JAPAN ANTHROPOLOGY WORKSHOP NEWSLETTER NO. 40

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FROM THE JAWS OFFICERS

FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Lola Martinez

It is my great pleasure to be writing an opening note to this new look second edition of the JAWS newsletter put together by the editorial team of Peter Cave and Gordon Mathews. You will see that various aspects of the newsletter pioneered by Jan van Bremen, continue -- book reviews, notes on current research -- while new sections on themed topics and a push towards publishing in Japanese as well as English have been added. It is wonderful to see the newsletter growing and developing in this way, and I hope Peter and Gordon stay on to continue their good work.

I also write on the 'eve' of the coming JAWS conference in Oslo. It will be our 18th conference since the organisation was founded and we have asked Professor Joy Hendry (one of JAWS' founders) to give the keynote lecture. Professor Arne Rokkum has received an interesting set of abstracts under the heading of 'Japan and materiality in a broader perspective' and I am looking forward to our meeting in March. I hope that even those of you not planning to give papers will try and join us – Arne has left open the conference registration for a few weeks yet.

Christmas and New Year are only days away (as I write), so may I wish you all Happy Holidays and a wonderful New Year.

FROM THE TREASURER

Lynne Nakano

We are still in the process of moving the JAWS bank account from ABN AMRO in the Netherlands to Hang Seng Bank in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Hang Seng Bank account currently contains HK $36,338.39 (3538 Euros) of JAWS funds.

FROM THE JAWS OFFICERS

Payment Instructions

The membership fee is **15 Euros** per year. You may pay in Euros, Hong Kong dollars, or US dollars (15 Euros is about US $20 at the moment). You can find the current rate at websites such as www.oanda.com/convert/classic.

Please note that the Hong Kong Hang Seng Bank will not accept credit card payment. Payment should be made through bank check/draft or electronic/telegraphic transfer. Personal checks are NOT accepted.

If you pay by bank check, please add 5 Euros per check (about US $6) to cover processing fees. If you pay by electronic/telegraphic transfer, please add 3 Euros per transfer (about US $4). If possible, please pay for more than one year at a time.

Payment by telegraphic transfer should be made to the following account:
Bank Name: Hang Seng Bank Ltd Head Office
Address: 83 Des Voeux Road Central Hong Kong
Swift Code: HASE HKHH
Bank Code: 024
Account Number: 290-034263-001
Account Name: Japan Anthropology Workshop

Bank drafts or bank checks (no personal checks please) should be made out to "Japan Anthropology Workshop" (checks made out to "JAWS" will NOT be accepted) and mailed to the following address (please pay in US dollars if possible).

Lynne Nakano
The Department of Japanese Studies
The Chinese University of Hong Kong
Shatin, New Territories
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FROM THE JAWS OFFICERS

It is also possible to pay one of the JAWS officers in cash, in which case there is no extra charge for processing fees.

The payment form may be downloaded from the following website www.asiainstitute.unimelb.edu.au/programs/japanese/jaws.html

Please find a statement of your current payment status written on the first page (the contents page) of your copy of this Newsletter.

FROM THE EDITORS

Peter Cave and Gordon Mathews

Welcome to Newsletter No. 40! We are glad to be able to introduce some of the new features announced in the previous Newsletter. In particular:

- The new **'Work in Progress'** section contains two Research Reports, both (coincidentally) submitted by members from Oxford Brookes University. We encourage more members to submit these brief reports (about 500-1000 words) and let other members know about their current or planned research. Also, remember that you can submit pieces of up to 2000-3000 words for **'Positions'**, setting out a position or argument on a topic of your choice. Let's have more debate!
- The new 「テーマ」 section carries a feature entitled 'Getting Your Monograph Published', which we hope will be of help especially to research students and early-career scholars.
- The new **'Talking Fieldwork'** section carries four pieces, one dealing with the issue of research ethics, and three discussing access to informants and research sites.
- We have three book reviews, all by distinguished contributors. Most of the books reviewed are in Japanese, in line with our policy of trying to introduce more books in Japanese to members.

In this issue, two of our book reviews are in Japanese, and we remind members that submissions in **either English or Japanese** are welcome.

FROM THE JAWS OFFICERS

We warmly welcome your contributions, as well as suggestions for topics to deal with in any of the sections, ideas about new content, or any comments (letters can also be published in a **'Comments'** section, and responses to anything in the Newsletter are welcomed). The next Newsletter will go out in September 2007, and we expect to be putting it together from June onwards, so please sharpen your quills, point your brushes, and open your computers. And in the meantime, enjoy this issue!

JAWS NEWS: CONFERENCES

Topics and Tendencies in the Upcoming JAWS Conference at Oslo University, March 14-17, 2007

Arne Røkkum

Under the general theme of *Japan and Materiality in a Broader Perspective,* a Call for Papers of the 2007 JAWS Conference elicited contributions on topics of popular culture, place and landscape, materiality of display, significant objects, nature/body/sexuality, and the social use of the body. This also carried an open invitation: to address issues not covered by this Call for Papers.

Within the broader perspective thus suggested – and responded to – by a variety of submissions, "materiality" appears as what is anchored in the senses, virtually indistinguishable from a broader category of "physicality." What is "material" pertains to objects and bodies (human and animal) equably. In the present preview culled from received abstracts, the Japan-focused Oslo conference will cover many topics of current interest in general anthropology. And in the way just suggested, give rise to new insights. The following titles indicate themes submitted by panel organizers.

- De-materializing *ie*: Fragmentation and Diversification in the Japanese Home and Family
- Objects of Difference
- Multi-aspects of Hands (*te*) in Japanese culture: what Hands represent in Person-to-person and Person-to-materials Relations
- Other Materialities: *angama* Mask Performances of the Southern Ryukyus
- Animals at the Crossroads: Material and Mental Landscapes of Pet Loss and Pet Mortuary Rites in Contemporary Japan
- Shibusawa Keizô and the Possibilities of Social Science in Modern Japan
- Materializing Selves - Performing Personhood Through Material Culture
- Japan and the Global: roots and branches
- Sensibility and Space in Japanese Organisations
- All that You Can't Leave Behind: Materiality while Alive, Dead, and Beyond

- Material culture in global encounters between Japan and the "West"
- Landscapes of Identity, Community, and Difference

Single presentations have been allocated around the following topics available from the "possible topics" listed in the Call for Papers:

- Place and Landscape
- Nature, Body, and Sexuality
- Production, Consumption and Commodities
- Categories of Movement in Time and Space

Joy Hendry has accepted an invitation to give the Keynote Speech at the Oslo conference. Her topic is *Rewrapping the Message: Museums, Healing and Communicative Power*. A Special Lecture will be given by Brian Moeran under the title *Making Scents of Smell: Incense in Japan*. A conference exhibition will be prepared by Arne Røkkum. Its theme is *Signs of Society: Masks and Festival Banner Poles from Okinawa, Japan*. Naomi Magnussen of the Oslo University Library will arrange a workshop for anthropology students interested in accessing Japanese databases. On the final day of the conference, Nelson Graburn will rekindle the highlight of the Keynote Speech with a plenary presentation focusing on a museum exhibition at the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka: Hiroshi Shoji's *Taminzoku Nihon*.

The conference website can be found at http://www.khm.uio.no/jaws-2007/. Registration gives access (by login) to a participants' electronic list and to a conference archive with working papers on the composition of the conference in terms of persons and activities.

The Oslo University venue has two sites: The Museum of Cultural History in the city center on the opening day, March 14 and the main campus Library of Humanities and Social Sciences on the following three days.

JAWS PUBLICATION NEWS
THE JAWS ROUTLEDGECURZON SERIES

Since the last JAWS Newsletter, two further books have been published in the JAWS RoutledgeCurzon series: *Dismantling the East-West Dichotomy*, and *Psychotherapy and Religion in Japan*. These are fine additions to the series, and the first also honours our late Secretary-General, the much missed Jan van Bremen. The long awaited papers from the Santiago conference are also in production at last, and we hear that the Copying book is nearly complete. We are delighted to have received several very interesting proposals for new books from JAWS members, and these are going through the review and preparation process. We look forward to making some positive announcements in the next Newsletter.

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
Now in paperback!

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

JAWS NEWS: PUBLICATIONS

New!

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

Forthcoming:

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
Available March 2006

Japan and the Culture of Copying
Edited by Rupert Cox, Oxford Brookes University

Getting Your Monograph Published

Peter Cave and Gordon Mathews

In this issue, テーマ tackles a subject of crucial importance to many, especially those starting out on their academic careers – how to get your monograph published. We start with some background and general advice.[1]

First, it's important to realize that publishers, even university presses, are businesses and are looking for books that will sell and at least break even in the publisher's accounting books. Monographs don't normally sell many copies (300-400 copies is not unusual for hardbacks), so you need to try to persuade the publisher that there is a market, or more than one market, for the book. The more specific you can be, the better (if you know particular courses that could use the book, say so – and if you have information about numbers of students in courses, that can help).

Secondly, an editor definitely doesn't want to see an unrevised Ph.D. thesis land on her desk. In fact, she doesn't want a manuscript at all at the start. What she wants is a book proposal of up to eight pages explaining what the book is about, what makes it different and worth publishing, and what the market for the book will be. Most academic publishers have a 'guide for authors' somewhere on their webpage (it is not always easy to locate, but is usually to be found via the 'Contact Us' link). Many of these guides are detailed and are extremely helpful in the preparation of a book proposal. Make sure you read them! Get feedback on your draft proposal from friends and mentors, especially those who have published books themselves. The author needs to have thought about the audience and got rid of those parts of the thesis that are

[1] Here I (PC) draw on notes from the one-day conference, 'Getting Published in Anthropology', held at Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University, on 7 February 1998, along with 'guides for authors' on the websites of several academic publishers, and information from editors. It is worth noting that in the last few years, pressure on academic presses has been increasing, due to diminishing sales of books to libraries. See "Outlooks on University Press Publishing: The Crises, the Opportunities." *Asian Studies Newsletter* 50(3): 13-17.

just there to show the Ph.D. examiners that you can do research properly. Editors advise that Ph.D. students think of their thesis in terms of a book as early as possible, so that the thesis will need less revision. It is worth remembering that the process of academic review of the manuscript, revision, preparation and printing can easily take 18 to 24 months, and will almost certainly take 12 months – and that is after you have actually completed the manuscript! So, it is worth thinking about what will appeal and sell at the time the book is actually published, in two or three years' time. More generally, the prospective author needs to remember that university presses seek books not simply for their scholarly quality but for their audience appeal. Whereas a Ph.D. dissertation can be narrow in focus, a book must be broader. One strategy is to target your book for an intelligent second-year undergraduate -- the classroom audience that buys academic books. If an academic press does not sense that your prospective book will have an appeal to a book-buying audience, then they may choose not to publish it, regardless of its academic merits.

Thirdly, you need to think about which publishers might be interested in your book. Look for publishers that have published books in your area, or who publish series into which your book might fit well. Think about whether you like the look (and the prices) of the books a press has published recently, and if you can, talk to other authors who have published with presses you are interested in during the last three or four years, to find out about their experiences with the press. Smaller or newer publishers may be more dynamic, faster-moving, and give you more personal attention (for example, University of California Press, a large and prestigious publisher, states on its website that it may not respond to your proposal for up to four months) – but some may not have as much ability to distribute your work as larger, established publishers, and publishing with them may not give you so much kudos.

Fourthly, it is well worth trying to meet editors and discuss your idea with them directly. Editors go to large conferences such as the American Anthropological Association and the Association for Asian Studies for exactly this purpose. You can also try arranging a meeting at their office. Make sure you are very well prepared to explain your book idea clearly and succinctly. When you submit your proposal, note that some publishers do not accept proposals by email, but only through the post. Also, it is accepted practice for

authors to send proposals to more than one publisher, but you should not send a full manuscript for academic review to more than one publisher.

Many publishers will offer you an initial contract once your book proposal is accepted (the contract is subject to approval of the final manuscript later); other publishers will choose to wait until the manuscript is completed, and will then send it to referees before offering a contract. Don't sign up to a date for the delivery of the manuscript that you doubt you can meet – editors hate late delivery (most of them have performance targets they need to meet). As noted above, you can submit proposals to different publishers, but once a publisher has expressed strong interest, it is good form to commit to that publisher; and once a contract is signed, you of course must commit to it. Once you have committed yourself to one publisher, make sure you follow its house style as you write the manuscript (they will send you details of this). Changing the style is very time-consuming.

Finally, remember that the JAWS RoutledgeCurzon series is one option to consider for your monograph! Besides the excellent distribution and good academic reputation of Routledge, you can be assured of regular publicity for your book to JAWS members and at JAWS conferences. The Senior Editor of the series, Joy Hendry, is always happy to discuss ideas for monographs and edited collections.

A valuable summary of some authors' views about getting published (from 2002) can be found on the Anthroglobe website:
http://www.anthroglobe.ca/docs/how%20to%20choose%20and%20deal%20with%20a%20publisher.htm

We posed a series of specific questions about getting a monograph published to Helen Barton, Editor for Linguistics, Language and Anthropology at Cambridge University Press, and Richard Fisher, Executive Editor, Academic Publishing at CUP – one of the world's most prestigious academic publishers. We are very grateful to them for their full and prompt answers.[2]

[2] Editors at three other academic presses were also approached, but were regrettably too busy to contribute.

テーマ: *GETTING YOUR MONOGRAPH PUBLISHED*

Should the author send chapters of the manuscript with the proposal, and if so, how many? How much of the book would the Press expect would normally be completed at the time of submission of the initial book proposal?

This isn't an absolute requirement for a monograph and we do accept proposals from established authors without sample chapters, but if the author can provide some, then they are very useful. They give us, and the referees, a far better idea of the author's writing style as well as the scope and content of the proposed book. 1-3 sample chapters are usually enough for this purpose.

Could you please outline the normal course of the submission, approval, and publication process, including the normal timeframe?

Authors usually send proposals direct to the relevant editor at Cambridge University Press. If the Press editor feels that the proposal might be suitable for a series, they then consult the series editor or series board of that series, and decide whether to pursue the proposal. The Press editor and the series board collaboratively decide on referees to approach, and then one or maybe two referees are approached. If the Press editor feels that the book is not suited to any particular series but may be publishable as a stand-alone, they decide on and approach referees from the outset without consulting any series editor. Referees are selected from both sides of the Atlantic, and are usually given around four to six weeks to evaluate the proposal. The referees' reports are sent directly to the Press editor, who may or may not send extracts anonymously to the author, summarizing the main points and suggesting a course of action. There is usually one of three outcomes:
(1) If the referees' evaluations are fundamentally positive and the Press editor considers any suggested revisions to be minor and straightforward to implement, the author may be asked to submit to the Press editor a formal response to the readers' reports and/or a revised version of the proposal. This is then presented to the Press Syndicate (our governing body), along with a statement from the Press editor and the series editor (if applicable), recommending publication of the book.
(2) If the referees' evaluations suggest that the proposal has promise but major

work needs to be done before publication can be recommended, the Press editor usually invites the author to revise and resubmit the proposal, sometimes with some sample material, in accordance with the referees' suggestions, after which it goes through a second round of refereeing.
(3) If the referees do not recommend publication, the proposal is declined.
The average amount of time from the submission of a proposal to acceptance depends entirely on the length of the refereeing process, which can vary from 4-6 weeks to several months. Books and proposals which fall outside the agreed parameters for overall list development at Cambridge are declined almost immediately (literally hundreds every week across the Press as a whole), without any external refereeing input.

Is it acceptable for the author to suggest as academic reviewers people to whom the author has already shown parts of the manuscript? Does the Press prefer to approach as academic reviewers people who have not had this kind of contact with the author?

Yes, it is sometimes very useful to Press editors if a referee is already familiar with the work; however the editor usually checks with the recommended referee in the first instance that they feel sufficiently objective to act as a referee. The Press editor would normally consult an additional referee who has not before been connected to the project, simply to ensure a balanced view. No matter whether the referee is recommended by the author or not, their identity would still remain anonymous to the author, unless the referee gives specific permission for their identity to be revealed.

Is the Press willing to accept a manuscript part of which has already been published in the form of journal articles or book chapters, and if so, up to what proportion of the MS could already be published in such a form?

Yes, as long as only a modest part of the book had previously been published; not the whole. The book must be coherent and 'written-through' in its own right.

At what stage of the submission process does it become unacceptable to approach more

than one publisher?

It is generally accepted that potential authors do 'shop around' publishers from the outset and they have every right to, but authors must make it clear to the publisher from the outset that they are doing so, and all parties must always be kept informed. The last thing anybody wants to do is to waste referees' time.

How would the Press view a MS whose substance had already been published in another language (especially Japanese)? (One of the thoughts behind this question is that anthropologists today are often urged to publish in the language of their informants, in part for ethical reasons and to avoid the sense that they are not contributing to discourse and debate in the society they are studying; it also makes some sense to publish in Japanese first when writing about Japan, to enable feedback on the book to be gathered.)

No, this is not something that as an English-language publisher Cambridge University Press would encourage, or routinely pursue. In this context we appreciate that our legitimate imperatives, and the legitimate imperatives of anthropologists, may conflict.

On a related point, under what circumstances, if any, might the press pay (at least in part) for translation of an academic work (e.g. from French, German, Japanese etc into English), especially if the book is not only translated but also adapted for the English-reading market?

Translation and/or adaptation of monographic work is one of the riskiest ventures known to publishing. Some of the least successful books Cambridge has ever published fall into this category. Inevitably a large proportion of the intended audience is familiar with the native-language original, and no new audience of sufficient size generally exists for a translation and/or adaptation. Sadly the distinction of the author makes very little difference to this general rule. Such translations, when they do occur, have to be subsidized substantially by third parties, like the Office du Livre in France.

テーマ: *GETTING YOUR MONOGRAPH PUBLISHED*

Authors who are independent scholars and professional writers in particular wish to retain the copyright to their work. To what extent is this a negotiable point with your Press? On a related point, is your Press ever willing to give an advance to an author who is a professional writer?

Copyright is always in the author's name, but the author grants the Press the exclusive right and license to the publication. The Press does give advances for major book projects, but inevitably we very rarely publish works by professional writers. In order for us to offer an advance the expected revenue from the book and consequent royalties must be substantial, which is emphatically not the case with most monographs.

RESEARCH REPORTS

Planting the Grave in Japan: Spirituality, Ecology and 'Natural' Funerals

Sébastien Boret

Ph.D. student, Oxford Brookes University

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to Oxford Brookes University for funding the current Ph.D. project, Joy Hendry, my supervisor, and David Slater at Sophia University for sponsoring my two years in Japan. I will now report on what has been a very stimulating and, if I may say, propitious ten-month preliminary fieldwork.

My doctoral research is an anthropological investigation of a movement of new forest burials that bring together ideas of environmental protection, 'religious' or spiritual experiences, and conceptions of death. Known as *Jumokusō*, this movement has developed a practice that consists of burying the ashes of the deceased in a forest. Instead of a tombstone, however, a small tree is planted on the site of burial and marks the grave. In addition to cemeteries, in which each individual purchased his or her own burial space, members of *Jumokusō* may occasionally share workshops, reunions, newsletters, and annual memorials. I believe that the growing popularity of *Jumokusō* since its creation in 1999 could inform us of deep social changes in family structures, cross-generation conflicts, religious and spiritual practices, and a growing care for the rehabilitation of natural environment within Japan.

During my first ten months, I first carried out a preliminary survey in order to determine the response of leaders and experts of Japanese funerals to forest burials. To complete this investigation, I visited funeral parlours, which are currently developing new forms of funerals (e.g. musical or non-religious funerals), cemeteries, Buddhist temples, the offices of a well-known funeral journal, and Japanese academic institutions. For instance, I had the privileged to be introduced to the director of the 21st Century COE Program on 'Construction of Death and Life Studies' at the University of Tokyo, Susumu Shimazono.

In addition to professionals and scholars of funerals, I was able to visit and interview the leaders of *Jumokusō* themselves on several occasions. During these initial meetings, I was guided through their two sites, each of which is located in a mountain and composed of a cemetery, an office, a large accommodation, a Zen meditation room, a ritual hall, parcels of land where are grown vegetables and soya, etc. Moreover, the leader of *Jumokusō*, Chisaka Genpō, welcomed my participation to one of their seasonal five-day workshops. Together with twenty members, we shared a 'retreat-like' experience in the Japanese countryside. Our activities included mountain climbing, Buddhist Zen meditation, and the maintenance of memorial sites, cooking, etc. Finally, I had the privilege of taking part in *Jumokusō*'s sixth annual memorial service which gathered between two and three hundred members from all over Japan. Thanks to these first-hand observations and extensive interviews, I was able to reflect upon some of the issues raised by experts of Japanese funerals that I will now briefly present.

First of all, although its potential diffusion and popularisation across Japan has yet to be assessed, the *Jumokusō* movement of Ichinoseki is indeed successful and has already found many followers (i.e. approximately 1,300 members), most of whom live in Tokyo, and has seen its burial practice adopted by over fifteen temples or cemeteries across Japan. Moreover, this movement was able to gain the support of local populations, press, and authorities, as well as attracting the attention of the Japanese national television and overseas Buddhist priests who have introduced *Jumokusō* in Korea, Taiwan, or China.

Another aspect is that, while funeral directors and other specialists seemed to emphasise the local specificity of *Jumokusō*, Japanese scholars tend to see this movement as a reflection of current phenomena and pertinent discourses within Japanese society. To begin with, they commented upon the fact that tree burials reflect not only changes in Japanese family structures and values, but also old and new ideas of life and death. Furthermore, scholars suggest that, like *shizensō* (i.e. scattering of ashes) and other so called natural funerals, the leaders of *Jumokusō* appear to be using their concern for the environment as a means of legitimatizing this new practice.

During the last decades, there has been a growing concern in Japan for the protection of the environment and especially for mountains and forests (Moon 2002, Collingan-Taylor 1990). These areas, referred to as s*atoyama*, correspond to the image of a Japanese traditional rural environment that blends rice paddies, forests and villages inhabited by people over centuries. With the advance of technology, the use of new sources of energy, and the decline of farmers and the rural population, a great number of these *satoyama* are considered endangered. Forests are said to have lost their ecological diversity as well as becoming a potential threat for the local community (i.e. landslides). In order to rehabilitate these regions, local people are taking initiatives on a voluntary basis.

To conclude, during the next 12 months of intensive fieldwork, I will examine how the movement of *Jumokusō* and its new 'forest burial' fits into changing Japanese idea(s) of Ecology, Spirituality, and Death in Japan. If the reasons, for which people choose to be buried under a tree, remain complex and diverse, many of the participants discourse revolves around the idea that "*Jumokusō* is a return to nature."

Sebastien Boret

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Collingan-Taylor, Karen. 1990. *The Emergence of Environmental Literature in Japan*. New York and London: Garland Publishing.

Moon, Okpyo. 2002. The Countryside reinvented for Urban Tourists: Rural transformation in Japanese muraokoshi movement. In *Japan at Play: The ludic and the logic of power*, eds. Joy Hendry and Massimo Raveri, London: Routledge.

WORK IN PROGRESS: RESEARCH REPORTS

Relations between Anthropology and Indigenous/Native/Aboriginal Studies

Joy Hendry
Professor, Oxford Brookes University

This entry is about a new research project that has a broader focus than just Japan, but to which Japan specialists may have a special contribution to make. The rationale for the research is a perceived intellectual gap between those engaged in the study of Anthropology, which increasingly involves work described as collaborative with people who form the focus of their studies, and departments of Indigenous/Native/Aboriginal Studies, which tend to advocate self-study by people from the backgrounds in the regions where they are found.

I have already argued (at the JAWS conference in Hong Kong, and now in the new book *Dismantling the East West Dichotomy* – JAWS series, latest book), that Japan provides a model in this respect because outside researchers work with Japanese scholars who advise them and support them while they are doing research within Japan, and because the self-examination of Nihonjinron scholars seems to have been replaced by more mature reflections, for example like that of the Bunka Shigen project for which Yamashita Shinji was the lead anthropologist.

The relationship between researchers and researched in the case of the Ainu and Okinawan people of Japan provides a case within a case, however, and this is the focus of a small preliminary project I am presently carrying out. This has already involved attending a meeting of the Okinawan Studies group to observe interactions and to make contacts, and visits are to be made to Hokkaido and Okinawa in January to seek views from various different angles. Because of the global nature of the whole project, these visits are necessarily too short to carry out much in-depth research, so I am seeking ideas and contributions from any other anthropologists who might like to make comments on this subject, or to participate in the future. This could be from anyone who has worked in Japan on a related subject, and could include

proposals for future research which might dovetail with the larger project. I am presently preparing research applications to support this project, and these will not be finalised until I return from Japan at the end of January, so please send any ideas you may have to me at jhendry@brookes.ac.uk.

TALKING FIELDWORK

In this issue, *TALKING FIELDWORK* focuses on two issues of perennial importance: ethics, and gaining access to the research site and informants. First, Rebecca Fukuzawa explains how ethical review procedures in Japan are moving in the same direction as English-speaking countries. Then, we have three accounts of access success (and difficulties) from recently completed or currently ongoing doctoral projects, by Philomena Keet, Ekaterina Korobtseva, and Akiko Oda. These provide valuable insights into strategies for negotiating the ever-changing situation faced by researchers. All of these pieces originated from presentations at the 2006 Annual Meeting of Anthropology of Japan in Japan (AJJ), of which a report can be found later in the Newsletter.

Ethical Guidelines for Researchers Taking Hold in Japan

Rebecca Erwin Fukuzawa
Professor, Hosei University

A few years ago I was talking to a young Japanese anthropologist. In the course of the conversation about my research, he said he hoped I had written consent forms from all of the students I was interviewing. Standards for professional behavior among anthropologists in Japan were shifting rapidly, he explained, rattling my notions of the ethics of doing fieldwork in Japan. While such changes have been piecemeal and gradual to date, new laws and guidelines are reshaping the ethics of doing research, and impacting anthropologists doing fieldwork in Japan. This article sketches some of the changes that are taking place as institutions move to implement ethical guidelines similar to those of many other countries. It is based on information from governmental, academic association and university websites combined with interviews with university personnel and researchers.

Since the end of World War II, concerns over the ethics of how research

is conducted and reported have crystallized into specific institutionalized systems for evaluating research projects from their planning stages. The World Medical Association's Helsinki Declaration and revisions to it (1964, 1975, 1983, 1989) established international guidelines that regulate biomedical research. Similar guidelines have spread from biomedical and clinical research to other research dealing with human subjects. For example, in 1991 the U.S. government established the "Common Rule" or one set of ethical guidelines for all federally funded research with human subjects. The Common Rule stipulates both the ethical principles and their systematic incorporation in the form of institutional review boards (IRBs) at academic institutions.[3] The application of one set of standards to a variety of fields of research has generated continuing adjustments. Thus, policies in the American Anthropological Association have continued to evolve from the 1971 Principles of Professional Responsibility[4] to a series of briefing papers on ethics still open for discussion on the AAA website.[5] In particular, debate among U.S. anthropologists over the use of Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) to evaluate ethnographic research continues.[6]

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[3] Timeline of Laws related to the Protection of Human Subjects. *ed.* Joel Sparks, June 2002, Office of NIH History, National Institutes of Health, Department of Health and Human Services, 26 November 2006 < http://history.nih.gov/01Docs/historical/2020b.htm>.

[4] Statement on Ethics, Principles of Professional Responsibility. November 1986, American Anthropological Association, 25 November 2006 <http://www.aaanet.org/stmts/ethstmnt.htm>.

[5] Research Ethics: Ethics Committee Briefing Paper on Informed Consent. ed. Lauren Clark and Ann Kingsolver, n.d. American Anthropological Association, 25 November 2006 < http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/bp5.htm>.

[6] See for example, Edward Bruner, "Ethnographic Practice and Human Subjects Review," Anthropology News, 45.1 (2004): 5-7; Stuart Plattner, "Human Subjects Protections and Anthropology," [Electronic version] Anthropology News, 45.2 (2004); Helen McGough, "Why Can't We All Just Get Along?" [Electronic version] Anthropology News 45.2 (2004);

The influence of the Helsinki Declaration and its extension to social science research is also being felt in Japan. The Japan Science Council (Nihon Gakujutsu Kaigi) has been encouraging universities and professional organizations to adopt ethical guidelines consistent with international standards. Within the past few months, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Monbukagakusho) has also voiced greater concern about a wider range of research ethics in response to recent scandals in the use of research funds.

A more immediate impetus for much of the changing legal framework surrounding fieldwork in Japan was the introduction of the Personal Information Protection Act, which was promulgated on May 30, 2003, with many provisions taking effect April 1, 2005. The law itself is quite general, but each ministry has issued its own guidelines relevant to its scope of responsibility. The Mombukagakusho guidelines focus on the protection of student data held by schools[7] and ethical guidelines for organizations doing human genome research. Personal information as defined by the law means any information that distinguishes one individual from another. Thus information that must be protected by schools includes a person's name, photos, address, date of birth, birthplace, phone number, financial history, medical history, employment history, academic history, occupation, sex, race, religion, etc.

One of the most immediately affected areas has been research in educational settings. According to one professor of education, schools in Tokyo have been particularly thorough in implementing the new guidelines, perhaps under the watchful gaze of more informed parents. Since April of 2005 photography within schools has become nearly impossible and obtaining consent for even questionnaire distribution may require signed consent forms

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Rena Lederman, "Bureaucratic Oversight of Human Research and Disciplinary Diversity," Anthropology News, 47.5 (2004): 8; and Erik Kjerdgaard, "Anthropology and IRBS," Anthropology News 47.6 (2006): 5.

[7] Mombukagakusho kunrei daigogo. [Official Directive #5 of The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology], 31 March 2005, Mombukagakusho. 20 November 2006< http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/koukai/kojin/001.pdf>.

from every student to be polled. The decision of whether or not to require parent signatures rests with the principal, but the need for formal consent forms is more likely to be waived outside of large metropolitan areas where the older model of responsibility (i.e., the head of the organization assuming responsibility for the welfare of individuals within) seems to prevail.

Outside of research in school settings, anthropological research has not yet been directly affected. However, in other fields like clinical psychology and psychology, changes have taken place. Associations such as the Japan Psychological Association and the Japanese Association of Clinical Psychology, in addition to many university departments related to psychology, have already instituted ethical guidelines and institutional review systems. The Japanese Association of Clinical Psychology not only has guidelines, but according to one member, it has actually taken disciplinary action against members found to be in violation of its guidelines. The Japanese Psychological Association (JPA) lists its ethical guidelines prominently on its home page [8] along with an advertisement for its translation of the American Psychological Association's Handbook of Ethics.

The JPA guidelines' preamble pledges to respect the human rights of all individuals as well as to protect their freedom and happiness; it also charges professional psychologists with personal responsibility for their actions. The body of the document mentions a number of responsibilities, of which the following four are most relevant to anthropological research.

1. Recognition of professional responsibility. Professionals should recognize the effect their teaching, research and practice has on society and make diligent efforts to stay current in terms of knowledge, techniques and laws concerning ethics both in Japan and abroad.

2. Compliance with the law and respect of rights and welfare. Members of the society should not only comply with the provisions of laws concerning

[8] Shakaihoujin Nihonshinirigakkaikaiin Rinriyoukou Oyobi Kodoukihan. [Rules for Behavior or Ethical Guidelines of the Japanese Psychological Association.] n.d. Japanese Psychological Association 25 November 2006 < http://www.psych.or.jp/members/rinri.html**>.**

respect for human rights and animal welfare, but also demonstrate respect for study participants' customs, culture and values in their teaching, research and practice.

3. Informed Consent. Members should fully explain the content of their activities to participants and as a rule make every effort to obtain written consent for participation in group and mail surveys. When this is difficult, informed consent should be obtained from a proxy. Participants also must be informed that they can decline to participate at any stage of the research.

4. **Privacy protection.** Members of the society are responsible for obtaining publication permission from participants in the study and for taking care not to identify specific individuals without their consent.

In line with these guidelines, some university departments related to psychology have produced ethical guidelines (though they are not always publicly available) as well as established institutional review boards. Others do not, or implementation is so perfunctory that even full professors and office staff are not aware of the existence of an ethics committee or guidelines. At one university, researchers and office staff could readily supply guidelines on ethical treatment of animals, but they did not know of any guidelines covering human subjects. Another department in the same university did have guidelines. Thus, awareness and implementation of ethical guidelines is patchy at this point, even within the same university.

At one private university, an example of a department with a system of guidelines and review is the school of social welfare. Some of the major points of its guidelines, contained in an internal publication for graduate students, are listed below.

1) All full-time professors as well as part-time professors and graduate students are bound by the regulations.
2) All researchers must submit research proposals, unless the research is not considered to be dangerous. In these cases submission of a waiver is sufficient
3) The following types of research are exempt from screening.
    a. Studies which present very little danger to the participants, e.g., comparative studies of classroom teaching methods
    b. Survey questionnaires where it is impossible to match

participants to answers

c. Interviews or surveys of elected or public officials
d. Observational studies of ordinary people in public places
e. Studies which use already published data in which individuals cannot be identified

4) Research that cannot be exempt from evaluation includes:

a. Research in which the data can be used to directly or indirectly identify individuals
b. Research where if data were accidentally leaked, financial damage or physical danger might occur resulting in a lawsuit
c. Research in which only one small aspect of a patient's behavior—illegal behavior, drug and alcohol use, sexual behavior, etc., is being investigated
d. Research involving minors which requires (parental) proxy consent. However some research where only observation, not interaction of the researcher with the children occurs, may be excluded

5) Research proposals are submitted to the ethics committee which is composed of the head of the research section, several professors and outside experts either from other departments of the university or outside the university.

These guidelines parallel the provisions of the U.S. "Common Rule" quite closely. In practice, they operate somewhat differently than they may at U.S. institutions. First, only graduate student, not faculty research, is actually reviewed. (Humanities and social science departments with review boards in other universities seem to operate in the same way.) Second, at this point there is no interview, just an evaluation of the researcher's proposal, which is designed in consultation with a faculty member following the university guidelines. Consequently, a member of the office staff commented that proposals are rarely rejected or revised.

One example of a university with a school-wide policy is Ochanomizu University. Its guidelines on its website are more far-reaching and

all-encompassing than department-specific practices at many other universities.[9] Some of the main points are listed below.

1) All research centers and individual researchers are required to develop clear and concrete research plans which include plans for handling informed consent.
2) The heads of research institutes are responsible for supervising research conducted in their institutes to insure that it conforms to the research plan and ethical guidelines. They are empowered to discipline researchers found in violation of the guidelines.
3) In addition to the common precautions required when soliciting informed consent, explicit permission from the head of a researcher's institute or organization is required when dispensing with the informed consent of the participant and obtaining it from a proxy.
4) Likewise research with minors requires the consent of underage participants if they are able to give it, as well as from their legal guardian.
5) Exceptions to the rules on obtaining informed consent are possible so as to reflect differences in the variety of academic fields. In these cases, the guidelines of the appropriated academic association or public organization should be used.

So where does this leave anthropologists doing research in Japan? Currently, the Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology (JASCA) is drawing up a set of guidelines. A first draft of the guidelines is slated for completion in March 2007 and the final version by the end of 2007. One member of JASCA said that many JASCA members themselves feel a need for such guidelines due to their fieldwork experiences abroad. For example, some countries outside of Japan require approval of a foreign researcher's home institution before

[9] Kokuritsu Daigakuhoujin Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku Kenkyu Rinrishishin. [Research Ethics Guidelines of Ochanomizu Women's University] February 2005, Ochanomizu University 25 November 2006, <http://www.ocha.ac.jp/introduction/guideline.pdf>.

granting permission to do fieldwork. This member predicts that in the future Japanese universities will adopt university-wide standards and establish strong IRBs similar to those in the U.S. or the U.K.

Many signs point toward the development of standards similar to those already in place in other countries. For example, a number of university and association publications cite the U.N Charter on Human Rights, the Helsinki Declaration and other international accords as the philosophical rationale for ethical guidelines. Others, like the school of social welfare cited above, already use standards quite similar to those of the U.S. Common Rule. However, differences between guidelines in Japan and other countries may develop. A recent publication on the status of ethics guidelines in genetic research claims that genetic research regulations in Japan are individual and isolated, similar to other regulations concerning medical research.[10] "At this point in Japan, there are no universal regulations for human research such as in the U.S. Common Rule that is applied to both biomedical and behavioral research with U.S. federal funds."[11] For example, for human research in medicine, the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare draws up general guidelines, while the Ministry of Education, Culture and Technology has drawn up guidelines for schools and other academic institutions. Moreover, the regulations depend entirely on each institution's ethics review committees with very little actual government oversight.[12] Thus ethical guidelines for ethnographers in Japan will probably continue to be more context or institution specific than in other countries.

[10] Takashi Tsuchiya, "Provisions For Review of Genetic Research in Japan," [Electronic version] Eubios Journal of Asian and International Bioethics, 13 (2003): 127-130.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

Making Your Luck: Accessing Japan's Most Fashionable

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Gaining some degree of 'access' to a social scene, whether it be the one you intended or in many cases merely a good equivalent, is fundamental to anthropological research. How frustrating then, that it is something nobody can teach you how to do. I have often heard students who come up against more brick walls than open arms in their attempts, asking others for advice: 'Does anyone have any tips for gaining access?' somehow magically expecting others' experiences to map onto their troubles. Of course, proffering information that you emailed person X who introduced you to person Y is of no help since every situation is different, and you will know vastly more about yours than most other fellow anthropologists from whom you seek advice. Having said that, I am going to write briefly about how I bumbled my way through the process, hoping to give some encouragement, if not some very general tips to others doing their own bumbling at the moment.

My research concerns fashionable Tokyo young people. More generally, it is about fashion, what exactly it is and what its social significance is on a local level. The subjects of my research do not constitute a tightly defined group. However, I knew from a couple of Japanese fashion magazines, specifically FRUiTS, that the people I wanted to study were usually to be found around Harajuku, where I presumed that they just hung out. My access strategy was therefore, believe it or not, the 'hanging around' strategy, which I was delighted to find was a valid access-gaining tactic. I discovered this rather unsophisticated-sounding method in the textbook that we had been recommended at SOAS, *Social Research Methods* by Alan Bryman, where he writes:

> 'Hanging around' is another common access strategy. As a strategy, it typically entails loitering in an area until you are noticed or gradually becoming incorporated into or asking to join a group.

TALKING FIELDWORK

I thought it would just be a matter of my putting some wacky clothes on and loitering until I could strike up conversations and friendships with other such wackily attired people. However when I arrived in Tokyo I realized that there were two problems with this – one that they were not dressed as crazily as I thought, but rather in a more sophisticated manner, and I had no idea how to start going about emulating them and two, that there didn't seem to be as many gaggles of fashionistas hanging-out as incessant pedestrian flows on the busy Omotesando pavements. Even if these two problems had not existed, I later discovered that just by hanging out trying to look fashionable and looking like you want to be talked to, you are immediately marking yourself out as a 'try-hard' and would be automatically give the cold shoulder. The point of this story is that things are never as you expect, and no one said it was going to be easy.

This is not to render everything you thought up and wrote about before the field useless. Gaining access is in a sense just a matter of trial and error problem solving. In the end, I 'gained access' in the following manner, which I had not envisaged whilst in England, but which was not completely removed from the contents of my fieldwork plan.

For the duration of my fieldwork, I was a research student attached to Kyoto University. My supervisor there threw off a couple of names of people he thought might be relevant and how I might be able to get in touch with them, which advice I scribbled down and later followed up. Meanwhile I had emailed the editor of FRUiTS magazine and despite, or possibly because of, my attempt to sound like a respectable and bona-fide researcher, I did not receive even a reply. One of these contacts my supervisor had given me was a rather well-known fashion researcher, who happened to be in Kyoto. More than a little bit daunted about how I would be able to talk to someone of her stature, I nevertheless trotted off hoping for the best. As I was telling her about my research project, she interrupted –'Oh, there is someone who works here who is friends with the editor of FRUiTS, I'll go and get her'. So in she came and after *meishi*-exchanges and a quick introduction, she said that she would e-mail him for me, and that unless I had an introduction she thought he would be very unlikely to get back to me. She had e-mailed him already by the time I left, and two days later I received a reply from the editor.

But that was not the happy story ending that you might think. Once I moved to Tokyo, the editor went completely undercover, despite having asked me to get in touch once I had arrived. More e-mails from me ensued, but not too many, because I didn't want to bother him too much and disincline him from my cause. Then I plucked up the courage for phone-calls – icy responses of 'I'm busy' or 'I'll get in touch later' eventually turned into an appointment to come to meet him.

Again – the story does not end there. When I turned up to the office I was greeted not by the middle-aged male editor but by a girl about my age, apologizing that he had been 'called out suddenly' and that I was to talk to her instead. I was disappointed, it seemed like another step backwards, but in retrospect it could have been the best thing that had happened to me so far: this girl ended up being my 'gatekeeper' and 'key informant'. My fieldwork for the next few months consisted of me 'hanging around' with her as she took photos for the magazine, and thus coming into contact and being introduced to all the individuals and shops that comprised the fashionable scene I was studying.

However, had she immediately not taken to me, or if I had not been another female her age but a middle-aged male academic, then she might not have been so generous in offering me to come 'hunting' with her. You need your bit of luck, as my mother says, but as she also says, you have to make your own luck. In this case, I imagine that the situation had been helped along by the fact that we already had a mutual acquaintance, whom I had the luck to spot in Kyoto, and the initiative to talk to and keep in touch with. I spotted her at a Flea Market in Kyoto looking very crazy and selling equally crazy clothes. With the indispensible parting advice from my SOAS supervisor ringing in the back of my head – 'Don't be embarrassed!' – I started talking to her. She too had lived in London, we met again, became quite friendly and it turns out that she knew this FRUiTS photographer. That was a contact made in the most unlikely of circumstances, far away from my eventual fieldwork site, which when brought up on that fateful first meeting with the FRUiTS photographer, may have tipped the balance of my credibility (and I don't mean academic).

From that point on, the ball kept rolling. It kept stopping too, but then after a while it would jolt on, go astray here and there, change course occasionally, but basically keep rolling. I even ended up working as a shop assistant in a

select shop that I found to be central to the scene, indirectly and ultimately thanks to this gatekeeper.

In the first month of our fieldwork together, the photographer took me to a shop that I shall call 'V', tucked away in a Shibuya basement. As fieldwork progressed, it became clear that this shop was a prime target for my plan to cover this fashion scene from the retail angle, with its staff who were regularly featured in FRUiTS, their conscious trend-setting agenda, and their bizarre selection of second-hand clothes, some of them entirely reworked by the staff, intermingled with new and expensive high-fashion garments. However, how was I going to be able to work there, when usually one could only get the job through connections and by being achingly trendy? It seemed like an impossible goal, but one that was eventually reached in the following manner.

On one trip to V's sister shop, 'D', I noticed that they were putting on a live music event. Not exactly fashion, but never turn down an opportunity, no matter how tangential, I reminded myself. So I turned up, and chatting to a stylist whom I had met through the photographer, I asked if the owner was there. The stylist pointed him out; later I approached him and had a casual conversation about how great I thought his shops were, and dropped in that I was 'hanging around' with the FRUiTS photographer to give me a little credibility. Of course at this event I had chosen my outfit carefully, wearing an old Lacroix dress that I picked up in a second-hand shop, since I had since seen something similar being sold in D. Exchanging contact details, I later arranged an interview with him via email. Again, I gathered all the information I had gleaned so far about what was hot and what was not, and for the interview took a risk by wearing something that was not in fashion, but might be soon, according to indicators I had picked up. At the interview, the owner did indeed comment on my trousers – I must have passed the test. At the bottom of my list of questions I had scrawled 'NOW ASK HIM FOR A JOB'. Reluctantly, although with nothing to lose, I did just that. Eager to maximize my chances, I said that I could help out for free, since I was receiving a scholarship, and that it would be useful and interesting for me to do so. He replied with a rather lukewarm 'I see. Well I'll contact you if we are short of staff'. That sounded like a euphemistic 'no', and I'm sure it would have been if my bit of luck had not come along. They happened to be short-staffed the next month, so to my

surprise and delight I was indeed drafted in. Sometimes the long way round, the oblique approach is the only way to achieve things. If I had just gone to the shop and handed in a CV and asked for a job I certainly would not have got one – I later heard how even Japanese fashion students who did just that were not even considered, and that everyone got their jobs there via personal introductions.

If I had not gone to that gig, or even not met the FRUiTS photographer when I did, there would still be many different ways in which I could have got access even if some might have taken more time and effort. However, as the above shows, the probability of any one of them occurring is a function of luck, initiative and perseverance.

Of course, gaining access is not a definite event that marks the beginning of one's fieldwork proper, but a process that is active to some degree all through one's time in the field. Access is not just about who you have been introduced to, but also the quality of the relationship that you have with them, which naturally fluctuates. Whilst I have been friendly with the FRUiTS photographer in work-situations for nearly a year now, it is only in the last couple of months that I have been really included socially too. These 'off-stage' situations, which as an 'insider' are often a somewhat awkward mix of fieldwork and friendship, represent a deeper degree of access. Neither is access necessarily just about being able to meet, be with and talk to people, but is also affected by less obvious factors, such as in my case, what I wore.

So having started out by insisting how useless it is to hear the specificities of how someone else gained access as a means to assist one's own plight, I have gone ahead and done just that. If nothing else, I hope this has shown that it is basically a process of trial and error and problem solving. Although I haven't written about all the dead ends I have encountered, there were many, and others that seemed to be dead-ends at the time but that in retrospect were crucial events. Nobody can really tell you how to gain access, but the law of returns says that the more people you contact, the more likely it is that a useful link will be forged. From my experiences I learnt never to turn down an opportunity or an opening, to be actively vigilant for new ones even in unlikely places and (to try) not to be embarrassed. The more experiences you have, even tangential ones, the more likely they are to connect together in some configuration or other

to what you are trying to get at. What you actually end up getting at is probably not what you thought you would, but there is nothing intrinsically wrong with that. Finally, you need your bit of luck, but there is also an awful lot you can do to increase your chances of getting it.

Doing research on lone unwed mothers in Japan

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Numerous books and articles have described what it is to do qualitative fieldwork. Issues such as the importance of finding gate-keepers, winning trust, and conducting research ethically have been brought to our attention time and again. Moreover, recently we have seen the publication of the brilliant book *Doing Fieldwork in Japan* (Bestor, Steinhoff, and Bestor, 2003). Adding something to the existing body of literature is not an easy task, but I think I may be able to do so by focussing the discussion on the way I have used the ever more popular internet chatrooms, blogs and personal homepages in order to find and successfully interview 68 women from a stigmatized social minority in four different locations in Japan.

To start with, why did I need this sample of women at all? Why do I think that a study of lone unwed mothers in Japan, a tiny minority (there were 70,500 lone unwed mothers households in Japan in 2003 (Kōsei Rōdōshō (Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare) 2003) is interesting and worthwhile? Statistics showing that the numbers of illegitimate children are very low in contemporary Japan, even when compared with the most conservative western industrialized countries, first attracted my attention in 2003. A more careful investigation showed that while in most countries divorce and illegitimacy go hand in hand, this is not the case in Japan. While the numbers of divorced mothers has increased rapidly over the past few decades, the numbers of lone unwed mothers have hardly grown. Failing to find a satisfying explanation to this phenomenon, I decided to investigate what difficulties faced by unwed

mothers-to-be might make the choice to carry a premarital pregnancy to term such a rare one. In order to do this, I needed to find and persuade a reasonable number of unwed mothers to identify themselves (for unwed motherhood is not something which becomes apparent upon the meeting of a person) and then tell me about their lives, especially about the circumstances surrounding their pregnancy and decision to have a child outside wedlock.

Back in the U.K., doing literature review and generally preparing for my project, I identified several routes of entry into the field:

a) Mother and Child Living Support Facilities (*Boshi Seikatsu Shien Shisetsu*)
b) Lobby groups supporting lone mothers. I had especially high hopes for the National Association of Lone Mothers and Widows (*Boshi Kafu Fukushi Rengōkai*). The Association seemed a potentially perfect gate-keeper since it is the biggest lone-mother group in Japan, established by the state after the Second World War and it has its centres in every prefecture.
c) Finally, I hoped I would be able to convince welfare officials working in local authorities to either introduce me to lone unwed mothers, or if that proved to be impossible, to allow me to leave leaflets describing my work and with my contact details alongside various information for lone mothers provided at the welfare departments.

Needless to say, few things worked out as planned.

The first hope shattered was that for introductions from local authorities. I visited 15 welfare departments in different local authorities across Japan. All of them provided information about welfare arrangements that were in place. After I had given a short speech about my research, the reaction varied from cold, almost hostile, making me feel I was wasting the official's valuable time, to welcoming and encouraging, with quite a few officials cheerfully participating in digging out obscure forms and statistics I asked for. Nevertheless even in the places where I got the friendliest reception and had a very good introduction (e.g. one official I contacted was doing a part-time course on welfare and I was personally introduced to him by one of his teachers) it was politely explained to me that personal introductions to lone mothers were out of the question. Against the background of the state's

increased concern over individual privacy protection, giving me the contacts I wanted could have resulted in an official's losing his job. I was able to convince officials in two different authorities to at least leave leaflets about my research, but not a single lone mother contacted me that way.

Somewhat disheartened, I turned to Mother and Child Living Support Facilities. Their size varies but most commonly these facilities house about 20 households headed by lone mothers at any given time. Not all the facilities I visited had lone unwed mothers in residence, and the head of the facility would not always allow me to interview the residents, fearing I might upset them. But I cast my net widely and interviewed 10 women residing in Mother and Child Living Support Facilities. These interviews were a most valuable source of information. Nevertheless, it very quickly became apparent that the Mother and Child Living Support Facilities should not be the main point of entry into the field. Places in them are very limited so only women for whom the general disadvantage of being a lone mother was worsened by other serious problems, such as one's own or a child's severe disability, violent abusive partners, compulsive spending, unmanageable debts etc. gained places in the facilities. Out of 1,225,400 households headed by lone mothers (including unwed mothers, divorcees and widows) in 2003 (Kōsei Rōdōshō (Ministry of Health Labour and Welfare) 2003) only about 4000 households resided in the facilities – a tiny minority.

Feeling the necessity to diversify my sample I turned to my other planned route – lobby groups supporting lone mothers. The biggest group I contacted, National Association of Lone Mothers and Widows, turned out to be a dead end. In one prefecture, I was told that there were no lone unwed mothers among the members at all. In another it was explained to me that all the remaining members of the association in the prefecture were elderly, none had a child below 20, and most were widows.

On the other hand, the smaller lobby groups I contacted proved to be invaluable support for my research. I originally found these groups by googling "シングルマザー"and "未婚&母子家庭". The first group I got in touch with was Single Mothers' Forum (hereafter SMF) which had its headquarters in Tokyo. Being based in Tokyo myself I could attend their meetings regularly. Lone unwed mothers constituted a significant share of SMF and self-introductions at

the beginning of virtually each meeting gave me ample opportunity to speak about my research. I found several interviewees among SMF's members and some of them were also able to introduce me to their friends, also lone unwed mothers. Also the core activist group of the SMF was in touch with other feminist groups, especially those involved in supporting lone unwed mothers, and they kindly provided introductions for me. In total I found 12 interviewees among lobby group members and 5 more snowballing from these contacts. These interviews were very different from those with the residents of welfare facilities. Nevertheless I again felt I was missing an important part of lone unwed mothers' experiences. Lobby group members were most likely to be more aware of the gender and discrimination issues associated with lone motherhood and also possibly had more time on their hands than an average lone unwed mother. As memberships of all the lobby groups that served as gate-keepers for me were small (between 200 and 600 members) there was also likely to be a self-selection process at work which could not be neglected. I had to find another way of finding interviewees, a way which would offer a greater diversity of interviewees.

Having run out of ideas, I again turned to the Internet and started googling variations of the phrase "lone unwed mother" in Japanese. This time I noted that, apart from formal organizations which had a physical address and held meetings, these searches also brought back numerous hits on lone mother chatrooms, blogs and homepages. Lone unwed mothers seemed overrepresented in the internet sphere, probably because with its anonymity the Internet offered them the perfect place to air their concerns and seek advice. On the Internet, unwed mothers could find women with similar experiences and learn from them without ever having to identify themselves. Having followed dozens of chatrooms and homepages for a week I chose the ones I was going to contact. For chatrooms, my main selection criteria were the number of unwed mothers among regular visitors, the level of activity (the more active the better) and the number of spammers (I felt that in a place plagued by spammers I would be likely to be taken for just another one). As for homepages, I chose those which were clearly owned and maintained by unwed mothers. Before I contacted the chatroom owners and the homepage owners I put a short explanation about my research on the SMF homepage, thinking that if I could

mention an organization relatively well-known among lone unwed mothers as my supporter and add a link with the description of my research on their website, it would give me some credibility.

None of the lone unwed mothers whom I contacted directly through their homepages replied. I was told later that private pages of unwed mothers attract a lot of bashing and thus their owners are weary of unknown people contacting them. On the other hand one of the most active chatrooms for lone unwed mothers at the time, Shinguru Mazā Kaigishitsu, agreed to help. Advertising my research at this chatroom proved to be the most successful way of recruiting interviewees. When the contact was made through a chatroom unwed mothers had full control over the interaction (as opposed to the cases where I contacted them directly through their home pages) and I suspect that was an important aspect of the eventual success. Almost all women who contacted me took advantage of this control. Usually they first wrote to me a brief mail indicating potential interest but not offering any personal information, not even a name. They then proceeded to solicit some information about me and my research, my goals and my plans for using the information I obtained during the interviews. About 20% of women changed their mind at this stage of negotiation. I interviewed the rest. In total the contacts made through Shinguru Mazā Kaigishitsu, SMF homepage and Voice (a lobby group fighting against discrimination through Family Registry) homepage yielded 41 interviewees from locations as diverse as Kantō, Kansai, Fukuoka and Hokkaido. I even had to reject some potential interviewees because due to budget constraints it was impossible for me to travel to them.

This experience left me convinced that Internet communities can be invaluable in doing research on stigmatized minorities. It has also alerted me to the fact that giving the potential interviewees as much control as possible over the initial interaction can be crucial for trust building. Finally, to repeat many other researchers, when doing qualitative research it is essential to remember that many things may and will not go as planned, which means there will be many inevitable disappointments but also many pleasant surprises and unexpected findings!

Note: The research described here would not have been possible without a

generous grant from the Japan Foundation.

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Difficulties in Gaining Access to Research Interview Respondents in Japan

Akiko Oda
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My Ph.D. project is a study into Japanese older married couple's relationships. I am particularly interested about how some form of disability, physical or mental, impacts on the activities of daily living. In such cases, I am keen to discover how couples care for each other, their support networks and motivations for coping with difficulties. My project attempts to highlight the similarities and differences in their attitudes towards life, using separate interviewing of the spouses to investigate gendered differences on a range of issues. This article is based on my experiences of carrying out fieldwork in Japan for this study, as a Japanese student based at a university outside Japan, and is intended to provide useful and practical information, as well as highlighting key cultural considerations for those interested in pursuing social research in Japan.

Gaining Access to Interviewees

In October 2004, I visited Japan to interview older married couples in the community and experienced various problems in conducting my fieldwork. I was not able to gain access to ideal research sites or the ideal sample and decided to contact people who I considered were in a better position to improve my prospects of gaining access. The city council with its Department of Welfare has close links with welfare associations, holding the contact details of all older people registered as disabled in the city. I considered that if they assisted my research, I could achieve a more objective sample by selecting potential interviewees from this register, rather than using the snowball method for gathering the sample. Also, as I had to obtain at least 40 couples to interview as part of the Ph.D. requirement, getting access to the council register would be very useful.

I contacted a senior official of a town hall in O city who had helped me previously to gather the interview sample for an MSc project on a similar topic in 2001, but who had subsequently been transferred to a different division, meaning that he could no longer provide the same degree of help. I spoke about my research project and the need to contact appropriate people to interview for the study. The official raised serious doubts about the practicalities of this, saying that the city council was unlikely to assist me for several reasons. First, the citizens would be concerned about privacy issues, particularly older couples, because in the words of the official, they and their families would be very reluctant to be interviewed. Furthermore, it was suggested that many would be upset about their names being divulged to a research student, with the potential likelihood of criticism being directed against the council.

After talking to the town hall official, I contacted another city council worker for older people in the community to seek assistance in gathering the sample. Two days later, I was told that the council worker had spoken to her line manager about my proposed study, showing the interview guide. The manager offered no help but criticised the questions on the interview schedule and what the manager saw as my lack of ability (qualification) to conduct interviews. According to the official, the research questions were 'not suitable' as they covered issues of health, income, family history and education. It was

suggested that such questions might upset vulnerable interviewees and consequently the council would not get involved with what they regarded as 'problematic' research.

In Japan, the entry barrier is partly due to cultural practice – what is termed the *uchi-soto* dichotomy. This has several meanings, which can be seen in terms of an official formal line (*tatemae*) and undivulged reality (*honne*). In this case, *tatemae* is, 'I cannot help you with your research because of the privacy issue', while *honne* is 'I am not interested in cooperating with your research because I will gain little benefit while increasing my workload and possibly receiving complaints'. Japanese organisations and those within a particular group setting are inclined to view the researcher as an 'outsider', with the result that only the formal official face of the group is displayed. This is done in order to maintain group privacy and to protect the group network. It has been my experience in Japan that private individuals and those within organisations can be particularly sensitive about the prospect of being the subject of an interview, and strive to maintain privacy by rejecting outsiders who might upset the group culture environment. In Japan, the employed person's work is typically assessed by the employer on the basis of doing nothing 'wrong' rather than doing something 'good'. Consequently, there is a strong and, it might be argued, justified reluctance to become involved with or assist the activities of the outsider, if possible; ill-considered actions of an outsider, such as not following ethical principles in research, might have a detrimental impact on the promotion prospects of the person acting in the capacity of gatekeeper. This particular point on gaining access, stressed by Miyamoto Masao (1994) over a decade ago, remains relevant today.

In Japan, having the support of a research intermediary or go-between is essential in order to gain access to people for interview. It is particularly pertinent given that prominent researchers such as Culter and Bestor in *Doing Fieldwork in Japan* (Bestor, Steinhoff, and Bestor, 2003) have argued strongly that the fieldworker has to spend a considerable time in the research site in order to access potential research respondents. I visited various places in local areas, such as day care centres, to meet older people, and built up trust in order to gain assistance from several helpful individuals who knew of local people to contact regarding my research topic. At the same time, I attended academic

conferences and seminars in Tokyo to seek out further potential avenues to access interview respondents. This included contacting (by letter, e-mail, phone) various academics, Japanese and foreign, to seek assistance in gathering the interview sample for my research. The above approach yielded some positive responses in gaining access to suitable people for my research study. However, as I only have a relatively short time scale of six months to complete my fieldwork in Japan, it has also been necessary to seek out other approaches to access suitable interview respondents.

The majority of Japanese specialists who have conducted research in Japan have stressed that introductions from a third party, such as a local politician or academic, is essential to gain access to a particular group. These go-between people would make sure that those participating in the interview process fully comprehended the nature of the research, their degree of obligation consented, and most importantly the right of the interviewee to withdraw from the interview process at any time. This is a particularly important ethical consideration that must be emphasised and put into practice to protect the integrity of the research.

The large majority of interview respondents who have participated in my study to date have been introduced by people who kindly and voluntarily acted as go-betweens, wishing to help the 'struggling' young student. Fortunately, I have a relative who works in the neighbourhood whose job involves visiting various homes in the community. This has proved very useful in reaching older couples in the community to enquire if they would be interested in participating in my research. This has proved to be an ideal way of reaching suitable persons to participate in my study, as my relation was able to fully explain the nature (and goals) of the research. At the current time of writing, I am midway through my fieldwork, and it is on course for successful completion. I will continue to seek assistance and advice of peers to gain further interview respondents in what has been an interesting and at times challenging learning curve for the Ph.D. student.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is hoped that my accounts of seeking out research respondents

in Japan have provided a useful insight into the difficulties posed by officialdom where a large amount of formal protocol and preparation must be followed before bodies such as local government or similar organisations will grant access for social science research. The important message here is to prepare well in advance before coming to Japan, and where necessary to persevere in seeking out alternative approaches in situations where the official sanction to access interview respondents is refused. Good luck!

Bestor, Theodore C., Patricia G. Steinhoff, and Victoria Lyon Bestor. (Eds.) 2003. *Doing Fieldwork in Japan.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Miyamoto, Masao. 1994. *Straitjacket Society: An Insider's Irreverent View of Bureaucratic Japan.* Translated by Juliet Winters Carpenter. Tokyo: Kodansha International.

BOOK REVIEWS

In this issue, we are glad to include reviews of several Japanese books, as well as one in English. We are happy to consider proposals for reviews of books, and welcome reviews in Japanese as well as English.

Kuwayama, Takami (2004) ***Native Anthropology: The Japanese Challenge to Western Academic Hegemony*****. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press.**

Reviewer: Eyal Ben-Ari (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

In this absorbing book, Takami Kuwayama, professor at Hokkaido University, sets out to explore how anthropology related to Japan raises questions about a potential dialogue within the world system anthropology dominated by what he terms Western academic hegemony. By academic hegemony, Kuwayama implies the major university and research centers in the United States, Britain and France. Kuwayama argues that as anthropology developed out of the study of primitive societies outside the Western World, the hierarchical relationship that developed within the discipline replicated the wider colonial tie. Today, while the relations and the boundaries between the describers and described have become somewhat more egalitarian – due to economic growth, political developments and transformations in higher education – the basic hierarchical tie and many of the assumptions about local, native expertise remain unchanged.

Against this background, Kuwayama proposes that a focus on the case of Japan is fruitful for examining the potential for sustained discussions and debates between anthropologists belonging to different parts of the discipline's global community. Whether formulated as folklore, ethnology or social anthropology a substantial part of Japanese theories and methodological tools have developed independently or semi-independently in interaction with Western centres. It is these developments, Kuwayama forcefully and convincingly argues, that

prompt us to rethink some of our professional images and assumptions. The power of native anthropologists within this country, as Kuwayama seems to argue, may thus show us how to create a dialogic space among anthropologists without privileging one group over another. Written clearly and engagingly, Kuwayama successfully strikes a nuanced tone combining criticism and respect for all of his objects and subjects of study.

Apart from a short preface, the volume is divided into six chapters (a number of which have been previously published as journal articles in English or Japanese). The first begins squarely with the question of how to create an interchange between anthropologists in world centres and native anthropologists, that is, scholars who attempt to represent their own people typically in their own language. The central axis of discussion centers on the unique insights and limits of such scholars and their acceptance within the world system of anthropology. Chapter Two continues this line of argumentation but provides a much more dynamic view of the power relations between Western and native anthropologists with a special emphasis on the closure of dialogue between American, British and French scholars on the one hand and Japanese ones on the other. The third chapter focuses on the specific place of Japan and Asia in the global community of anthropologists and concludes the discussion initiated in the first chapter. It argues that processes of globalization have both diversified voices describing cultures but also led to the reproduction and strengthening of the inequalities within this global disciplinary community. The fourth chapter is an engaging and very informative essay on the idea of global folkloristics as presented by Yanagita Kunio, Japan's most well-known folklorist. By resuscitating Yanagita's idea and placing it within the context of post-colonialism, Kuwayama shows its potential for opening up an important dialogic space. The fifth, penultimate, chapter is a fascinating reverse reading of Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword.* Here he shows how the book can be read as an essay on American culture rather than on Japan. The sixth and final chapter is an important examination of how Japan is represented in contemporary American anthropology textbooks. Kuwayama shows how this society is

romanticized, feminized and exoticized in ways that fits both the textual strategies of such volumes and the way Japan is perceived in wider American society.

It is hard to do justice to the complexity of the volume but one of Kuwayama's main contentions involves going beyond a textual strategy favored by experimental ethnographers. Rather than building dialogues into our texts, Kuwayama consistently proposes that we need to create spaces for dialogues after the texts have been produced. This kind of dialogue, as he very rightly shows, necessitates an understanding of the historical and contemporary power relations within the world system of anthropology comprised as it is of cores, peripheries and semi-peripheries. In this sense, it is important to understand that Japan has been an independent core within the world system of anthropology for many years. Not only does it have a significant colonial history within which anthropology figured as an important discipline but more recently, Japan continues to provide what is perhaps the most impressive example of an emergent world centre. The economic development and increasing political clout of Japan are obvious factors that have led to the establishment and growing importance of the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, or the organization of a national ethnological association of over 1600 members. Indeed, it is not surprising to learn that in the past few decades, in addition to the large number of Thai, Chinese or Taiwanese anthropologists sent to the United States for training, many have been dispatched to Japan as well. It is the very power of contemporary Japanese anthropology that has allowed members of the discipline not only to develop independent theories and analyses but also to critique the lack of openness among Western anthropologists to their contentions and findings.

In the spirit of Kuwayama's plea for a respectful and engaging dialogue, let me raise a number of points related to this admirable volume. Perhaps because a substantial part of his academic career was spent in the United States, Kuwayama seems to conflate, at times, the Western with the

American. While he does talk about the world centers in the United States, Britain and (to an extent) France, most of his examples are taken from the American context. In fact, this kind of move often homogenizes the so-called West. Along these lines, I contend that a good way to understand the lack of dialogue between world centers and semi-peripheries is through the idea of linguistic communities that can sustain themselves in terms of the production of academic knowledge. Thus academic markets in the German, French or Spanish speaking scholarly worlds are big enough to maintain themselves through conferences, journals or book runs. These Western worlds are very much like the Japanese academic world and differ from the tiny scholarly communities in the Netherlands or Israel. These smaller worlds tend to be much less insular and to participate to a much greater degree in various other worlds. My point is thus that insularity and lack of dialogue with external communities may be a function of scale and not only of positioning within the world system of anthropology. In other words, it is not just the relative weakness of Japanese anthropologists in the English language. The lack of dialogue between American and Japanese scholars is also replicated in the lack of serious interchange with German or Spanish anthropologists both because of the linguistic limits on publishing in English and because their local academic communities are large enough to be sustained independently.

Thus Kuwayama very rightly protests that the majority of American scholars are ignorant of Japanese research however significant it is. But they are also uninformed about of non-American research in general. Indeed, apart from canonized European ancestors and certain European intellectuals that sometimes achieve super-star status within the self-styled cutting-edge of American scholarship not much academic work is read in German, French or Spanish (and probably even less in Italian or Russian) by Americans. Indeed, I invite readers to look at the references sections of contemporary American ethnographies about Japan: they contain works published in the United States with a smattering of publications from Britain, while works providing data are often published in Japan. Thus in contrast to Kuwayama, I would propose that this form of citation – and the

practices of production of knowledge that it predicates – have to do less with the prejudice against Japanese scholarship as for a structural reasons centering on scholarly linguistic communities.

To conclude, this very good book is above all an attempt to combine an analysis of Japan's place within the world system of anthropology and to propose the beginnings of an authentic dialogue among all members of this system. Clearly and engagingly written, it is a very enjoyable and thought-provoking read.

筒井功『サンカ社会の深層をさぐる』現代書館、2006。
前田速夫『白の民俗学へ－白山信仰の謎を追って』河出書房新社、2006。

中牧弘允評（国立民族学博物館）

偏見や差別の問題は人類学の重大なテーマだが、それを生業や宗教といったプリズムをとおして析出するこころみは、一見迂遠なようで、意外と実像への近道かもしれないとおもうことがある。表題の二書のかもしだす雰囲気はそれにちかい。両書はそれぞれサンカ社会の深層と白山信仰の謎を追究したものだが、共通するのは、主流社会からみて、その底辺や周辺で生きた人びとの生活実態や世界観がもっていた価値・値打ちの再認識・再評価である。しかも、プロフェッショナルの研究者ではなく、自発・自律の民俗学の徒によってなされていることも似ている。

サンカは山窩、山家などの漢字が当てられる無籍・非定住の漂泊民である。その集団は川魚漁や箕作り、竹細工などに従事し、定住せざる移動民だった。柳田國男以来サンカと総称されるが、地方によりオゲ、サンガイ、ポン、ミヤ、ミナオシ、テンバ、ノアイ、ヤマノモンなどの呼称で知られていた。

『竹取物語』でかぐや姫をみつける竹取の翁も箕作りを生業とする老人だった。箕は風力を利用して実と殻を選別したり、ゴミを除去したりするときにもちいるU字形の農具である。いまではほとんど姿を消したが、竹製の竹箕のほかに、樹皮の皮箕など地域的なバリエーションがみられた。製作には特殊な技術を必要としたためミヤ、ミナオシなどとよばれる人たちが従事し、農民が片手間につくっていたのではない。

箕作り、箕直しの人たちは材料と販路をもとめて各地を転々と移動した。人

里はなれた場所ー森の入口、小高い丘、河原などーで粗末な小屋がけや天幕生活をしていたため、明治になっても戸籍に登録されず、仲間内での婚姻をつづける者がおおかった。その生活実態もほとんど記録にとどめられることはなく、記憶からも消えていった。

それを記録にとどめようとした例外は柳田國男と三角寛を代表格とする。柳田は明治の末年にかけて発表した「『イタカ』及び『サンカ』」という論文で、家族で漂泊的生活をいとなむサンカの起源と実態を報告している。これは警察署長からの聞き書きがもとになっている。当時、警察は窃盗など各種の犯罪の温床としてサンカ社会に監視の目を光らせていた。他方、朝日新聞の記者から流行作家となった三角は昭和初期に二百数十篇の山窩小説を執筆し、戦後になって東洋大学に提出した博士論文をもとに『サンカ社会の研究』を公刊した。『三角寛サンカ選集』全 15 巻もある。

筒井功著『サンカ社会の深層をさぐる』は三角の研究を虚構がおおいと批判する立場から、関東のミヤをはじめ著者の出身地である四国の移動竹細工職人、棕櫚箒作り、さらには各地に散在した川魚漁や犬の捕獲などに従事した漂白の人びとの実像を追い求めている。サンカは雲散霧消して久しく、古老の聞き書きと現地の実見がわずかにのこされた研究の方途にすぎない。現代の院生がこれに取り組んでも博士論文は容易に完成しないであろう。だが、著者はジャーナリストの基本である足でかせぐ取材をとおして、丹念にその痕跡を掘り起こし、その深層にせまろうとした。

そこから浮かび上がってくるサンカ社会は、定住社会からは隔離された小規模の離合集散する移動集団で、蔑視と監視のまなざしにさらされながらも、農業社会の必需品を供給し、ハンセン病患者などと共住した人びとである。その深層は流浪の宗教者や芸能者の乞食（こつじき）や門付けと通底し、被差別の諸集団の一部となっていた。

著者がたずねた箕作り村は 30 から 40 ヵ所にのぼるが、そのうち 5 ヵ村が白山神社を氏神としていた。また加賀の霊峰、白山の開基とされる泰澄がひらいた米山薬師や黒姫山との関係も深い。

関東のミヤやミナオシは江戸時代、「非人」に分類されていた移動集団である。他方、「穢多」と称された集団は定住の生活をおくっていた。ことに関東地方における後者については、弾左衛門一族と白山信仰との関係がつとに民俗学者の関心をひいてきた。サンカとエタには白山信仰で微妙につながる縁がある。

その白山は加賀、越前、美濃の国境にそびえている。だから『白の民俗学へ－白山信仰の謎を追って』の著者前田速夫氏が福井県の出身であることから、白山へのこだわりをもつのは不思議でない。だが、文芸編集者でありながら、民俗学に深入りし、「白山の会」の会員にまでなって、白山信仰の謎を執拗に追う姿には鬼気せまるものがある。

その執念の根幹には菊地山哉との著作を通じた出会いがある。菊池は柳田國男を師とする在野の民俗研究家である。「余多歩き」の「白山千社詣り」と称し、公務員との二足の草鞋で白山信仰と被差別部落の研究に没頭した。その評伝『余多歩き　菊地山哉の人と学問』を執筆した著者は、今度はみずから全国をまわって、差別問題にとどまらないところの白山信仰の核心にせまろうとした。

キーワードは「白い宗教」である。鬱蒼とした森に展開した「黒い宗教」の熊野と対比し、雪をいただく白山と、白のシンボリズムや白のフォークロアの世界に踏み込んだのである。そのために、民俗学のみならず、宗教学、文化人類学、日本宗教史、芸能研究、文学などの文献を熱心に渉猟した。

もちろん民俗学では早川孝太郎や宮田登らの研究によって、奥三河の霜月神楽（花祭）に伝わるウマレキヨマル儀礼装置としてのシラヤマ（白山）はよく知られた存在となっている。また東北地方の蚕神であるオシラサマや沖縄の稲積（シラ）の穀霊も白山との関連が示唆されてきた。芸能においても、白拍子や白比丘尼、白太夫（百太夫）や白髭の翁などについて、それなりに研究の蓄積がある。

前田氏はそれを白山信仰へつなげようとこころみ、さらに縄文時代の信仰やユーラシア大陸の世界観のなかに位置づけようと構想した。そこに通底する思想はウマレカワリ、すなわち「死と再生」のモチーフである。

それは現代人の課題にもつながる。前田氏によると、わたしたちは「白い闇」のなかをただよっているという。その形容矛盾ともいえる闇にたちむかう心性を「白の民俗学」はめざしているのかもしれない。また、アカデミズムの民俗学がうしないかけている霊性を白山信仰に託しているかのようでもある。いずれにしろ、在野の学として出発した民俗学の、その淵源から涌き出た感のある気迫の書である。他方、筒井氏の著作も現代的意義をもっている。サンカ社会自体は消滅したが、そこからホームレスや在日外国人など、“無籍”で“非定住”の現代人に想いをめぐらすこともできるからである。ここにとりあげた二書には堅苦しい学術論文ではふれることのできない気配がただよっているように感じられた。

BOOK REVIEWS

森本一彦著『先祖祭祀と家の確立――「半檀家」から一家一寺へ』ミネルヴァ書房　２００６年１０月２０日刊行

落合恵美子評（京都大学）

日本の家は先祖祭祀を重要な核としていると一般には信じられている。しかし、一家がまとまって１つの寺の檀家となるという制度は、実は古いものではない。江戸時代の日本では、一家の構成員のうちに檀那寺の異なる者が含まれるケースが各地にあった。嫁や婿が生家の寺との関係を維持し続けるケース（本書では「持ち込み半檀家」と名づける、第７章）や、その子どもたちが母や父あるいは祖母などが持ち込んだ寺との関係を相続するケース、また複数の寺との関係が固定したケース（本書では「家付き半檀家」と名づける、第７章）などである。こうした習俗を「半檀家」という。

「半檀家」の起源と変容をめぐっては諸説があったが、本書は江戸時代の宗門改帳をデータベース化して数量分析することにより、この習俗の全国的分布といくつかの地域（美濃、出羽、越後など）での歴史的変容を、世帯単位ではなく夫婦・親子などの２者関係にまで分解して、精密に分析を行った決定版ともいうべき業績である。「半檀家」のみならず家と先祖祭祀を論じる際に、今後けっして看過することのできない古典としての地位を獲得する書であろう。

本書の分析によると、「半檀家」は１８世紀後半から１９世紀前半の時期に各地で減少し、消滅に向かう（第３～５章）。宗門帳事務を簡素化するという幕府や村の要請がその背景にあったという。家の確立の一角をなす一家一寺制の成立がそのような事務的事情から発生したとは目から鱗というべきだろう。

著者の森本一彦氏は社会学、歴史学、民俗学の素養のある研究者である。本書でもその広範な知識を活かして、モライマツリやトウマイリなど現在に遺る民俗慣行が女性と生家との絆を示すという意味で「半檀家」と関連していることを述べる一方で（第１章）、古文書に記された寺檀関係をめぐる争論を読み解くことで財産相続と檀那寺の相続が関連していたことをつきとめる（第６章）。

寺檀争論の解読から明かになったように、「半檀家」では入家者は檀那寺、墳墓、仏壇を別にしていた。「「半檀家」は一家して先祖祭祀を行う家とは異なるものであった。」（２５９頁）「半檀家」ではあるが家を単位として先祖祭祀を行う「家付き半檀家」を経て「一家一寺」制が確立することが、明治民法下における先祖祭祀の主体である家を準備した。夫婦別姓は日本の伝統を破壊するという議論によって民法改正が頓挫して久しいが、「夫婦別姓と同じような状況は、伝統的な家族と信じられている家制度よりも古いものと考えられるのである。」（２９２頁）

PUBLICATION ANNOUNCEMENTS

The State Bearing Gifts: Deception and disaffection in Japanese higher education, by Brian J. McVeigh (Lexington Books, ISBN: 0-7391-1344-5)

Discount Online:
http://www.lexingtonbooks.com/Catalog/SingleBook.shtml?command=Search&db=^DB/CATALOG.db&eqSKUdata=0739113445

The modern state legitimizes itself by promising national defense, law and order, economic progress, and a shot at a middle-class lifestyle, while demanding "tribute"‹taxes, recruits, compulsory education‹from its citizens. The state also underwrites this trade in sacrifice/gain by acting as the guarantor of society's "exchange circuitry." However, in order to effect exchanges, the state, in league with corporate culture, increasingly requests qualifications, diplomas, credentials, and highly managed presentations of self. To what degree do these "dramatizations of self-worth" substitute feigned personae for genuine self-expression and consequently intensify feelings of inauthenticity and disaffection? Using Japanese higher education as a case study, Brian J. McVeigh explores the varieties of "exchange dramatics" among the Education Ministry, universities, faculty, and students. With one eye on large-scale processes and the other on everyday practices, he elucidates trafficking between micro- and macro-levels. Utilizing the key concepts of value, exchange, and role performance, he studies how political economy configures dramatization and deception at the mundane level and demonstrates how excessive stagings of self are demanded in order to placate politico-economic authorities. With so much attention given to pretend affectations, the ability to discern the "real value" of education, grades, and diplomas is eroded. Relying on extensive ethnographic participant observation and the notion of the "gift," McVeigh challenges the commonly accepted idea of "social contract" for understanding state-society relations. Written to be read as both a political philosophical commentary and anthropological investigation, this work has theoretical implications for comparative studies of political systems,

particularly regarding the relation between self-deception and the ideological manufacture of legitimacy.

Chapters:

PART I: THE PROBLEM
1: The Paradox and Price of the Gift
2: The Burden of the Beneficiary: Schooling, Legitimacy, and Alienation

PART II: THEMES AND PREMISES
3: Exchange Dramatics: Evaluating the Realness of Value
4: Dramatizations, Deceptions, and Fronts
5: Bureaucratic Fetishism and Mutating Institutions
6: The State as Gift-Giving Machine and Stage Manager

PART III: A CASE STUDY
7: Japan's Strategic Schooling: Education as a Gift from the State
8: Faces and Fronts: The Licit and Illicit Facets of Japan's Higher Education
9: Exchanging Untruths at Amadera Women's Academy
10: Learning National Identity at Amadera Women's Academy
11: "Examocracy": Examinations as Dramatizations of Self-Worth
12: Guiding Students through the Official Exchange Circuitry
13: Education Reform-Mongering: Real and Rhetorical Change

PART IV: IMPLICATIONS
14: Self-Deception as Alienation: Rethinking Estrangement in Modern Society

Appendices

A: Varieties of Exchange
B: A Précis on Alienation
C: The Informalities of Maintaining "Institutional Face" in Japanese Universities

CONFERENCE REPORT

AJJ (ANTHROPOLOGY OF JAPAN IN JAPAN) 2006 ANNUAL MEETING
October 28-29, 2006

Organizers: Tom Gill (Meiji Gakuin University) and Mary Reisel (Rikkyo/Temple Universities).
Held at Meiji Gakuin University (Shirokanedai campus)

Keynote Address: OIWA Keibo (pen-name, Tsuji Shin'ichi) (Meiji Gakuin University): *Culture as Slowness: The Unbearable Sluggishness of Anthropology in a Time of Globalization*

Panel 1: *Gaining Access and Building Relationships in the Field*

Chair: Javier Tablero Vallas, University of Granada
Lisa Kuly, Cornell University. *Pregnancy and Childbirth in Japan: Towards a New Understanding of the World of the Foetus and Systems of Ritual Purity*
Oda Akiko, University of Surrey. *Gaining Access for Interviewing Older Japanese Couples*
Philomena Keet, SOAS, *Becoming Fashionable: Social Access and Sartorial Strategies*
Eric Laurent, Gifu Keizai University. *Japanese Specificities Regarding 'Sexual Participation' while doing Fieldwork in Sexual Anthropology*
Ekaterina Korobtseva, University of Oxford. *Becoming a Lone Mother in Japan: Immediate Family Members' Reactions*

Panel 2: *Cross-Cultural Encounters*

Chair: Jerry Eades, Ritsumeikan Asia-Pacific University
Robert Moorhead, University of California, Davis. *Race, Class, and Culture in Immigrant Parent Interventions at a Japanese School: Letting Them Know We're Not Going to Take It*
Jane H. Yamashiro, University of Hawaii. *From Saburos and Juros to Jake Shimabukuro: The Changing Image of Hawai'i's Japanese Americans in Japan*
Chan Yan Chuen, City University of Hong Kong. *Ethnography in a Japanese Company in Hong Kong*

Panel 3: *The future is here: New Technology in Social Situations*

Chair: Michael Shackleton, Osaka Gakuin University
Minerva Terrades, Autonomous University of Barcelona. *Mobile Phone Mediated Interaction. ICT's, Gender and Affectivity.*
Hirofumi Katsuno, University of Hawaii. *Robot Dreams: the Formation of Self and Identity in Japanese Techno-culture*

Panel 4: *Settings and Actors*

Chair: Bill Bradley, Ryukoku University
John Mock, Akita International University. *Concrete vs. Abstract "Fields"*
Tom Hardy, Keio University. *At play in the fields of the ward: doing research in an urban garden*
Kazunori Oshima, independent scholar. *Three viewpoints on Zaisanku*

Panel 5: *Tales of the Field*

Chair: Mary Reisel, Rikkyo University and Temple University
A round table in which tales of fieldwork were told by Tom Gill (Meiji Gakuin University) about life in Yokohama's day-laboring community, Rey Ventura (freelance writer) about his encounters with fellow Filipino migrants to Japan, and by M.G. Sheftall (Shizuoka University) about unlikely friendships with WW2 kamikaze corps veterans.

Panel 6: *Losing Oneself and Finding the Other, Onstage and Backstage: Ethnographic Studies of Japanese Performance*

Chair and discussant: Jane Bachnik, International Christian University
Millie Creighton, University of British Columbia and Kobe College. *Travels with My Garbage Can: Research in Taiko Identities In and Out of Japan*
Jonah Salz、Ryukoku University. *Pleasures and Pitfalls of Contemporary Actor Ethnography: Ethnography of the Shigeyama Family of Kyogen Actors in Kyoto*
Kyle Cleveland, Temple University. *Performing Blackness, 'Keeping it Real': Proxy Racial Identities in Japanese Youth Culture*

Panel 7: *Back to the Village*

Chair: John Mock, Akita International University.
David S. Sprague and N. Iwasaki, National Institute for Agro-Environmental Sciences. *Land Use Change and the Usage Value of the Rural Kanto landscape*
John Ertl, University of California Berkley. *Confronting the Decline of the Village – as Administrative Unit and as Fieldsite*
Lori Kiyama, Tokyo Institute of technology. *Country Mouse, City Mouse*

Panel 8: *On Being an Ethnographer: Challenges in the Field*

Chair: Todd Holden, Tohoku University
Robert Stuart Yoder, Meiji Gakuin University. *Ethnographies Needed in Japan*
Rebecca Erwin Fukuzawa, Hosei University. *Ethical Guidelines for Long-term Ethnographers in Japan*
Roman Cybriwsky, Temple University. *Trying Fieldwork in Roppongi*
Paul Hansen, SOAS. *Thinking Theory: Confessions of an Embodied Ethnographer*
Melanie Perroud, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS). *The Outside Ethnographer under Scrutiny: Role-Change and Boomerang Questions in an Interview Setting*
Padmini Tolat Balaram, National Museum of Ethnology. *From Refusals to Acceptance and Welcome*

Panel 9: *Youth on Youth: New Ethnographies and New Ethnographers*

Chair: David H. Slater, Sophia University
Melanie Lange, Sophia University. *Beautified Manhood – New Requirements for Young Men*
Rutsuko Nakajima, Sophia University. *Symbolic Significance and Use of "Black Skin" by Tokyo "Gals"*
Discussant: Claire Maree, Tsuda College.

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Please submit membership information in electronic form, preferably as an email attachment, using the template of the Membership Information form available on the JAWS website, to Lynne Nakano (lynnenakano@cuhk.edu.hk). Submitting electronically considerably reduces work for the Newsletter editors.
JAWS URL: www.asiainstitute.unimelb.edu.au/programs/japanese/jaws.html

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Research interests/projects: Shinkansen (as a tool to study Japan), attitudes to city mergers, attitudes to natural disasters, education in Japan.
Recent/major publications:

- *Shinkansen: From Bullet Train to Symbol of Modern Japan*, Routledge, 2006.
- 'All Change', *The World Today*, Vol. 62, Numbers 8 & 9, Aug/Sep 2006 (2006), 28-9.
- 'From Polling Station to Political Station? Politics and the Shinkansen', *Japan Forum* (ISSN 0955-5803), Volume 18, Number 1 / March 2006, 45-53.
- 'Mad in Japan: Only Joking?' in Kondo K (ed.) *Yuganda Kagami-ni Utsutta Nihon – Japan Reflected in a Cracked Mirror*, Tokyo: GNAC (2005), ISBN 4-9902856-0-3, 250—8 (Japanese translation '*Hon no Jōdan desuyo!*' also in same book on pages 113-20).

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Research interests/projects: The anthropology of law; company ethnography; transparency, morality and corruption in the praxis of work and management; business localization strategies; transnational legal settings; global and regional flows of popular culture; anthropology in resource rights systems.
Fieldwork: Major cities of Hokkaido, Japan, 2004-ongoing: An ethnography of a regional private language school with foreign and Japanese workers.
Recent/major publications:

- "Judging Japanese Corruption: Finding the Culture of Judges in Japanese Supreme Court Rulings on Bribery in the Civil Service," with Bill Wong Kam, in Anders, G. and M. Nuijten, (editors). Forthcoming
- "Placing Tourism among the Options for Small Forest Owners in Northern Japan," in The Journal of Small-Scale Forest Economics, Management and Policy, Volume 3, February 2003.
- "Seeing the Forest AND the Trees: Indirectly Regulating Private Woodlots in Eastern Canada," in J. Spiertz, M. Wiber and M. van der Velde, (editors), The Role of Law in Natural Resource Management, The Hague: Vuga Publishers, 1996.

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Research interests/projects: Contemporary popular culture; Fashion and lifestyles of youth subcultures – especially *kogyaru*, *yamanba* and other forms of subcultures whose popularity in Tokyo is constantly growing during the last decade.

Fieldwork: 2000 to 2005 in Shibuya. The work centers on the *kogyaru* subculture, their fashion and lifestyles and the meaning of *enjo-kosai*, the young teenagers' prostitution habits, a phenomenon which is spreading by now all over Japan and other countries in Asia as well.

Recent/major publications:

- "De filletttes en amazons: maturation et transformation des generations Shibuya" (From Cuties to Amazons: Maturity and Transformation of Shibuya's Generations"), in *Ebisu*, 31, winter 2003. La maison franco-japonaise, Tokyo.

Conferences:

1999 – *Psychologie et bouddhisme: pour un etat des lieux de leurs laisons et confluences,* Le Bouddhisme. L'EHESS Paris

2000 – *Japanese High fashion and the reconstruction of Gender,* ASCJ, Sophia University, Tokyo

2002 – *De Fillettes en Amazones – la culture des Shibuyettes,* La maison franco-japonaise, Tokyo

2005 – *The Lolita and the Amazon,* JAWS, University of Hong Kong

2005 – *Enjo-kosai: group activity uniting or a painful solitude separating?* AJJ, Osaka Gakuin University

2006 – Co-organizer of AJJ at Meiji Gakuin, Tokyo.

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Research interests/projects: language ideologies, dialect, gender, Kansai

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Fieldwork: Kansai area

Recent/major publications:

- I read the *Nikkei*, too: Crafting Positions of Authority and Masculinity in Japanese Conversations, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 16(2): 173-193.
- Gentlemanly Gender? Japanese Men's Politeness in Casual Conversations, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*: 10(1): 70-92.
- Japanese Men's Linguistic Stereotypes and Realities: Conversations from the Kansai and Kanto regions in Okamoto, S. and (Shibamoto) Smith, J. (eds.) *Japanese Language, Gender,and Ideology: Cultural Models and Real People*, Oxford University Press: 275 – 289.
- Students, *Sarariiman* (pl.), and Seniors: Japanese men's use of "manly" speech register. *Language in Society* 33: 81-107.

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Research interests/projects: Anthropology of Work, Anthropology of Business Administration

Fieldwork: Airplane (as work place) , Companies

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Research interests/projects: The history and social organization of sexuality and reproduction in Japan; gender issues generally and the so-called 'gender backlash' in Japan more specifically; multiculturalism in Japan.

Fieldwork:

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Current fieldwork:

1) Following the activities of a grassroots feminist group in Osaka defending a 'gender backlash' court case and a doctor and her supporters in Hiroshima fighting a sex education 'backlash' court case.
2) Working with women in 'international marriages' and their children in the Kansai region focusing particularly on experiences with and outcomes of schooling, creation of support networks, and transformation and preservation of cultural practices from the first culture.

Future fieldwork:

I am in the process of setting up a project working with people living with HIV or AIDS to understand more about their perceptions of sexual health and experiences of living with HIV/AIDS.

Recent/major publications:

- 'Good policy, poor practice? : Sex education in Japanese middle schools' (2005). *Waseda University's Institute for Contemporary Japanese Studies Working Paper Series* Inaugural issue, March, 2005.
- 'Wakamono no ripurodakuthibu.herusu/raitsu no kakuritsu to köjö ni kökatekina 「sei (repuro) kyöiku puroguramu」to sono「hyöka höhö」no kaihatsu'(Developing an effective sexuality education program that promotes the sexual and reproductive health/rights of youth' (in Japanese) *Jass Proceedings* Vol. 16, No.1 November, 2004). Co-authored with Yoko Tsurugi and Yumi Rikitake.
- *Nationalism and Gender* by Chizuko Ueno (2004) Trans Pacific Press, Melbourne. Translation (into English)
- 'First Female Junior High School Principal in Western Japan: A Profile of Katae Terasaka', *Journal of Asian Women's Studies*, Vol. 13 (December 2004), pp121-130.
- 'Branding a Name from a Lifetime in Design: A profile of Reiko Ikeura', *Journal of Asian Women's Studies*, Vol. 14 (December 2005), pp155-161.

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Research interests/projects: Anthropology of contemporary Japan, Ainu studies, visual representations of Ainu people, Japanese and Ainu collection in Europe; Exhibition project on the Krusenstern expedition (1803-1806) in Zurich (2008).

Fieldwork: Northern Japan, Hokkaido, Siberian Far-East

Recent/major publications:

- "Horunā, anbēru, soshite sonogo jinruigakuteki shiten ni okeru suisu jin no nihon zō [Horner, Humbert and thereafter: The Swiss image of Japan in anthropological perspective]", in: MORITA Yasukazu (ed.), *Nihon to suisu no kōryū bakumatsu kara meiji e* [The relationship between Japan and Switzerland – from the Edo period to the Meiji Era], pp. 71-118. Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha.

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Research interests/projects: interested in the historical and sociological study of modern and contemporary Japanese culture and society, including problems of power/knowledge, gender/sexuality, childhood and military/society.

Fieldwork: 1992-1994, 1997, 1998-1999, several months in 2001, 2003, 2004

Recent/major publications:

- Her book on the Self-Defense Forces in present-day Japan, Uneasy Warriors: Gender, Memory and Popular Culture in the Japanese Army,

will be published in 2007 by the University of California Press.

- Her book, Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan (Berkeley, 2003), is a history of sexual knowledge in Japan and the different uses made of that knowledge.
- Frühstück has co-edited Neue Geschichten der Sexualität: Beispiele aus Ostasien and Zentraleuropa 1700-2000 and The Culture of Japan as Seen Through Its Leisure.
- She is the author of numerous book chapters and journal articles in Journal of Japanese Studies, Journal of Asian Studies, American Ethnologist, Jinbun Gakuho, Zeitschrift für angewandte Sozialforschung, among others.
- Her current research projects are an analysis of the militarization of childhood and an examination of military visual culture, both of which she approaches from a transnational perspective.

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Research interests/projects: History of Japanese Science and Technology; Japanese Visual Culture.

Recent/major publications:

- Morris Low, Japan on Display: Photography and the Emperor (London: Routledge, 2006).
- Morris Low, Science and the Building of a New Japan, Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- Morris Low (ed.), Building a Modern Japan: Science, Technology, and Medicine in the Meiji Era and Beyond (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

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Recent/major publications:

- A team lead by David W. Plath has completed an interactive DVD "Preaching from Pictures: A Japanese Mandala" based on the *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandala*, used by itinerant Buddhist nuns during the Edo and Meiji periods. The disc includes a 37-minute tour of the mandala; a picture-sermon adapted from a 17th century *joruri*; more than an hour of commentaries by scholars of Japanese history and religions; a gallery of images; a glossary of technical terms; and lists of sources in English and Japanese. A preview video clip and further information are available on the internet at
  http://www.customflix.com/Store/ShowEStore.jsp?id=215551
- Plath and historian Ronald P. Toby are at work on a new video documentary and DVD: *Raising Edo, The Shogun's City*, a portrait of the new capital in its explosive growth from a frontier fort of 1590 to become the world's largest metropolis by 1700.

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Research interests/projects: Women's choices in life, Changing motherhood, Backlash

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Fieldwork: Chiba 1998-2000

Recent/major publications:

- "Centered selves and life choices: changing attitudes of young educated mothers", in G. Mathews and B. White (eds.), *Japan's Changing Generations: Are young people creating a new society?*, Routledge, 2004
- "Mother-rearing: the social world of mothers in a Japanese suburb", in M. Rebick and A. Takenaka (eds.), *The Changing Japanese Family*, Routledge, 2006
- "It is worth doing?: educated housewives' attitudes towards work", in P. Matanle and W. Lunsing (eds,), *Perspectives on Work, Employment and Society in Japan*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006

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Research interests/projects: education, social class, youth culture, changing work patterns, urban space and culture; Tokyo

YOHKO TSUJI

Recent/major publications:

- 2006 "Mortuary Rituals in Japan: The Hegemony of Tradition and the Motivations of Individuals." *Ethos* 34(3): 391-431.
- 2006 "Railway Time and Rubber Time: The Paradox in the Japanese Conception of Time." *Time & Society* 15(2/3): 177-195.