conditioning of the body through repetition. The method locates the individual in a particular cosmology in which the body functions as point of reference to the social hierarchy of values. A question here is how this point of reference insures factuality in relation to the paradigmatic shift taking place in the global community. This question not only applies to religious groups but also extends to business people, and even wider when we take Japan as an example.

It Can Take a Village: The Continued Efficacy of Localized Place Studies in the 21st Century.

John Mock, Visiting Professor, Temple University Japan

The anthropology of Japan in the United States started in the immediate prewar and postwar periods with a series of very intense “Village Studies” Since then, there has been a move away from studies concentrating on a particular place at a particular time, to broader studies such as business communities, ethnic minorities and cyber communities. With this move, localized place studies, either rural or urban (villages, townships, neighborhoods) have come to be seen as perhaps a little old fashioned and not heuristically valuable. Using the topics presented at two AJJ meetings (about 100 papers) as a base and a long time research base in Akita towns, this paper argues that many topics current in anthropology can usefully be illuminated by long term, highly localized analysis as well as by numerous other approaches that are not as localized.

Politics, Propaganda, and Presentation of the Korea-Japan Relationship: Issues of Regional Security around the Dokdo Exhibition at the National Museum of Korea.

Kyunghyo Chun

Korea and Japan have developed complex geopolitical relations since ancient times, and the contemporary relationship between the two countries is an anxious expression of the dynamic interplay between modernization, nationalism, colonialism, and postcolonialism. The tension between Korea and Japan is multi-faceted, political, economic, and eminently cultural.

This paper attempts to illustrate how the National Museum, as a cultural institution, engages in politically controversial issues between Korea and Japan, and how it endorses and attempts to resolve cultural conflict, by focusing on one peculiar special exhibition displayed at the National Museum of Korea in 2006, “*Dokdo, Our Territory for Which We Have Longed.*” Koreans claim as part of their sovereign and historical territories the tiny islets known as *Dokdo* situated in the East Sea (Sea of Japan). The Japanese also claim these islets, and call them *Takeshima*. Not merely an academic disagreement among scholars, the *Dokdo-Takeshima* controversy is a sensational issue of passionate debate. Although the islets themselves are quite tiny, the bitter and perennial dispute around *Dokdo* is of immense importance to Korea-Japan relationship, and by extension to intra-Asian regional security. There is an economic dimension to the contested claims, but a fuller understanding of the debate can only be grasped when the historical and cultural perspectives are fully taken into consideration.

Japanese in the “Ghetto at the Center of the World”

Gordon Mathews, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

This paper discusses Chungking Mansions, a dilapidated 17-story structure in Hong Kong's tourist district. Chungking Mansions is the haunt of Pakistani mobile phone sellers, Indian temporary workers, elderly Western hippies, and African traders, but also, interestingly, many Japanese—the world's largest website on Chungking Mansions is in Japanese. Why do Japanese come to this cut-rate, reputedly dangerous building? Some come to experience “ethnic chaos”: the chance to see “the third world” in the safe first-world setting of Hong Kong. Others come to get away from Hong Kong's Chineseness: in Chungking Mansions, Chinese are an exotic minority. And still others seek to escape Japan, and pursue lucrative but risky investments, or romantic encounters from around the world. Chungking Mansions is, for many Japanese, a developing-world United Nations just a few hours from Tokyo, a portal to alluring strangeness. This leads Japanese themselves to form a key part of this global building.

“This Man is Bringing Shame on the Japanese People!”: Teaching “Western” Manners to Japanese Package Tourists in the 1960s

Yoshiko Nakano, Assistant Professor (Japanese Studies), School of Modern Languages and Cultures, University of Hong Kong

This paper examines how Japan Airlines tried to teach “Western” manners to Japanese first-time travelers when it greatly expanded its services to Japanese package tourists in 1965. Americans were Japan Airlines' most frequent customers after it launched its first international service to San Francisco via Honolulu in 1954. In the mid-1960s, however, Japan Airlines' customer focus began to shift from international travelers entering Japan to Japanese businessmen and package tourists departing Japan. In 1964, the Japanese government relaxed regulations for overseas travel, and Japanese citizens were allowed to travel overseas once a year. As a result of this policy, Japan Airlines introduced package tours in 1965. Mass tourism called for a mass education in “Western” travel manners for Japanese first-time travelers, and Japan Airlines took on the role of the trainer. For example, in 1966, the company produced a film in which a Japanese comedian lectures first-time travelers on how to, and how not to, behave when traveling in Europe. Using records and films from the Japan Airlines Archive Center in Tokyo, I will examine how the Japanese national flag carrier introduced new norms of behavior such as “ladies first” to the Japanese middle class.

Wellness

"We Will Support You!" - Reducing Health Care Costs Through Behavioral Management in Japan

Amy Borovoy, East Asian Studies Department, Princeton University

The controversial debate over health care reform in the U.S. has highlighted two key dilemmas: the first is that we must ration care. The second dilemma is that such conversations prove to make Americans extremely nervous, precipitating discourses of excessive bureaucracy ("death panels") and even Nazism. This article explores the question of how the body, social values, and health are managed in social democracies where rationing is implemented on a daily basis. I explore a recent Japanese government incentive to curb obesity by taking citizens' waists measurements at yearly check-ups. As industrialized countries are becoming aware of rising health care costs, weight control is emerging as a major health care issue. The Japanese Ministry of Health has launched an initiative focusing on what they are calling "diseases of the lifestyle" (*seikatsu shūkanbyō*). Although the U.S. has few tools to regulate its citizens' behavior outside of "marketing," in Japan, where health care is regulated and subsidized by national and local government, where many companies still offer extensive social security benefits, and where education is nationally standardized, there are many avenues for control and modification of daily behavior.

"You have to have something to live for" - Personal Identity and Ikigai

Iza Kavedzija, University of Oxford

This paper examines the Japanese notion of ikigai (that what makes life worth living), while trying to rethink the apparent discrepancy between its two senses as communal commitment and as individual self-improvement (c.f. Mathews 1996:18). Even though ikigai usually reflects personal choice, it nevertheless involves others, effectively representing one's involvement in socially oriented activities (Traphagan 2004:69). Drawing on an analysis of locally available self-help books, public lectures, self-improvement classes (e.g. okeiko) and discussions with participants, the paper focuses on the interplay between the personal and communal aspects of this important concept, currently widely used in relation to the elderly. This leads to a consideration of the political context surrounding the use of ikigai, based on the case of public lectures organized by local governments within Osaka Prefecture.

Walking the Kumano Routes: Pilgrimage, Tourism or Wellness?

Sylvie Guichard-Anguis, Laboratoire “Espaces, Nature et Culture,” CNRS/ Paris-Sorbonne Paris IV Institut de Géographie

The sacred sites and the pilgrimage routes connecting them in the Kii mountain range (Kii peninsula) were designated as World Heritage in 2004. To attract new categories of visitors, the prefecture of Wakayama issued tourist campaigns enhancing the several benefits of wellness one can find through a close relation to the sacred nature of Kumano. As Japanese population is ageing, health related matters are becoming a main concern. Keeping in good health by walking seems to be a new tendency among leisure organisations. Walking inside the Japan of the past seems to be an activity which attracts new kinds of visitors to old familiar tourist spots. Walking has been part of the culture of travel (*tabi no bunka*) for hundred of years and today some parts of the historic network of routes belong to the category of cultural assets as in this case. So we may ask what the real concern with walking in Japanese culture is.

Business

How Has Christianity Been Taken Into Corporate Management Ideology in Japan? - Observed in the Case of Gunze Corporation.

Noriya Sumihara, Ph.D., Tenri University, Japan

Japan has a long history of management ideology/creed. In the 17th century of early Yedo period, merchant families made and observed business/management ideology, a significant part of which was based on ethical values drawn from Confucianism and Buddhism. In the Meiji period when Japan started to modernize its nation, a new stock of knowledge including Christianity came into play to influence the contents of management ideology in modernized Japanese corporations. The founder of Gunze Corporation, Tsurukichi Hatano, for example, initially a top raw silk manufacturer in Japan in the pre-war period, is a unique example of a Christian manager who positively employed the Christian ideas for education of all managers including himself and employees before WWII. More importantly, although in the post-war period until today, where Christianity is no longer taught in the company and the phrase of the former management ideology has been replaced by new terms with little trace of faith so as to fit modern liberal ideas, the underlying ideas from the pre-war period could be found, and they are observed by way of in-company rituals such as every morning ritual of Chōrei. By looking at the historical change of management ideology of Gunze and

business practices based on the ideology, I want to show how an alien value of Christianity has been fused with Japanese pre-modern values, and how the fused values are practiced in today's Gunze.

We Are International but Not Japanese: A Case Study of a Japanese Information Service Company in Shanghai

Weini Tang, School of Modern Languages and Cultures, University of Hong Kong

In the last couple of decades, China became an important market for companies which are ambitious to win the keen competition in the international business world. Japanese companies of course are one of them. Despite the importance of Japanese companies in the world market, there are only a few anthropological studies on Japanese companies. The academic attention paid to the studies of localization of Japanese companies overseas is even less. By “localization”, I do not just mean the localization of management in Japanese overseas companies; it also include the phenomenon that more and more Japanese companies are trying to hide their Japanese origin and presenting themselves as a local company. Based on a half-year fieldwork, this study tries to explore the unique localization process of a Japanese information service company, R company in Shanghai. By investigating the company's Japanese expatriates, local staff, local managers and foreign citizens of Chinese origin (One Japanese citizen & one Singapore citizen), I am able to delineate the institutional culture of the company, that is the complex relationship among these various groups and the ways and cultural logic behind how each group advances its own interests. In the conclusion of this paper, I shall spell out several theoretical implications of the institutional culture of R company to the understanding of Japanese overseas companies.

Formulating a Business Model with Abandoned Steam Locomotives: From a Deficit-Ridden Commuters Service to a Heritage Museum

Kazunori Sunagawa, Associate Professor, Chuo University

This paper examines how a small railway company in Japan transformed its deficit-ridden local train service into a heritage museum that attracts visitors and donations from around the world. Established in 1917, Oigawa Railway Co. Ltd owns only one 40km (25 mile) line, and has been serving rural communities with only 37,000 local residents in Shizuoka Prefecture. Its business had been in constant struggle due to declining population, motorization, and discontinuation of government subsidies. But in 1976, the company found a way to stay out of the red: it began to run steam locomotives that the Japan National Railways abandoned. To do so, its charismatic CEO, Akira Shirai,

called for donations to maintain abandoned trains, asked railway fans to volunteer for their maintenance activities, and transformed train rides into entertainment that required a fee which was comparable to an entrance fee to Disneyland. In other words, Oigawa Railway created a model of industrial tourism business in which their “guests” became “casts” who devoted their time, money and energy, and in turn, the business became sustainable.

KEYNOTE LECTURE: *Why Religion Still Matters in Modern Japan*

Dolores P. Martinez

Dept. of Anthropology (SOAS)

In the published version of his 2008 Henry Myers Lecture, the social scientist Bruno Latour proclaims: “no anthropology of the modern can be carried out without taking religion seriously” (*JRAI* 15(3):460). In this paper I argue that anthropologists and other scholars of Japan have always known this and that the increasing secularism (or not) of modern Japan has been a source of on-going discussion since the end of the Second World War. Whether considering the politics of religion (Yasukuni Shrine), the role of new religious movements and their place in the understanding of fundamentalism (Aum), the role of Buddhism in modern death rituals (diverse new research on alternative ways of death), or the relationship between gender and religion and the importance of the therapeutic practices (new religious movements again), specialists of Japan have long had to grapple with the issue of what it means to be a modern nation-state in which religion and politics are legally separated on the basis of concepts that have come from outside and which map only loosely onto the practicalities of Japanese life.

However, one of Latour’s points is that no nation-state seems to have achieved the level of secularism he once believed the United Kingdom to embody and this paper explores what non-Japan specialists might learn from looking more closely at the place religion has carved out for itself in modern Japan. Religion is no longer embedded within Japanese social structure, rather it has entered the domain of culture (or: folk habit) largely in order to deflect accusations of ‘bad’ nationalism. In short, I consider what it means to be religious or secular in the twenty-first century, not just for the Japanese but for everyone.

JAWS WORKSHOP 2011

Beyond Oceans: Re-thinking Japan's Place in Pacific Anthropology

Otago University, Dunedin (New Zealand)

10-11 July 2011

The organizing committee of the Japan Anthropology Workshop Otago 2011 welcomes panel and paper proposals for the 2011 Regional Workshop, which will be held at the University of Otago (www.otago.ac.nz/), Dunedin, New Zealand.

The workshop theme is 'Beyond Oceans: Re-thinking Japan's Place in Pacific Anthropology' although other topics related to Japan and anthropology and Japanese Studies are welcome.

Cross-disciplinary approaches are also encouraged. Students and doctoral candidates are welcome to participate.

Keynote speaker for the conference will be Professor Joy Hendry, Oxford Brookes University (www.brookes.ac.uk/res/experts/profiles/joy_hendry).

Important dates:

- Abstract submission due: November 1, 2010
- Paper/panel acceptance notification: December 1, 2010
- Registration due:
- Early bird registration: March 1, 2011
- Final deadline for registration: May 31, 2011

Submissions

Please include the following information on your proposal:

Organized Panels

- Panel Title
- Panel abstract (150 words)
- Abstracts of individual papers in the panel (150 words each)
- Name of panel chair, institutional affiliation and contact details (address and email)
- Names of participants and discussants, institutional affiliation and contact details (address and email)

Individual Papers

- Paper Title
- Paper abstract (150 words)
- Name of presenter, institutional affiliation and contact details (address and email)

Please indicate if you are a post-graduate student.

Please send all proposals and enquiries to JAWS.Otago@otago.ac.nz. (preferred formats: Word or RTF).

Conference Committee

Dr. Erica Baffelli (Chair)

Dr. Shelley Brunt

Professor Henry Johnson

We are looking forward to meeting you at Otago!

RESEARCH FUNDING

As we all know, every one of us sooner or later, has to struggle to find funding for his/her research. We decided to provide a list of funding entities, as well as some links useful to this topic, just to try to help especially young scholars. Entities are listed from general to specific ones. We would like to try to improve this section with calls for jobs and post-docs in the following issues, so, if anyone has any information, please let us know by email or through the "Discussion" forum.

Association for Asian Studies

<http://www.asian-studies.org/grants/main.htm>

Social Science Research Council

<http://www.ssrc.org/fellowships/>

Japan Foundation

<http://www.jpf.go.jp/>

Japan Society for the Promotion of Science

<http://www.jsps.go.jp/english/e-fellow/fellow.html>

Canon Foundation

<http://www.canonfoundation.org/>

Toshiba International Foundation

<http://www.toshiba.co.jp/about/tifo/eng/index.html>

International Institute for Asian Studies

<http://www.iias.nl/fellows>

German Institute for Japanese Studies

http://www.dijtokyo.org/about_us/scholarships

Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies (Harvard University)

<http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~rijs/fellowships/postdoctoral.html>

The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies (Harvard University)
http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/academy/academy_scholars_program.html

Center for East Asian Studies (Stanford University)
http://ceas.stanford.edu/resources/other_funding.php

Institute of East Asian Studies (UC Berkeley)
<http://ieas.berkeley.edu/cjs/postdocs.html>

Weatherhead East Asian Institute (Columbia University)
<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/weai/postdoctoral-fellowship-details.html>

Donald Keene Center of Japanese Culture
<http://www.keenecenter.org/content/view/26/51/>

H-Net Humanities & Social Sciences Online (H-Japan)
<http://www.h-net.org/~japan/>

RESEARCH REPORTS

“The violence of blood relationships”: Lost and found kinship in Japan

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“I met my mother once,” Eri told me. “It was when I was in high school.” Eri has seven siblings, three of whom, in addition to herself, were still living in the children’s home at the time. “We came home from school and she was just there, waiting for us. I felt like, ‘What, she suddenly shows up after all these years?’ I didn’t want to see her. She could have been anyone.” The meeting was brief. “The frustrating thing,” Eri said, “is that when I tell this story the response is always, ‘Oh, but weren’t you glad to finally meet her? She’s your mother, after all.’ I’m *not* glad to meet her. Why should she mean anything to me? Just because we’re related by blood, people assume I should care about her.”

My dissertation research focuses on the meanings of blood relationships and “family” in contemporary Japan. In the course of my field work I have been told many times, sometimes by foster or adoptive parents, that fostering and adoption will never spread in Japan because Japanese people prioritize blood relationships in families. On the surface, blood ideologies and conservative notions about family structure indeed seem to shape much of Japanese family practice and public policy. For instance, Japan struggles with a non-replacement birthrate and the government has devoted considerable energy to producing public policy that encourages (married heterosexual) people to have children, but that does not address immigration or non-traditional family structures as possible solutions (Roberts 2002). Advanced reproductive technologies, some subsidized by the government, now allow many couples to give birth to their own biological children despite marrying and bearing children later in life. At the same time, the Japanese Association of Obstetrics and Gynecology does not recognize the use of donated eggs or surrogate birth. Infertility treatment itself is often negatively perceived as “unnatural,” and many people balk at the idea of using donated gametes whose quality and origins are unknown (Tsuge 1999, Lock 1998, Shirai 2010). The adoption of an unrelated child, called “special adoption” (*tokubetsu yōshiengumi*) in Japanese, is still often stigmatized and sometimes undertaken secretly, and these figures have stayed remarkably stable (and low) at around 500 per year for the past twenty years. Child

welfare statistics also seem to reflect an unwillingness to incorporate a non-related child into the family: ninety percent of children in Japanese state care live in children's homes, while around ten percent live in foster care. (The statistics in the U.K., for example, are the reverse, with eighty-eight percent in foster care and twelve percent in institutional care.) Is it true, then, that ideologies of blood-relatedness continue to dominate Japanese notions of kinship?

The beliefs and practices of the people I have met in the course of my research are strikingly diverse, but all are in some way affected by the constraints of interconnected medical and legal institutional structures. For instance, prospective foster parents and adopters face many bureaucratic impediments, including a lack of centralized and easily accessible information and very few private adoption services (Hayes and Habu 2006). Most people first register with a local Child Guidance Center (CGC) as a foster parent and in some cases are eventually able to adopt or foster a child from a baby home or a children's home. However, CGC practices differ widely across the country, and most CGCs focus their energies on placing children in need of out-of-home care in children's homes rather than foster or adoptive care (Goodman 2000, Tsuzaki 2009).

Over the past thirteen months, I have traced the relationships among people, institutions, and legal structures that shape contemporary family practices in situations where "family" cannot be taken for granted. In this multi-sited research, I have participated in academic and non-academic discussion groups surrounding fertility issues and interviewed individuals who have undertaken infertility treatment, a percentage of whom chose to adopt or foster. Because any individual hoping to become a foster or adoptive parent generally has contact with the fostering and child welfare community, this arena became a natural focus for my research. I have been conducting interviews with foster parents, attending trainings and research group sessions, and spending time with foster families. For the past two years, I have been involved with a small-scale "household-style" children's home in Yokohama, and I attended staff trainings in the months before the institution opened in June 2009. I have also been participating in a self-support group for young people who graduated from children's homes. My research has taken me throughout Kanto, Kansai, and Kyushu on visits to children's homes, independent-living support homes for young adults, and baby homes.

Contemporary anthropological perspectives on kinship have moved away from a focus on kinship as rooted in biological reproduction to a broader exploration of affective, bodily, and economic relationships, which shape my own research methodologies and perspectives (see for example Strathern 1992, Stasch 2009, Rutherford 1998, Yanagisako 2002). My research subjects are constantly aware of the many ways in which kinship is

created and experienced in everyday life. However, blood relationships are still a constant touchstone, even as many of these individuals, like Eri in the example above, explicitly state the unimportance of blood relatedness to them personally. One couple I interviewed referred repeatedly to the inescapable “violence of blood relationships” (*ketsuen no bōryoku*), the ways in which the concept of blood relatedness itself exerts demands upon individuals. An exploration of kinship in Japan must recognize the power of this concept. But in my own research I have seen that blood relationships imply, more often than not, the *fragility* of kinship ties themselves and their vulnerability to loss. Rather than solidifying kinship, blood relationships can be a very real source of danger and dissolution.

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TOMORROW'S RESEARCHERS TODAY: A REVIEW OF PH.D. PROJECTS

In its online form, the JAWS Newsletter will maintain this feature to keep members up-to-date about ongoing new research and researchers in the anthropology of Japan all over the world. The aim of this section is to give current and recently graduated Ph.D. students, who carry on anthropological-like research on Japan, the opportunity to introduce themselves and to let us know their projects. As during the previous Editorship, the students do not necessarily have to be enrolled in an anthropology programme: interdisciplinarity and any approach that is likely to provide anthropologists with suggestions and ideas are most welcome. We hope that Ph.D. students will offer their collaboration, and that supervisors encourage their students to submit.

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I am currently in my third year of a PhD program in sociocultural anthropology, working with Professors William Kelly and Karen Nakamura of Yale University. In 2009 and 2010 I carried out four months of preliminary fieldwork on transnational Nikkei migrants in Brazil and Japan. I aim to begin my eighteen months of multi-sited dissertation fieldwork in the summer of 2011.

Twenty years have passed since the Japanese government reformed its Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, and Brazilians first moved to Japan en masse. Transnational Nikkei Brazilian migrants can now be divided into three broad categories: 1) the people who migrate to Japan as adults and end up living there long-term, raising families and putting down roots in the process, 2) the children of Nikkei migrants who spend either part or all of their lives in Japan, and locate themselves somewhere between their parents' culture and that of their host society, and 3) the people who return to Brazil either through a process of temporary sojourns in Japan, long-term circular migration between the two countries, or, more recently, mass return migration. Against this shifting landscape of back-and-forth migration, and building on early studies of

transnational Nikkei identity and ethnicity, my dissertation research seeks to identify the connections and differences amongst these diverse vectors of experience.

The question that motivates my project is: What does it mean to repeatedly shift between societies as different as Brazil and Japan, and how do different generations of Japanese-Brazilian migrants negotiate selfhood and belonging in their day-to-day lives? Further, how have Japanese-Brazilian migrants come to view their ethnic and national identity over the long-term, and across national boundaries? Through an ethnographic investigation of identity and personhood in both Brazil and Japan, I intend to move beyond the binary structure of either settlement or temporary sojourns, and examine migration itself as a fundamental and formative way of being. To do so, I situate this research within existing scholarship on Nikkei ethnicity in Brazil and abroad, as well as evolving anthropological discussions of migration and transnationalism. Building on Aihwa Ong's notion of flexible citizenship amongst the Chinese diaspora, I ask what multiple forms of belonging mean to those who are excluded from the more global, mobile elite, and how this mode of living is experienced and articulated on the ground level.

**Japanese Professional Women in the Neoliberal Order:
Through the Labyrinth of their Working Lives**

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I am a fifth-year PhD student in the department of socio-cultural anthropology at Yale University and my advisor is Professor William Wright Kelly. I just got back from conducting fourteen months of fieldwork in Tokyo where I was affiliated with Waseda University in the department of Asia-Pacific Studies. Currently I am back at Yale writing up my dissertation.

My doctoral thesis analyzes what motivates Japanese women to pursue professional careers in today's neo-liberal economy and how they reconfigure notions of selfhood in this pursuit. Japanese labor markets for women are currently in turmoil. Women still find themselves forced to fight institutionalized prejudice in order to be accepted as equals in the workforce. Indeed, despite the fact that Japanese women have been employed in professional career tracks for decades, thanks in part to the 1985 Equal

Employment Opportunity Law guaranteeing women equal opportunities and equal treatment, they continue to suffer from discrimination in the workplace. Since the Japanese economic recession of the 1990s, the female workforce has experienced revolutionary changes as more women have sought to establish careers. In fact, the subsequent economic recession resulted in an increased number of women in managerial posts as the downturn led to a liberalization of certain career paths that fit women's tendencies to engage in short-term and part-time work.

There are still relatively few high-ranking career women in Japan since these positions are only available through promotion and large corporations have long prohibited married women and mothers from acquiring the seniority needed for promotion. Several Japanese companies have recently changed their promotion rules as more women remain employed full-time. Moreover, a lack of childcare facilities, a tax system that penalizes working parents and company policies that make it impossible for women to return to work without a significant loss of seniority and salary, all conspire to turn Japanese professional women against motherhood.

Employment trends in Japan indicate that more and more white-collar professional women are increasingly breaking through the "glass ceiling" as digital technologies blur and redefine work in spatial, gendered, and ideological terms. The occupational changes present this generation of professional women with a new set of challenges as they contest conventional notions of femininity and negotiate new gender roles and cultural meanings. In my project I explore the gendered dilemmas these women confront on a daily basis and examine how conventional family ties have been undermined by a neoliberal global economy that accentuates the fluidity of this process. Career paths for Japanese white-collar men in these sectors remain fairly standardized; however, Japanese women are just beginning to redefine what it means for them to have a career. Japanese women remain underrepresented in advanced career positions in finance, industry, entrepreneurship, government, and academia, leaving them to creatively redefine what it means to have a career in what is still a male-dominated sphere.

This study of Japanese professional women will add a new dimension to "studying up" in socio-cultural anthropology and contribute to multiple academic fields, including elite female workforce scholarship in socio-cultural anthropology, gender and family studies, women studies, identity formation, and the anthropology of globalization. I examine a sector that attracts women with prospects for a career as the highly volatile conditions of a neoliberal economy allow new career perspectives. To the extent that Japan is part of this trend, financial, industrial, and entrepreneurial institutions are making policy adjustments in order to compete in this global economy.

ANTHROPOLOGY OF JAPAN IN JAPAN (AJJ) ANNUAL MEETING

Making Local Places in Trans-Cultural Flows: Methodologies, Rhetorics and Ethnographies

Temple University, Tokyo

6 November 2010

AJJ Annual Conference was organized under the auspices of

The Institute of Contemporary Asian Studies (ICAS) at Temple University, Japan Campus

Anthropological research methodology in Japan has traditionally been circumscribed by the locality of place, as researchers have focused on the village, community or intensive social network with whom they interact. Yet increasingly, the centrality of specific sites and regional locales, which had defined a previous generation of research, has been supplemented (if not dislocated) by cyber communities, transglobal networks and digital technologies, where identity is amorphous and transitory. For scholars who are bridging the divides between cultural, language and ethnic domains, this transition raises important questions about how research agendas are to be calibrated as we plow the waters of post-modern culture and attempt to negotiate self/other and uchi/soto relations when the cultural domain is so ill-defined and rapidly evolving.

This conference will include presentations by scholars who will address questions and issues related to the production/construction, flow (consumption), and re-configuration of 'knowledge' on Japan at the individual, institutional and structural levels. Issues to be addressed in the conference include:

- How are emerging discourses on globalization affecting the status of ethnographic research in localized contexts?
- What defines the (often ill-defined) practice of fieldwork?
- Negotiating identity/ identities in the field, and the impact of the identity/identities on the data gained.
- The readership of research publications: who are you writing for, and how does that matter? How does that affect our fieldwork?
- By focusing on social relations rather than decision-making, does anthropology risk being merely "bad sociology" (e.g. sociology without the quantitative rigor)?
- What is the relation between particular research projects and their desired outcomes?

- The challenges of 'conducting' research as a 'native' anthropologist / conducting field research 'at home'.
- Ethics in anthropological fieldwork (the impact of personal information protection law, IRB).
- New methods of fieldwork - use of technology, working in teams, gathering data through mediated network.

Organizers

Kyle Cleveland, Temple University, Japan Campus

John Mock, Temple University, Japan Campus

Sachiko Horiguchi, Temple University, Japan Campus

David Slater, Sophia University

Rural Communities and Aging Populations

Chair: John Mock, Temple University, Japan Campus

Aging and Community Welfare

Iza Kavedžija, Oxford / Osaka University

Internationalizing the Satoyama: a New Countryside Paradigm for the World?

David Sprague, MAFF

Tokyo Urban in-migrants on Ama Island – Urbanite Ghetto or Urban-rural exchange?

Susanne Klien, DIJ

Bullfighting on Oki Island – Translocal, Transregional, Transpersonal

David Chapman, The University of South Australia

Identifying Difference: Space, Place and Chichijima

The Tensions in Everyday Foodscape of the Elderly in Modern Taipei

Chien-cheng James Wu, National Taiwan/Durham University

Media and Technical Interfaces

Chair: Kyle Cleveland, Temple University, Japan Campus

Cyberwars in Northeast Asia

James Strohmaier, Pukyong National University

Playing Games in Japan: Methodological Reflections

William Kelly, Tama University

Man with a Movie Camera: A Discussion of the Issues Relating to Visual Anthropology in the Field

Natalie Close, Minpaku

Small Secrets Shared - and Explored - Through Internet Keiji-ban

Mariko Jitsukawa (Tamagawa University)

Tactics and Ethics in the Use of Digital Camera in the Field

Ichiro Numazaki, Tohoku University

Ethnography Extended: Using Available Data and Social Network Analysis to Expand the Reach of Anthropological Research

John McCreery, The Word Works, Ltd.

Bilingual Roundtable: Doing anthropology of Japan in Japan

Chairs: Sachiko Horiguchi, Temple University, Japan Campus

Yuki Imoto, Keio University

意識改革研修：フィールドワークにおける文化的権威と再帰性」

市瀬 博基(Hiroki Ichinose), Digital Hollywood University

Reconstructing the Tradition of Anthropological Work: Reflecting on the Careers and Multiple Identities of Transnational Ethnographers

Gregory Poole, Doshisha University

同一嗜好の集団における同人活動と実践」

大戸 朋子(Tomoko Oto), Japan Advanced Institute of Science and Technology

Working Through Dialogues in and Out of the Field: On the Difficulties of Representing Others as an Other

Mario Ivan Lopez, Kyoto University

自文化研究は誰のためか？：日本研究を日本語で語る難しさ」

笹川 あゆみ (Ayumi Sasagawa), Musashino University

Discussant: John McCreery (The WordWorks)

Local Communities and Contexts

Chair: Michael Shackleton, Osaka Gakuin University

Roll up for the Mystery Tour: Negotiating Haunted Places through Locality and Translocal Flows in Contemporary Kyoto

Andrea De Antoni, Kyoto University

Not together but not separate: An Ethnographic Focus for Rethinking 'Blurred Boundary' Families in Japan

Jane Bachnik, NIME

Conducting Ethnographic Research as a Course Instructor: Teaching and Learning about Japanese Colonial Rule over Korea among Koreans

Noriko Sato, Pukyong National University

Town meeting in New England: What does it Mean for Democracy?

Kazunori Oshima, (Independent Scholar)

Doing Fieldwork at Work: Sites, Researchers, and Issues

Thomas Hardy, Keio University

Different norms in Different Sites: The Ethics of Conducting Fieldwork on a Contentious Topic

Christopher Bondy, DePauw/Tokyo

Gender and Ethnicity

Salarymen at Leisure: Self "Recreation" through Hobbies and Community

Gagne, Nana Okura, Waseda University

Interviewing Older Japanese Spouse Couple: The issue of the Interviewer's Gender and Class Identity

Akiko Oda, University of Surrey

Performativity and National Identity: Contemporary Gender Theory Applied to Japan's Identity studies

Elisa Montiel, Doshisha University

Women's Agency in Charting Life Trajectories in Japan: A longitudinal Ethnography

Kaori Okano, La Trobe University

Returning

Hasegawa Yuka, University of Hawaii at Manoa

KEYNOTE LECTURE: East Asian Media Cultures and the Global Governance of Cultural Connectivity

Koichi Iwabuchi, Waseda University

Introduction: Kyle Cleveland, Temple University, Japan Campus

Discussant: David Slater, Sophia University

In the last two decades, we have witnessed the drastic development of the production of media cultures and their transnational circulation in non-Western regions. East Asia is one of the most prominent regions in which new cultural expressions flourish, cultural mixing intensifies, and intra-regional consumption sets in motion. While the rise of East Asian media culture circulation and consumption has considerably facilitated mediated conversations among people in the region, it is questionable if these developments have eventually challenged uneven transnational media cultural circulations and have truthfully promoted dialogic connections among people of various places. Referring to cases in the Japanese context, this presentation will critically review the ways in which the development of East Asian media culture production and connections fails to serve wider public interests by looking at the interplay of three interrelated forces in the global governance of media culture connectivity—the marketization of media cultures, the institutionalization of banal inter-nationalism and the states’ growing interest in branding the nation.

UPCOMING CONFERENCES

AAS – ICAS JOINT CONFERENCE

Honolulu, Hawaii

March 31 – April 3 2011

Each spring, the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) holds a four-day conference devoted to planned programs of scholarly papers, roundtable discussions, workshops, and panel sessions on a wide range of issues in research and teaching, and on Asian affairs in general.

To celebrate its 70th anniversary, the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) is holding a special joint conference with the International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) in Honolulu, March 31–April 3, 2011 at the Hawai'i Convention Center.

15th ASIAN STUDIES CONFERENCE JAPAN (ASCJ 2011)

International Christian University (ICU), Tokyo

25-26 June 2011

JSAA BIENNIAL CONFERENCE

Internationalising Japan: Sport, Culture and Education

The University of Melbourne

4-7 July 2011

The 17th Biennial Conference of the Japanese Studies Association of Australia (JSAA) will be held at the University of Melbourne, Australia from July 4 to 7, 2011. The conference theme is "Internationalising Japan: Sport, Culture and Education". Japan is both a subject and an object of internationalisation. It is internationalising, and it is being internationalised by the growing transnational flows of people, goods and ideas that are the hallmarks of globalisation. Although consciousness of these developments may be strongest within Japan itself, it would be a mistake to frame internationalisation

as a simple matter of "Japan" engaging with the "international". Transcending conventional dichotomies and stereotypes, this conference will employ specific themes to explore the synergies and discords of internationalisation and to highlight the processes and agents of change, both passive and active. Keynote speakers will be Professors Roger Goodman (University of Oxford), Professor William W. Kelly (Yale University) and Professor Seiichi Makino (Princeton University). The conference organising committee is now calling for panel and poster proposals. For more information, please go to the conference website www.jsaa-2011.info or email jsaa-2011@unimelb.edu.au.

We look forward to seeing you in Melbourne next year!

13th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF EAJs

Tallin University, Estonia

24-28 August 2011

Proposals for papers and panels for the 13th International Conference of the EAJs to be held in Tallinn, Estonia from 24-28 August 2011 should be submitted electronically via following website:

<http://www.eajconference.eu>

Submission deadline is **December 1, 2010**. Selection results will be announced by late January. In case one individual submits more than one proposal, we will only consider the last submission. Personal information and proposals should preferably be written in English but the electronic system also recognizes Japanese characters. Presentations at the conference may be given in English or in Japanese.

Please fill in the lines with the personal and professional information, especially the required lines marked with a red star.

For **individual papers** (usually about **20 minutes** in length), please submit **the title of the presentation and an abstract of up to 1500 characters**.

For **panels** (usually up to **90 minutes** duration), please send the **title of the panel and an abstract of up to 1500 characters** explaining the overall focus. An ADDITIONAL document (as word file or PDF) needs to be uploaded with the collected information on the individual presentations of all the panelists in the form of the **Name, Presentation title**, and a **300-word abstract for each panel member** and the name of the discussant, if any.

Please click the information about **required equipment**, e.g. powerpoint beamer, computer, video, slide projector, etc.

Please note that selected speakers for all the sections and the interdisciplinary panels need to be **members of EAJ**S. The members of the Association of Japanese Language Teachers in Europe Conference should be **members of the AJE or EAJ**S.

There should only be one paper submission per person!

The conference registration system including hotel information will be available from December!

We are looking forward to meeting you in Tallinn!

Anthropology and Sociology (SECTION 5)

Nostalgia, Memory and Myth-Making in Contemporary Japan

Memories can be happy. They can be traumatic. They can be used to pass on knowledge to a different generation. No matter which, memory constitutes an important part of who 'we' are and where we belong to. While past experiences shape 'our' sense of self, thinking back on something can also include a sense of "ol' times lost", nostalgic reminiscences of a time when supposedly everything was better than today. The dealing with memories and nostalgia even extends to the macro-level. Modern nation states constantly need to re-invent their past, uphold a selected memory and thereby create 'myths' legitimizing their existence. From an anthropological and/or sociological viewpoint, the individual dealing with 'memory' and a craving for the Shōwa period, when dear memories make life look as having been better than today, is an important aspect of modern Japan. Since Japan has a longer life expectancy than any other Western country, the memories of times past are still very much in the present.

We would invite especially any individual paper or panel proposal revolving around the outlined themes, particularly also papers on the role of the media in this field. Of course, other paper - and panel proposals are also welcome and will be taken into consideration.

For further inquiries please contact the convenors at the following e-mail address:

anthropology@eajs.eu

Convenors:

Dr. Anemone Platz, Aarhus, Denmark

Dr. Griseldis Kirsch, SOAS, UK

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