日本の人類学研究会

JAWS

Japan Anthropology Workshop
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JAPAN ANTHROPOLOGY WORKSHOP NEWSLETTER NO. 42
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FROM THE JAWS OFFICERS

FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Lola Martinez

It is always a pleasure to see the JAWS newsletter change and grow. I am sure that you will all agree that the new features included in this issue, *Positions* and *Notes and Queries*, are added value. *Positions* especially recalls the plans of Jan van Bremen to broaden the scope of the newsletter and to make it a forum where members might discuss their work, debate it if need be and learn from each other. I am very glad to see a new start on this here and am, as always grateful to Peter and Gordon for all their hard work on the newsletter.

I am looking forward to seeing many of you in Lecce, Italy this summer. The list of proposed papers looks, as ever, fascinating. What a range of research we JAWS members do! Thanks to Anemone and Ingrid are definitely in order for organising so many panels and I am sure that the Anthropology and Sociology section will have, as usual, the best-run panels at EAJS! Those of you planning to go should register and book your rooms as soon as possible, there are a few twists when it comes to these seemingly simple tasks.

We will have our JAWS meeting at Lecce (although I am not yet sure when we'll squeeze it in) and I hope that we can discuss the next conference in Austin, Texas, convened by John Traphagen as well as possible elections of officers. I know that Carolyn Stevens, our wonderful website officer, is looking to step down and Dixon Wong in Hong Kong has offered to step in. This would be a good time to discuss the proposed changeover. Lynne Nakano as treasurer, Peter Cave and Gordon Mathews as the editors of the newsletter, and I all also indicated at Oslo that it was time perhaps to think of replacing us. So if you are feeling up to any of the tasks, please let us know. In the meantime, do enjoy the newsletter – one of our best I think you will find!

FROM THE JAWS OFFICERS

FROM THE TREASURER

Lynne Nakano

The Japan Anthropology Workshop account at the Hang Seng Bank in Hong Kong currently contains HK $52.239.46 (4225.74 EUR). The ABN AMRO account in Leiden currently contains 2,236.33 EUR. Total JAWS assets are 6462.07 EUR.

The membership fee is **15 Euros** per year. You may pay in Euros, Hong Kong dollars, or US dollars (15 Euro is about US $24 at the moment). You can find the current rate at websites such as www.oanda.com/convert/classic.

Bank Transfer Payment Method for EU members
At the JAWS Business Meeting in Oslo, it was agreed to continue to maintain the ABN AMRO account in Leiden, as Guita Winkel has generously agreed to continue to manage it. Therefore EU members can pay JAWS dues through international bank transfer at very little (usually 1 or 2 Euro) or even no extra cost (e.g. Germany), as long as they include the IBAN and BIC codes.

Unfortunately, JAWS members from the United Kingdom have reported that even using this method, they are still charged relatively high fees for making the transfer to the ABN AMRO account, though it may still be cheaper than making a payment to the Hang Seng account in Hong Kong (check with your bank).

Payment (for EU members) should include the following information:

ABN AMRO, account 58.40.21.399. IBAN-code NL41ABNA0584021399. BIC-code ABNANL2A.
Bank address: Stationsweg, Postbus 66, 2300 AB Leiden, Netherlands, c/o Stichting Jaws Anthropology Workshop, TCJK, Universiteit Leiden, P.O. Box 9515, 2300 RA Leiden.
Please include as a reference:
YOUR LAST NAME and YEARS OF PAYMENT. For example: WINKEL0608 if Winkel is paying for April 2006 to April 2008. Payment should be 30 Euro plus additional costs for the transfer.

FROM THE JAWS OFFICERS

Payment Instructions for nonEU members
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 $8) to cover processing fees. If you pay by electronic/telegraphic transfer, please add 3 Euro per transfer (about US $6). 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
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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 of your copy of this Newsletter.

FROM THE JAWS OFFICERS

FROM THE EDITORS

Peter Cave and Gordon Mathews

Welcome to Issue 42 of the JAWS Newsletter. We are glad to say that we have been able to publish submissions to two sections that have been planned for some time – 'Positions' and 'Notes and Queries'. In 'Positions', we have two provocative and fascinating pieces which we are sure will interest you; while in 'Notes and Queries', one of the editors provides a brief report and discussion of the recent revision of the Japanese school curriculum.

There are also two other new features. One, entitled 'Tomorrow's Researchers Today', gives current PhD students doing anthropological and allied work on Japan the chance to introduce themselves. The other, entitled 'Commentary', is intended for short, reflective pieces.

Besides these, we carry a feature on anthropological research ethics in Japan, in which the other editor reviews an important recent journal issue on this topic; three research reports; and our usual book review section (for successive contributions to which, we would like to express our sincere appreciation to Professor Nakamaki Hirochika). We also have a full report on the AJJ Annual Meeting of 2007, and tasters for the JAWS/EAJS conference in Lecce and the AJJ Spring Workshop in Tsukuba.

The editors are delighted to have received quite a number of submissions for this issue, and look forward for more for the next issue, which will be produced in December 2008. In the meantime, enjoy the spring!

THE JAPAN ANTHROPOLOGY WORKSHOP 19TH CONFERENCE CONCURRENT WITH
THE 12TH EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION OF JAPANESE STUDIES (EAJS) CONFERENCE (SECTION 5: ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY) SALENTO UNIVERSITY, LECCE, 20-23 SEPTEMBER 2008

For the latest information about the conference, please visit the EAJS website (www.eajs.org). It is hoped that Genda Yūji will give the keynote lecture at the conference (subject to funding). Latest information about papers and presenters is given below, with grateful thanks to Anemone Platz, co-convenor (with Ingrid Getreuer-Kargl) of the Anthopology and Sociology section; please bear in mind, however, that there may be changes to the programme between now and the conference.

Florian Coulmas: 'Bitter Fruits of Success: Birth-rate Decline and Happiness in Japan.'

Barbara Holthus: 'Parents on "daycare" in low-birth Japan – A social movement analysis.'

Stephania Dimitrova: 'Japanese Fathers in Transition: Early 90s and today. Is Child-Care Leave for Japanese Fathers Too?'

Keiko Ikeda: 'A Daughter Wanted! Changing Gender and Intergenerational Relationships Among Japanese Couples of Retirement Age.'

Ofra Goldstein-Gidoni: 'Women in Contemporary Japan: New Horizons or Old Roles in New Outfits?'

Ekaterina Korobtseva: 'Finding a perfect match.'

Philomena Keet: 'Working for yourself: alternative employment and *jibunrashisa* in Harajuku, Tokyo.'

Irina Tikhotskaya: 'The Changing Life Cycle of the Japanese and the Place of Young People in the 21st Century Society.'

Sharon Kinsella: 'Girls, Economy and Energy.'

Maren Godzik: 'Housing the elderly: Diversification of housing and living arrangements.'

Wolfram Manzenreiter: 'Health and body politics of the aged society: coping with the challenges of demographic change.'

Yohko Tsuji: 'The Poetic Representation of the Experience of Aging in Contemporary Japan: Continuities and Changes.'

Isabelle Prochaska: 'Portraying the Okinawan *obaa*.'

Dolores Martinez: '1964 and All That. Documenting the Tokyo Olympics.'

Marissa Maurer: 'From "Desperate Housewives" to "Female Forces". Changing Life-Patterns of Japanese Women and Their Representation in Magazine Advertising.'

Michael Prieler and Florian Kohlbacher: 'Social Change in Japanese TV Ads: The Representation of Elderly People.'

Kristina Iwata-Weickgenannt: 'Between Dissolution and Re-Definition? On the Concept of "Family" in Fictional Representations of "Freeters".'

Hilaria Gössmann: '"At-Home Dad": The Reversal of Conventional Gender Roles in Japanese TV Dramas.'

Griseldis Kirsch: '"Reviving" the Younger Generation? The *Densha Otoko* Phenomenon and Social Change.'

William H. Kelly: 'From *Final Fantasy* to "Meet Me": sociality and cultural construction in Japanese virtual worlds.'

Tomoko Hidaka: 'Salaryman Masculinity: The Lingering and Changing *Ie* System and the ideology of *Daikokubashira* across Three Generations.'

Richard Ronald and Yosuke Hirayama: 'Making the Japanese Home: Transformation in Houses and Households, Spaces and Senses.'

Peter Ackermann: 'Fragmentation through multi-cultural experience.'

Yuki Imoto: 'Unpacking the "international preschool boom"; early childhood and language learning in contemporary Japan.'

Akihiro Ogawa: 'Lifelong Learning in Japan: Constructing "Citizenship" through Learning.'

Heide Jaeger: 'Resonances of the *roji*: shifting public space and urban life in between Low and High-rise in contemporary Tokyo, Japan.'

Andrea De Antoni: 'Take Care of the Sense and the Sounds will take care of themselves. *Dwellers of hell or* burakumin*?*'

Joseph Hankins: 'Silence, the Generational Divide.'

Sylvie Guichard-Anguis : 'Nagano and the Zenkoji: an old pilgrimage for a brand new image.'

Karsten Helmholz: 'Fighting in the water – the art of *suijutsu*.'

Melinda Pappova: 'Rituals between consumption and individualization. The case of wedding ceremonies in present-day Japan.'

JAWS PUBLICATION NEWS

Joy Hendry

Two new monographs have appeared in the JAWS RoutledgeCurzon series since the last newsletter, both billed in the last one, but now available to order, with your discount, direct from Routledge. These are Peter Cave's *Primary School in Japan: Self, Individuality and Learning in Elementary Education*, a treatise based on a detailed ethnographic study of teachers and 5th grade pupils in two specific primary schools, but set in the broader theoretical context that addresses the issues of the title, built up by Peter over many years of research. The second is Mitchell Sedgwick's *Globalisation and Japanese Organisational Culture*, and as the sub-title informs us, *an Ethnography of a Japanese Corporation in France*. Again, a contribution to much broader theory – in fact some five theories in the area of organisational anthropology – but rooted in detailed ethnographic work.

Also available now is Rupert Cox's edited volume, *Japan and the Culture of Copying*. Having attended the conference on which this is based, I recommend the book highly as likely to offer material for many different courses. The chapters cover the introduction of skills from Chinese characters to motor car manufacture, and specialisms range from architecture to performing arts, always with an anthropological angle, of course. **Don't forget that JAWS members can buy up to 15 copies at the discount price so you can help your students to build up their libraries of this and any other of our books.** Cox's collection from the Warsaw conference, co-edited with Christoph Brumann, *Making Japanese Heritage*, is also due out soon. Details of both of these collections are available on the Routledge website.

Another collection from a JAWS conference that has just been submitted, based on a session held at our Hong Kong meetings, is entitled *Japanese Tourism and the Culture of Travel*, edited by Sylvie Guichard-Anguis and Okpyo Moon. This contains papers about internal and external Japanese *tabi*, and includes authors such as Millie Creighton, Nelson Graburn, Merry White and Yamashita Shinji, among others, so look forward to a good read. We have also just received news of the acceptance of a collection that includes a session from the Oslo meetings, namely a volume edited by Richard Ronald and Allison Alexy on the Japanese family. Including 12 authors, who will address literal and figurative understandings of family to analyze the pace and direction of contemporary social change in Japan, the editors suggest that, despite such changes, "family"

remains a key institution in Japanese society and an important window through which to consider the society. Another collection from the same meeting and an exciting new monograph are in stages of preparation, and a couple of other proposals under consideration, so the series continues with a healthy growth.

We are always delighted to receive interesting proposals for new books from JAWS members, and although a few fail to meet the stringent expectations of my editorial board, we do try to turn around inquiries as quickly as possible, and I also make alternative recommendations if the proposals don't quite suit our series. Many do make it, as you have seen, so don't hesitate to let me know if you have a good idea of a book to add to the list!

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

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

JAWS NEWS: PUBLICATION NEWS

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

New!

Japan and the Culture of Copying
Edited by Rupert Cox

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

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

Forthcoming:

Japanese Tourism and the Culture of Travel
Edited by Sylvie Guichard-Anguis and Okpyo Moon.

Making Japanese Heritage
Edited by Christoph Brumann and Rupert Cox

テーマ: THE ETHICS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON JAPAN

ETHICS AND THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF JAPAN

The questions of what it means to do ethical research, and what kinds of ethical codes and other frameworks may be helpful to this end, are perennial ones for anthropology. This is an area in which anthropologists working in rich developed countries such as Japan have a particular contribution to make to disciplinary debates. A recent important example is provided by a special issue of *Critical Asian Studies* that was edited by two distinguished JAWS members (Jennifer Robertson and Sabine Frühstück) and focused on ethics in the ethnography of Japan. We encourage members to read the essays in this issue: here, we provide an abstract of the issue, written by Jennifer Robertson, followed by a review by Gordon Mathews.

Critical Asian Studies **39 (4) December 2007**

Thematic Issue: Politics and Pitfalls of Japan Ethnography: Reflexivity, Responsibility, and Anthropological Ethics

Abstract

Jennifer Robertson
University of Michigan

The four anthropologists — Elise Edwards, ann-elise lewallen (*sic*), Bridget Love, and Tomomi Yamaguchi — whose fieldwork experiences inform the contents of this thematic issue, demonstrate collectively the inadequacy of both the Code of Ethics developed by the American Anthropological Association (AAA) and the dictates of Institutional Review Boards (IRB) when dealing with messy human realities. They candidly and critically explore the existential dilemmas they were forced to confront with respect to this inadequacy, for the AAA's code and IRBs consider neither the vulnerability and powerlessness of ethnographers nor the wholly unethical (and even criminal) deportment of some informants. Edwards, lewallen, Love, and Yamaguchi collectively provide insightful reasons as to why ethics has recently emerged as a theoretical and methodological subject as compelling as reflexivity was two decades ago. They also muse thoughtfully at length on how accountability is not a value for ethnographers alone to abide by, but rather informs a nexus of relationships in which the ethnographer may be a

marginal, and even sidelined, player. The insights and lessons offered in these five essays travel far beyond Japan and the field of anthropology, and are offered here to stimulate thoughtful engagement among all stripes of readers. This thematic issue includes a short preface by Jennifer Robertson and commentary by Sabine Frühstück.

Review

Gordon Mathews
Chinese University of Hong Kong

This thematic issue of *Critical Asian Studies*, consists of four articles, a preface, and a commentary, all exploring in different ways problems of ethics in Japan fieldwork. It is quite interesting and well worth reading.

The issue begins with Jennifer Robertson's brief preface, in which she discusses the inadequacy of both the American Anthropological Association's Code of Ethics and Institutional Review Boards (IRB), university committees in the United States that oversee the ethics of research. The former assumes the stereotype of powerful anthropologists investigating powerless "natives," while the latter exists in order to protect universities against lawsuits. Both are often inadequate or absurd in their application to the Japanese research context, as several of the papers in this issue demonstrate.

In the first article, anne-elise lewallen (*sic*) discusses her research with Ainu activists, some of whom tell her quite frankly that anthropologists are to be despised. This attitude stems from the long history of Japanese anthropological abuse of the Ainu, with Japanese anthropologists digging up Ainu graves to collect Ainu bones, among other atrocities. lewallen, non-Japanese and representing a very different contemporary anthropology, sought to collaborate with Ainu activists, but was often rebuffed. She recounts the complexities of her research, including her realization that despite the aim of benefiting the people one is studying, as expressed in the AAA Code of Ethics, "intense factionalism across Ainu communities…made choosing projects…a politically charged process….I realized that there is no single unified indigenous community to whom research should or could be returned" (p. 532). Her difficulties were exacerbated by IRB requirements that all informants sign consent forms, something that irrevocably harmed her research; many Ainu believed that they could not trust an anthropologist bearing such officious forms. At the close of her article, lewallen offers a tentative model for how to proceed in ethical fieldwork, but given the obstacles she faces, from the historical imperialism

of Japanese anthropology, to the factionalism of contemporary Ainu communities, to the stupidity of IRB requirements, it is difficult to see how she might fully carry this out. I admire her for her perseverance--this research needs to be done, however difficult it may be.

In the second article of this collection, Bridget Love analyzes her research on a Japanese rural community in decline, and its efforts to revitalize through a company featuring local foods—mountain vegetables. Unlike lewallen's piece, the ethical issues in Love's article are subtle. She was called upon to be a village and company booster when in her heart, she believed that the chances of success for village and company were rather small; and she was sometimes pushed to perform more as a touristic actor engaging in charcoal-making and rice-planting than as an anthropologist engaged in research—these are much smaller dilemmas than those faced by lewallen. However, she too was constrained by the idiocy of IRB protocol ("I was required to inform [village inhabitants]…that I posed a 'risk' to them because my questions might force them to reflect on experiences or opinions that could give rise to emotional discomfort" [p. 544], despite the fact that the village's difficulties were something that everyone she spoke with was all too aware). She too had to face the larger question of how much to be an activist and how much an anthropologist in her research—how much to be a booster of the project she was researching, and how much to stand back as an anthropological observer. As with lewellan's piece, there are no easy answers.

In the third article, Elise Edwards analyzes her research on a female football (soccer) team created and backed by the powerful head of Nikko Securities, who subsequently lost his job over his ethically shady activities. She analyzes the ethical dilemmas involved in whether or not to disclose her target informant's name in her paper—a man who was highly supportive of her in enabling her to live out her dream of being a professional football player, but who also engaged in behavior that eventually destroyed both her research target and her former team. Her paper is weakened in its effect by the fact that anyone with Google can within thirty seconds find the name of the miscreant she names only at the end of her paper—her paper's problematic is in an immediate sense something of a straw man. But her larger point remains: anthropologists of Japan are often in the position of "studying up," dealing with informants and consultants more powerful than themselves. This leads to distinct ethical issues, such as those described by Edwards, which are quite different from those experienced by fieldworkers in more stereotypical anthropological settings, of powerful anthropologist and powerless informants. One such issue is that of

naming: should anthropologists breach the rule of anonymity for those rich and famous people they interview who commit unethical acts? Another issue is that of analytical detachment versus human linkages in one's fieldwork: "Constantly grappling with independence versus good relations may be one good way of characterizing the existential struggle of many ethnographers" (p. 576), an existential struggle faced by many of us in our work.

In the fourth article, Tomomi Yamaguchi discusses her research on first a feminist organization, and then a conservative organization absolutely opposed to feminist goals. Yamaguchi does something that all too few anthropologists ever do: study a group with which one resolutely disagrees, a group that espouses goals and meanings antithetical to one's own. This is an extraordinarily interesting anthropological strategy, but one filled with pitfalls, as Yamaguchi shows. Will the antagonists Yamaguchi meets utilize the words she uses in her interviews with them to discredit her? Can or should she use their words to discredit them, since they represent an anti-feminist ideology to which she is fundamentally opposed? "Does studying one's political opponents…inherently have unethical consequences?" (p. 603). Since all sides in these disputes have prominent internet profiles, one's words can very readily be used and misused to distort one's position, something that Yamaguchi has already experienced; in this new world of instant communication, who and what can one trust? More than any of the other papers in this collection, Yamaguchi's paper illustrates the promise and peril of being an activist anthropologist in an age of the internet.

Sabine Frühstück's concluding commentary discusses a number of the questions I have referred to here, but also raises an additional crucial question (p. 612): if ethnographers were completely honest about the aims of their research, would it not become apparent that we may have our own best interests at heart more than those of our informants, who may find our research simply irrelevant? This question has been raised many times since the 1980s, but these papers complicate matters, in discussing the conflicting roles of activist and anthropologist. In almost all cases, what we write does indeed benefit us as anthropologists more than it does the people we write about. This gets to the heart of what I see as one of the central ethical problems in anthropological research, one which these papers do not sufficiently address.

As a whole, these papers have much to say about the extent to which Japan anthropologists should serve as activists and advocates, and how much as detached observers in the projects in which they are engaged. They also emphasize the importance in Japan anthropology of "studying up," given,

among many other factors, the wealth of Japan in comparison to those societies from which anthropologists have come. And they emphasize the importance of the internet and other contemporary technological tools, and their capacity to alter the nature of fieldwork. Most importantly, these papers in effect depict the extent to which Japan and its anthropological analysis may serve as an example to anthropology worldwide as to how to proceed with research in a new media-saturated, instantaneous age. These papers provide no obvious frameworks for solving problems of ethics in fieldwork—that would be impossible—but in portraying the extraordinary complexity of ethical issues facing anthropologists of Japan, they provide a convincing start. There are no simple answers to the question of how to perform fieldwork ethically, but only complicated webs of intentions and interrelations to be dealt with through all one's intelligence and humanity over the course of fieldwork, as these papers do a very good job or portraying.

NOTES AND QUERIES

We are pleased that this issue of the JAWS Newsletter carries the first publication in the section 'Notes and Queries'. This section is intended mainly to allow members to publish short research notes that may be of use to the research and teaching of other members. We expect that the research notes are likely to be mainly empirical, with some brief discussion of the possible significance of the phenomena noted. This is a venue where members can publish those notes that are of interest or significance, yet which they do not envisage expanding or incorporating into a full-length journal article or book chapter. Please don't send notes that you want to expand into full-length articles later – publication here may make it difficult for you to publish the full article in due course.

Besides notes, the section is also happy to publish queries from members about matters relating to the anthropological study of Japan. Given the ease of asking queries on electronic mailing lists these days, we expect that there may be fewer submissions of queries, but they are also welcomed.

The title 'Notes and Queries' has long been used by the journal of the same name, originally founded in 1849 by an antiquarian as a weekly periodical, and now published by Oxford University Press (http://nq.oxfordjournals.org/). It publishes notes and short articles, 'with an emphasis on the factual', mainly on English language, literature, and history, as well as readers' queries.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science also published *Notes and Queries on Anthropology for the Use of Travellers and Residents in Uncivilized Lands* in 1874. Revised versions (simply entitled *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*) were published in 1892, 1899, 1912, 1929, and (finally) 1951. However, these publications were guides to anthropological field methods, rather than venues for the communication of research notes.

NOTES

Patriotism and the Revision of the Japanese School Curriculum

Peter Cave
University of Manchester

Revised curricula (*gakushū shidō yōryō*) for Japan's elementary and junior high schools were published in their final version on 28 March 2008. The revision of

the curriculum takes place roughly every ten years; the last revision was published in 1998 and implemented in 2002. Implementation of the new elementary curriculum is planned to take place in 2011, followed by implementation of the junior high curriculum in 2012. Newspapers reported that the curricula were notable for last-minute changes that introduced greater stress on patriotism.

A draft of the curriculum had been published by the Ministry of Education and Science on 15 February 2008. However, between 15 February and 28 March a number of significant changes were made to the wording of the curriculum.

With respect to the aims of moral education (*dōtoku*), the version published on 15 February read (in part) as follows (wording was the same for both the elementary and junior high curricula; in both cases, the excerpt comes from page 1 of the curriculum):

道徳教育は（中略）伝統と文化を継承し、発展させ、個性豊かな文化の創造を図る [moral education … inherits and develops tradition and culture, and promotes the creation of culture rich in individuality]. (Monbukagakushō 2008a.)

The final version published on 28 March read as follows (changes underlined in bold):

道徳教育は（中略）伝統と文化を**尊重**し、**それらをはぐくんできたわが国と郷土を愛し**、個性豊かな文化の創造を図る [moral education … esteems tradition and culture, loves our country and native place that have fostered them, and promotes the creation of culture rich in individuality]. (Monbukagakushō 2008b.)

The newly inserted emphasis on love of country has drawn most press comment, but anthropologists in particular will also note that whereas the first version implied that 'tradition and culture' are changing and dynamic, the final version replaces this implication with a static version of tradition and culture, which are to be 'esteemed' and not 'developed'.

The current curriculum (published in 1998 and in force since 2002) contains none of the above wording, with the exception of 個性豊かな文化の創造を図る ([moral education] promotes the creation of culture rich in individuality), a phrase first introduced in the 1998/2002 curriculum. In fact, the entire paragraph about the purpose of moral education, of which these clauses form a part, was only introduced into the curriculum in 1998.

The other last-minute curriculum change that has drawn particular attention is the stipulation in the elementary school music curriculum that in each year of elementary schooling, teachers must teach children so that they can sing the national anthem, *Kimigayo*. Page 80 of the original version of the revised curriculum, published on 15 February, stated that 'the national anthem, *Kimigayo*, must be taught in each grade' （国歌「君が代」は、いずれの学年においても指導すること）(Monbukagakushō 2008a). This was the same wording as is found in the current (1998) curriculum. The final version published on 28 March had been revised to read, 'the national anthem, *Kimigayo*, must be taught in each grade, so that children can sing it'（国歌「君が代」は、いずれの学年においても歌えるよう指導すること）(Monbukagakushō 2008b).

Reporting on the changes, the *Asahi Shinbun* (2008) noted on 28 March 2008 that after the publication of the draft curriculum on 15 February, there had been criticisms from within the Liberal Democratic Party that the revision did not adequately reflect the revision of the Fundamental Law of Education (FLE) in 2006. The newspaper reported that figures on the Right had sent critical comments to the Ministry. The right-wing *Sankei Shinbun* carried a lengthy report of dissatisfaction on the Right on 22 February 2008, quoting one LDP Diet member who expressed specific discontent with the lack of change in the curriculum's wording regarding the *Kimigayo* (Sankei Shinbun 2008b). While the *Sankei* itself expressed satisfaction about the revision in general in an editorial of 16 February (Sankei Shinbun 2008a), right-wing educational critic Yagi Hidetsugu (former Chair of the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform) used the *Sankei*'s *Seiron* op-ed column to lambast the revised curriculum for what he saw as its failure to reflect the revised FLE (Yagi 2008). He particularly criticised the curriculum's failure to emphasise love and reverence for the Emperor, along with what he saw as shortcomings in the history curriculum – notably failure to stress the autonomy of early Japanese civilisation vis-à-vis China, and too little effort to head off 'class struggle' views of Japanese history.

While the revisions that took place between 15 February and 28 March may be alarming to liberals, they are unlikely to have satisfied nationalist conservatives such as Yagi either. The curriculum revision certainly reflects to some degree the revision of the FLE, with its new stress on tradition and love of country. To this extent, it shows that the revision of the FLE has been of considerable significance in legitimising changes at levels of the education system that affect the classroom. In fact, the changes to the curriculum that drew newspaper headlines were not the only ones – the revisions also introduced more 'traditional' material in the form of stories, literature, and songs, so that the

general effect was certainly to increase emphasis on 'tradition'. Yet the importance of the changes can easily be over-emphasised; as the criticisms by writers such as Yagi show, the revisions were limited and far from satisfying the hopes of extreme nationalists.[1] In practice, of course, how the curriculum is actually implemented in classrooms will depend greatly on the national mood and the situation in particular localities and schools. To the continued dismay of the Right, moral education is still not a 'subject' (*kyōka* 教科), and therefore has no textbooks or formalised assessment, meaning that classroom teachers have considerable flexibility about how to teach it. In my own experience, moral education in Japanese elementary schools is usually a matter of discussion, while at junior high level, it often amounts merely to children's writing their individual thoughts after reading a text or watching a video. It is difficult to imagine that many principals would be willing to stir up conflict among their staff by attempting to force them to teach moral education in a certain way – though there is a danger that the introduction of teacher performance ratings might be used more subtly to this end in the longer term. Perhaps the curriculum revision episode is best interpreted as showing, once again, the remarkable ability of the Ministry of Education and Science to achieve a compromise that is influenced by the currently dominant political mood, and more particularly by parliamentary legislation such as the revised FLE, yet stays well away from political extremes.

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[1] It is also worth noting that the current social studies curriculum already gives 'nurturing feelings of love for the country' （国を愛する心情を育てる）as one of (many) aims of the subject in the sixth year of elementary school (Monbushō 1998a: 27), and 'making students aware that it is important to love one's country and promote its peace and prosperity' （自国を愛し、その平和と繁栄を図ることが大切であることを自覚させる）as one of (many) aims of civics (*kōmin*) in junior high school (Monbushō 1998b: 29). Thus, patriotism is not completely absent from the current curriculum. I have seen no evidence, however, that this has resulted in increased nationalism in either teaching or student consciousness.

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POSITIONS

Young Soka Gakkai Members as Political Actors

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Something fundamentally changes in our starting point when we replace the definition 'new religion' with the concept of 'civil society'. Though the concept may be in danger of appearing somewhat passé, as so much discussion focused on civil society during the 1990s, I nevertheless find it useful as a way of opening up a new discussion, not only about Soka Gakkai members' support for the political party Komeito in Japan, but more specifically about the relationship between ethics and politics.

In my recently completed PhD thesis, I look at the political society of young Soka Gakkai Buddhists, and what their political voice brings to the public sphere in Japan. I thereby focus on what is usually regarded as a controversial relationship between a so-called new religious organisation and its support for a political party (Komeito). During my fieldwork among young Soka Gakkai members in Japan in 2003 and 2004, the common taxonomy 'new religion', while arguably appropriate within its own Japanese understanding of the term, began to wear a bit thin. As I began engaging with young Soka Gakkai members who were active Komeito supporters, I found a strikingly active sense of citizenship and commitment to trying to achieve political objectives flowing from wider social interests. Theirs was a life based on learning from associational life, from a commitment to objectives of a common good, and participation in the public sphere – the three spheres that are arguably essential to a thriving civil society. In this article, I compare some common arguments about this political engagement with how Soka Gakkai members' religious outlook seems to affect their political participation at the grassroots level.

It is no secret that religion as a social structure is under attack by so-called secularists such as Richard Dawkins, who, inspired by Fraser's *The Golden Bough*, sees religion as a false science comparable to superstition and magic, a social phenomenon that can be more simply understood through such biological analogies as an infectious virus. One finds similar analogies about new religious

organisations in Japan (Nakamaki 2003) where comparisons are made between the spread of a disease and the growth of new religious organisations, with increasing number of people catching the 'disease'. Others such as José Casanova and his book *Public Religions in the Modern World* or David Herbert's *Religion and Civil Society* complicate such views concerning this question of religion and its relationship with modernity.

Perhaps the tension created about a religion's legitimacy in modern societies is nowhere more apparent than in its relationship with politics. In the case of Japan and my case under study, this relationship carries notions of danger, irrationality, and non-thinking loyalty, as was demonstrated at a press conference I attended prior to the November 2003 Lower House election. At no less public a place than the Foreign Correspondents Club of Japan, the well-known political commentator Takao Toshikawa spent well over two-thirds of his talk outlining how politics in Japan would increasingly be dependent on the influence of Komeito and its 'foot-soldiers' from Soka Gakkai, which was the way he defined the people I had just begun to study.

A strong sense of Soka Gakkai's political 'illegitimacy' hung over Toshikawa's arguments. Political 'illegitimacy' may of course come about in many ways, and may not simply be linked to religious status. It could also be because a religion is considered the 'wrong one'. A current example of this is the slurring of Barack Obama as a potential 'undercover' Muslim who has to prove his credentials as a mainstream Christian to have a chance to become the Democratic presidential nominee.

We may find similar assumptions about both political as well as religious illegitimacy following the label 'new religion' in Japan, as indicated by the disease analogy. In the case of Japan, a religious group classified under the banner 'new religion' has seldom been seen in light of the active civil society player it often is. While the good public works of new religious organisations in Japan have been largely ignored by the media and academia alike, there is also typically very little discussion in the media about the various philosophies and practices that are part of the everyday life of many adherents. This is striking not the least in the case of Soka Gakkai, which is the biggest new religious organisation and the most overtly involved with organised politics. For instance, one seldom, if ever, comes across any informative discussion about the meaning

of 'human revolution', a philosophical mind-set that is central to understanding the practice of Buddhism for Soka Gakkai members.

The relationship between a religious organisation and a political party tends to conjure up notions of controversy and a sense of political illegitimacy even if its success and 'routinization' in the Weberian sense have lessened any initial public perception of religious 'illegitimacy' that was partly, at least in the case of Soka Gakkai, connected to its early years of aggressive proselytization. While certain weekly tabloid magazines in Japan seem obsessed with the vilification of Soka Gakkai, the more reputable media has tended to treat the activities of religious organisations in general with a silence that is somewhat curious considering the number of people who belong to such organisations. While in recent years some change to this media self-censorship can be seen, with for example Soka Gakkai being referred to more vaguely as simply a peace organisation, this is usually in order to question (and arguably understandably so considering its religious objectives of peace) how far it can continue its support for certain decisions made by Komeito as a party in government (this is something I discuss in my thesis). Moreover, the Japan Times has also carried a year-long series of bi-weekly articles by Daisaku Ikeda, the long-term spiritual leader of Soka Gakkai.

Yet, even if many of these so-called new religions are seen as more respectable today and certainly are more 'established', the fact that a commentator like Toshikawa can represent a political force as an unquestionable threat to the political establishment and democracy as a whole, without specific details as to exactly why that should be so, says something about the perception of religious organisations' political legitimacy. Seeing Soka Gakkai as a political threat is understandable given its support for Komeito, which means it has real political power as a religious group that no other political force can ignore. Still, a tension became apparent at this early stage in my fieldwork: how did I reconcile what was being represented as a political threat with my own observations that these people seemed to be active citizens with social democratic objectives, contributing to the political process at the grassroots level? I had to look at the fact that the people I was meeting seemed different from the 'foot-soldier' image of mindless masses who would do anything their leaders told them, as portrayed by Toshikawa, despite the reality that they direct their political and social activities into one party endorsed by their religious group and leader.

Next, I would like to look at a few quotes from some of these 'foot-soldiers'. The discipline of anthropology and ethnographic fieldwork is stringent in the sense that it requires long-term participant observation and involvement as a way of gaining a deeper understanding of what motivates people who make up a religious movement, for instance. Such an emic approach and the use of a qualitative methodology, while it does not necessarily dismiss or disagree with broader sociological analyses, may nevertheless come up with rather different findings, or ways of looking at the same phenomenon. A grassroots perspective, if you like, might yield quite different, perhaps even opposing positions to those offered by non-ethnographic studies. The need to use a variety of methodologies to empirically question or qualify dominant theories in the sociology of religion (theories of secularization or rational choice theory for instance) is what Davie (2007) has recently called for as a way of gaining a better understanding of the role of religion in the modern or postmodern world.

I would like to quote a couple of young Soka Gakkai members who were supporting Komeito. Maguro, a second year philosophy student, saw the religious philosophy and various activities of Soka Gakkai as a way for him to develop his sense of humanity (*ningensei*) and a deeper sense of compassion (*jihi*) especially for weaker members of society, and then developing the courage to stand up for such beliefs. This process of what he termed 'human revolution', in which he challenged himself to live up to such beliefs, was for him the most important process to engage with as a human being. He felt the need for people to develop a commitment to 'humanity' (the common good and exemplary human behaviour) and a commitment to manifest such 'humanity' in one's own social interactions. This included developing one's own area of expertise in a particular field, but with the focus on improving the social world and the human relationships in which one found oneself in the process. This was a way to develop the ability (*ningenryoku*) to help people who may be suffering in some way. He says,

> *The first step is to develop such a way of thinking, and then to see where each person in their individual circumstances can help. Perhaps it is in the future, perhaps it is now – that varies according to each person . . . the most important thing is that people address those around them who are suffering.* (Maguro 31/5/04)

Komeito supporters, they not only seemed modern and 'social democratic', they also lacked any religious rhetoric.

During my field work, I therefore found myself faced with a tension between a sociological perspective that represented a religious group as a structural form of danger, which may not always seem very democratic or egalitarian, and a grassroots practice and political engagement that seemed to be undertaken by morally concerned groups of young people who wanted societal values to be based on universal respect for the equality and dignity of human life. While their moral concerns clearly stem from their religious philosophy, that is, from Soka Gakkai's and more specifically Ikeda's interpretation of Nichiren Buddhism, in their public sphere of canvassing for Komeito, the ethics they were promoting were surprisingly not being represented as the prerogative of one religious denomination, but as a universal ethics they were hoping would play a bigger part in politics. In fact, their political concerns were not only completely secular in this sense, but because of their strong ethical or moral voice, there was also no sense of interest-based politics, which otherwise is seen as so typical in Japan.

While these socially concerned and active citizens are clearly socialised in this manner through their participation in Soka Gakkai activities, the most influential impact on their thinking is the long-term spiritual leader Daisaku Ikeda. One can certainly empathise with the fear critics have concerning the power Ikeda enjoys in Soka Gakkai; the organisation is often seen as representing a semi-totalitarian system, or as epitomising the 'Japanese' group structures that keep typical hierarchies in place. Nakane's portrayal of new religions as mirroring "Japan's former military system" in which their "astonishing success . . . seems to be attributable mainly to their system of vertical organisation" ([1970] 1998:61) still lingers, and from a structural perspective, one could argue justifiably so. The picture of a seemingly undemocratic, hierarchical organisation that it represents to some outsiders is perpetuated by the sense of reverence, respect and admiration with which Ikeda is treated. His 'charismatic' leadership is represented through his many achievements, his books and his speeches, and the image of an international statesman. Yet, his power lies more than anywhere else in how he interprets Nichiren Buddhism and how he is seen to embody that interpretation. Whichever way you want to construe his role, the practical effect of his interpretation of Nichiren Buddhism as a humane philosophy that promotes equality, respect and belief in the human potential to create social good is the socialization of engaged, broadly educated, independent – in the sense of

feeling self-empowered and personally responsible for their individual and social circumstances - and highly positive young people.

Contrary to many recent studies about youth in Japan, these young people feel empowered enough to want to take responsibility for their own social and political world. As some of the social concerns briefly outlined earlier indicate, these do not appear to be reactionary, right-wing collaborators, or narrow-minded religious bigots, as one might have presumed from listening to Toshikawa's statement to the press about them. In fact, I think we are left with something approaching an ideal notion of the democratically-minded citizen who works for the common social good with little, if any, interest-based politics coming into play for these people. How should we look at a structural "form" that is often dismissed as politically illegitimate and a "content" (at least concerning the young supporters) of groups of active citizens?

In conclusion, I therefore argue that we will gain academically from reconsidering our terminology and conceptualisation about this group in particular (for how long do we call it a new religion, is one question that may arise), and potentially about other so-called new religious groups as well. I also argue that religion, in some instances, could give rise to one of the most valued objectives of modernity – objectivity. I use 'objectivity' here to mean the ability to debate issues about a shared public and social life without implicating religious doctrines or other interest-based ideologies. In this sense, these young people's political objectives are non-partisan or 'objective', if you like, as they share a commitment to politics that focuses on encompassing issues of wider common concerns such as equality, welfare, and environmental protection (we may of course question how far Komeito can live up to these ideals). My findings tell me that religion can be a potential ethical force in politics without necessarily being a religious one, or even without necessarily being a partisan one.

I would like to end this article by posing a question about how to reconcile this epistemological dilemma between a structural analysis of a big powerful religious group and what takes place at the grassroots level of political participation. My current research interests are therefore with these Simmelian dialectical distinctions between form and content, as well as with the relationship between ethics and politics, and the impact of religious leadership on social behaviour.

WORK IN PROGRESS: POSITIONS

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Technologies and Social Sciences: computer simulations, virtual worlds, and artificial intelligence's usefulness for anthropological research of Japan

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Recent technological developments have made new research tools available. Amongst other social scientists, anthropologists of Japan have started to work effectively with new technologies as both a tool and a research field, but they seem to underestimate most of the true theoretical implications of these technologies. Indeed, examining the relevant literature (see "Social Science Computer Review", London: Sage) we find two primary approaches to this subject shared by our research community. 1) Computer devices for aided or assisted research are widely accepted, the Internet has become a widespread tool in doing bibliographical research or gathering data, to extend in-time communication amongst scholars, and much analytical software is now easily

accessible to everyone. Besides these well-established research tools "with" computers, another improving field is that in which scholars are researching "in" computers and new technologies. 2) Computer Mediated Communication (CMC), and the social impact of the Internet, and new media, have become major topics in every discipline from psychology to sociology, and from anthropology to history and economics.

However, very few scholars (see Bainbridge, 2006) are actually concerned about researching "within" computers, both as a methodological issue and a powerful means to scientifically understand fundamental concepts related to human nature, culture and social behaviour. Social scientists might clearly use those tools to address a massive amount of data (numeric, ideographic, photographic, etc.) along with traditional research methods in doing ethnographic studies, interviews or surveys. This expanded perspective should in the end make clear the results of a complex process involving changes in how we have traditionally considered boundaries between qualitative and quantitative approaches. Most importantly, computers can be also used to build up experimental sites, analyze social networks (Smith and Stevens, 1999), observe people's reactions towards controlled stimuli, and test theories (Moretti, 2002).

On the other hand, innovative social scientists may also be able to design research projects that are impossible to set out in the "real world" because of, say, ethical considerations or lack of funding. From the simplest cooperation games to more complicated issues of criminal relationships, natural disasters, disease diffusions, and political upsets, such "virtual" experiences are perfect environments in which to explore more than the social impact of new technologies but fundamental matters from the dawn of time, like religion or differential cultural evolution. For example, in an exhaustive paper published by *Science*, Bainbridge (2007) examines the religious implications of video games in order to elaborate a comprehensive theory of virtual religiosity and propose particular research methodologies involved in such analysis. Unfortunately, even in our field many scholars presume that new technologies have acted as mere backing devices or "fashionable" new topics to which apply traditional methods. In this way they assume incorrectly that just "using a computer" or "doing research on the Internet" would be a guarantee of scientific reliability and accountability. This oversimplifying approach to new technologies amongst scholars is symptomatic of a lack of knowledge concerning computers' true potentialities. However, in order to better understand the true potential of this subject, we must be more specific and briefly evaluate different areas.

WORK IN PROGRESS: POSITIONS

First of all, there are **commercial simulation**s that are designed to be something different from science, something that ought to offer comprehensive and real emotional experiences to users. From stand-alone video games (like FPS – First Personal Shooters) to very social environments (RPG – Role-Playing Games) with real social interactions through the Internet (MORFG – Massively Multi player On line Role-Playing Game) or expanded to real life experiences (LARP – Live Action Role-Playing Game), these "virtual worlds" could be particularly suitable for qualitative methodologies, as ethnography or discourse analysis, showing how they can be connected to more structured approaches, like surveys or experiments, and even to quantitative and statistical analysis. Besides, it might be very interesting to analyze the particular ways in which social issues are perceived, elaborated and represented by subjects in such virtual spaces, which can act as well as a powerful tool to control cultural and linguistic differences during the entire data processing.

Computer simulations strictly designed for social research have also become a useful methodological approach (Gilbert and Troitzsch, 2005) and are quite standard in psychology and economics. According to Bainbridge (2006) there is a widespread agreement on the approach called *multi-agent system* to represent social interactions in computer simulations. In this *agent-based modeling*, an agent is a formalized algorithm designed to take actions in the simulated environment, exchanging information with others, learning how to act properly, and showing us how human relationships work. The more complicated the software is, the more reliable the findings will be. This approach could be particularly interesting to test theories in the same way that extensive experiments or epidemiological analysis is conducted. Finally, Artificial Intelligence is a well-established topic in computer science, physical anthropology, and cognitive sciences, but other social sciences are late in joining these efforts. Artificial Intelligence is also implemented in video games in order to manage the environment, confront humans, or generally act as a counterpart of the users.

Indeed, putting into practice broad definitions of **Artificial Intelligence (AI)** and **Artificial Social Intelligence (ASI)** as complex systems, we may note that they can be used to improve simulations in the context of the social sciences. **Complex systems** are composed of interconnected parts that as a whole exhibit properties not defined by the sum of individual parts. Thanks to its heuristic potentiality, complexity is studied in many areas of science, and also by social sciences. Fields that specialize in the interdisciplinary study of complex systems include systems theory, complexity theory, and cybernetics. In the last issue of

this newsletter, Mikako Iwatake (2007) pointed out that outstanding research in AI and ASI is moving on to recreate human-like outcomes. According to Iwatake, this point should make us think about the consequences of technological developments for Japanese society and culture. In a future context, that could be related to what the mathematician and science-fiction writer Vernor Vinge (1993) has called the **socio-technological singularity**, a time in the future when entities with greater-than-human intelligence will be achievable. What lies ahead? Who knows! But in the meantime, large computer networks and their users' interfaces are becoming so technologically advanced that user networks might be soon theoretically considered superhumanly intelligent. Hence, AI and neural nets to come may suggest closer connections with biological life, and will become emblematic to understand the very nature of human beings, in their relational dynamics, their sociocultural frames and the way they function. These topics and methodologies are well institutionalized in many other fields of social science (e.g. the sociology of new media) much more than in Japanese studies. Therefore sharing them may help Japanese studies professionals to communicate to a wider anthropological and sociological audience.

Facing these concerns, in my opinion we need to refine existing approaches and refocus our research agenda, grounding it on rigorous theoretical frameworks avoiding borderline and naive approaches that are of little or no use in science. As a matter of fact, in a very effective way, these new fields may be helpful to unify various debates amongst disciplines and give social and human science solidity and scientific rigor, despite the prevalent recourse to philosophical concepts grounded on internal logic, which are thus elusive and lacking in both empirical and theoretical support. My own hope is that every aspect of this topic could be examined in depth, so to reach a critical mass of contributions. Given the scope of this newsletter, this is only a brief overview of major likely interactions between social sciences, simulations, virtual worlds, and artificial intelligences. But it serves to point the need for anthropologists studying Japan to be cognizant of these developments, and to contribute, from their particular geographical perspective, to one of the most challenging contemporary worldwide debates, over technological development and its sociocultural consequences.

RESOURCES*:
The **Social Science Computer Review** (http://hcl.chass.ncsu.edu/sscore/sscore.htm) is an interdisciplinary journal covering both social science instructional and research applications of computing as well as social science research on societal impacts of information technology. Among topics within the scope of the journal are artificial intelligence,

computational social science theory, computer-assisted survey research, computer-based qualitative analysis, computer simulation, critical social theory, economic modeling, geographic information systems, instructional multimedia, instrumentation and research tools, social impacts of computing and telecommunications, software evaluation, web-based survey research, and world-wide web resources for social scientists.

The **Bulletin of Science, Technology, and Society** (http://www.sagepub.com/journal.aspx?pid=159) has as its goal to provide a means of communication within as wide a spectrum of the STS community as possible. This includes faculty and students from the sciences, engineering, the humanities and social sciences in the newly emerging groups on university and college campuses, and in the high school systems, all of which teach integrative STS subject matters. It also includes professionals in government, industry and universities, ranging from philosophers and historians of science to social scientists concerned with the effects of science and technology, scientists and engineers involved with the study and policy-making of their own craft. A third category of readers represents "society": journalists dealing with the impact of science and technology, public interest groups and the attentive public.

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RESEARCH REPORTS

Adult Language Socialization in Japan

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I am currently engaged in research on Japanese language ideologies and the language socialization of young adults as they move into the workforce. In Japan, the transition from college student to "new company employee" is seen as a major life stage which culminates in one's development as a mature adult. Explicit language socialization is an important aspect of this transition because college students are seen as ill-prepared for the behaviors and language use that are expected in the business world. Many companies provide new employees with several days of training in "business manners" covering everything from how to bow and present one's business card to how to answer the telephone. My current project is a six-month ethnographic study of such business manner and speech training.

My methodology involves participant observation of one or two-day business manner training conducted by companies that specialize in workforce development training. Some of these training sessions are for employees of a specific company while others are "open seminars" attended by employees of a variety of different companies. I have also been able to interview several instructors and people responsible for course development. By the end of my project, I will have observed or participated in training sessions offered by five different companies.

Despite the rhetoric of discontinuity between the roles of "student" and "member of society," much of what is covered in these courses, from group greetings to the emphasis on proper attire, is grounded in the trainees' prior educational experiences. Trainees are videotaped giving a one-minute self-introduction followed by a critique from the trainers on everything from

hairstyles and posture to language use. Rather than learning entirely new speech patterns, the focus of the course is on eradicating forms viewed as slang, vulgar, or incorrect. Trainees are critiqued on their word choice, intonation, and use of incorrect honorific forms. As in traditional Japanese arts, the focus throughout is on learning and imitating the correct form. Awareness of deviations becomes the basis for setting individual self-improvement goals. The courses draw on and reproduce familiar cultural practices at the same time that they attempt to transform students into idealized company employees.

As another aspect of this study, I have also enrolled in a three-month public speaking class at a *hanashikata kyōshitsu*, an organization that trains people in how to give effective speeches. This class has proved to be a rich source of data on Japanese ideologies of language and human relationships. For example, the first class was a lecture on how greetings contribute to good human relationships. The motto of the Speech Center is "Before there are words, there is the heart. After the words, there is action," and their goal is not only to produce effective speakers, but to help participants develop a more "bright" and sincere *kokoro* (heart).

Participants practice giving three-minute speeches in which they use their own observations and experiences to draw out a moral theme which becomes the thesis of the speech. They are assigned to prepare speeches describing how they have put the speech center's teachings into practice through engaging in positive thinking, cheerfully greeting their coworkers and family members, and so on. In the process of learning and practicing effective speaking techniques, they also learn to produce a narrative of self-improvement showing how their behavior and attitudes have changed as a result of the speech center's teachings.

One aspect that intrigues me about the teachings of both the speech center and the business manner classes is the relationship between form and feeling, *kokoro* (the heart) and *kihon* (the standard forms). In both types of training, a great deal of emphasis is placed on exact details of form such as how to bow correctly, and yet there is also a message in both contexts that the form is valueless unless it is suffused with feeling. It is no good simply saying the correct phrase unless you sound like you mean it. Rather than a tension between form and feeling, the idea is that using the correct form is what enables one to best express sincere feeling. This presumes that the feelings that one wants to express are the socially normative or approved ones, and it allows no avenue to critique or change existing social systems. Indeed, the speech center explicitly teaches students that the only person you can change is yourself.   Examining

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how and to what degree participants resist such training is an area I hope to explore further.

I am currently engaging in research as a Visiting Foreign Research Fellow at the University of Tsukuba in Japan. I will return to my home institution at the University of Northern Iowa, U.S.A. at the beginning of July 2008. I welcome contact from other scholars interested in similar issues.

Researching Japan's Worst Plane Crash

Christopher P. Hood
Cardiff University (HoodCP@Cardiff.ac.uk)

The crash of Japan Airlines flight JL123 on 12 August 1985 shook the Japanese nation. To date this crash remains the worst plane crash in the world in terms of number of human fatalities due to a single plane crash. Of the 524 passengers and crew, only 4 survivors were found when rescue teams eventually reached the crash site. That the crash occurred during the Obon religious festival gave it, and the anniversary events, extra poignancy. In many respects JL123 is Japan's and the aviation world's equivalent of the *Titanic*.

I am currently writing a book about this crash, using it (and where appropriate other disasters and events for comparative purposes) as a means to study various aspects of Japanese society – in a similar vein to my previous book on the shinkansen. As part of the research I travelled to the crash site for the anniversary in 2007 and to visit JAL HQ and JAL's safety promotion centre (which includes parts from the plane itself).

There are three main events each year to mark the anniversary; a lantern festival (similar to those conducted for Obon around Japan); a ceremony at the crash site itself; a ceremony at the memorial garden in the centre of Ueno village (the crash site although in Ueno village is about 20km from the village centre). The first of these is on the evening of the 11th. As well as numerous *izoku*, there was also a group of volunteers singing songs and playing accordions, as well as many representatives from the media. I watched as the media swarmed around *izoku*, taking pictures and asking questions. The role of the media is one part of my research and so it was interesting to see them in action at close quarters. However, I could not help but feel sadness seeing them get in the way of the

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events. This was a feeling which came back on a number of occasions over the weekend.

I had decided at an early stage not to approach any of the *izoku*. Although I was keen to ask them questions and talk to them, I felt that due to the nature of the reason for why they were gathered, it was not appropriate for me to disturb them. I merely wanted to observe what they did – if a means to ask why they were doing what they were doing arose, that would be a bonus. Of course, things do not always work out as initially expected. I stood out from the crowd as the only non-Oriental. After a while a member of the press came and asked whether I spoke Japanese. Once I said that I did, I became the focus of his next interview. As this progressed other journalists walked by, clearly trying to discover what language we were using and the gist of what we were talking about. So, as one interview ended, another would start. As I wrote a message on one of the candles on behalf of one of the *izoku* I know, journalists watched at close quarters, making this surprisingly difficult task even harder. Although the interviews hindered some of my observations, it did give me further insight into the workings of the media and their reasons for being there. I was also able to cultivate the contacts over the weekend so that upon my return some of the journalists had sent me information which may have otherwise been hard to obtain.

After the lantern festival, I returned to the hotel and went for dinner. I took with me a copy of one of the books edited by the organization set up by some of the *izoku* of the JL123 crash. I had no intention of reading it, it was merely a signal to any other *izoku* present at dinner (and as Ueno is only a village all of the rooms in the various forms of accommodation are fully booked up on 11th August each year by *izoku*) that I can understand Japanese and that my purpose for being there was in relation to JL123. I have use similar tactics before when, for example, sitting near the judges at sumō tournaments – leading to some interesting conversations with them between bouts! It was not long before one of the *izoku* came over to me to introduce themselves and to discuss why I was there. As it turned out they are one of the central families in the JL123 *izoku* organization.

Although my trip to Japan was only 4 days long, it was very successful and the contacts I made will enable to make much more detailed observations and interviews on future trips. Although luck played its part, the conventional idea that research trips to Japan should be relatively lengthy clearly does not always apply. Indeed, I have found that much can be achieved by taking advantage of numerous relatively short trips rather than a small number of

extended trips, as the intervening periods can be used to go back over previously gathered information and to develop links by email, for example.

One of the problems I am finding with this research, more than any of my previous research, is the dividing line between objective research on the subject and of the subjects, and the problems of personal attachments to them. The starting point for this research was knowing a JAL employee who was assigned to look after the British family of one victim. I subsequently met that family. I also knew one Japanese *izoku* from many years previously. I now know many more. Although I find watching their actions and asking them questions about their thoughts to be highly educational, at the same time I worry about their feelings when they eventually come to read my book or articles. Am I so different to the journalists whom I found so distasteful at times during my trip to Ueno village? I have become connected to this crash now in so many ways. Although, in part still motivated for research purposes, I have also become more active in raising awareness about this crash and the need for air safety (surely an issue for any of us who have rely on planes to get to Japan). Untwining myself from this web of activity so that I can study it objectively remains one of my challenges.

Cultural Democracy at the Grass Roots?
Preservation Societies in Toyama Prefecture in the
1950s and Beyond

Peter Siegenthaler
Texas State University, San Marcos (ps30@txstate.edu)

Primarily a historian who focuses on cultural politics in the postwar period, I am engaged in a long-term project to explore the role of historic preservation (state-sponsored and otherwise) in the cultural, social, and political development of Japan from 1945 to the present. My current research has taken me to Toyama prefecture, where I am investigating the formation and activities of two "preservation societies" (*hozon-kai*) established in the cities of Takaoka and Uozu in the early 1950s. These preservation societies, though apparently short-lived in their active phase, were announced with great fanfare in the local press. The Uozu society, for example, was described in the *Kita Nihon Shinbun* (14 November 1953) as the leader in a "vanguard" cultural assets protection

movement, and as an organization whose establishment "literally every citizen was waiting for with anticipation."

That newspaper article, among other sources, links the establishment of the *hozon-kai* to the postwar concern with the "democratization of cultural assets" (*bunkazai no minshu-ka*) via the 1950 revision of the Cultural Properties Protection Law (Bunkazai Hogo-hô). The 1950 law is most often noted for its inclusion in the historic preservation apparatus of broader classes of cultural elements, bringing into official preservation folk practices and vernacular architecture, among other phenomena, but it also set out a framework for the involvement of local people in historic preservation work through the establishment of local public bodies (*chihô kôkyô dantai*), such as the *hozon-kai*. In earlier research, I have tried to set that project of the democratization of culture and cultural assets in the context of the "conservative democracy" (in Beasley's words) of the Yoshida administrations' promotion of the *bunka kokka*, the "nation of culture."

The primary questions I am asking in the course of this project focus on the relative influence of local voices (intellectuals, artists, and other concerned members of the community) and representatives of the state (Monbushô bureaucrats, academics, and others) in the workings of the *hozon kai*. Implicit in these questions is a questioning of the usefulness to present-day scholars of seeing the 1950s *hozon-kai* as bridges between the democratizing spirit of the first few postwar years (represented in the 1950 law and substantial reforms to cultural preservation policy that preceded its passage) and the progressive residents' movements of the 1960s, many of which (as in Tsumago, Kurashiki, and Shirakawa, among others) centered on townscape preservation (*machinami hozon*) as the best means for community preservation in opposition to state-centered development schemes.

I am in the first stages of this Toyama project, and would be grateful for any perspectives on these issues that might be offered by the experiences of members of JAWS. In particular, I would welcome any information JAWS members might have concerning *hozon-kai* elsewhere in Japan, with an emphasis on societies founded in the early 1950s. As well, I would welcome information concerning work done in Toyama now and in the past by JAWS members.

Symbolically Charged Remembrance: Commemorating the Controversial Past

Peter Cave
University of Manchester

2007 marked the passage of 70 years since the Nanking Massacre. As is well known, this event continues to be the source of fierce historical and political controversy, centring on casualty numbers, the burden of responsibility, and the right way to remember and respond in the present to what happened in Nanking in 1937-38. As it happened, I was in Japan during the latter months of 2007, but noticed very few events or media features concerned with the anniversary, other than an editorial in the *Asahi Shinbun*. Though I may have failed to notice some other commemorations, my general impression was that the anniversary was not being given much attention.

How should one feel about this lack of commemoration, if such it was? Frequent commemoration of an event on anniversaries gives that event a special ritual status; it is marked as an event that is not like other historical events that are discussed and remembered at irregular intervals, but as one that must be remembered at particular, regular times because of its overwhelming symbolic importance. The most obvious examples are days commemorating events of foundational national significance (the Fourth of July, *le quatorze juillet*) or national survival (Remembrance Day). Such days help to maintain national identity. Not surprisingly, events associated with national shame are much less often commemorated in this way. Remembrance of such events is likely to be irregular and occasional, even if they are recognized as of great historical and even contemporary importance. To make an event like the Nanking Massacre part of non-ritualized history, as it were, may be seen by some as a part of a healthy coming to terms with the past which makes the Massacre more part of 'normal history' than 'ritual history'. On the other hand, the transformation into non-ritualized history might be regretted and condemned by others who consider that an event of such magnitude and symbolic significance should continue to be remembered regularly for the warnings it provides, and also as a salutary reminder of a continuing source of pain and friction in Japan's relations with China.

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Controversies about how to remember the Nanking Massacre are very familiar to those of us who study Japan. Such controversies are, however, not always contextualized as one of a number of major international examples of disagreements over how to conceptualize and commemorate traumatic and violent historical events. Some other examples come to international prominence less frequently, either because they are internal to one nation-state (e.g. the American Civil War or the treatment of aboriginal peoples in Australia) or because they rarely disturb international relations that are usually relatively harmonious. An example of the latter, however, suddenly and briefly erupted into attention in 2007, and surrounded another major historical anniversary that year – the 150th anniversary of an event of 1857 that, like so many such controversial events, bears several different names, including the First War of [Indian] Independence (often preferred in India), the Indian Rebellion (used by Wikipedia, among others), or the Indian Mutiny (the most common term in Britain).

The controversy was sparked by the visit of members of a British army regiment, the 60th Queen's Royal Rifles, to Uttar Pradesh, India, where they had arranged for the church blessing of a commemorative plaque 'to the bravery and distinguished service' of their founder regiment during the events of 1857 (Crow 2007: 18). Despite agreement on the wording of the plaque with Indian church authorities, and articles defending the action in some Indian newspapers, the visit was cut short because of street protests, notably by members of the major Hindu nationalist party, the BJP. A separate group of British self-described 'Mutiny buffs' was also affected, including Charlotte Crow, the Deputy Editor of the British magazine *History Today*. Later, Ms Crow wrote of the experience that 'it was shocking … to be on the receiving end of unforeseen hostilities, to be cast as the "bad guys" 150 years after the event' (Crow 2007: 19). Another point of view came, however, from Amit Pathak, an Indian local history enthusiast who criticised the violent street protests, but had critical words for the British visitors too:

> I do not think the American army could go and try to plant a tablet in Vietnam in 2007 for any of the battles they won there, or the Germans planting a tablet in Warsaw for victories in 1939 … I did not believe that there would be some people living in Britain in 2007 who could be so lost in time … they are stuck in a long lost colonial past.
>
> (Crow 2007: 19)

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For Charlotte Crow, 150 years was clearly a long time – long enough for passions to have cooled, for the transmitted memories of the past to have lost their pain and capacity to arouse anger. Certainly, 150 years is longer than the 30-odd years since the end of the Vietnam War, the 68 years since 1939, or the 70 years since the Nanking Massacre. Yet 150 years is not really a long time in terms of the continued impact of historical events that have been transformed into collective memory and transmitted as such. After all, 1857 is only four years before 1861, which saw the outbreak of another terrible event whose name is disputed and about which there continue to rage arguments about appropriate remembrance – the American Civil War, sometimes called the War Between the States in the former Confederate states.[2] This was brought home to me by a recent trip to Charleston, South Carolina, where I saw the Confederate flag, the Stars and Bars, flying prominently in front of a Confederate Museum in one of the town's central locations. In one part of the British Isles, meanwhile, people are still sharply divided over how to remember the events of 1688, even if the shooting in Northern Ireland has abated.

It is hard not to agree with Amit Pathak that the British visitors to Uttar Pradesh were at best very naïve, and at worst shockingly insensitive. Perhaps they had forgotten the huge numbers killed in the events of 1857-58, and the widespread atrocities committed by British soldiers (as well as by those in revolt). Perhaps they never knew – unlikely in the case of this particular group, but entirely likely for most British people, who learn next to nothing at school about Britain's historic relations with India (Cave 2003, 2005). Perhaps they thought that people in India saw the events as they themselves seem to have done – 'old, unhappy, far-off times, and battles long ago', to be regretted, but not to get angry about. Given the paucity of coverage of India in the British media, perhaps this is not surprising.

The incident – along with consideration of similar long-running disputes about history and memory, such as those involving the American Civil War – invites a number of reflections. The first concerns time. The passing of the years can lessen passions about historical events; gradually those who experienced and remember the events pass away, and eventually even those who remember that generation – their children and grandchildren – pass away too. But the lessening or

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[2] According to the website of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (www.hqudc.org, accessed 15 April 2008), this organization prefers the term 'the War Between the States' because it recognizes what they regard as the status of the 'Confederate States' as a 'separate nation' in combat with the United States.

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otherwise of passion depends in part on how collective memories of events are shaped in the intervening years – and this itself depends on the significance attached to an event, a significance which is always formed in relation to a changing contemporary context. Historical events can be remembered out of an angry, mournful, or repentant desire that they will never be repeated; they can be remembered out of pride in those who took part in them; they can be forgotten because they are considered irrelevant or distracting in the present; or they can be forgotten out of embarrassment. Remembrance can be maintained in certain ways by groups who identify with certain actors in the events, such as former members of the Japanese Imperial Army, current or former members of British regiments in India, or organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Events can also spring to life after centuries, if they have enough power as symbols of oppression or solidarity, communal or national. Whether the passage of time is 'long' or 'short' is a matter of the force possessed by symbolically charged remembrance, not just years. Continued arguments over events 150 years ago provoke the sobering reflection that without some kind of shared view of its significance, the Nanking Massacre could continue to be a source of bitter controversy for another 80 years or even longer.

A second reflection concerns dilemmas concerning the culpable yet courageous dead. One of the major motivations in remembrance is the desire to honour those with whom one identifies as forebears – former members of a group with whom one strongly identifies, whether that be a family, a military unit, or a political unit such as a state (in the U.S. sense) or a nation. When forebears have shown admirable qualities, as they often have – especially courage and self-sacrifice in war situations – this is very understandable. Yet very frequently, those who deserve to be honoured for their courage may also deserve to be condemned for taking part in violence or oppression against others. Is it in the nature of honour to be an absolute – something that vanishes when mixed with condemnation? Are the only options to praise the agent of liberation or resistance, lament the victim, and condemn the oppressor? Is there – should there be – a way of moving beyond such dualities? As we move beyond 2007, the people of Japan and China are only some of the many who face these difficult questions.

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TOMORROW'S RESEARCHERS TODAY: A REVIEW OF CURRENT PH.D STUDENTS AND PROJECTS IN THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF JAPAN

The JAWS Newsletter is delighted to introduce a new section, entitled 'Tomorrow's Researchers Today', which gives current PhD students doing anthropological (and allied) research on Japan the chance to introduce themselves and their projects briefly. The purpose of the section is twofold: first, to keep JAWS members informed about the state of the field, and the kind of research that is currently being done (and which we can expect to see published in the not-too-distant future); and secondly, to give current PhD students the chance to let interested others know what they are doing, in a way that will hopefully promote the formation of research networks, collaboration, conference panels, and other fruitful enterprises.

As this is the first time this section has appeared, we ensured that we would have something to put in it by approaching three institutions which have relatively large numbers of PhD students doing anthropological work on Japan. We will continue to approach similar institutions, known for their clusters of PhD students, for future issues. However, we would like to emphasize strongly that we very much welcome unsolicited self-introductions by any and all PhD students doing anthropological work on Japan, regardless of institutional affiliation. (The students do not have to be enrolled in an anthropology programme: work in sociology, history, religion, education (etc, etc) that has affinities with anthropology and is likely to be of interest to anthropologists is also great.) We have no bias towards any institutions or geographical locations – it is simply that our own ignorance means that we are not necessarily aware of all the wonderful PhD work being done, and practicality leads us to approach those large clusters of PhDs we already know about. So, PhD supervisors, please encourage your students to submit, and change the perceptions of the Editors (and maybe JAWS members more widely) about where PhD research is being done!

In this first appearance of this section, we are happy to have self-introductions from PhD students at Oxford University, Oxford Brookes University, and the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London.

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

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

Yuki IMOTO (yuki.imoto@anthro.ox.ac.uk)

My doctoral project examines early childhood English education in Japan, and how this relates to issues of class and ethnicity, within the context of a globalizing Japan. I have recently completed fieldwork in Tokyo, where I worked for a year as an "international preschool" teacher.

Hyun Sun LEE (hyun.lee@stcatz.ox.ac.uk),

My doctoral project focuses on the adaptation strategies of the ethnic minorities in Japan and the influence of state policies and the growth of civil society on them. My special interest is in the *zainichi soren* community (North Koreans), the current social welfare policies for the aged society, the impact of the NPO Law and the interactions between these. I did eighteen months of fieldwork in Kyoto from 2004 to 2006 as a volunteer worker in a *zainichi* welfare organization for the *zainichi* elderly based on the Long-term Care Insurance. During that time, I was also affiliated to Ritsumeikan University as a visiting scholar. I plan to finish my doctoral dissertation early this year.

Aaron MILLER (amiller333@yahoo.com).

My doctoral project is a study of the role of education in amateur sports in contemporary Japan. I am particularly interested in how amateur sports coaches are trained to become amateur sports coaches, as well as the ideology and the practice of coaching, especially with respect to discourses of 'character development'. I am currently in the early stages of fieldwork at a Kanto-area university researching the coach training process and have also written about representations of high school sports as well as the role and perceptions of physical punishment in amateur sports.

Stephen ROBERTSON (stephen.robertson@anthro.ox.ac.uk).

My doctoral project examines the organization of a large-scale festival in Suwa, Nagano. Specifically, I am interested in the negotiation of responsibility for personal and public safety between individuals, community and the state. More

generally, the project will contribute to the anthropological literature on moral responsibility, comparative ethics, and the role of festivals in civil society. I began the project in October of 2007, and I will be commencing a two-year period as of fieldwork in April of 2008, during which time I will be a research student at the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Tokyo.

Machi SATO (machisato@gmail.com).

In my doctoral project in Education, I investigate how US and European ideas about 'faculty development' are being drawn on in the implementation of Japanese university reforms. Based on an ethnographic case study of one institution, I explore academic and administrative concepts of change and reform, and the increasingly important role played by 'developers' in this process. I am planning to start my field work from April, 2008.

OXFORD BROOKES UNIVERSITY

Sebastien BORET (sboret@brookes.ac.uk)

My doctoral research is an investigation of a movement promoting new 'Eco-Friendly Burial'(*jumokusou*). Based on a two-year fieldwork in Japan (2006-08), my thesis explores Japanese ideas and practices of death, family changes, environment, and some aspects of tourism (as they relate to *jumokusou*). Having completed my thesis (end of 2008), I anticipate that my Postdoctoral Project will focus on contemporary Japanese Environmental Movements, Practices, and Sustainability. My interests include Death, Family Changes, Environment, and Tourism.

Andrea DE ANTONI (a.deantoni@unive.it)

I am an Italian Ph.D. candidate at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. Presently I am a visiting student at Oxford Brookes University, through the "Erasmus" European exchange programme.

My doctoral project is a study of the **representations of hell** in modern and contemporary Japan as **dystopian visions**. The research focuses on Japanese "new" and "new new" millennial movements, as well as *manga* and *anime*, investigating the meaning of hell as connected to social deviance. It is based on

two periods of fieldwork I carried out in 2006 and 2007. I am also planning to go to Japan again in Autumn 2008. My research interests include visions of death and the afterlife, symbolic representations of liminality, technology, construction of identity, discrimination and theories of cultural complexity.

Anna FRASER (anna.fraser@brookes.ac.uk)

My doctoral research is an investigation into how Japanese medicine utilizes natural radioactive thermo-mineral springs in healing. This work is based on fieldwork in a location rich in springs containing high levels of radon. I am comparing the Japanese patients' experience with that of patients in a European spa (Jachymov in the Czech Republic) where water of very similar properties is used in a similar way. I am focusing on liminoid space as well as health beliefs of the patients in the two spas. I am planning to return to Japan to try and find answers to some of the questions raised while doing fieldwork in the Czech Republic.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES (SOAS), UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Emma COOK (e.cook@soas.ac.uk)

My doctoral project explores constructions of masculinity among male 'freeters'. I am particularly interested in how expected Japanese life-courses are implicated in constructions of masculinity, and how young men engage with, negotiate, resist and at times reject normative ideas of hegemonic masculinity. Other than gender and masculinity other areas of particular interest are youth, popular culture and media. I started fieldwork in the city of Hamamatsu (Shizuoka Prefecture) in August 2006 and finished in September 2007. I plan to finish the PhD by March 2009 and intend to apply for post-doctoral positions to pursue further research.

Paul HANSEN (pshansen@soas.ac.uk)

I am a 4th year PhD candidate at SOAS, and my doctoral project focuses on the lives of young dairy farmers in central Hokkaido. I examine the shift from pastoral to managerial care, rural alienation and deskilling, issues of economic, political, personal, food, and ontological security and securing, animal / human

relations, and the individual as a site of agency over currently dominant and essentialist paradigms that favour imagined cultural uniqueness or social determinism as descriptive or explanatory.

I intend to continue with this research after I complete my doctorate (Summer 2008 barring any disasters) and I hope to find either a teaching or post-doctoral position. I would also like to continue with a side project that I am currently undertaking that focuses on young urban street musicians in Japan.

Silke NIEHUSMANN (sniehusmann@hotmail.com)

My PhD thesis ('Manga – lost in translation? A study of American and German manga localisation processes') researches the issues surrounding the localisation of Japanese media inside Western media organisations. I am particularly interested in the process of media production and the way local culture is reflected in localisation processes of Japanese media. This thesis will, therefore, take a closer look at the processes of translation, re-writing, editing and henceforth as they happened de facto within publishers. After dealing with the steps a manga takes before being published, the focus will narrow in on censorship as a more specific example, enabling to highlight the very culturally specific decisions taken during localisation. While the early part of the thesis deals with forces internal to the publisher, the last part will deal with the influence that business partners and local audiences have on the shape of the medium.

The main phase of my fieldwork took place between summer 2002 and autumn 2003, with further inquiries spread throughout 2004 in order to complete the data sets. I am predominantly interested in relations between Western countries and China/Japan, both in regard to cultural and political developments informed by historical developments. I hope to be able to continue this line of inquiry and work after finishing my PhD.

Philomena KEET (philomena@mac.com)

My doctoral research looks at the network of consumers and producers of a creative, high-fashion oriented street style scene in Tokyo. The concept of *oshare*, similar to 'cool' or 'stylish', is used in negotiating social ties and one's position within the hierarchical network. The research contributes to writings on individuality and creativity in Japan: these qualities are talked about as central to

achieving an *oshare* outfit, which is ideally perceived as a natural extension of the 'self'. I conducted fieldwork in Tokyo from January 2006 to March 2007, supported by the Japanese Government (MEXT) scholarship. The research was mainly carried out in Harajuku, Tokyo both with street fashion magazines *FRUiTS* and *Tune*, and as a shop assistant in an 'underground' fashion boutique.

BOOK REVIEWS

赤坂憲雄『岡本太郎の見た日本』岩波書店、2007。

中牧弘允評（国立民族学博物館）

　岡本太郎は大阪万博の「太陽の塔」をつくった芸術家として有名である。その塔を国立民族学博物館から毎日のように眺めている筆者にとって岡本太郎は気になる存在である。また「太陽の塔」のなかに展示された民族資料が民博に移管されていることもあって、無視できない存在ではある。だが、民族学者としての岡本太郎については、これまであまり語られてこなかった。研究もほとんどなかった。本書がでなければ、永遠に忘れさられてしまったかもしれない。

　著者の赤坂憲雄氏は「東北学」の提唱者としてつとに知られている。民俗学の造詣が深く、歴史学の網野善彦とアラン・コルバンとの対談も最近まとめられている（赤坂憲雄『民俗学と歴史学－網野善彦、アラン・コルバンとの対話』藤原書店、2007）。ひろい意味での同業者だが、先般その講演を盛岡で聴くまで面識はなかった。赤坂氏がなぜ岡本太郎にこだわるのか、岩手県との関連ではある程度わかったが、もっと知りたくなって本書を通読した。

　この本で著者は岡本太郎を岡本ではなく太郎と呼び、芸術家ではなく「身をやつした民族学者」として描こうとしている。カメラを片手に日本列島をあるきまわり、ときには朝鮮半島にわたって、日本文化とは何かを動物的な直感でつかもうとした学者として。またフランス留学時代にマルセル・モースから薫陶を受け、ミュゼ・ド・ロンムに通いつめた民族学徒として、あるいは神聖社会学を標榜した友人ジョルジュ・バタイユが主宰する秘密結社の儀式の体験者として。さらには＜日本－自己－パリ（世界）＞という問題系にからませて。

　岡本太郎の見た日本は近代主義に汚された「一般」ではなく、それに反抗する「特殊」であった、と太郎自身が言っている。時代は戦後の高度経済成長にむかう日本だった。そこで太郎がつかみとろうとしたのは官僚的な近代主義に汚染されていない生命力にあふれた生活者にとっての日本だった。それを東北、沖縄、韓国への旅で発見しようとした。すくなくとも本書の構成はそうなっている。

　岡本太郎といえば縄文文化の再評価にきっかけをつくったことが特筆される。土器の発見者は菅江真澄で縄文の命名者はエドワード・モースだが、縄文土器の美と生命力を力説したのは太郎である。本書では稲作の弥生文化への嫌悪が、狩猟の縄文文化へ、動物の匂いのただよう東北へと向かわせたと分析される。そこで太郎が見たのは、人間が動物を食い動物が人間を食った時代の名残りをとどめる鹿踊りであり、男性秘密結社のナマハゲである。また夕闇とともにひらかれる夜の生物である老婆たちの世界（川蔵地蔵盆）や、修験者たちが濡れた女性を体感する岩山の御神体（湯殿山）である。宮沢賢治や石川啄木にたいしては「ああ

いうひ弱なものが、いつの頃からこの地方の伝統になってしまったのだろうか」と批判のまなざしを向けている。

　沖縄では久高島のノロ（女性祭司）の風貌に巫女の威力が強大だった古代の香りを嗅ぎとり、凛々しくも孤独な姿を撮影している。同時に、御嶽（うたき）の自然木と自然石に、神と人との交流の初源的な回路を見出し、「神はこのようになんにもない場所におりて来て、透明な空気の中で人間と向かいあうのだ。のろはそのとき神と人間のメディアムであり、また同時に人間意志の強力なチャンピオンである」と述べている。

　朝鮮半島では、丸みのある藁屋根の民家に画一的ではない民族芸術の美を発見している。また村境の風の柱（チャンスン）と、その先につける鳥のかたちをしたものに魅せられる。「空をあおぎながら動かないシルエット。それは天から降って来た生命である。…高い木と一体になった鳥なのだ」と解釈する太郎。そして柱に風を感じ、日本列島に吹いてきたさまざまな風について、太郎は北アジアの狩猟民文化や遊牧騎馬民族の流れを「北方的な流動の生命感」を通じて感得しようとする。

　太郎が見たのは「複合体多層構造」の日本だった。著者の整理によれば、東北日本／西南日本／南西諸島という分割であり、北方ユーラシアに展開する狩猟・遊牧文化／中国大陸に広がった帝国と農耕文化／東南アジアから島々を伝って北上する農耕と漁撈の文化／広大な南太平洋に点在している島嶼文化、である。それにつづけて赤坂氏は断言する。「岡本太郎はいま、わたしたちの前に、身をやつすこともなく、まぎれもなき民族学者として立ち尽くしている」と。画一化と均質化のすすむグローバル化の時代なればこそ、岡本太郎は見直される価値がある、とわたしも同感だ。

　太陽の塔にも三つの顔（過去・現在・未来）がある。それを見る目も複眼的でないといけない、とわが肝に銘じた次第である。

CONFERENCE REPORTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

CONFERENCE REPORTS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

ANTHROPOLOGY OF JAPAN IN JAPAN (AJJ)

We are happy to be able to include abstracts from both the AJJ Annual Conference for 2007, and the AJJ Spring Workshop 2008.

AJJ 10ᵗʰ Annual Conference
Temple University, Japan Campus, Minami-Azabu, Tokyo
Institute of Contemporary Japanese Studies (ICJS)
17-18 November 2007

The theme of the 10ᵗʰ Annual Conference of AJJ was 'Powers, Identities and Relationships in Contemporary Japan'. The keynote lecture was given by Roger Goodman and entitled, 'The Changing Nature of Power, Self-identities and Relationships in Japanese Higher Education.' Those present congratulated the organizers on a very stimulating conference. Titles, abstracts, and names of paper presenters are given below.

Tsipy Ivry: 'Competing models of becoming a person and Pre-Natal Diagnostic technologies in contemporary Japanese society.'

My paper will explore the professional power-knowledge structures and the cultural paradigms of thinking about the fetal and maternal selves that are at play in the reluctance of Japanese ob-gyns to discuss prenatal diagnostic tests (PND) with pregnant women. The analysis is based on participant observations that I conducted in maternity departments in several public hospitals and private clinics between 1999-2001 and on 27 in-depth interviews with Japanese ob-gyns. I focus on the culturally specific ways in which ob-gyns formulate their cautiousness and criticism towards PND while invoking a local moral economy. At the focal point of this moral economy lie the maternal-fetal dyadic relationships as they are forged through the professional and wider social discourse. My findings show that PND in Japan is pushed to a "back-stage" realm where the diagnosis for fetal anomalies is practiced in secrecy.

Analyzing my observations and ob-gyns' accounts of their practice I show how the ambiguities of PND – a set of prenatal technologies widely correlated with eugenic agendas the world over – are constituted in a specific moment in

Japanese culture, history, disability politics and national reproductive policies, and are formulated through several competing local paradigms of thinking about pregnant women, their fetuses and the processes of coming into being in contemporary Japanese society.

Ofra Goldstein-Gidoni: '"Charisma Housewives" and "Fashionable Mothers": Symbols of Ideological Change in Contemporary Japan?'

"Charisma Housewife" (*karisuma shufu*) is a recent role model for Japanese housewives, which refers to celebrity housewives with renowned cooking and housekeeping skills, who have recently become trendy items in women's magazines and in the general media. "Fashionable (*oshare*) Mothers" is another trendy model promoted by even more recent magazines like *Sakura: A Fashion Magazine for Mama and Kids*.

New ideas and life styles which seem to undermine the well established work centered and highly structured way of life of the ideal Japanese family consisting of the corporate *sarariman* and his model professional housewife (*sengyō shufu*), have been raising growing awareness and public concern in Japan since the 1990s. One of the unsettling sectors is that of women who delay marriage, and even more so, those who seem to reject marriage with its ascribed role as dedicated housewives and mothers. Delayed marriage and non-marriage emerged as social problems in the 1990s when the government linked it to one of the nation's major concerns, the declining fertility rate.

There seemed to be a very clear dichotomy between "selfish" women who were labeled the "aristocracy of the unmarried" (*dokushin kizoku*) and socially responsible women, who follow the morally accepted social order and become mothers and full-time housewives. The paper, based on fieldwork in Osaka as well as on study of media, will raise questions relating to the diffusion of new ideas and trends such as "living for oneself" (*watashi de ikiru*), "living as one wants to" or "in one's own style" (*watshirashiku*) to the narratives and lives of housewives. I will argue that a careful look at the high involvement of the consumer market and the media in the construction of such new styles should alert us to not mistakenly take them too easily as portraying an utterly new self and completely new relationship between self and society, or as epitomes for a wholly "transformed" Japan.

Keiko Aiba: 'Transformed Bodies and Gender: Self-Perception of Japanese Pro-Wrestlers.'

Studies about female bodybuilders and so-called self-defensers have shown us the possibilities of transgressing gender through the transformation of bodies and bodily skills. In Japan, professional women wrestlers transform their bodies as bodybuilders do, and like self-defensers, obtain bodily skills which can be used for fighting against violence. It is worthwhile to consider whether such women wrestlers transgress the idea of the female body or the norms of femininity in Japan. To examine how women wrestlers perceive their wrestling bodies, data were collected through in-depth interviews with 25 women wrestlers. My interview results revealed four groups and two sub-groups of perspectives concerning body image among women wrestlers. The first group, which I will call "Insecurity about One's Body", includes the view that the body is unattractive, both from the viewpoint of a wrestler and that of a woman. The first group can be divided into two sub-groups: "Acceptance of One's Body" and "Conflicts about One's Body". The other three groups, which include "The Wrestler's Body", "Just an Ordinary Girl who can Do Pro-wrestling" and "the New ideal Female Body"", regard the body as attractive either from the viewpoint of a wrestler or that of a woman.

Particular attention should be paid to the last of these perceptions, as this view redefines the ideal feminine body from the normative thin body to a body which is strong and cool.

By doing so, this view attempts to regard their bodies as attractive both as wrestlers and as women. This is a view that transgresses the ideal female body.

Kristian Surak: 'Nation-Work: Making Tea, Making Japanese.'

How is culture used to produce "nationness"? How do cultural practices operate as a resource for nation-work? In this presentation I examine how cultural items and forms serve as practical resources used to make "nation" concrete, adjudicate belonging, define the content of membership, and produce good members.

National culture is objectified culture, i.e. it exists though objectifications used to make the abstract concept "nation" concrete. Objects or practices transformed into national culture can make the nation real though symbolic representation. But, more powerfully, they can serve as edificatory sites – places

where the nation is explained or inculcated.   To begin to understand how culture is used as a practical category to make the nation real and consequential, I discuss three types of nation-work: symbol-work, explanation-work, and cultivation-work.   This approach moves beyond common assumptions in the cultural nationalism and boundaries literature that all members stand in the same relationship to what is constructed as national culture.   In contrast, I examine differences in goodness-of-example (i.e., some members are better members than others) and address the prior question of how possession is attained.

The analysis is based on five years of ethnographic, interview, and historical research on tea ceremony in modern Japan. Not only is tea ceremony a rich site condensing several forms of nation-work, but it also highlights the ways they may be gendered in their instantiation. First, I address how tea ceremony was historically constructed as a distinctively "Japanese" practice in a particularly gendered manner. Then, I take up contemporary examples of how tea is used to make the nation experientially real and concrete in everyday life though making better Japanese.

Sheila Cliffe: 'Re/fabricating Japanese Identity through Kimono.'

The kimono is the traditional garment, which is thought of as national costume, and is considered to reveal in a unique way, the beauty of the Japanese female. The kimono can be seen as traditional and irrelevant to everyday society, as few Japanese can wear it. There are those who consider it necessary only for certain rites of passage that are important to Japanese society. The kimono is deeply embedded in a specific place. It is a garment steeped in signification. It is inevitably concerned with discourses about race, ethnicity, gender and identity. At the end of the nineteenth century it met global clothing for the first time, and since then has changed its role in radical ways. What does kimono say today in modern and international Japan? Does it only speak of the past and the traditional role of the female? It is only a representation of an Orientalized view of Japan? What do global clothing markets mean to the crafts people and the makers of kimono? These are some of the questions I will address in this presentation.

Hideaki Matsuoka: 'Poetry and Authenticity: On the Hierarchy in Haiku Group.'

Haiku, Japanese short poems consisting of five-seven-five syllables, have a history of seven centuries. After the Meiji restoration started, Haiku became popular and numerous Haiku groups called *kessha* emerged throughout Japan. The number of Kessha is considered to be more than eight hundred now. Most contemporary Haiku authors in Japan are affiliated with one or more Haiku group(s), which, in general, are hierarchically structured from the master as its top to the newcomers at the bottom. As being continuous with the hierarchical structure of Ikebana group, tea ceremony group, and also medical doctors (especially surgeons), the hierarchy of Haiku group is a significant subject from the anthropological viewpoint. There are several topics to be examined such as; 1. How the master comes to be the master. 2. How disciples become disciples. 3. How the Haiku making and reading gathering called *kukai* is structured. 4. How aesthetic of the group is emerged, maintained, and changed. 5. How the power in the group lies. 6. How the economy of the group is allocated. By using Lave and Wenger's Legitimate Peripheral Participation as an analytical concept, I will examine the process through which a person rises in the hierarchy from the newcomer to the member, member to coterie in a Haiku group which has a history of forty years.

Blai Guarne Cabello: 'Writing Katakana: The Writing of Difference, the Cultural Production of Difference in Contemporary Japan.'

This paper presents the main lines of an ethnographical research focused on cultural production of difference through the observation of the social practice of *katakana* script in contemporary Japan. *Katakana* is a square Japanese syllabic script used mainly to transcribe foreign words into Japanese. Writing a loanword in *katakana*, at the same time that conforms the 'borrowed' term into the Japanese phonological system, marks its item in a different script. *Katakana* is also applied to Japanese and Sino-Japanese words, but only in special conditions such as those to denote emphasis, express surprise, write sounds and onomatopoeia, render a pronunciation or decode languages in technical contexts. All these cases have in common the graphic expression of a sociolinguistic difference. The paper argues that this feature makes the *katakana* play a complex and polyedric role in Japanese writing communication. In order to understand it, the paper explores

the social implications of the *katakana* script practice in popular culture and Japanese cultural industries. The first part of the paper looks at the historical evolution of *katakana* as a script for expressing a sociolinguistic difference. The second part observes its modern and contemporary practice and sets up a typology for a better understanding of its writing practice. The third part analyzes its social practice in relation to the cultural discourses of *wa-yô* classifying categories and *Nihonjinron* intellectual production. The paper finishes by identifying *katakana* as a cultural representation tool applied to the expression of difference in everyday social experience, which play a significant role in the construction process of Japanese cultural identity. As a conclusion, the paper seeks to draw a theoretical proposal to rethink critically the dynamics of cultural production of difference in a globalized world.

Yuki Imoto: 'Changing perceptions and practices of early childhood English education in Japan.'

My research focuses on the recent proliferation of "international preschools" in upper-middle class areas of Tokyo, where English immersion programmes to raise "bilingual" children and curricula to raise "international" children are offered. Why are these institutions becoming popular? What are the meanings given to being "bilingual" or "international" in these settings? What can "international preschools" as culturally contested sites, reveal about the changing discourses of national identity and the dynamics of educational values and practices in contemporary Japan? I focus in particular on the identities and future outlooks of parents involved in early childhood English education and aim to situate these in the context of the current reforms of the preschool system, the national debates regarding English language teaching, and the changing ideologies of childhood and motherhood.

Sachiko Kaneko: 'A critical overview of the discourses on policies regarding English language education in elementary schools in Japan.'

The Foreign Language Subcommittee of the Central Committee on Education has made proposals during the last few years about bringing English language education into the elementary school curriculum, and it is expected that English will be a compulsory subject in all elementary schools in the near future. This paper aims to give a critical overview of the ongoing debate about the policies regarding the implementation of English language education in elementary

schools in Japan, which has implications to understanding the impact of globalization, conceptions of nationalism and education, and more broadly, the relationship between language and society.

Aaron Miller: 'Legal vs. cultural authority: The *tatemae* and *honne* of corporal punishment on high school baseball teams.'

If crime in Japan is low and Japanese people are law-abiding, why do teachers and coaches ignore several anti-*taibatsu* (corporal punishment) laws (1879, 1890, 1900, 1947) and, not only use this 'educational' technique, but also argue its merits as if it were legal? In this paper on *taibatsu* in amateur athletic settings in contemporary Japan, I focus on coaching ideology and examine the relationships between and among teachers/coaches, students/players, principals/oversight bodies, the media and the Japanese government (particularly the Ministry of Education). I am interested in what arguments are made for and against the use of *taibatsu* since the *yutori kyōiku* education reforms of 2002, and ask whether the *tatemae* of *taibatsu* is its illegality and the *honne* is the belief that it is necessary. The *yutori kyōiku* reforms were meant to relieve stress for students, so shouldn't one expect a decrease in the use of violent techniques like *taibatsu*, or do people continue to justify the use of *taibatsu* despite (because of?) these changes? Moreover, the 2007 recommendations by Prime Minister Abe's Education Rebuilding Council make it easier for teachers to use *taibatsu*; do these changing definitions affect the use of and justifications for *taibatsu* on high school baseball teams?

David Blake Willis: 'Educating The Other in Japan: Citizenship and Beyond.'

The Japanese educational system today faces a range of issues which challenge the traditional Japanese identity as well as the organization and thrust of educational curricula. Among these are multicultural education, an education for an international consciousness, and recognition and education for minority "immigrant" populations. The government and the Ministry of Education have viewed these as issues for local schools to solve, however, and not worthy of larger, nation-wide policy deliberation. What I would like to do with this paper is to introduce ways in which educational ethnography can help us understand the range of changes affecting an increasingly diverse Japanese society. What do reflections on globalization and diversity in Japan mean for oldcomers and newcomers in Japan, for both old and new agendas, old and new communities?

What I would like to do with this paper is to introduce ways in which educational ethnography can help explain the range of changes affecting the society. Finally, how do these issues get situated in terms of the broader concerns of citizenship, cultural transmission, and human rights?

Mayumi Ishikawa: 'Searching for a New Identity: Globalizing Higher Education and Japanese Universities.'

This presentation looks into social dynamics, dilemmas and the search for identity in Japan's higher education system, based on participant observation in a research university aspiring to be a global, world-class institution. Political leaders and business executives blame "Dejima-style exclusivism" of Japanese universities for "Japan-passing" by Asia's brightest and demand a reform to make them more competitive and relevant in the globalized higher education market. Local value is thus tested against the de facto global standards and norms being created under the hegemonic dominance of English-language academia as exhibited in some university rankings. The issue of ideological shift from paternalism to multiculturalism on the part of the host society in accommodating foreign talents will be discussed.

Jeremy Rappleye: 'Abe's Education Rebuilding Council and the Road to Educational "Normalization": Cultural and Political Constructions of Educational Crisis.'

The use of foreign models to 'reform' Japanese education has a long history (Goodman, 2001). This paper looks at a prominent recent attempt to employ the foreign example as a catalyst for reform. It details the history of the former Prime Minister's Abe's Education Rebuilding Council by showing how a handful of Japanese policymakers and academics used the example of United Kingdom to 'scandalize' the current educational status quo in Japan, most clearly in their study trip to the UK (Fall 2004), but also in a flurry of works coinciding with Abe's creation of the Council (October 2006). During this study trip and upon their subsequent return to Japan, these figures actively engaged in the construction of identities (both of the UK and Japan) that later came to underpin several of the council's recommendations. Moreover, the establishment of the Rebuilding Council with duties overlapping the Central Council for Education suggests the need to look closely at the subtle intertwining of politics, culture, and discourse. Themes of identity and power are thus clearly evident in the

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construction of crisis in this latest attempt to 'move' Japanese education and to alter the structure of cultural transmission.

Guest speaker lecture: Roger Goodman, Nissan Professor of Modern Japanese Studies, University of Oxford: 'The Changing Nature of Power, Self-Identities and Relationships in Japanese Higher Education.'

The comparative educationalist, William Cummings, has described higher education as having experienced three revolutions. In the first, which began in the middle ages in Continental Europe, universities became teaching institutions which were granted the special privilege, for which they could charge fees, of granting licenses to practice in various professions. In the second revolution, the start of which Cummings dates to the early 19th century, basic research became an important activity of the universities. Government and other donors (for example, Rockefeller, Carnegie in the US) began to invest in universities so that scholars could produce work which would be of benefit to society and civilization in general, if not to them in particular. In the case of both of these revolutions, higher education establishments allowed their own community of scholars to dictate what they taught and researched. In contrast, Cummings describes the basis of the third revolution as involving 'an outward shift of increased responsiveness to social demand'. Higher education institutions are increasingly seen as part of the for-profit commercial sector rather than non-profit, 'charitable' organizations and the reforms associated with the third revolution have had a major impact on the way that they operate worldwide. Ehara Takekazu, drawing on the work of Ian McNay, has characterized these reforms as a shift from collegial-bureaucratic to corporate-privatized management.

Japan's higher education sector has been one of the more resistant to these worldwide trends but a combination of political, economic, and demographic pressures are making such resistance increasingly untenable. This paper outlines the reforms that are part of the third revolution and how they have been introduced into Japan. It then, based on fieldwork in a number of Japanese higher education institutions, sets out to explore both the resistance to and ramifications of these reforms, focusing in particular on issues of power and control as well as the self-identities of, and relationships between, those who work in such institutions. Underlying the paper is the question of whether Japan's reluctance to embrace the reforms is due to institutional, historical or cultural reasons.

Martin Dusinberre: 'Transnational borderlands in a historical perspective: overseas migrants and their hometowns in pre-war Yamaguchi prefecture.'

The Japanese diaspora to the Americas and to Asia began in the 1880s. In Yamaguchi prefecture, those who went overseas came from towns and villages which had been marginalized by the modernization of Japan's economy; they were 'borderland' Japanese, both geographically and socially. Through an ethnographic study of one community, this paper will highlight the extent to which the transnational experience of migration enabled individuals and communities to overcome this sense of 'Otherness'. In so doing, it will offer important historical context on the topic of power relations in the 'transcultural borderlands' of contemporary Japan.

Bruce White: 'Old or New Other? Transitions in the meaning of being Ainu in local and global Japanese contexts.'

Following three Ainu individuals, as well as local Hokkaido "Japanese" attitudes towards them, this paper charts the diversity of identities available to Japan's seemingly still significant others. The three case studies illustrate respectively (1) an ability for contemporary Ainu to find local place through connecting with several generations of discrimination and prejudice in expounding a "minority" identity; (2) the impact of global indigenous action and cooperation networks on the relative standing of Ainu in local and national contexts; (3) an emerging ability for (younger) Ainu to utilize the wider Japanese youth symbolic discourse of "celebrating the periphery", and thus find convincing senses of grounded place in a culturally relativized Japan.

Michael Prieler: 'Racial Hierarchies in Japanese TV Ads.'

Foreigners have been used in Japanese commercials for many years. Based on a collection of 40,000 commercials, this paper shows that their use is based on constructed racial and ethnic hierarchies, which can also be found in Japanese society. White people appear more often than all other groups combined, are represented through various stereotypes and advertise for nearly all product categories. On the other hand, there is a small number of black and Asian people with only few characteristics. The former are represented as musicians and athletes, the latter with products from their countries of origin or as stars. These

stereotypes are often used in order to differentiate Japanese from foreigners (e.g., in the form of showing white people kissing), which can be regarded as a contribution to Japanese identity construction. As a result, this paper will not only give insight into the attitudes of the Japanese towards foreigners, but also toward themselves and so this paper contributes to the understanding of Japanese society and its developments in a globalizing world.

David Chapman: 'Tama-chan and the seal of Japanese identity.'

On 22 February 2003 a group of foreign residents of Japan gathered in Yokohama's Nishi Ward next to the Katabira River to protest the awarding of a residency certificate (*juminhyo*) to a seal called Tama-chan. Tama-chan had frequented the river and as such was awarded the certificate because he was 'more or less like a fellow resident' (Brophy 2003). The group of foreign residents criticized what they believed to be discrimination by the Japanese state because, whilst a seal is able to gain a residency certificate, foreign residents are legislatively excluded from obtaining one. The Tama-chan protest provides an opportunity for investigating not only the residency registration system but also other population registries such as the Japanese family registration system and alien registration system as sites of tension in which contained notions of Japanese citizenship and national identity are being contested. In this paper, I consider the historical and contemporary role of population registration systems in constructing the Japanese citizen and the foreign Other, I argue that the legacies of such circumstances have conflated nationality and ethnicity and influenced notions of citizenship in Japan. I also discuss how the increasing complexity of migrant populations with vested interests in Japan as home have revealed inadequacies, ambiguities and marginalizing effects in these registration systems.

Laura B. Beltz: 'Imagining the Global Landscape: Viewing Japan from Abroad'

The globalization of Japanese popular media has created a heightened network of interest in Japanese culture and society abroad, producing an exchange of ideas, products and imagination. This dissemination of images and information from producer to consumer is a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order in a global landscape which is more imagined than real (Appadurai 1996). Japanese popular culture is produced by Japan, globally distributed, locally marketed, and personally consumed by foreign fans. I have looked ethnographically at the

American fans of Japanese popular culture to discern what images and packages of knowledge are being consumed and how these affect their view of Japanese culture and society. Through my research I discovered a large disconnect between how foreign fans view Japan through its media and the social reality of Japan. My presentation would discuss these miscommunications, touching on the mass marketing of Japanese popular culture abroad and the consumption of the same products domestically. How is identity being consumed as Japanese youth and American youth negotiate between self-definition and an array of possibilities in the capitalist market? How do commodity flows challenge the agency of the consumer? It has become necessary for contemporary ethnography to consider the social reality of imagination by studying the different forces at work in the global landscape.

John Mock: 'Where have all the Farmers Gone...Or at Least Where are They Going? Aging and Agriculture in the Central Akita Mountains.'

Bill Kelly asks how farming in Japan can be culturally central yet economically marginal. He notes that his chapter in the Thompson and Traphagan volume on Tohoku is the only one dealing with agriculture. My chapter in the same volume, immediately preceding his, talks about the depopulation and aging of small town Akita but has almost no discussion of agriculture at all.

This paper is a "correction" on that oversight. Concentrating on what was Ani-machi (now part of Kita Akita City), I look at several factors that have clearly made farming economically marginal. In addition, perhaps more importantly, I question, in certain aspects, the idea of cultural centrality of farming. Basically, I argue that the relatively low status of farming, as well as its economic marginality, has contributed substantially to the decline of "small town" Japan in general and agriculture in specific. In Ani, the average age for the few remaining full time farmers is over 65, an age that would be "retired" in other occupations. Even farmers with most of their income derived from farming, Class I Part-Time farmers, are elderly. There are few young replacements and they find it very difficult to find wives. This does not sound "culturally central".

Wakizo Takata: 'Development of Green Tourism and Characteristics of a Farming Village in Hokkaido:A Case Study in the Nemuro Area.'

The purpose of this paper is to analyze some of the rural communities in Eastern Hokkaido. This is particularly designed as an introduction to foreign researchers

since this area of Japan is relatively unknown in the non-Japanese language literature (and not terribly well known in Japanese). However, because of its relative isolation, Eastern Hokkaido is becoming an attractive destination for green tourism.

In this paper, I examine a case study of green tourism in the Nemuro area. Green tourism is a relatively new phenomenon which is having a significant social as well as economic impact on the area. There is also a growing literature on green tourism throughout Japan which I use to set the context of the Nemuro situation.

In addition, based on previous research on the structure of villages and the Colonial Militia (*Tondenhei*) history of the area, the characteristics of agriculture and rural villages in the Nemuro area are also discussed.

Atsushi Sumi: 'What Do We Really Want from Agriculture Today?
Politics of identity and negotiation of local farmers to revitalize the rural regions.'

In the agricultural sector in Japan, there has been a consistent tendency towards labor shortage, due to the declining birthrate, the aging of society, and the decrease in successor farmers in rural regions. When we visit rural farmlands, we cannot help noticing increasing amounts of farmland left abandoned. Furthermore, Japan's food self-sufficiency rate is now below 40%, which is the lowest among the industrialized nations. Agriculture in Japan appears to be dying out in the wake of harsh global competition.

Facing this serious situation in Japanese agriculture today, there have been some efforts at the governmental policy level to revitalize the agricultural workforce by giving incentives for corporations to enter the field of agricultural production. The idea of corporate farming will necessitate local farmers to act as a "host" for the incoming workforce who will actually be living in the local area with them. The rural regions are thus expected to change. Historically, however, agriculture in Japan has been operated on the basis of the independent farm households where local farmers have little experience in handling the "outsiders," let alone in hiring workers outside their family or village. My previous research demonstrated the local farmers' ambivalent feelings toward changes in their desire to maintain their local identities.

Another direction could also be observed in the local farmers' efforts to utilize agriculture and their farmlands as a means to revitalize rural areas, through "green tourism" or leisure business, rather than simply using their

farmlands as a place for agricultural production to make their lives. In this case, my previous research also demonstrated the local farmers' ambivalence toward future changes.

By drawing on seven case studies, the paper attempts to elucidate the local farmers' sense of "dilemmas" where they see themselves caught between their desires for the region's development and their emotional need to preserve their local identities.

Paul Hansen: 'Deranged: When The Cows Come Home and Tradition Goes to Pasture.'

In Japan mixed farmers get mixed messages. While it is clear that Japanese small scale crop and livestock farms cannot complete within an international free market system (Beghin 2006, Ozawa 2005), Japan is home to Asia's least sustainable and least competitive farms (Peng and Cox 2005). Currently, some respite is offered. Government policies, often underscoring the issues of 'food safety or security', maintain rigid quotas and tariffs on incoming agricultural products and heavily subsidize small scale, and often part-time, family farms (MAFF 2005). However, at the same time, and often through a system of low interest loans, the government schizophrenically promotes the development of high overhead, high output, joint stock, and single product mega farms (Mulgan 2006). The message is clearly unclear - In order to survive one must 'go big' or else… be supported anyway…at least for now. I argue that this policy has led to a polysemic 'derangement' of power, identity, and relationships at my fieldwork site; a relatively new, mass scale, multi-family owned dairy farm in Tokachi, Hokkaido.

This region's popular identity is linked with its rustic pastoral history and landscape. Yet, where have the real cows gone? Occasionally they can be glimpsed in the pastures of rapidly vanishing family farms or in publicly owned rangeland parks, but most are 'de-ranged' - they reside indoors year round. Most real dairy cattle lead a miserable life of concrete floors, injury, bloating due to corn based feed, perpetually forced pregnancy, and a daily regimen of milking, sickness, and antibiotics. In this mode of production the relationship of power between human and animal is a simple and increasingly dire one; the later are exploited, suffer, and have few poorly policed rights.

I suggest that this de-rangement of cattle has lead to a derangement, not rearrangement, of power structures within the human population of mega farms. Through my experience as "full-bodied ethnographer" (Markowitz 2006), I was a

part of how this derangement of goals and power structures led to accusations of mental derangement, frequent conflict, and violence.

D. S. Sprague and N. Iwasaki: 'In search of the perfect rice paddy: *yatsuta* rice paddies as icons of rural Japan.'

The *yatsuta* is an icon for natural and traditional landscape conservation invoked by ecologists, farmers, and NGOs. *Yatsuta* is a topographic term, often considered to be peculiar to the Kanto Plain, and refers to a narrow rice paddy valley surrounded by woodland. It is a key landscape component within the *satoyama*, the complex of secondary rural woodlands, grasslands, and rice paddies that existed around traditional farm villages. *Yatsuta* evoke visions of a harmonious coexistence between humans and nature for its proponents who perceive *yatsuta* to be in crisis. Modern agricultural technology may interfere with the life cycles of wildlife, such as dragon flies, that use both wetland and woodland habitats. Where farmers abandon fields they revert quickly to bush or woodland, and urban sprawl threatens to erase all rurality. Historical geographers find that *yatsuta* remain in undeveloped hilly corners of the Kanto Plain and more often lost from flatter areas. However, *yatsuta* can be difficult to identify. By definition, they are scattered among many small valleys and defined by the interface between wet paddies and drier woodlands. Furthermore, the *yatsuta* concept merges history and ecology with the experiential character of rurality that comes from cultivation for farmers, or viewing it from a particular standpoint in a narrow paddy field for the non-farmer tourist.

Mari Kagaya: 'Unique Construction Processes of Identity at Kohama Island in Okinawa.'

The Japanese government and companies of mainland Japan has held a dominant position over Okinawa. The government brought about monoculture economy through the agricultural policy, and companies introduced a postcolonial status by developing resort hotels in Okinawa, including Kohama Island. However, the uniqueness of Kohama is that "*Shimanchu* (=inhabitants*)"* still hold more than twenty rituals without remarkable changes in their contents and their way of life. This presentation examines the reason why the people in Kohama could maintain their autonomy and a firm identity as *Shimanchu.*

The Japanese government had promoted sugar cane industry to Kohama since the end of the WWII, and *Shimanchu* were willing to change the main crop

to sugar cane from rice. Meanwhile, *Shimanchu* recruited additional workers from outside the island during the harvest season only in winter. Without the workers' help, *Shimanchu* couldn't maintain their production now. However, many rituals including a secret ritual, which is a core of their identity, have been held in summer, so that they could concentrate on the rituals without disturbance by outsiders. Then they could succeed in maintaining the coexistence of rituals with the sugar cane industry.

Around the time of the Okinawa's reversion to Japanese administration, mainland companies purchased the large estate in Kohama and opened a resort hotel. Since that time, S*himanchu* have lived together with the hotel workers from the mainland. However, these outsiders who live next door to *Shimanchu* are excluded from self-governance activities and religious activities. In this case, outsiders also did not try to conduct those activities because their work style was completely different from s*himanchus'* and because they respect the particularity of Kohama itself. *Shimanchu* in Kohama have not noticeably resisted against their overpowered situation, but uniquely enough, they have eventually strengthened their identity as "S*himanchu*" intentionally or unintentionally, and maintain their rituals.

David Georgi: 'Influences of the Individualisation and Culture on Adolescent Relationships as Seen in German and Japanese Students.'

In the course of the presentation, I would like to discuss, the development of the family structure in Japan and Germany against the background of the theoretical thoughts of my dissertation. I will also address the issue of my specific interest in the late-adolescence as the sample group.

I hope to get feedback concerning the feasibility of this research in the Japanese cultural setting as well as the methodological specifications of research in Japan.

In my dissertation I concentrate on the empirical analysis of the influence certain socio-structural as well as cultural factors have on late-adolescent relationships. The relationship is the place, where power structures, roles and behavioural rules are negotiated on a regular basis. In this process, the before mentioned areas of social-structure and culture, play a not yet quantified influential role. The aspects of socio-structure that I am most interested, in are based on the individualisation theory, namely the geographical and social mobility, the change of the importance of luxury, spare time and the globalized

working environment. The cultural aspects that will most likely influence the relationships are tradition, religion and cultural norms.

Aya Kitamura: 'Goukon: A Political Field Where "Boys Meet Girls".'

This paper examines the internal and external dynamics of *goukon*, often translated as "group blind date," a newly emerging system of matchmaking in Japan. Unlike traditional *omiai*, *goukon* is arranged by participants themselves and proceeds in a casual atmosphere. Also, it differs from commercialized matchmaking services where detailed information of one's social background is registered and distributed. Therefore, *goukon* is supposedly an ideal place where a boy meets a girl in a natural and egalitarian—that is, romantic—way.

However, the data analysis of thirty interviews exposes, first, that *goukon* is an "interaction ritual" which imposes a set of strict rules on actors. Moreover, participants are neither ignorant nor oblivious of each other's capital—economic, social, cultural and physical. Therefore, *goukon* is rather a site that secures romantic love through forced spontaneity and disguised equality. Despite its carefree façade, *goukon* serves as a political apparatus that domesticates the young by making them "settle down" within socially assigned positions.

While demonstrating how power infiltrates *goukon*, this paper points to its unintended effects. Looking into gender subversions and the lowering marriage rate, it shows how the domestication apparatus simultaneously succeeds and fails to enmesh the unmarried population.

Jennifer Teeter: '*Enjo Kōsai* and Power.'

This paper explores *enjo kōsai,* a euphemism meaning "compensated dating" chosen to refer to juveniles who provide dating and/or sexual services for renumeration. It is a phenomenon fueled by competing actors within the Japanese societal structure which define sexuality. The media in Japan has been reactionary and sensationalist in the treatment of this issue and suggests that youth are prostituting themselves for the sole purpose of being able to afford expensive, brand-name items, ignoring other factors that influence them. This treatment of the issue coupled with the hidden nature of *enjo kōsai* perpetuates an exploitative system that children originally joined to gain power in their everyday lives. This paper will deconstruct the media's conception of *enjo kōsai*, which places blame on youth for becoming involved, and shows that *enjo kōsai*

must not be analyzed solely as a transaction between two parties, but as a complex intertwining between competing and opposite threads of power.

Tuukka Toivonen: 'The debate on NEETs, power relations and social policy in Japan: Top-down social construction or self-negotiated identities?'

Jobless youth referred to as 'NEETs' (not in education, employment or training) became the focus of intense public attention and debate in Japan in 2003-2006. This provided an impetus for the government to later come up with policy responses, the first of which was the Youth Independence Camp (*wakamono jiritsu juku*).

This paper (that is based on initial fieldwork findings) traces first the trajectory of the NEET debate based on key publications with attention to the dimension of power. Who were the agents who wielded most influence over how this debate came to be defined? To what extent was this a project led by a heterogeneous set of 'experts' with contrasting positions and interests who nevertheless excluded the voices of the youth themselves?

The second part of the paper reviews how the Youth Independence Camp policy emerged and summarizes its main programmatic features. The question here is: how did the way that NEETs were defined in the mainstream debate set the parameters and key assumptions underlying this social policy?

The third part will strive to yield initial insights into the self-identities of youth at selected youth support institutions vis-à-vis the discourse on NEETs. Do these youth largely accept this discourse, criticize it in some way or completely refute it? Furthermore, do they self-identify as NEETs or deploy the label in other contexts?

Jeffrey Broadbent: 'Identity and Social Patterns in Japan: Embedded or Assurance-Seeking?'

This paper contrasts two models of the modal Japanese identity and its relation to social relational patterns. The "interdependent" model of Marcus and Kitayama proposes that the modal Japanese identity incorporates social objects (mother, colleagues, etc.) more deeply into personal identity (compared to the modal US identity), with consequent heightened attachment to and embeddedness within social relationships to those social objects. This concept supports the idea of a "network society" as proposed by Murakami, Kumon and others. However, the social experiments of Yamagishi et al. have shown that

Japanese tend to have less trust of others than Americans, leading them to conclude that Japan is not a "trust society" but rather an "assurance" society. Assurance means that people do not trust others implicitly, but rather only cooperate with them when the partner's behavior is overseen by a third party guarantor able to sanction the partner should they defect. This third party guarantor is a particular (irreplaceable) person of superior status. These two models, interdependent and assurance, differ fundamentally in how they construe the modal relationship between self and society in Japan. Using information from field work and surveys, this paper takes these two models as alternative hypotheses and explores evidence bearing upon them to resolve their seeming contradiction. The resolution of the seeming paradox is that in the U.S., the concept of network is implicitly horizontal, between people of equal social statuses with equal voice. But in Japan, the concept of network is implicitly vertical, between parental and child like statuses with an exchange of nurturant care for implicit obedience. Nakane long ago identified this social pattern in her concept of the vertical society. Since then, the vertical society concept has received rigorous criticism for ignoring women and minorities, who are excluded from this patriarchal and ethno-centric pattern (Sugimoto; Sugimoto and Mouer). However, for describing the core social organization of social and political power in Japan, the vertical society model seems to have continuing validity.

Andrew Conning: 'The Meaning of Article 9: Japan's Peace Idealism and the Crisis of Transmission.'

At a time of general anxiety over the aging of Japanese society, a second demographic drama is unfolding: the proportion of Japanese old enough to remember their nation at war – and thus most committed to seeing it stay at peace – is rapidly declining.

The generation with the most invested in the "peace and democracy" idealism of the postwar era is being replaced by one for whom the idea of a strong and assertive Japan may have an appealing freshness or an exotic fascination.

I will explore how Japan's remaining witnesses to war render the tragic sacrifices of the war years into a morally meaningful message, and why so many of them are stepping forward in their final years to transmit that message. I will also examine how interpretations of war and patriotism reveal fault lines in the political consciousness of various generations living together in Japanese society,

whose oldest members see themselves as the true bearers of the nation's historical memory but are seen by younger generations as out of touch with current realities. Following the conference theme, I will examine the intergenerational relationship of these cohorts in how their divergent political identities compete with one another in the nation's current political marketplace.

Toru TD Yamada: 'Spaces of National Memory: the Discourse of Japanese Catholic Churches as Prospective World Heritage Sites.'

On January 23rd 2007, for the first time in six years, the Japanese National Government Agency of Cultural Affairs announced that new sites would be added to the national World Heritage Site list as proposed to UNESCO. This announcement was significant as two of the four new sites – the churches in Nagasaki and the Old Tomioka Silk Mill in Gunma – have quite different historic meanings than the existing World Cultural Heritage sites in Japan. While most of the existing World Cultural Heritage sites in Japan were built before the 17th century (with the exception of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial), the government stated that the Nagasaki sites were added to World Heritage Tentative List because they are historic "modern" heritage sites of Japan and Asia. This announcement by the national government raises questions about heritage site appraisal: how and by whom cultural significance is appraised, what constitutes heritage sites, and what input local residents can contribute.

This paper will examine these questions of heritage site appraisal as part of the greater ongoing dialogic process of heritage discourse formation. I would like to examine the World Heritage movement in Nagasaki and Japan in which multiple discourses of cultural significance, such as religious meanings, past-modernity discourse, nationalism, and economics, intersect in the same physical space. I hypothesize that different groups appraise cultural value of prospective heritage sites and form different heritage discourses of it; that the determination of the cultural significance of prospective heritage sites is processual rather than fixed; and that cultural heritage preservation endeavors lead to conflict with and modification of the ritual practices of parishioners.

Jean-Charles Juster: 'The performing arts of Okinawa: means of penetrating the society of mainland Japan.'

The relationship between what is called mainland Japan (*Naichâ*) and Okinawa (*Uchinâ*) reflects a distinction between the identity of the Japanese of mainland

Japan, called *Naichâ*, and that of the inhabitants of Okinawa, called *Uchinânchu*. The latter are proud of their culture which they think different of that of mainland Japan. They never hesitate to express it, above all in the world of performing arts (*geinô*) where this culture becomes particularly significant.

In this field, a contradictory attitude of the mainlanders towards the inhabitants of Okinawa is worth to be noticed: although they still see the Okinawans as the people of the periphery, they really keen on musicians and actors of the island. Therefore, the artists of Okinawa are in the heart of the show-business in Japan, in spite of the above mentioned relations with the mainland. This phenomenon can shed light on some questions of identity in Japan, especially on the way the Okinawan culture penetrates the society of mainland through the performing arts and makes the people of theses islands be better accepted.

Robin Le Blanc: 'Cheating as a Democratic Practice: The Connection Between Masculine Identity and Political Power in Japanese Local Politics.'

Based on participant-observer fieldwork among a group of political activists in a small Japanese town, this paper investigates the connection between masculine identity and political authority. The paper looks in particular at how one man's decision to break from locally dominant conservative political circles to lead a movement demanding a citizens' referendum on a nuclear power plant forced him to confront the ways in which role expectations placed on men constrain their political participation. As he leads a movement that dismantles the political authority of his former friends, this man both openly rejects key elements of traditionalist masculinity *and* mobilizes highly masculinized notions of self-control and self-sacrifice in order to manage the movement he builds. The paper concludes that community political power structures are often tightly tied to male leaders' identities as men. In order to succeed in fundamental challenges to those power structures, men must be willing to deny or "cheat" on parts of their masculine identity.

Kimiko Osawa: 'The Rationale for supporting gendered nationalistic discourses: The case of contemporary Japanese women.'

The literature on nationalism and gender has pointed out that there are seemingly paradoxical relationships between nationalistic ideologies and women's active support for them because the former tends to include

conservative gender norms – the norms that seem to degrade women – which confine women to their homes by claiming that women's primary roles are those of mothers and wives who would reproduce and nurture proper male members of a nation-state in the private sphere. With this insight from the literature, this paper analyzes the case of contemporary Japanese women who uphold nationalistic discourses and seeks to answer the following questions: Do the similar conservative gender norms appear in the case of contemporary Japanese nationalism upheld by female nationalists? If so, how these two are connected in their discourses? Finally, how do these female nationalists make sense of their support for such gendered nationalistic discourses? To answer these questions, I will utilize the data from Japanese right-leaning magazines, newspapers, and the Internet websites in which female nationalists are presenting their views on nationalism. This research can shed light on dynamic relationships between female actors and gendered nationalistic discourses, which are more complex than a simple contention that nationalism always oppresses women.

Kaoru Kuwajima: 'Intersecting gender and professional identities of *Fujinsōdanin* (Women Social Workers).'

Japan has officially promoted domestic violence prevention and support for the victims since the enactment of the law in 2001. Nagoya city also set anti-domestic violence in its plan and hired 16 *Fujinsōdanin*, or women social workers, in each ward in 2006.

This presentation focuses on *Fujinsōdanin* in Nagoya and shows their struggles over professional and gender identities within the power relations of the municipal welfare offices. *Fujinsōdanin* are official yet contract-based city employees engaged in supporting women with various problems including domestic violence at local welfare offices. In organizational power structures and local government culture, there has been a disjuncture between what the office allows *Fujinsōdanin* to do and what *Fujinsōdanin* think it means to be specialized in dealing gender issues. Based on the fieldwork, there seem to be a limited understanding of domestic violence issues and fixed notion of territoriality among the welfare staffs, as well as trivialization of the gender issues. This puts *Fujinsōdanin* in an ambivalent situation. Though the city policy claims to fight against the domestic violence, the situations surrounding *Fujinsōdanin* do not necessarily support them to pursue their jobs.

The presentation is an interim report on *Fujinsōdanin*'s practices and their gender and professional identities. It attempts to grasp what it means to be a

woman social worker working for other women within local government power structure.

Paul Christensen: 'Rules outside rules: alcohol and the consequences of deviation from sanctioned patterns of consumption in Japan.'

At the broadest level my research is an ethnographic account of the patterns and consequences of alcohol consumption in Japan. The central research question I am proposing is: how is alcohol consumption a component of adult socialization and what are the consequences for individuals who cannot meet these societal requirements? I will discuss data collected from observations of alcohol related topics in the popular media, primarily newspapers, magazines, books, and other printed material. Examine the ritual surrounding the performance of public drunkenness in Japan and argue that its manifestations produce several aspects not observable or apparent in other locations. Finally I will offer collected ethnographic data on consumption patterns in Japan, as well as the work of groups trying to legislate or politicize alcoholic beverages. This data has been gathered from a wide spectrum of sources, including Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) groups, other smaller sobriety support organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations, social groups whose formation and perpetuation is centered on the consumption of alcoholic beverages, and observations made through employment as bartender in Tokyo.

Nicolas Sternsdorff: 'Regional agricultural specialties and standard-setting in the marketplace.'

Regional agricultural specialties in Japan, I argue, carry more significance than being luxury products; they also create standards by which other products are judged, including those that come from abroad. My research addresses the question of how ideas of quality and safety are created and attached to these products and how they affect the ways in which consumers react. I suggest that these products conflate form, taste and safety. Furthermore, they are marketed as Japanese regional specialties as opposed to a premium product within a food category, which contributes to setting that category apart from foreign imports.

Gunnar Hempel: 'Professional "*doujinshi*": Between ruling and ruining communal marketplace.'

While alternative cultural practices are integrated into cultural industries, they have also developed into complex socio-economic systems in and of themselves. In the case of *doujinshi* (amateur comic books and their creators), alternative practices are systemized into "*doujin* culture", which provides a space and support system for professional *doujinshi*. Works are referential parodies of copyrighted cultural products, but *doujinshi* claim independence from industry and embrace community as their sole support. Denying the rank of "manga creator," the smallest unit in *doujin* culture is the "circle" of supporters that makes work possible. Circles rely on communicative performances that center on communal fantasies interpreted by the creator. The platforms for exchange are events, one of which has grown into Japan's overall largest public gathering and subsequently drawn much attention and editorial pressure from institutions both public and private. Within micro-entrepreneurship, a drive for sales through shocking material is opposed to observing the self- control and censorship the community employs to protect itself from outside interference. This paper will examine a three-tier model of circles, *doujinshi* community and outside institutions to shed light on this constellation of power and show how it is both negotiated and contested.

Patrick William Galbraith: 'Maid in Japan: Ethnography of Akihabara "*moe-kei*" cafes in review of commercial commodification of "otaku" fantasy.'

This ethnography engages the "regulars" culture surrounding "maid cafes," casual dining combining stylized cosplay (costume play), entertainment and codified interactions. The archetypal maid fantasy is calm and comfort, or "*iyashi*", triggered through fetishized indulgence taken as affection. *Iyashi* services include "home-maid" food and personalized souvenirs, games and other tropes of commodified connection. One regular comments, "A maid is playing out home," and predictably their greeting is "Welcome home, master", telegraphing an intersection of respect, belonging and intimacy in surrogate "otaku home." This paper analyzes the desires fueling the *iyashi* fantasy as manifests in maid cafes. We argue that aggressive advances in neoliberal rationalism have made the maid fantasy appealing not only to marginalized regulars, but also to socialized Japanese dissatisfied with isolated social

subsistence. Post-millennial Japan hungers for the esoteric nourishment promised by *iyashi* and subsequent "*moe"*, the sublime "blossoming" of passion. The affective labor of maid cafes producing this response is appealing enough to stimulate a boom from four cafes in Akihabara in 2002 to 90 across the metropolitan area in 2006, clearly constituting "occult economy."

AJJ Spring Workshop 2008
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Nakako Inoue (DPIPE, University of Tsukuba): 'Positioning in the class within the peer-group relations – Locating themselves in relation to the Japanese class of new-coming students to Japan.'

The number of students who newly come to Japan and start studying in the public school has been increasing. Some schools have Japanese classes for them. Going up and down from their ordinary class to the Japanese class, they form their school life. This presentation discusses how these students get into the peer-group relations in the ordinary class in relation to the Japanese class, based on the field research at the public junior high school in the urban area in Japan.

This research considers their social world of negotiations of locating themselves. Peer-group making within the power dynamics of their class is a very important matter for the students. However, at every break, some of them show up at the Japanese class. It has become the place for them to get together and chat in their language. Do they come to the Japanese class because they have failed to participate in the ordinary class?

In their social world, going to the Japanese class doesn't mean that she is not welcomed to any peer-groups for the reason that she doesn't understand Japanese or norms of the class. Some students use the relationship formed in the Japanese class for positioning themselves within the peer-group relations in the ordinary class.

Ko Hayakawa (University of Tsukuba): 'Language practice in Japanese internet-board: cyber-space, performativity, and communication-community.'

The term "cyber-space" originates from William Gibson's science-fiction novel *Neuromancer*. In the context of the novel, it denotes an electric space into which

individuals can "jack in" their consciousness mediated through computers. What is signified by this science-fiction is a state of intellectual/mental being that takes media itself as space or locus, in contrast to pre-established media such as the telephone, television, or radio. In other words, with the birth of "cyber-space", it is now possible to imagine virtual worlds separate from reality.

This presentation takes up Japanese internet-massage board "2-channel" as a specific example of cyber-space. "2-channel" is the largest internet-message board in Japan, and several million users have communicated in this cyber-space. In this study, I will attempt to describe how individuals carry out communication in this cyber-space itself, created under the numerous limiting factors/conditions inherent in media. At that same time, I will not approach "2-channelers (people who participate in 2-channel)" as a static group, but rather focus my attention on how they have constructed their "connections" and "coherence". More specifically, the aim of this research is to think of "2-channel" as a "communication-community", and to draw attention to the dynamism of its praxis.

John McCreery (The Word Works, Ltd): 'Quant versus Qual: Social Network Analysis as an Ethnographic Tool.'

This presentation concerns work in progress. After two decades of working in and around the Japanese advertising industry, the author reflects on his mental map of the industry: a mountain range dominated by two large peaks descending into foothills. Near the tops of the mountains, the mountains seem discrete. Lower down they merge into a single geological system. The metaphor is appealing, but how to explore the underlying social geology in more detail, to test the impressions of participant observations against harder data. Social network analysis, using data compiled from winning entries in one of Japan's major advertising contests, provides quantitative and graphing techniques for mapping and analysing the networks that link the individuals who make up the teams that created the winning ads.

Gregory Hamilton Miller (University of Pittsburgh): 'Individuality, Diversity, and Community in a Non-Melting Pottery Village, Mashiko, Japan.'

Mashiko is now widely known almost exclusively for its diverse group of potters and eclectic pottery styles. However, historically, Mashiko has long been a

center for crafts production and trade north of Tokyo. This formerly included such industries as geta, indigo dying, and metal working, as well as pottery. Around 1920, potter Hamada Shoji returned from three years in St. Ives, England, assisting Bernard Leach in setting up his pottery there. While it has been widely written that Hamada chose Mashiko to set up his pottery, alternative narratives indicate that village elders were actively seeking to recruit artist potters to the town. In fact, Hamada visited Mashiko prior to meeting Bernard Leach and traveling to England, and it wasn't until 1930 that he formally established his pottery workshop there. Eventually, the town became intertwined with the success of Hamada Shoji and the Mingei folkcraft movement. However, the open and accepting nature of the community did not become fixed on this one style. Potters like Kamoda Shoji and Seto Hiroshi, and then many others came in diverse waves and set up their own, unique workshops there. This process is ongoing, and continues today, making Mashiko one of the most diverse pottery communities in the world, with an aesthetic and stylistic diversity to match. Rather than seeing Mashiko as a rural community changed by the influence of an individual, dynamic artist, Mashiko should be seen from the beginning as a place that was accepting of outsiders, has and continues to benefit from accepting and encouraging social diversity.

Keiko Yamaki (Graduate School of Management, Kyoto University): 'Business Ethnography in Japan.'

More and more Japanese companies are working on service innovation. One of the new movements in Japanese industries is an innovation with design thinking by "Business Ethnography". Japanese advertising agency Hakuhodo introduced Business Ethnography in the last few years in Japan as a new marketing method with an anthropological approach. For example, in the United States, anthropologists and field workers join as researchers in the industrial designs firms and business concept design firms like IDEO and Parc. They establish a project team with the client's company and go to out the customers' observation as market research. After the field work period, team member including anthropologist and field workers share the information through workshops. The anthropologist's work includes not only field research but also leading a project team. After a time, members try constructing a hypothesis to make a prototype of new product or business design. For this, anthropologists assist the team to create imagined ethnography of the future customers. IDEO and Parc are

considered some of the most innovative companies in the United States; however, their clients' cases are still few in Japan. Referring their success and reputation, Japanese companies are realizing the limits of the hypothetical verification of consumer's research and straggle a new method with qualitative research in the market with anthropology.

Hirochika Nakamaki, (National Museum of Ethnology [Minpaku]): 'Ethnography and Fieldwork on Company Religion: Myths, Rituals, Tombs and Shrines of Panasonic.'

Panasonic was founded by Mr. Konosuke Matsushita who is mythically known as "god of administration". He was, however, very religious in many ways. He let a Buddhist monk live in the compound of Panasonic's Headquarters. Following the advice of this priest, a shrine dedicated to dragon-god was established in every factory. Monthly service is conducted by his successor in Kansai area, and by associated monks in other locations. Company tombs were also erected for deceased employees during service and Matsushita family on Mt. Koya in 1938. Mr. Matsushita even created a deity named "Original Force of the Cosmos" enshrined in the small shrines of Kongensha; located at Shinshin-an Villa, PHP (Peace and Happiness through Prosperity) Institute and Sougyo-no-mori (Forest of the Company's Foundation).

Mr. Matsushita was also zealous in erecting monuments and establishing museums. Typical examples are "Bronze Statue of Thomas Edison, along with 10 other distinguished persons such as M. Faraday and Sakichi Toyoda" and House of History. These monuments and museums can be interpreted symbolically, or even religiously, in reference to the corporate cosmology concretized by the founder.

When the founder passed away in 1989, company funeral was held in which more than 20,000 people attended. The style and atmosphere of this funeral was patriarchal compared with that of Mr. Akio Morita, one of the founders of Sony.

Philosophy and ethics of Mr. Matsushita have been influential not only on company management but also on the way of life of entrepreneurs. One purpose of this paper is to discuss how to write ethnography on religious dimension of a globalizing company based on anthropological fieldwork.

CONFERENCE REPORTS & ANNOUNCEMENTS: AJJ SPRING WORKSHOP

Richard Ronald (OTB Research Institute, Delft University of Technology): 'Shifting Senses and Bounded Spaces, Japanese Homes and Domestic Places.'

The space and place of the home holds an iconic status in both foreign and Japanese understandings of Japanese life. In social and anthropological research the home, and the relationships it mediates between those outside and those within, has been a significant conceptual locus. The architectural divide between inside and out has defined a fundamental boundary between danger and safety; inclusion and exclusion; the clean and the dirty. Spaces within houses also frame living and social practices that reflect and support cultural meanings and senses of permanence and identity. The home however, has undergone quite fundamental changes during Japan's transformation into an advanced urban society. This paper explores the home and domestic space with particular attention to how physical and perceived boundaries mediate relationships between household members as well as between these members and the world outside. Moreover, it looks to the impact of modernization and technology in these spaces and relations, and how domestic spaces and senses of them have reacted to change.

Shawn Bender (National Museum of Ethnology & Dickinson College): 'Has Japan Anthropology Lost Its Place?'

Technology has undoubtedly changed the nature of fieldwork in Japan. The spread of cellular phones, email, and social networks has clearly shifted the means by which anthropologists in Japan establish and maintain contact with informants. Keeping an eye on internet websites, blogs, and forums has become essential to research into social trends, attitudes, and related phenomena. Yet, even in this era of abundant communication technology, few anthropologists have embarked on intensive ethnographic study of these new media. This does not mean, however, that the object of anthropological study in Japan has remained stagnant, even in the context of such significant evolution of information technologies. Rather, I would argue that the focus of Japan anthropology has changed dramatically in the past decade, away from place-based studies and toward object-oriented ethnography. My paper will discuss the reasons for this shift, consider its implications, and address the role of technologies in facilitating these and future research projects.

Rima Higa (University of Tsukuba): 'The Commodification and Trade of Pork as Mediated through the Senses: A Case Study of the Marketplace in Okinawa.'

In Okinawa, it has been customary until relatively recently for families to raise several pigs privately until New Year or the Bon Festival, at which point several households come together to kill, divide, distribute, and eat the animals in the "*wa-kurushi*" – or "pig killing" – ritual. In the context of these customs of self-production and self-consumption, people have formed a close relationship with pigs to make full use of their five senses. In a manner of speaking, the senses have served as a very important medium for construction of relationships between people and pigs.

However, in post-war period, the senses have not remained solely a medium but have become an object of manipulation within the processes of industrialization, industrial specialization, and the division of labor. In particular, this feature becomes obvious when pork is commodified in the marketplace. Specifically, the appearance (color), smell, taste, texture of pork become items upon which to be improved from a particular standpoint. On the other hand, senses are still an important means by which the quality of pork is evaluated. Also, sensual information – information identified and relayed by the five senses – is key when buying pork in the marketplace.

Thus in this presentation my aim is to trace the processes of commodification, by which sensual information is problematized and manipulated, and trade, in which the quality of pork is recognized through the medium of the senses in the marketplace, as they can be observed in the southern part of mainland Okinawa.

John Mock (University of Tsukuba): 'Rural-Urban Migration: Small Mountain Town Depopulation.'

Japan has one of the most highly urbanized populations in the world. Technically, about two thirds of the total population lives in a D.I.D., a "Densely Inhabited District" (population is more than 5,000 and the density is more than 1000 people/km squared). In the post-war period, there has been a steady flow of population from rural areas into increasingly sprawling urban areas. Much of this urbanization was caused by the need for labor for Japan's expanding industrial economy, a very strong economic pull factor. However, in the

processes, the gap in amenities and educational levels between the urban and rural areas has created a series of "push" factors, accelerating rural-urban migration and leaving rural villages with an increasingly aged population.

This paper examines aspects of the social and ecological reality of depopulation and aging on a small mountain township in central Akita Prefecture looking at causes and effects of depopulation based on more than a decade of fieldwork. The argument presented is that critical policy decisions need to be made, soon, to avoid catastrophic consequences of uncontrolled depopulation and aging.

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Recent/major publications:
   - *Vuoti di felicità. Visioni degli inferni Buddhisti (Devoid of Happiness. Visions of Buddhist Hells)*, MA Thesys, Ca' Foscari University of Venice, 2003
   - "L'Uno contro l'uno. Processi di costruzione di identità e ideologia in Ōmotokyō" ("The One against the one. Processes of Construction of Identity and Ideology in Ōmotokyō"). *Atti del XXX convegno di Studi sul Giappone*. Lecce. 2006 (forthcoming)
   - Presentation: "L'inferno presente per il paradiso futuro. Simbolismo d'impurità e potere in Ōmotokyō" ("The Present Hell for the Future Heaven. Symbolism of pollution and power in Ōmotokyō"). *Manabu*: Giornate di studio dei dottorandi, borsisti e ricercatori italiani in Giappone. Italian School of East Asian Studies (ISEAS). Kyoto. 02/07/2007

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Recent/major publications: Kaneko, Sachiko (2006) "Japan's 'Socially Withdrawn Youths' and Time Constraints in Japanese Society: Management and conceptualization of time in a support group for 'hikikomori'" *Time & Society* vol.15 No 2/3, p. 233-249

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Fieldwork: I conducted fieldwork in Tokyo from January 2006 to March 2007, supported by the Japanese Government (MEXT) scholarship. The research was mainly carried out in Harajuku, Tokyo both with a street fashion magazines *FRUiTS* and *Tune,* and as a shop assistant in an 'underground' fashion boutique.
Recent/major publications: 'The Tokyo Look Book: Stylish to Spectacular, Goth to Gyaru, Sidewalk to Catwalk' (2007) Tokyo: Kodansha International.

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Research interests, projects
Sports in contemporary Japan; globalization of Japanese sports; popular culture; body politics; cultural diplomacy; masculinities; gender relations; social stratification; social inequality; power and governmentality; anthropology of compassion

Recent publications (selection)
Sports Mega-Events: Social Scientific Analyses of a Global Phenomenon. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing 2006 (= Sociological Review Monograph Series). 199pp. (ed. with John Horne)

"Sport im Konsumkapitalismus: Spuren der Entwicklung zur globalen Ökonomisierung des Sports" [A short history of sport in consumer capitalism], Otto Penz and Georg Spitaler (eds.): *Macht Bewegung – Zur Transformation des sportlichen Feldes*. Wien: Facultas, pp. 79-92.

"Physical education and the curriculum of gender reproduction", Claudia Derichs and Susanne Kreitz-Sandberg (eds.): *Gender Dynamics and Globalization. Perspectives on Japan within Asia*. Berlin: LIT Verlag 2007, pp. 123-142.

"Sport et politique du corps dans le Japon totalitaire" [Sport and body politics in totalitarian Japan], Jean-Jacques Tschudin and Claude Hamon (eds.): *La société Japonaise devant la montée du Militarisme. Culture populaire et contrôle social dans le Japon des années 1930*. Arles Cedex: Éditions Philippe Picquier 2007, pp. 71-90.

"Playing the Post-Fordist Game in/to the Far East: Football cultures and soccer nations in China, Japan and South Korea", *Soccer and Society* 8/4 (2007), pp. 561-577 (with John Horne).

"Die Mangatisierung der Welt: Japans Populärkultur, Kulturdiplomatie und die neue internationale Arbeitsteilung" [The mangatisation of the world. Japanese

popular culture, cultural diplomacy and the New International Division of Labour], *Japan Aktuell* (= Journal of Current Japanese Affairs (2007/04), pp. 3-23.

"Moving mountains: order and change in a sports world", William W. Kelly (ed.): *This Sporting Life: Sports and Body Culture in Modern Japan*. New Haven: Yale CEAS 2007, 145-166 (= Yale CEAS Occasional Publications; 1)

"The business of sports and the manufacturing of global social inequality", *Esporte & Sociedade* 6 (July 2007). http://www.esportesociedade.com/

"An introduction to the sociology of sports mega-events", *Sociological Review* 54/s2 (2006), pp. 1-24 (with John Horne).

"Sport spectacles, uniformities and the search for identity in late modern Japan", *Sociological Review* 54/s2 (2006), pp. 144-159.

"Leisure and consumer culture in Japan", *Leisure Studies* 25/3 (2006), pp. 451-455. (with John Horne)

"Jenseits von Japan: Staat und Wirtschaft in der industriellen Modernisierung Ostasiens" [Transgressing Japan: State and economy in the industrial modernisation of East Asia], Sepp Linhart and Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik (eds.) *Gesellschaft und Geschichte in Ostasien*. Wien: Promedia/Südwind 2006, pp. 98-114.

"Fußball und die Krise der Männlichkeit in Japan" [Football and the crisis of masculinity in Japan], Eva Kreisky and Georg Spitaler (eds.): *Arena der Männlichkeit. Über das Verhältnis von Fußball und Geschlecht*. Frankfurt: Campus 2006, pp. 296-313.

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Recent/major publications:
- *Making Pilgrimages: Meaning and Practice in Shikoku* (University of Hawaii Press, 2005).

- Ian Reader and Benjamin Dorman (eds.) Projections and Representations of Religion in Japanese Media. *Nova Religio* 10/3, 2007 pp. 5-101, including Reader and Dorman 'Introduction' (pp.5-12) and Ian Reader 'Positively Promoting Pilgrimages: Media Representations of Pilgrimage in Japan' (pp.13-31).
- Pilgrimage growth in the modern world: meanings and implications *Religion* 37 (2007) pp 210-229.
- Manufacturing the means of apocalypse: Aum Shinrikyo and the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction. In Ian Bellany (ed) *Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Responding to the Challenge* (Routledge 2007) pp. 53-80