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**JAPAN ANTHROPOLOGY WORKSHOP NEWSLETTER NO. 43
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FROM THE JAWS OFFICERS

FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Lola Martinez

A Happy New Year to you all. I hope you will enjoy this issue of the newsletter which includes news about the successful JAWS section at the EAJS conference in Lecce, Italy and information about our forthcoming stand alone conference in Austin, Texas with John Traphagan as convenor in 2010. JAWS continues to flourish: our New Zealand members are considering a small workshop and hoping, along with many others, to bid for the 2013 conference. Our student members have asked to form a subcommittee of their own and our new website (still under construction!) will be housed at the University of Hong Kong. Our treasurer gives us good news of our financial standing, allowing us to think of small grants (funding drinks, for example, at JAWS events). Joy Hendry as the JAWS series editor in chief has excellent news about publications as well. Congratulations must go to Brigitte Steger, who is not only acting as our EAJS Liaison officer, but also has been elected to the EAJS committee and we are very pleased to have made Prof. Nakamaki an honorary member - despite his claims to not being venerable enough to be honourable! The only 'blue' note is that all the committee members are asking that you allow us to step down in 2010. So if you are interested in helping to run JAWS, please do not be shy!

FROM THE TREASURER

Lynne Nakano

The Japan Anthropology Workshop account at the Hang Seng Bank in Hong Kong currently contains HK \$55,010.76 (5553.30 EUR). The ABN AMRO account in Leiden currently contains 2,794.56 EUR. Total JAWS assets are **8347.86 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 \$19 at the moment). You can find the current rate at websites such as www.oanda.com/convert/classic.

FROM THE JAWS OFFICERS

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 they are unable to use this method and are still charged relatively high fees for making the transfer to the ABN AMRO account.

Payment (for EU members except those in the United Kingdom) should then 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: WINKEL0912 if Winkel is paying for April 2009 to April 2012. Payment should be 45 Euro plus additional costs for the transfer.

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

Payment by telegraphic transfer should be made to the following account:

Bank Name: Hang Seng Bank Ltd Head Office

Address: 83 Des Voeux Road Central Hong Kong

Swift Code: HASE HKHH

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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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Shatin, New Territories

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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 cover of your copy of this Newsletter.

FROM THE EDITORS

Peter Cave and Gordon Mathews

Welcome to the latest issue of the JAWS Newsletter. We are pleased to bring you full reports of the JAWS/EAJIS conference in Lecce in September 2008, as well as the AJJ Annual Meeting in Osaka in November 2009. Besides these, we continue the new feature 'Tomorrow's Researchers Today', which gives doctoral students a chance to introduce themselves and their work briefly. We welcome self-introductions from doctoral students (they don't have to be JAWS members), so please encourage your students to submit their profiles for future issues. We hope that this will make us all more aware of what is going on in the field, and help develop connections and interactions between researchers.

FROM THE JAWS OFFICERS

We also have some fascinating research reports, and a book review of a very interesting recent book on Japanese colonialism in Taiwan, a subject of much new research lately. And, we have news of the next JAWS conference in Austin, Texas, JAWS' first return to North America since the fondly remembered conference at Yale in 2002. We are sure that Texas 2010 will also be something special, not to be missed.

The editors would also like to announce that they have decided to hand over their editing duties at the Texas conference. By 2010, we will have been editing the Newsletter for five years. We have tried to make the Newsletter into a publication that fills an empty niche, providing information and features that are of value yet found nowhere else. However, we feel that by 2010 it will be time to let others contribute their creativity, ideas, and energy. This means that we will edit two more Newsletters after this one, in August 2009 and April 2010. By making this announcement well in advance, we are giving prospective enthusiasts for editing plenty of time to come forward. Feel free to contact us if you are interested, but would like to know more about what is involved. It can be a lot of fun, we assure you!

REPORT ON
THE JAPAN ANTHROPOLOGY WORKSHOP 19TH CONFERENCE
CONCURRENT WITH SECTION 5 (ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY)
OF
THE 12TH CONFERENCE OF
THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION FOR JAPANESE STUDIES (EAS)
Salento University, Lecce, Italy
20-23 September 2008

Convenors:

Ingrid Getreuer-Kargl (University of Vienna) and Anemone Platz (Aarhus University)

The report presents the abstracts of the papers presented in alphabetical order of presenters' names, not in the order in which they were delivered.

Keynote Speech: Hope and society in Japan

Genda Yuji (Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo)

Take Care of the Sense and the Sounds will take care of themselves. Dwellers of hell or *burakumin*?

Andrea De Antoni (University of Venice)

Hell is in Japan. It is in Kyoto and, more precisely, in Rokuhara (Higashiyama-ku), an area on the eastern side of the Kamo river, not too far from the centre. Especially from the 7th to the 10th of August.

During this period, which precedes the festival for the dead (*urabon* or *obon*), in Rokuhara, also called "the entrance of hell" (*jigoku no iriguchi*), the *rokudō mairi* ("walk through the six realms" of existence) takes place. It concretely consists of walking through the heavily symbolized area, paying homage at the three temples of the area, in order to meet and welcome the spirits of the dead.

During this period the temples expose a wide collection of paintings representing hell (*jigoku e*) or decaying corpses. These images provide the link between symbolic representations of pollution and Rokuhara, which, from the

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mid-Heian period onwards, was recorded as the place where the corpses of both animals and human beings were cast and abandoned.

Rokuhara is also a *buraku* area and one of the most depopulating and ageing zones in Kyoto.

In this presentation, I am going to focus my analysis on the representations of *buraku* and the *burakumin* in contemporary Kyoto. I will consider the symbolic discourse of pollution and death as linked to representations of social liminality (Raveri 1984, 1992; Weiner 1997).

As Groemer (2001), Neary (1997), and Davis (2000) showed, from the Tokugawa period onwards, although the discriminated groups (first *eta* and *hinin*, then *burakumin*) were represented as homogeneously composed by polluted people, their boundaries were actually open and changing according to contextual socio-economic dynamics.

I will report the results of the interviews I made during my fieldwork, in order to show that the symbolic discourse of impurity and the patterns of symbolic discrimination are no more associated to the people (*burakumin*), but to the place (*buraku*).

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

Hilaria Gössmann (University of Trier)

The popular genre of TV drama has always been of special significance for the construction of gender roles in Japan. According to an opinion poll, women watch TV dramas not only for entertainment, but also to obtain advice on their own way of life. Therefore, characters in TV dramas can indeed serve as role models for the audience.

After the bursting of the bubble economy, a critical view regarding the role of men who concentrate solely on their career became a topic in popular TV dramas in Japan. In *Papa Survival* (1995, TBS, 12 episodes), a wife leaves her husband and daughter because she wants to pursue her career. The first episode of this drama appears to be a remake of the beginning of the famous Hollywood film *Kramer vs. Kramer* (1979), in which a father (played by Dustin Hoffmann) has to learn how to manage child-rearing and household chores.

While the dramas of the 1990s saw fathers trying to balance their professional career and caring for their family, a significant change could be observed in the new millennium when in 2004, a drama with the English title *At*

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Home Dad (Fuji TV) featured two stay-at-home fathers. The protagonist has lost his job as a commercial director, and is therefore forced to care for his three-year-old daughter so that his wife can work. With the help of a neighbour who is a 'perfect at-home dad', he gradually comes to fulfil his role.

The drama reveals that behaviour patterns are being shaped by roles such as 'househusband/housewife' or 'male/female breadwinner' and do not depend on biological sex. It shows how these two male characters assume a responsible position within their family and the household – which does lead to a certain sense of personal fulfilment. However, against this background, the question may be raised whether this drama truly pleads for a dissolution of the division of labour between the two sexes – or whether these 'at-home dads' who find their fulfilment in their families could act as role models for women viewers in order to encourage them not to concentrate exclusively on their professional careers.

Housing the elderly: Diversification of housing and living arrangements

Maren Godzik (German Institute for Japanese Studies)

In 2007, about one fourth of Japan's population is over 65 years old, that is about 27 million people living in 16 million households. The National Institute for Population and Social Security estimates still rising numbers for the older generation until the middle of the 21st century. By far the majority of elderly live in conventional housing owned by themselves or their family, mostly with their spouses in two-person households. A growing number lives alone.

Changing family structures, diversification of lifestyles, and increasing differences in income, however, will likely lead to more diverse housing and living arrangements. Migration of the elderly to resorts in, e.g., Okinawa, to rural areas in search of a "natural" lifestyle, or contrary, to culture-rich city centers are some of the possibilities discussed intensely. Thus, the baby boomer generation that once pioneered the urban lifestyle in the sixties and seventies (e.g. *danchizoku*, *mai hōmu shugi*) seems to be creating once again new ways of housing and living arrangements as they have reached retirement age.

Families remain important for the support of the aged, but institutionalized care is often added. The rising supply of relatively new housing solutions, for example, assisted living facilities, suggests demand on the side of the 60-plus generation. At the same time even nursing homes, formerly often

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places where elderly people with ailments were “locked away”, adopt certain elements of conventional housing arrangements.

On the basis of statistical data and qualitative interviews with organizers of cooperative houses or similar alternative forms of housing, planners in the administration of municipalities, managers of 60-plus housing communities, and others I try to understand the trends of housing and living preferences of Japan’s elderly in the broader context of demographic development.

Nagano and the Zenkoji: an old pilgrimage for a brand new image

Sylvie Guichard-Anguis (Laboratoire Espaces, nature et culture, Paris)

This paper focuses on the relations between Nagano and the Zenkoji (Nagano prefecture) in Japan today. How is a centuries-old pilgrimage used to help to promote a city image which has changed several times along its history, the latest one being associated with the Olympic games? The municipality’s recent idea lies in promoting the Zenkoji and its surrounding as a world cultural heritage on the UNESCO list.

Pilgrimage patterns have changed with population aging as tourist frequentation and the problems which Nagano city has to overcome nowadays share little difference with other Japanese cities of the same kind. This very popular destination during the Edo period is still attracting visitors but apparently does not help anymore to build the local economy.

Nagano city tries to cope with this evolution by finding new solutions and renewing the city image. The Zenkoji and its surrounding of temple lodgings offer an opportunity of promoting the city on an international level. The Agency of Cultural Affairs’ involvement in this plan helps to give ground to this project, but does the Zenkoji really have a chance of being selected, in an international environment in which these nominations are becoming more and more difficult?

Silence, the Generational Divide

Joseph Hankins (University of Chicago)

Imagine a person of Buraku descent, actively engaged in the Buraku liberation movement. This person attends liberation meetings, where she strategizes with

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movement companions to improve the situation of Buraku people, freely talking with these companions about Buraku issues, about discrimination. But now imagine this person returning home, to a vastly different set of speakable subjects. The day's liberation activities meet with silence when faced with her children. While she fought to assert a Buraku pride during the day, now she glosses over the day's activities and scuttles out of vision Buraku pamphlets. This silence might be justified with an optimism that discrimination – in marriage, in employment – will have disappeared before the children are old enough to experience it. Or it might simply be a product of shame. Whatever that justification, it leads to large numbers of children, beyond simply those of this hypothetical Buraku activist and mother, growing up with no idea that they are categorized, by others, as Buraku people. Faced with a domestic silence, large numbers of Buraku youth discover their Buraku-ness instead through discrimination.

This paper targets this silence, examines its conditions of possibility, its impetus, and its products. Drawing from interviews with veteran Buraku activists, I use silence as a locus to tease out the relations among family, work, and Buraku stigma, and examine the political, social, and economic forces that underlie the appropriation and assertion of certain types of familial relation to substantiate claims of identity and discrimination. This paper is an attempt to understand how issues of generation become relevant to issues of Buraku discrimination.

Fighting in the water – the art of *suijutsu*

Karsten Helmholz (University of Hamburg)

Over the last 100 years, the Japanese martial arts (*budô*) spread all over the world. There is hardly any country left where one cannot practice one of the many different styles. Despite their popularity, Japanese studies research in western countries did not - with a few notable exceptions - touch them as a research object. There are numerous books on martial arts; however, most of them are published by practitioners and are usually limited to step-by-step instructions with a few, if any, historical footnotes. Widely known martial arts like *judô* are all part of much older traditions, of the classical martial arts *kobudô*. The “modern” martial arts never completely replaced the “traditional” ones, although they are more popular and practiced by many Japanese and foreigners alike.

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In my paper I will focus on the *kobudô* and will show that these arts are still a lively part of the Japanese society, although the schools in which these arts are practiced have difficulties in recruiting young people. I take the art of swimming and fighting in the water (*suijutsu*) - which has not been a research topic until recently - as an example and will present parts of my research findings which are based on field research in Japan. I will present the history, structure and activities of 12 organized schools (*ryûha*) of *suijutsu*, which one can still find in Japan today. I will show that although *kobudô*, like many other traditional arts, has to compete with other leisure activities and sports, a small but relatively steady number of practitioners ensures the continuity of the schools. Some schools are even recognized for their historical and cultural value and are therefore supported by the local administration.

Salaryman Masculinity: The Lingering and Changing *ie* System and the ideology of *Daikokubashira* across Three Generations

Tomoko Hidaka (National University of Singapore)

This paper explores Japanese *sararîman* (salaryman) masculinity, that is, the 'hegemonic masculinity' (see Connell, *Masculinities*, 1995) in Japan and the construction of their masculinity in conjunction with the *ie* system. The study collects the life-histories of thirty-nine men across three generations of salarymen who work or worked for a large company with more than 1,000 employees. The life of the three generations covers the period from before the Pacific war (from the mid-1920s) through the post-Pacific war, the economic miracle (1955-1973), the bursting of the bubble (the early 1990s) and present debates concerning Japanese work and family life.

Even after the abolition of the *ie* system in 1947, researchers between the 1950s and the 1990s witnessed their informants practising the *ie* system. This research, conducted in the early twenty-first century, also revealed practice of the *ie* system across the three generations. Nevertheless, changes in and the decline of the *ie* system are not denied. In this chapter, the surviving as well as waning practices of the *ie* system across the three generations are discussed in relation to the authority of the head, the structure of the family and relationships amongst family members.

The prerequisites of hegemonic salaryman masculinity – being heterosexual, i.e. a husband, an economic provider and a father – are tantamount to being *daikokubashira* which literally means the central pillar and

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metaphorically signifies the mainstay of the family. Drawing on the ideology of *daikokubashira*, this paper also explores fatherhood and husbandhood of the participants. While the traditional gendered division of labour is reproduced across the three generations, it is inevitable that socio-economic changes encroach on the *ie* system.

A Daughter Wanted! Changing Gender and Intergenerational Relationships Among Japanese Couples of Retirement Age

Keiko Ikeda (Doshisha University)

Current statistics show a decline in the number of three-generation households and increase in the number of households comprised only of a couple or a single individual aged 65 years or older. Yet many of those who live independently from their adult children have at least one married child living nearby, and many of those who do not express a desire to live close to a married child in the event of the spouse's death. Furthermore, both in terms of practice and preference, there is a clear trend toward matrilocal near-residency. That is, retired couples often choose to live near a daughter or would like to.

Behind this trend towards matrilocal near-residency is the increased importance of daughters in intergenerational transactions. Among the families I studied, I found a prevalence of labor exchange between retired parents and their married daughters, such as childcare and nursing, and a sharing of household chores, particularly if the daughter works outside the home or a family member is ill. Mutual emotional/psychological support is always assumed, and it is strongest between mothers and their married daughters.

In aging Japan, the exchange of service between retirees and their adult children takes on paramount importance, and since women are the primary providers of indispensable services, they are at the center of intergenerational relations. Correspondingly, male patterns of generational exchange typically associated with patriarchal *ie* family—economic support and the passing on of the family name—are becoming increasingly peripheral. Moreover, the fact that more than forty percent of Japanese couples with children have no son, and the fact that the preference for daughters over sons has been steadily increasing even among the younger couples suggests that the male-centered joint family model is losing its salience among Japanese families today.

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Between Dissolution And Re-Definition? On the Concept of 'Family' in Fictional Representations of 'Freeters'

Kristina Iwata-Weickgenannt (University of Trier)

Marriage means the foundation of a new social unit and thus implies a certain detachment from the parents' house. In Japan, as in most post-industrial societies, marriage also entails the expectation of financial independence. However, in the post-bubble-era, this has been getting increasingly difficult for many young Japanese.

The appearance of freeters ('free Arbeiter': young people who for various reasons and on a temporary basis work in low-wage jobs) around the end of the 1980s and the fact that a quickly growing part of the workforce is now to be found in the non-regular segment, has caused much concern in the Japanese public/media. Part of this excitement was originally due to the fact that a lot of young *men* refused to follow their fathers' paths of life as a *sararîman* (today becoming a freeter is increasingly not a matter of choice but has to do with the scarcity of regular jobs). As freeters, they are rarely able to fulfill their 'traditional' roles as breadwinners. Together with young women (sometimes stigmatized as 'parasite singles') who choose to live with their parents even after they graduated, the freeters are often held responsible for Japan's demographic crisis.

In my presentation, I will not, however, deal with sociological questions but would like to take a look at fictional representations of freeters in literature and TV-drama. Freeters (and similar types like time workers, etc.) appear in a large number of dramas, and in literature the *furitâ bungaku* is now being regarded as an independent genre. How are authors and scriptwriters responding to the socio-economic changes, what interpretations do they offer? My focus will be on families: What meaning is being attributed to the 'family' in the respective works, how is it being defined? There is a general tendency for protagonists (in literature as well as in TV dramas) not to be living in a conventional two-generation-type family: They rarely appear as 'children', and – as far as I can say at the moment – never as 'parents'. Instead, they often live with peers. Their relationships sometimes are extremely distanced, but in other cases they do take on family-like traits which means that 'traditional' roles (mother, father, etc.) are being assumed by different members. I am interested in taking a closer look at gender roles in these 'communes': Are they fix, or shifting, (how) are they being re-negotiated? In correlation with this, I would like to explore the

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characters' perception of '(life) time'. Does the 'future' play a role in their presents, do they have any dreams/ plans/ hopes for the future? What precisely do they look like, how important are 'traditional' values like getting married and having children? What role do financial considerations play? Can we observe differences between male and female characters?

Working for yourself: alternative employment and *jibun rashisa* in Harajuku, Tokyo

Philomena Keet (SOAS, University of London)

This paper is concerned with a particular employment scene in Tokyo in which the key players are all relatively young, mostly in their twenties. In an independent fashion community based around Harajuku and Shibuya, shop staff objectively fit the model of 'freeter,' but the actual lived practices of working in this situation are quite different. Unlike freeters, who are characterized as doing jobs in which they hold no personal interest in order to make money and pursue other activities, the young adults in this paper gain satisfaction from and strongly identify with their jobs, despite the low wages and often long hours. These low wages however often drive such 'freeters' to have second jobs, often in *yoru no shigoto* (night work). This social and economic scene is one of the increasing number of splinters of the fragmented mainstream of Japanese society.

The young people employed in the industry are invariably the producers, and at the top of a loose, hierarchical community that extends to consumers of the styles both in Harajuku and throughout the country. This paper will address how the members of this community are marked out by their consumption behaviour, but also through their employment and educational paths. It will explore alternative barometers of success to those espoused in mainstream discourses and *seken*. *Jibun rashisa*, or being 'true to yourself' is one of the central values upheld by members of this community and applies to both their clothes and their employment. To what degree is this anti-conformist sentiment representative of, or influential in wider Japanese society? This paper derives from fieldwork in Tokyo in 2006 involving working at a magazine and shop, both central to the scene.

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From *Final Fantasy* to 'Meet Me': sociality and cultural construction in Japanese virtual worlds

William H. Kelly (Tama University and University of Oxford)

Despite the flourishing of academic interest in leisure, entertainment, popular culture and youth culture in Japan since at least the 1970s, the virtual worlds of video games and massive multiplayer online role playing games (MMORPGs) within which Japanese (and non-Japanese) video gamers are spending increasing amounts of their leisure time have, with a few exceptions, evaded scholarly attention.

Drawing on several examples from ongoing research of video games and the games industry in Japan, this paper examines the ways in which virtual worlds are constructed by games developers and both constructed and 'inhabited' by games players. The development of ever more sophisticated interactive virtual game worlds such as 'Second Life' and its Japanese counterpart, 'Meet Me', in which 'players' meet, interact and socialise with others raises the question of the relationship between 'real' and 'virtual' social life.

Ultimately, the paper seeks to explore the proposition that the virtual worlds created by Japanese games developers for (primarily) Japanese consumers are, like the 'real' worlds within which they are developed, socially constructed. Accepting this, what, if any, is the role of the anthropologist in constructing an anthropology of virtual worlds?

New Lifestyles or 'Old Hats'? Social Change in Media and Film in Japan (Panel)

Griseldis Kirsch, panel organiser and chair (SOAS, University of London)

Throughout the 1990s, Japanese society underwent a decisive social and economic change, which left the younger generation facing new challenges concerning their work lives as well as their personal lives, since life-long employment was no longer a guarantee. At the same time, however, the younger generation did not seem to find the patterns of life of the elder generation desirable anymore and sought to define their own way of life. Women wanted to continue working rather than to submit themselves solely to household chores and childcare, and young people pursued their hobbies rather than a career.

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Multiple 'new' lifestyles emerged and the Japanese society was faced with the fact that it might not be as homogeneous as it wanted to be seen.

Since the media have always been quick to react to new trends, they can be seen as some kind of 'altimeter' of society. Therefore, in looking at social change, the role of the media cannot be underestimated while the representations of these social phenomena gain importance as they at least partially reflect the notions among the audiences of these media products.

In recent years, the demographic change in Japan – an 'ageing society' combined with a low fertility rate – has also entered the media. Although the non-fictional media present 'gloomy' statistics rather than alternative lifestyles, the fictional media display various 'representations' of the 'new' social phenomena in Japanese society, which cut across the generations. Working women and stay-at-home fathers are merely one side of the coin, images of *freeters* and *otaku* complement the picture.

Through an overview of the fictional genres of the media, including film, this panel aims to look at the representations of the social changes since the 1960s. Various genres such as television drama, film and commercials will be covered. We aim to work out the various aspects of these social changes that have occurred in post-war Japanese society and their possible societal implications as reflected in the media. Therefore, we attempt to verify the dynamics of social change in Japanese media and society throughout its modern history.

'Reviving' the Younger Generation? The Densha Otoko Phenomenon and Social Change

Griseldis Kirsch (SOAS, University of London)

In the year 2004, a young man with the alias *densha otoko* (train man) made his appearance in the internet chat room *2channeru*. He had saved a young career woman from a man who had harassed her on the train. She had thanked him with an expensive present and since he was an *otaku*, a computer and anime nerd, he felt uneasy about dealing with 'real women', so he desperately sought advice on how to reply to that present. With the help of his friends in the chat forum, he managed to successfully win the young woman's affection and to profoundly change himself.

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This chat thread was first converted into a book and later, in 2005, turned into a film and a TV drama which were enormously successful. The *otaku*, the allegedly 'deviant', manga and anime-loving youngsters who are seen as 'alienated' from their surroundings and unable to talk about anything but their hobby, became the new 'saviours' for 'Japan'. In course of the success of film and drama, many books were published in which '*densha otoko*' gave advice to other *otaku* willing to change themselves as well. Therefore, the film and the TV drama sparked off an '*otaku* boom' even within other genres of the media and this new view of *otaku* became a social phenomenon, indicating that the 'younger generation' might not yet be 'lost'.

This paper aims to look at the representation of *otaku* within the film and the TV drama, but also at the social phenomenon of *otaku*, their alleged incapability of communication and the societal implications behind the medial representations of this 'change'. If the '*otaku*' are able to 'change' themselves, fall in love, get married (and have children), then, perhaps, could Japanese society be able to find a way out of its dilemma as well?

Health and body politics of the aged society: coping with the challenges of demographic change

Wolfram Manzenreiter (University of Vienna)

Sport is affected by the greying of society in a number of ways. First, changes in the composition of age cohort groups downgrade the traditionally most important customer segment of sports-related goods, services, and markets, i.e. young males. Second, the aging of society puts national social security and health systems under enormous economic and financial stress which can be partially reduced by raising sports participation rates among the elderly as well as among younger age groups. Third, the demographic change impacts upon the life cycle, particularly on the duration of a prolonged post-retirement period. The current demographic change thus demands the development of new products, programmes and marketing strategies tailored to the needs of the greying society. My inquiry into sport and demographic change in contemporary Japan considers various societal functions of sports, the way political actors and the sport industry are coping with the challenges and the way the notions of self, society and sport themselves are affected.

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1964 and All That. Documenting the Tokyo Olympics

Dolores Martinez (SOAS, University of London)

This paper will look at 1964 as a particular post-war moment in Japan through the lens of Kon Ichikawa's film *Olympiad*. What message was the Japanese government trying to send about 'changing' Japan when it asked this director, best known for his film *A Burmese Harp*, to officially document the Olympics? What sort of understanding does an anthropologist gain from the analysis of documentary film making and its relationship to national ideals about social change?

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

Marissa Maurer (University of Trier)

The course of life of Japanese women underwent significant changes throughout the last decades. The tendency to delay marriage and to gain fulfilment in one's career respectively, are some of the main issues of public debates concerning the changing life-patterns of Japan's young women. Instead of submitting themselves solely to household chores and childcare, a new generation of highly educated women who possess the same soft skills the labour market is looking for, is prepared to turn the 21st century into a 'women's era'. These highly visible changes are not only estimated to have an impact on the consumer behaviour of the young women, but also on their representation in advertising and promotional speech.

Throughout the last decades the consumer industry addressed women primarily in their role as housewife and mother. (Still) unmarried and looking out for (financial) independence and the fulfillment of their individual conception concerning private and business life, today's young women aged between 25 and 40 years are on the verge of becoming one of the most attractive but also demanding target groups of the consumer industry. Thus, their interest is not only directed towards products that are typically ascribed to be used by women like cosmetics, underwear and jewellery but also to products that were so far mainly used by men like automobiles or telecommunication goods.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the changing life-patterns of Japan's young women and the way they are represented in women's magazines

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advertising. Therefore a historical review about how women were portrayed in advertising during the last 50 years is included as well as some details about their consumer behaviour in regard to the consumer goods mentioned above. Finally, the main concern of this paper is to describe how women are represented in current Japanese magazine advertising.

Lifelong Learning in Japan: Constructing “Citizenship” through Learning

Akihiro Ogawa (Stockholm University)

This paper provides an ethnographic account of lifelong learning in contemporary Japan. Lifelong learning or *shōgai gakushū* has rapidly risen to the top of the policy agendas in Japan. One major example of this rise was observed in December 2006, when the term ‘lifelong learning’ was added to the Fundamental Law of Education, Japan’s educational charter. Discussions are now centered on what kind of lifelong learning Japan can develop.

Japan has rich tradition of lifelong learning. Since 2001, I have been documenting the state of lifelong learning activities and discussions through conducting extensive fieldwork across the country. Lifelong learning is a process for each individual’s life itself, aiming at the fulfillment of life and self-realization through learning the liberal arts and enjoying sports. It is designed to promote learning for learning’s sake, oriented toward attaining cultural ends, and for enjoying leisure time.

This paper presents such kinds of individual learning, which are nowadays integrated into a social structure by the government at various levels, containing some utilitarian elements. In fact, lifelong learning effectively encompasses all learning that takes place from infancy throughout adult life, in families, schools, vocational training institutions, universities, at the workplace, and in communities. Furthermore, it is crucially important in addressing ongoing demographic changes such as aging and migration and sustaining the global knowledge economy, and in promoting social cohesion, the quality of community life, and personal development.

I present in detail the latest trend of lifelong learning in Japanese society. In particular, I provide an account of people who are trying to explore the meaning of ‘citizenship’ and construct it through their lifelong learning activities. They locate learning as the center of citizenship, which is a matter of active social participation and dialogues in the political community.

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Aging populations, aging people-watchers: ethnographic long engagements

David W. Plath (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

If the aging of Japan's population is under-theorized, the aging of the population of Japan-watchers has not even been on the agenda of scholarly inquiry. Residents at a field site expect an older (or experienced) fieldworker to have learned a good bit and to not ask naïve questions. Long engagements between researchers and locals may generate social relations that are thick beyond description. The mooted Ethnographic Gaze may be lensed through the eyes of a young adult. Does this seriously slant our research results? These and related issues are surfacing in the course of a project looking into and video-recording the forty-year engagement between Keith Brown and the people of Mizusawa (now Oshu-shi) Iwate-ken. Offering video-clip examples I revisit the problem of age-bias in scholarship on Japan.

Social Change in Japanese TV Ads: The Representation of Elderly People

Michael Prieler (German Institute for Japanese Studies)

Buzzwords like the increasing life expectancy, the aging society, or the Year 2007 problem are omnipresent in Japan at the moment. Japan already has the population with the highest median age as well as the longest life expectancy. This development even seems to continue, which leads naturally to the question of how several parts of society will react to this trend.

On the economical side, more and more companies are discovering the opportunities connected with marketing to elderly people. Increasing in number and share of the total population, while at the same time being relatively well-off financially, this market segment can be seen as very attractive and promising. So, it is not surprising that advertising to elderly people (a market segment, which was traditionally ignored) plays an increasingly important role.

Based on a sample of commercials from 1997 and 2007, this study will analyze if and how the representation of elderly people has changed and how social changes are reflected in television commercials. One of the results of this study will be that there are areas, which have clearly changed, e.g. in the form of an

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increasing number of advertisements especially addressing this group. On the other hand, there are areas, which have remained quite constant over the years, e.g. that elderly males clearly outnumber elderly females in advertisements even though this is the exact opposite of social reality.

In conclusion, this paper will show how changes in society have influence on media, and how reading television commercials can be one way to better understand the status quo and maybe even the future of Japanese society.

Portraying the Okinawan *obaa*

Isabelle Prochaska (University of Vienna)

Okinawa has in many ways become an example for the “other” Japan, implicitly confronting the myth of Japanese homogeneity both ethnically and culturally. The so-called “Okinawa boom” emphasized special features of Okinawan tradition and its diverse cultural heritage in many areas such as tourism, popular music, arts and mass media. Keywords like “Okinawa time” (not being strict about punctuality) or “*champururu*” (“diversity”; originally a term from Okinawan cuisine) have become known as etiquettes of Okinawan lifestyle.

Within this trend, the picture of the Okinawan *obaa* (grandmother or “old lady”) has also become a symbol (if not to say “trademark”) for one aspect of Okinawan identity, linked to longevity, the slow Okinawan lifestyle and take-it-easy-attitude of *nan kuru nai sa* (“Things will work out”). As the catchword “*obaa* power” expresses, the image of the *obaa* is linked with strong, tough, hard-headed but also energetic and humorous attributes, and she has become a familiar, irreplaceable figure in movies (such as *Nabi no koi* 1999) and TV series (e.g. *Churasan* 2001~2007) depicting typical Okinawan life. A compilation of funny anecdotes about the Okinawan *obaa* titled *Obaa restsuden* (“*Obaa* column”, published 2000) enjoyed great popularity, and in 2006 Ryūkyū Hōsō broadcasted *Obaa restsuden* as a humorous series introducing a typical Okinawan three-generation-family, with the *obaa* (played by a man) in the centre.

One would assume that the elderly represent a rather marginal status in social structure, but in case of Okinawa, *obaa* and *ojii* (grandfathers) are often described as the backup and core of Okinawan society, in regards to their important role as active preservers of *uchināguchi* (Okinawan dialect) and spiritual tradition, who are facing life with optimism and an uncomplicated, cheerful attitude, despite their war experiences in the past.

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This paper will analyse the image of the *obaa*, as she is portrayed in popular entertainment (movies, TV series, manga) and try to contextualise her picture in the present reality of Okinawan society.

Making the Japanese Home: Transformation in Houses and Households, Spaces and Senses

Richard Ronald (Delft University of Technology) and Yosuke Hirayama (Kobe University)

The Japanese home has long been grounded as a social and physical ideal in discourses on Japan and Japaneseness. The physical spaces of homes, the structure of households contained within them and the organization of urban neighborhoods has, however, undergone considerable transformation over the last century. This paper considers metamorphoses in the space and organization of the Japanese home with particular reference to social changes that have occurred, particularly in recent decades. The majority of urban households in the 21st century are made up of single or couple only households rather than stem families, reflecting a fundamental individualization and fragmentation of social organization since the economic recession era of the 1990s. The construction and shape of urban housing is also being transformed in parallel to the changing shape of household formation with the rate of renting of compact apartments or purchase of city-centre, new development condominium units among younger households advancing rapidly.

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**JAWS GOES TO THE LONE STAR STATE!
UPDATE ON
JAWS 2010 CONFERENCE IN AUSTIN, TEXAS**

The JAWS conference for 2010 will be held during the week of 14 March at the University of Texas at Austin. The general theme of the conference will be Religion, Ritual, and Identity, although anthropologists working in other areas are encouraged to submit proposals for panels or papers.

The University of Texas at Austin was founded in 1883 and is one of the largest universities in the United States, with 16 colleges and schools, 21,000 faculty and staff, and slightly under 50,000 students. The university has a tremendous diversity of research resources, including 17 libraries on campus with the Perry Castañeda Library at its core. The library system is the 5th largest academic library and ranks among the top 10 research libraries in the United States. The campus has a variety of interesting sites, including the Ransom Center, which contains the world's first photograph, the papers of Pulitzer Prize-winning author Norman Mailer and the Watergate papers of Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein. There is also the LBJ Presidential Library and Museum, the Texas Natural Science Center, and Blanton Museum of Art.

The University is located in the central part of Austin, which is the heart of a metropolitan area with about 1.6 million people. Austin is the capital of Texas and bills itself as the 'Live Music Capital of the World' due to the numerous clubs and bars that host live country, rhythm and blues, and rock music along 6th Street in the center of the city. In spring (often in March) the city hosts South By Southwest, a music and film festival, and the city is widely known as one of the greenest cities in the US, with numerous parks and trails for hiking as well as a progressive approach to green energy and building. Visitors often gather at dusk along one of the bridges over the Colorado River to watch millions of bats depart their under-bridge home in search of food each night.

The city has numerous outstanding restaurants, including some of the state's best Texas barbeque, several superb TexMex restaurants, local hamburger joints, excellent Mexican food in East Austin, and a variety of ethnic, vegetarian, and organic restaurants. Austin is also home to the headquarters of Whole Foods, one of the largest organic food distributors in the US, with a large organic food store along 6th street.

Austin is accessible primarily through Austin-Bergstrom International Airport. Travelers coming from outside the US will normally fly to a large city

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such as Dallas, Chicago, or Houston and connect to a flight to Austin (which is about 30 minutes by plane from Dallas and Houston, longer from Chicago). It is also possible to drive from Dallas (four hours) or Houston (2.5 hours) if one is interested in viewing the countryside (Houston is a better choice for this, as the drive between Houston and Austin is much more scenic than between Dallas and Austin). For more information on Austin, please visit www.austintexas.org and for more information about the University of Texas at Austin, please visit www.utexas.edu. We will look forward to seeing you in Texas next year. Please feel free to contact me with any questions or suggestions about Austin and the conference (jtraphagan@mail.utexas.edu).

JAWS NEWS: BUSINESS MEETINGS

MINUTES OF THE 19TH JAWS BUSINESS MEETING**22 September 2008, 6.15 – 7.30 p.m.****Lecce, Italy**

The meeting was chaired by Joy Hendry (JH), in the absence of Lola Martinez due to illness. The minutes were taken by Anemone Platz.

1. Apologies for absences from Lola Martinez, Peter Cave, Gordon Mathews, Lynne Nakano and Carolyn Stevens
2. Website -- Carolyn would like to hand over responsibility, and Dixon Wong (University of Hong Kong) has offered to host it. There was no objection to this.
3. Joy reported on the JAWS Routledge series:
 - Special price for JAWS members.
 - The more hard cover books are bought, the more likely a paperback edition will be printed. (Later addition: Everybody can buy up to 15 copies, for students etc.)
 - Information on upcoming books
 - Encouragement to try to publish in the series, information on procedures.
4. JAWS meetings discussed.

It was discussed whether meetings should continue to be every 18 months, and as an EAJIS- subsection every other time. There was no objection to this, since it was argued that it would be too expensive for many to participate in both conferences in times of ever less financial support from institutions, while EAJIS provides some funding.

It is expensive for non-EAJIS members to present a paper (3-years membership = 60 €). Joy Hendry reported on her discussion with the EAJIS President, Harald Fuess. An exemption for JAWS members will not be likely because of too high administrative costs, but Harald is willing to investigate the possibility of one year memberships instead of three years for all JAWS members who want to attend an EAJIS conference. It was also mentioned that some universities have in the past been able to attract bigger amounts of funding and

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could thus support the participation of students (Yale, Hong Kong) but that this will be more and more difficult in the future.

5. Future JAWS conferences

JAWS conference 2010 will be in Austin, Texas. Dates are planned for 19 to 21 March 2010. (Note: an EAJIS-PhD workshop will be held in Cambridge 15 to 17 March 2010, organized by Brigitte Steger.)

JAWS/EAJS conference 2011: the conveners for the JAWS section at the EAJIS Conference 2011 were accepted without objection. They are Griseldis Kirsch (SOAS) and Anemone Platz (Aarhus University). (The conference will take place in Tallinn, Estonia, 22 to 26 August 2011. It will be preceded by a PhD workshop)

JAWS conference 2013: there is an offer from Istanbul and another from Singapore and a more recent one from New Zealand. Further site offers should be sent to Lola Martinez.

It was discussed whether the meeting site always has to be a university. The conclusion was that this was probably the easiest in terms of appropriate facilities and funding.

JH mentioned the regular AJJ meetings in Japan. There is thus no need to arrange JAWS meetings there.

6. New JAWS committee members?

Since none of the actual committee was present, there were doubts concerning the election rules. Nevertheless the members present decided to appoint some new members and therewith expand the number of committee members. The establishment of a student advisory group was suggested to voice the views and necessities of the student members. This idea received great support and was consequently realized.

Professor Yoshida Teigo continues to be the Japan representative. Upon JH's suggestion the assembly decided to elect a second one. JH proposed Professor Nakamaki Hirochika. Prof. Nakamaki didn't want to be "honorary" as he was "active", but eventually accepted the appointment. No objections and Prof. Nakamaki, who was present, accepted.

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As new committee members the following were proposed and elected without opposition:

- Joseph Kreiner, present EAJIS representative to be replaced by Brigitte Steger.

Furthermore Griseldis Kirsch and Anemone Platz joined the committee.

The student council (and possibly future committee!):

- Andrea De Antoni
- Sebastian Boret
- Fabio Gygi
- Philomena Keet
- Katja Ferstl
- Isabelle Prochaska
- Emma Cook

7. Payment possibilities were explained. JH accepted payments (note: the Euros were banked in the European account and British pounds were taken to Hong Kong where our treasurer banked them).

8. Other business

- Mary Picone: JAWS/Japan studies should be careful when selecting sources of funding. Some conferences in the USA have apparently been financially supported by dubious funding sources like Shin'yō-en.
- Philomena Keet: Online forums – graduate forum for PhD students. Mary Picone pointed out that language was a problem for PhD students who write their dissertations in another language than English. Mary Picone offers support concerning this problem.
- Request for a **career advice session** at the next JAWS conference.

The meeting ended at 7:30 p.m.

JAWS NEWS: PUBLICATIONS

JAWS PUBLICATION NEWS

Joy Hendry

The JAWS series continues to grow, and we have been looking at several interesting proposals, at various stages of progress, which we hope to introduce to you within the next year or so. In the meantime, the list remains strong and healthy, and the book billed below as “forthcoming” is in press and proceeding apace. We are also always open to new ideas, so please let me know if you have manuscripts, or even ideas, that you think might stand well with the list and appeal to fellow members.

There have been some hitches with ordering, but you should now have received (via the JAWS mailing list) the excellent news that books in the JAWS series can be ordered online from the Routledge website with a 75 percent discount. Once you get to the checkout, input the discount code JAWSMEMBER09, and you should get the discount. We also hope to enclose an order form with this Newsletter for those who like to send things through the post. I will chase up any problems you have on your behalf, so keep me posted, or copy me in to any enquiries you might make to Routledge direct.

The good news is that all the books should be available, one year after publication, to order DIRECT in actual paperback form at the reduced price of £20. This is a system that is used for many other books that Routledge publish (including *Japan at Play*, that I edited with Massimo Raveri), and their website may well be more helpful in encouraging you to do that (<http://www.routledgepaperbacksdirect.com/>). I therefore urge all the authors in the series to chase up that their own book will be available in this way – Mitch Sedgwick’s book will be on this list soon. Then our JAWS membership advantage will be only that you can get hardbacks for a similar price! Still, the aim is to have you all reading each others work so we will hang in there!

JAWS SERIES: Already Published:

Japanese Tourism and the Culture of Travel

Edited by Sylvie Guichard-Anguis and Okpyo Moon. **NEW!**

JAWS NEWS: PUBLICATIONS

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

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

Japan and the Culture of Copying
Edited by Rupert Cox

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

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

JAWS NEWS: PUBLICATIONS

Forthcoming:

Making Japanese Heritage

Edited by Christoph Brumann and Rupert Cox

NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTES

The Gerald Warner Taiwan Image Collection: Colonial Anthropology and the Anthropology of Colonialism

Paul D. Barclay

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As modern Japan's first formal colony (1895-1945), Taiwan was the site of several experiments in anthropological investigation. In the beginning, Torii Ryūzō introduced photography into Japanese ethnography with his studies of Taiwanese highlanders (from 1896) and also published Japan's first book-length ethnography, on the Tao (Yami) in 1902. Thereafter, survey teams of officials conversant with local conditions, linguists, biologists, and university-trained ethnographers compiled a nearly exhaustive inventory of the material culture, language classifications, and ethnohistory of Taiwan's politically and ethnically diverse Austronesian peoples.

Much of the resulting photography from these surveys found its way into commercial outlets (such as coffee table books), journalism, official reports and picture postcards. The history of these images traverses the early days of glass-plate photography, with its heavy equipment and long exposure times (necessitating orchestrated, posed photography) to the arrival of portable, quick-exposure Leica cameras into a virtually 'pacified' Taiwan. Anthropologists as eminent as Edmund Leach have praised colonial-era Japanese photographs of Taiwan's material life, as others have remarked on the untapped ethnological bounty contained in several of the Japanese era multi-volume survey reports.

Thanks to a donation of 340 images from an acquaintance of Gerald Warner, the last U.S. Consul to colonial Formosa (1937-1941), a sample of the materials described above are now accessible to the public for further analysis and study (<http://warner.lafayette.edu>). This digital archive, named the Gerald Warner Taiwan Image Collection, was developed by Eric Luhrs at Skillman Library, Lafayette College, under the editorship of Dr. Paul D. Barclay. These annotated images will be of interest to anthropologists of Japan and China, as well as to students of Japanese colonial anthropology and the history of postage and publishing in Japan.

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The plurality of the photographs in the Warner Collection record Austronesian (Atayal, Sedeq, Bunun, Tsuo, Ami, Thao, Puyuma, Paiwan, Tao (Yami), Saisiyatt, and others) material life as it existed ca. 1930. Clothing, weaving, adornment, tattooing, basketry, carving, and architecture, along with staged portraits of eating, hulling, animal husbandry, hunting, burden carrying, agricultural labor, ceremonial life and etiquette, constitute the dominant themes. Many other images of Taiwanese temples and religious activities, Chinese agriculture, urban street life, and monumental architecture in addition to Japanese shrines, resorts, parks, monuments, infrastructure projects, plantations, and colonial architecture are included. Dozens of these black and white prints have appeared in 1930s publications, but as small illustrations in books printed on low-quality paper with poor image reproduction technology. Thus, many of these images, obtained by Consul Warner directly from the photographers themselves, are in much better condition than extant copies found in other sources.

In this keyword searchable and fully hyper-linked database, we have attempted to add as much information as possible regarding the images as artifacts, and the artifacts depicted in the images. We have been able to discover the names of the photographers or likely photographers (often anthropologists) for many of these images, append relevant scholarly descriptions from contemporary and historical sources, and identify the names of villages or settlements of the photographic subjects. We have also traced the history of individual images as they have reappeared over the decades in various Japanese published sources, postcard sets, and postwar Taiwanese books. We are exploiting cancellation marks, commemoration stamps, Japanese postcard regulations, and external evidence to date the images and their media, or at least place them in as narrow a time-band as possible. Lastly, we have facilitated analysis by attaching *Outline of Cultural Materials* (5th ed., 2004) code numbers to each image, taken from the Human Relations Area Files (New Haven, CT) and founded by George P. Murdock (http://www.yale.edu/hraf/Ocm_xml/traditionalOcm.xml). Thus, if one is studying basketry and weaving, or religious and educational structures, it is easy to call up a list of related images.

Since processing the original collection, we have added substantially to our digital archive, sticking to the theme of Japanese colonial rule in Taiwan. A local donor lent us another 530 images, the surviving daughters of Consul Warner have lent us over 300 unpublished photographic negatives from Warner's own camera (and two scrapbooks of images with his own captions),

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and we have purchased another 1000 images on the rare book market in Tokyo. As we make these images available (see <http://imago.lafayette.edu/cdm4/browse.php?CISOROOT=/lewis> and <http://imago.lafayette.edu/cdm4/browse.php?CISOROOT=/cpw>), researchers will be able to go into much greater detail in the subjects mentioned above, in addition to investigating unique documentation of Japanese matsuri, kabuki, architecture, and shrine worship in colonial Taiwan, an intimate look at the lives of the Western expatriate community in 1930s imperial Japan, and a large visual database of Japanese colonial military and police activities and other imperial projects.

We invite inquiries, suggestions, and most especially contributions of knowledge from the Japan Anthropology Workshop community. All contributions will be acknowledged on our website. Several Taiwan-based scholars have already helped to clarify fine points of musicology and ritual life in colonial Taiwan, and we hope to continue the process of refining and sharing our database.

WORK IN PROGRESS: RESEARCH REPORTS

RESEARCH REPORTS

Representations of Hell in Contemporary Japan

Andrea De Antoni

Ph.D student, Ca' Foscari University of Venice (andrea.deantoni@gmail.com)

I am investigating representation of hell in contemporary Japan, trying to analyze them as dystopian visions. Last year, I carried out part of my fieldwork in Rokuhara, an area in Kyoto which is also renowned as the “entrance of hell” (*jigoku no iriguchi*), because it is linked to burials, cremation and rituals for the dead, since the times of the very foundation of Heian-kyō. This area is perceived as a *buraku* by most contemporary Kyotoites, even though it is not officially registered as such. I am trying to investigate the socio-economic situation of Rokuhara as a case study, as well as representations of *burakumin* and the *buraku* among the so-called “mainstream Japanese” in contemporary Kyoto.

From a theoretical perspective, my interests lie particularly in construction of identity, perception of history/tradition and conception of pollution.

At the moment, I am carrying out five months of fieldwork in Japan (from October to March 2008), thanks to the Toshiba International Foundation Scholarship, which allows me to visit and investigate the several “hells” that are scattered around Japan. I have already carried out part of my fieldwork in Osorezan/Mutsu-shi (the closest city to Osorezan) and Hakone. From now on, I am going to investigate how hell is placed in the context of Tateyama, Beppu and Osaka as well.

Basing my study on the theoretical framework provided by theories of globalization, cultural complexity, and exchange of information, I am trying to consider how these “actual hells” produce and are given meaning, both on a local and a national level, how they are linked to the socio-economic structure, how they are sported, represented by media and – eventually – consumed by tourists and/or religious believers. Since these hells are (or originally were) placed in liminal spaces (mainly on the mountains, but also beyond a river which marked the boundaries of the city, as in the case of Kyoto), I am mostly interested in the changes of the relationship among symbolic, economic and – in the case in which a community is somehow linked to the area – social liminality. I am also trying to understand whether there is any difference between the representations of hell which are linked to some religious institution and the

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ones which are not (or are no longer). Furthermore, I am investigating whether the link with institutions might be associated with any kind of construction of identity, perception of difference, or discrimination towards the community living in the area.

Since I have not completed my fieldwork yet, I am only able to explain my research in very general and theoretical terms, but I must say that – so far – my experiences in Kyoto, Mutsu-shi and Hakone have produced extremely interesting results. However, although I well know that results are fundamental and necessary for research, these experiences have given me something even more important than “data” and “results”, at least from a personal perspective: they gave me the possibility to meet an outstanding number of wonderful people. They not only helped me out very much with my investigations and research of information and sources, but have also let me become their friend, showed me the beauties of their areas, offered me delicious food and drunk with me. Quite a lot, actually. I imagine this happens in some way to any anthropologist who goes to the field. Yet it feels somehow strange to meet nice people in hell. And I had never thought that leaving hell would be sadder and, in some way, even more painful than staying there...

Folk Shamanistic Practitioners, Psychics and New Religious Leaders: The Reinōsha of Contemporary Japan

Ioannis Gaitanidis

Ph.D. student, University of Leeds (eas5ig@leeds.ac.uk)

Reinōsha (霊能者) or *reinōryokusha* (霊能力者) is a term that seems to have first appeared in the Japanese media in the late 1970s-early 1980s, in articles discussing the nationwide success of television programs centred around figures like Kibo Aiko (宜保愛子), who claimed to be able to communicate with the spirits of the dead and, thus, offer advice to their living relatives. Following the success of such shows, other individuals with assumed spiritual abilities rose to media stardom, the most recent case being Ehara Hiroyuki (江原啓之) author of numerous spiritist books and co-host of the successful TV Asahi show *Ōra no Izumi* (オーラの泉), in which he uses his ‘special powers’ to read the aura, see the past lives and communicate with the guardian spirits of the participant celebrities, in order to suggest solutions to their life issues.

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Beyond this popular image of the *reinōsha*, the term has also come to designate practitioners who are still referred to in academia as *fujo* (巫女), *shaman* (シャマン or シャーマン) or *minkanfusha* (民間巫者), terms used to generally denominate the shamanistic practitioners active in Japan, best known in local names expressing the particular tradition they represent, such as *itako* (for most of the blind practitioners of the Tōhoku region) or *yuta* (for those active in Okinawa). Since the early days of the Japanese folklore studies with Yanagita Kunio and Nakayama Tarō, followed in the post-war years by Hori Ichirō and Sakurai Tokutarō, then Sasaki Kōkan, Komatsu Kazuhiro, Kanda Yoriko, Kawamura Kunimitsu and Ikegami Yoshimasa just to cite a few, shamanistic practices in Japan have been extensively recorded and analyzed from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. Non-Japanese researchers have also dealt to a large extent with the subject, the most famous being of course Carmen Blacker, but I can also mention Anne Bouchy and Peter Knecht as the start of an unfortunately much shorter list of Western specialists.

In the field of new religious movements too, researchers, such as Shimazono Susumu, Inoue Nobutaka, and Helen Hardacre, have stressed the similarity between folk shamanistic practitioners and founders of new religions such as Tenrikyō (天理教), Ōmoto (大本), Reiyūkai (霊友会), Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō (天照皇大神宮教) etc., who were also believed to have been able to connect with the spirit world.

With such a rich literature as a starting point, part of the fieldwork I am currently undertaking in Japan aims at verifying the hypothesis that the name *reinōsha*, because it describes these practitioners in terms of the nature of their activity, and neither refers to their resemblance with non-Japanese magico-religious traditions (see *shaman*), nor uses academic terms that do not express the contemporary folk belief/new age mixed based form of their activities (see *fusha*), is best suited to address the wide range and increasing popularity of these individuals in the post-Aum Japanese society.

I shall take here three examples to show the variety of practices that I propose to group under the *reinōsha* category: the ‘spiritual counsellor’ (スピリチュアルカウンセラー) who, after consulting three ancestors’ spirits that were floating above my head at the corner of a gloomy coffee shop near Shinjuku station, assured me that I would be able to finish my PhD but with a bit of delay; the *ogamiya* (local term) who has spent all her life ‘married’ to the Dragon God (龍神) inhabiting the two waterfalls of a small mountain in the outskirts of Nobeoka-city (north of Miyazaki prefecture), and whose ability to converse with the gods and spirits of the dead has attracted more than 500 of her regular clients

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to the yearly festival she has been organizing for the last decade; and, finally, the head of a non-profit organization based in Saitama prefecture and owner of a small organic foods store who, financially supported by her husband and the clients coming to seek the help of the voices inside the right part of her brain, has managed to join a seemingly limitless underground network of spiritualists, far right-wing communities, environmental protection associations, organized crime groups, healing musicians, television producers and so on, all part of what could be called a B-class Japanese Freemasonry.

All of these individuals, whether they are driven by profit or not, whether their success makes of them a media celebrity, an inspiring leader of an organization or not, whether they hide behind anonymous internet blogs, inside online communities or practice out in the open, share the same self-acclaimed possession of an ability to communicate with a supernatural world. And for this reason, before starting looking into the extent and impact of their activities, I set forth during the first stage of my research to draw a picture of what a *reinōsha* is and what he/she does.

Kyara -- Soft (& Cuddly) Power

Debra Occhi

Miyazaki International College (docchi@miyazaki-mic.ac.jp)

My current research project investigates the use of *kyara* (*kyarakutaa* 'characters', notably cartoon characters), particularly but not only those that employ anthromorphization, as a part of what Yoshio Sugimoto (Introduction to Japanese Society, CUP 2003) calls "friendly authoritarianism." This follows a longstanding interest in the relationship between power and aesthetics, which has manifested in various projects which examine popular culture. Living in Miyazaki prefecture, whose governor Hideo Higashikokubaru has himself become a *kyara* of sorts to promote local products, I am ready to explore this long-term interest in the uses of 'cute' more deeply.

To ground my focus on contemporary examples, I plan to examine the historicity of character culture. This includes the "first *manga*," the Heian scroll *Chojujinbutsugiga*, which is interesting both as a potentially didactic Buddhist narrative and in context of the contemporaneous development of poetry. The Tokugawa revival of poetry and animal imagery will be another point of interest,

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along with reference to the arguments that both types of expressive culture reflect the overt use of nature as a political tool.

I have already done some research on how character *manga* and *anime* help to socialize Japanese, including a rather dusty unpublished master's thesis on An-Pan Man and some more recent presentations on anthropomorphized products and characters in advertising. Japanese literature sources of analysis include *kyara bijinesu* writings as well as those from information science/communications perspectives. Given that neoteny is a trait typically shared by cute characters, I plan to conduct interviews with a cognitive psychologist. Field research with consumers of these images is ongoing. I also have a large collection of images. The linguistic conventions of naming the *kyara* will also be explicated.

It would also be useful to conduct interviews with character developers. The issue that motivates me the most in this project is the use of characters by agents of authority, including mechanisms such as involvement of the public in the naming and design of characters. A fascinating example is the current trend towards less sophisticated *yuru kyara* or 'sloppy characters' (derived from *yuruyuru no kyarakutaa* by Miura Jun, creator of the more widely known phrase *mai buumu*, meaning 'what I'm into'), which are devised for a one-off campaign or event, especially by official agents – such as the Ministry of Justice in the promotion of the new *saiban seido* jury system. And, the *kyara* of governor Hideo Higashikokubaru will provide a case study in my analysis.

So to summarize the issues in this project thus far: character culture in Japan is historically rich -- and politicized from its inception, that Japanese are socialized towards consumption of characters and the 'products' they represent, and that characters are powerful agents in the marketplace as well as tools of 'friendly authoritarianism.'

The Rise of Business Fieldwork in Japan: Anthropology of Service Work

Keiko Yamaki

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In recent years, many Japanese companies have adopted fieldwork as a research method and have begun to educate more fieldworkers. In the background to this

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is the fact that the industrial structure of developed countries is shifting from manufacturing to service industries. The productivity of the service industry is low in comparison with that of manufacturing industry, so that if the ratio of the service industry increases in the economy as a whole, total economic productivity does not improve. It is the economic policy of many countries to support innovations¹ [Schumpeter, 1954] with the goal of tackling this problem.

There are individual national reasons why service industry productivity is low, related to service, history, culture and relations with innovation. For example, in Japan service has historically been offered relying on the human elements of hospitality and "tacit knowledge"² which are accumulated in a person rather than relying on standardized processes such as platforms or manuals. In other words, it is because the structure of the service is based on the assumption of human ability.

Nowadays, many people have come to expect improvement in the quality of life for the individual and do not always demand new products and high technology. Creative intellectual production itself is offered as service, such as know-how, design, solutions, contents, etc. People called the 'Creative Class'³ take the lead in responding to the needs of those consumers. The reason why this new economic class has risen is because different kinds of ties are increasing today, as well as communities characterized by strong and deep relationships among family, friends and in local organizations. Yoneyama pointed out a similar concept with his word '*Shaen*'⁴ with which he explains the expanse of human relations and their dynamism beyond ties of blood relations and local

¹ Innovation is not only technical innovation but also creates new values to cause a social change by using totally different mechanisms and ways of thinking.

Schumpeter, J. 1954. *History of Economic Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press.

² 'Tacit Knowing' in the context of business administration is normally a concept opposed to the 'Explicit Knowledge' defined by Ikujiro Nonaka in his study "Knowledge Management". It is recognized in business administration as meaning that contains physical and practical intellect accumulated in a human being.

³ Florida, R. 2004. *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books. Florida defined the creative class as consisting of scientists, engineers, architects, designers, educationists, artists, musicians and people who are concerned with any recreations and who take economic leadership roles in modern society through work to create new ideas, technology and works.

⁴ "Shaen" is a coined word made by Yoneyama to mean sodality which consists of any relationship except for blood (family) and local factors. Yoneyama, T. 1966. *Shudan no Seitai*. Japan Broadcast Publishing.

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territorial bonding. Today, people are able to move where they live through changes of job and thus make new relationships even though ties among people in the community weaken. Instead, people's creative minds are built up and they recreate their own identities because they must try hard to be creative.

The rise of the creative class cannot be ignored if one aims at the improvement of productivity in the service industry. It is difficult to know the details of various individual needs if one employs only quantitative research methods such as questionnaires, mass marketing and direct marketing, which have been considered of great importance in business administration to date. The reason why the research methods of cultural anthropology have been taken up in industrial research is that it is necessary to conduct qualitative investigation of individuals, data which are not convertible into digital data. For example, in the collaboration of Fujitsu Laboratory and PARC (Palo Alto Research Center Inc), system engineers in Fujitsu Ltd. undergo educational training as business fieldworkers and learn the techniques of field research in the service scene. As pioneers in Japan they work on not only developing service but also wrestle with very complicated problems peculiar to particular organizations, to change the corporate culture. Kyoto University has incorporated the fieldwork techniques of cultural anthropology into its MBA (Master of Business Administration) program to educate "service creative class Human Resources" based on the present conditions of such Japanese industries. I am currently a member of this project as an anthropologist and am developing the educational program. Students visit and research real companies aiming at the education of industrial members with high service literacy. Cultural anthropology is good at clarifying the essence of, for example, what is going on at this place, and understanding meanings and values through people's transactions.

In the U.S.A., a conference for company researchers called EPIC (Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference) was held for the first time in 2005, with further annual conferences in succeeding years. An Industrial Design Company called IDEO has succeeded in innovation by developing products and business model designs. The leader of this research is a person with knowledge of cultural anthropology, and Stanford University is also cooperating in this method. Cultural anthropologists don't yet play an active part in great numbers in Japanese industry. When they say 'anthropological fieldwork', there are many cases that remain at the level of merely learning some techniques in the company training program. Cultural fieldwork in industrial society is often confused with the methods of cognitive behavioral science or consumption action observation. Basic ideas like cultural relativism, rapport, and participant observation for long

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term research are often not taken in. The uniqueness of the industrial field is not yet explained enough and the training method is not established either. Yet, this trial has just started. We may thus consider through this situation the need or possibility for cultural anthropologists to have larger roles in the future of Japanese industry.

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

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

The JAWS Newsletter continues its new feature, 'Tomorrow's Researchers Today', which gives current and recently graduated PhD students doing anthropological (and allied) research on Japan the chance to introduce themselves and their projects briefly. We 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.) PhD supervisors, please encourage your students to submit!

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München (Munich University)

Katja FERSTL (katja.ferstl@googlemail.com)

My doctoral project explores the role of private photography in contemporary Japanese consumer behaviour. In my research I seek to analyse the connection of Japanese photography with developments in contemporary society. I am particularly interested in comparing the role of private photography in current consumer behaviour of Japanese youth groups with photographic consumption in the growing mass of elderly people in Japan according to age and gender. I plan to go to Japan in Spring 2009.

University of Chicago

Joseph HANKINS (doylej@uchicago.edu).

My dissertation, 'Working through Skin: Making Leather, Making a Multicultural Japan', examines the changing relationship between Buraku economics and Buraku politics, in a transnational context. In the past three decades, the Buraku people have gained increased international recognition as a minority, which allows their political organizations to put new pressure on the Japanese government. At the same time, though, the forms of stigmatized labor -- such as leatherwork and meat production -- that mark these people as a minority

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are leaving Japan, following cheaper labor costs to China and India. International political successes in arguing about labor, then, are coming at the moment that that labor is transforming dramatically. Based on ethnographic research with the leading Buraku political organization and a leather tannery in eastern Tokyo, 'Working through Skin' investigates how, in the Buraku situation, labor is shifting from a set of stigmatized practices to a social identity, and how the work of making leather is being replaced by the work of making a multicultural Japan. I will receive my Ph.D. in 2009, and am currently applying for post-doctoral research fellowships and full-time academic positions.

University of Wisconsin

Keiko SUZUKI (yfe18769@nifty.com; suzukik@fc.ritsumeimei.ac.jp)

I was awarded a Ph.D. in Anthropology with an Art History minor in 2006 from the University of Wisconsin, and currently work at Ritsumeikan University. My dissertation, entitled 'The Tale of Tojin: Visualizing Others in Japanese Popular Art from Edo to Early Meiji', takes an interdisciplinary approach to the popular visual culture of *ukiyo-e*, analyzing the symbolic and historical meanings of images of foreigners produced from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. I argue that commoners used 'Tojin' (literally translated as 'Chinaman') imagery (a temporally, spatially, and socially specific cultural product) to stereotype foreigners, both Western and non-Western, while downplaying China as the dominant regional power. I am interested in historical and symbolic anthropology and pre-modern popular culture, specifically concerned with questions of visual culture, identity construction and maintenance, and modernity in a global context.

Yale University

Annie CLAUS (annie.claus@yale.edu)

I'm a first year doctoral student. For my PhD I will return to Okinawa to investigate a conservation narrative at the intersection of science, environmental identity, and social processes. Current international discourse steers the framing of conservation away from past-oriented traditionalism toward future-oriented 'adaptability' and technological progress. Owing to subordination by the Chinese in the fifteenth century and the Japanese in modern times, 'adaptability'

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resonates as an important aspect of Okinawan identity, making it a prime site to explore the consumption of this narrative. How does this reframing impact conservation strategy on the ground? How do Okinawans use conservation projects to present an 'authentic' environmental identity? These are questions my project will address.

Isaac GAGNE (isaac.gagne@yale.edu).

My doctoral project will explore the intersection of religious globalization and local socioeconomic changes in Japan. I will focus on how local religious and cultural idioms are globalized and foreign religious movements are localized in the spheres of family, education, and work by examining one domestic and one foreign "new religious movement." In particular, I will examine how religious practices and rhetoric are "culturalized" through efforts that dissolve boundaries between religious/secular and local/global. My areas of interest include generational change, religion, globalization, and neoliberalism. I am currently applying for grants to conduct fieldwork in Tokyo in 2009-2010.

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胎中千鶴『葬儀の植民地社会史 帝国日本と台湾の〈近代〉』風響社、2008 年、278 頁

岩竹美加子評（ヘルシンキ大学）

1990 年代以降、日本の社会人文学、文学、美術など様々な分野でポストコロニアル批判が広がった。日本のポストコロニアル批判の特徴の一つは、「ポストコロニアル」を植民地主義以後という時間的段階として捉えず、抑圧的構造の連鎖及び、その仲介者としての日本の役割を批判的に検証することにある。本書も、そうした知の系譜に属するすぐれた研究である。『葬儀の植民地社会史 帝国日本と台湾の〈近代〉』は、日本統治期の台湾に焦点をあて、19 世紀末から 1910 年代の「風俗改良運動」と 1937 年以降の公民化期の「葬儀改善」に至る時間的流れの中で、葬儀の習慣をめぐる抵抗、受容、翻訳、流用、妥協がいかに行われたかを論じる。ポストコロニアル批判の中で、台湾研究はまだ数少ない。またこれまでは、政治史、経済史、教育史などの統治政策が中心であり、社会史や文化的価値、心性は論じられてきていなかった。本書は理論や専門用語をふりかざすことなく、法規、総督府関係資料、雑誌、新聞、各種団体の発行物、文学作品などの文献資料を巧みに駆使しつつ、社会史、文化的価値及び心性に関する論考と解釈を提示している。

清朝統治期以来の台湾の葬儀では、死者に対する儒教的な祖先崇拜よりも、死体の持つ死穢を封じ込める行為が重要視されていたという。死体は恐れの対象であったが、死後ただちには埋葬されず、最も長い場合には数年にわたって住宅内や寺廟に安置された。埋葬地や埋葬日を風水思想によって慎重に選ぶ、停柩と呼ばれる習慣である。死者は「正しい」手順と儀礼を経て死の世界に送られることによって、生者の世界に災いをもたらすことなく、子孫繁栄の礎となると考えられた。土葬と数年後の洗骨を経て、遺骨は吉地に改葬された。

地域、言語集団、社会的地位などによる差異はあったものの、葬儀には儒教、仏教、道教、民間信仰などの要素が複雑に絡み合っていた。また葬儀は、慟哭、豪華な葬列、楽音などを伴い、演劇的要素も持ち多大な散財を要した。しかし、衛生や合理、経済性を追求する近代的精神は、台湾の葬儀を不衛生、無駄、虚飾などとして嫌い、改良の対象と位置づける。過剰な感情の表出を抑制し、しめやかに死を悼むのが近代人なのであり、慟哭やにぎやかな楽音は死の儀式から排除されていく。葬列の代替として出現するのは追悼会、現在の告別式であり、さらに「近代的」、「日本的」と考えられるさまざまな折衷スタイルの葬儀が模索されていった。

しかし、改良運動は一方的に日本人官憲や教師などによって、台湾人に押し付けられただけなのではなかった。風俗改良を近代化として受け入れる有力者、慟

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哭などの「伝統的」習俗を嫌悪する若い世代、葬儀の改良にとどまらず、死に対する意識のラディカルな変革をも目指す抗日民衆運動、日本人よりも「日本的」な葬儀を行う資産家、総督府主導の衛生政策への協力を装いながら、台湾社会の風俗習慣の温存を図るエリート層、或いは台湾人におしつけられる風俗改良に批判的な日本人など、日本統治下の台湾社会は複雑な様相を呈していく。

日本人と台湾人の関係は、支配者／被支配者、衛生／非衛生、合理／非合理という二項対立におさまるものではなく、その差異も明確に確立していたわけではなかった。たとえば、祝祭的要素を持つ葬列や贅沢な饗応、贈答のやりとりなどは、社会改良運動が浸透する以前の明治期には、東京の葬儀でも普通に行われていたことである。

さらに、火葬（近代）と土葬（前近代）という対比も明確だったわけではない。19世紀末の台湾でペストなどの伝染病の流行後、日本人統治者にとっては、火葬が衛生上最も合理的な方法となったが、台湾には根強い土葬志向があった。明治期の火葬は、重油ではなく薪が燃料である。焼却は一晩がかりであり、夜の暗闇に立ち上る大量の黒煙と異臭は死穢への恐れをかきたてる。火葬が清潔で衛生的という近代思想は、台湾人に対して説得力を持つことができなかった。しかし、同時期は日本内地でも火葬の普及率は低かったのである。内務省は火葬を奨励していたが、それは近代的衛生の言語によってではなく、神話や来世観に訴えることによってなされていた。しかし、台湾においては統治者と被統治者の差異を視覚化し、文明人である確証とするために、日本人は「衛生的」な火葬を進んで行うようになり、台北に建てられた常設火葬場の利用者は、1930年代に至るまでほとんどが日本人だったのである。

上述したトピックに加えて、葬儀の問題をやや異なる視点から論じる第四章の「台南墓地移転問題」と第六章の「植民地の日本仏教 ― 臨済宗妙心寺派の活動を中心に」も興味深い。前者は、1928年に昭和天皇即位を記念する奉祝事業として台南州が計画したゴルフ場建設のための墓地移転問題を取り上げる。日本人と台湾人の住み分けを進める都市計画の意味もあったその計画は、台湾人の抵抗によって打ち切られたが、墓地縁故者である反対者たちは、「良き臣民」としての立場を戦略的に強調する言語を用いて抵抗に成功したのだった。後者は、公民法に関しては国家神道が要であったにもかかわらず、台湾で力を伸ばすのは神道ではなく、「葬儀改善」に関わった仏教であり、仏教の国家神道化が進展した経緯を論じる。

本書は合理、進歩、清潔、衛生などを追求するコロニアルな近代の日本から台湾への連鎖を描く。近代意識を持った台湾人は、「近代的日本」に近づこうとしたが、「近代的日本」は幻影であり、それが何であるのかは日本人にとっても名指しえないものであった。また、日本の近代性と台湾の前近代性は排他的に存在していたわけではなく、むしろ両者の間には対話、反発、部分的共犯などの関係があったと言えるだろう。著者の議論を敷衍しながらポストコロニアルな視線を

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西欧的近代に向けると、「西欧」も幻影であり、その「近代性」は疑わしいものであった可能性も垣間見える。

細部に目配りのきいた本書でやや気になったのは、著者が日本統治以前の台湾を伝統社会とすることである。「伝統」概念の諸問題が認識されている現在、「近代」を問題化する研究は「伝統」という語の使用については慎重であるべきだろう。散見する「清朝期台湾社会」という表現、或いは具体的な年代の表示が望ましいと思われる。

本書は2002年度、立教大学に提出された博士論文に基づく。著者は、1959年生まれで中学、高校教師だった経歴も持つ。必ずしも研究者としてのエリートコースを一直線に進んだのではない、すぐれた研究者の登場。今後の活躍を期待したい。

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ANTHROPOLOGY OF JAPAN IN JAPAN (AJJ)

AJJ (Anthropology of Japan in Japan) 11th Annual Conference 8th and 9th November, 2008

Venue: Osaka University, Suita Campus Convention Centre and Graduate School of Human Sciences (Jointly hosted with Osaka University, Graduate School of Human Sciences Support Program for Improving Graduate School Education 'Promoting the Use of Human Science Data in General and Professional Education, and Osaka University's Global COE Program 'A Research Base for Conflict Studies in the Humanities').

Theme: Sites of Conflict and Conflict Resolution In and With Japan

Keynote speaker: Professor Pat Steinhoff, University of Hawaii

This year's AJJ annual meeting was held at Osaka University, Suita Campus. It was well attended for a meeting held outside Tokyo, with 56 participants the first day and 44 the second, and with a total of 58 names on the master attendance list. Of the 58 attendees, 18 were students.

As the above numbers suggest, most people attended the full two-day meeting and contributed generously to discussion. There were eight panels with 29 papers. Fourteen of the presenters were graduate students. When putting the programme together I was delighted to be able to reduce concurrent panels to a minimum so that we could all enjoy each paper as a group. This created a very positive environment where both presenter and participants on the floor were comfortable fielding and asking questions. The small scale and informal atmosphere of AJJ meetings are the group's strength.

We seemed to achieve a good balance in terms of the focus of papers and the backgrounds of the presenters (scholars & students, anthropologists and other social scientists, based overseas and based in Japan). There was widespread agreement among attendees that the standard of the papers was uniformly high and that the focus on the conflict theme was very productive. We were, of course, really blessed to have Professor Pat Steinhoff as our keynote speaker. Not only

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did her keynote lecture place our research on conflict in post-1984 Japan in context, she was incredibly generous in her feedback and insightful in her questions relating to other panels.

Professor Steinhoff also chaired and presented on a panel with her graduate students from the University of Hawaii on Japan's hidden civil society. This was also greatly appreciated and enthusiastically received. I am aware that some academic associations prefer professors and graduate students to present on separate panels, but AJJ has, for as long as I have been involved, been quite happy to create 'mixed' panels. Seeing how well this worked in Osaka I feel this is a tradition we should proudly continue. This year all our panels were similarly mixed.

The reception on Saturday night was attended by 40 participants as well as staff and students involved in organizing the event. The Takumi Café on campus catered for us and provided a delicious spread. For some there was not quite enough beer, but this was solved with a '*niji kai*' in Ibaraki City. Professor Nakamaki, of course, led the way. All but one member of this group made it back to the conference the next day. A good time was had by all. So again, a good balance was kept between the study and informal networking.

Beverley Yamamoto

AJJ Chair of the 2008 Annual Meeting Organizing Committee

Osaka University

Graduate School of Human Sciences.

Panel 1 Popular Culture : Transgressive Transformations

Chair: Greg Poole, Professor of Anthropology, School of Global Studies, Tama University.

I) The Logic of Creative Consumption as Aftermarket Production:

An Ethnographic Study of Care Customizing Mechanisms in Suburban Tokyo,

Kazunori Sunagawa, Associate professor, Faculty of Commerce, Chuo University.

This paper discusses the "arts and crafts" of Japanese style of car customization not only as a product of youth culture or popular culture but also as a marginal art. It is based on the presenter's fieldwork in the western suburbs of Tokyo and historical study of custom cars.

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In the southwest of suburban Tokyo along Circular Route 16 (the area from Yokosuka City to Tama), where many US military bases and residences are located, there are numerous hot rodders and car custom builders (aftermarket creators, or do-it-yourself consumers) that have been developing and changing custom style for 30 years. Today they are divided into many “tribes” (as used by Jon Savage in *The History of English Youth Culture*) that not only have different custom styles or forms but also methods and patterns of manufacturing. Japanese “car custom tribes” have many creative consuming strategies such as hacking, riding and bricolaging from American military cultures. .

This presentation introduces, analyzes and explains the life styles of these tribes, their histories and types of custom cars through many beautiful pictures based on fieldwork and historical research.

II) Doll Use among Japanese Youth as a Response to Socio-cultural Conflict

Patrick William Gailbraith, University of Tokyo

Dolls and cyborgs are omnipresent figures in Japanese popular culture both past and present, but the recent mainstream boom in these characters has yet to be placed in the theoretical context of cultural change and conflict. This paper demonstrates how the use of dolls among the adult population productively engages social and cultural struggles facing post-millennial Japanese. Some 20,000 Japanese now actively use dolls of all shapes and sizes not considered to be traditional or ceremonial, and earn doll retailers some \$50 million in annual sales. Two years of ethnographic research and media discourse analysis revealed that common terms employed to describe dolls were soothing, comforting, accepting, safe and dependable, all the things that cannot be said of life and relations amid a recessionary economy and tumultuous cultural arena. As work becomes less stable, the material possibility of investing in family decreases and, ironically, is replaced by a literal material fetish in dolls that schizophrenically morph into all forms of alienated intimacy. The most enthusiastic users and consumers of love dolls, ball-joint dolls and dollish media idols are people of marriageable, child-rearing age who, because of socio-economic constraints or fears, “adopt” dolls as surrogates for wives, children, lovers and friends. Dolls promise them unconditional, instantaneous and personalized forms of acceptance, affirmation and gratification. Dolls are the material basis of alternative intimacies imagined across their static bodies and shared as cultural fantasy by other ardent users who organize to photograph, discuss and trade dolls.

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III) Yaoi's Pleasurable Transgressions: Rethinking Gender and Sexuality in Japanese Society,

Tricia Abigail Fermin, Research Student, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University.

The dynamics of conflict and resistance between subordinate social groups and hegemonic groups has always been a significant issue in the study of subcultures and fan activities. This paper aims to illustrate the dissenting voices against mainstream conceptions of gender and sexuality in Japan through the emergence and continuing development of *yaoi*, a romantic genre of Japanese comics that primarily depicts love relationships between two beautiful boys.

As we survey the various academic literature produced and fan accounts documented concerning the *yaoi* subculture in Japan, we locate the beginnings of *yaoi* within the context of the Second Wave of Feminism in Japan during the 1970s. The paper discusses how a pioneering group of women *manga* artists in this era devised the gender-bending conventions now used in this genre in order to reconcile their own issues concerning equality among the sexes, the representations of and meaning imbued in the female body, and the nature of desire. It also analyzes how this transgressive genre and fan culture serves as an alternative space for the exploration, shaping and expression of pleasure and desire, as well as a force that rouses debates that can potentially change the way Japanese society conceptualizes gender and sexuality.

IV) Globalization and Tattooing in Contemporary Japan: Beyond the Body

Hayley McLaren, Masters Student, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Hitotsubashi University.

Since the 1980s tattooing in the West has been transformed from a marginalised and marginalising practice to inhabit a position of mainstream popularity. Certainly it was contact with Japanese tattooists in the 1970s that facilitated this 'tattoo renaissance'. However on the Japanese front, while the acceptance of tattooing as a mainstream practice in the West, and the associated prevalence of a non-marginalised, non-deviant tattooed body has ultimately been catalytic to an increase in non-traditional tattooing practices, the historicised equation of *traditional* Japanese tattoo, *horimono*, with criminality and marginality remains prevalent. Why is this so? Furthermore, what affect if any does the increasing popularity of 'tattoos' have on traditional *horimono*?

Discussion on the affects of the globalising tattoo culture on *horimono* is framed by the following hypothesis: that meanings embodied by wearing *horimono*, and

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entrenched through the process of tattooing are fundamental to the functionality of Japanese tattooing; hence a decline in 'traditional' practices brings redundancy to concepts synonymous with *horimono*.

Panel 2 Conflict and Conflict Resolution within the Japanese Business World

Chair: **Professor Hirochika Nakamaki**, Professor, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan

I) Managing Creative Conflict Creatively

John McCreery, The Word Works, Ltd.

Conflict is an integral part of life in an advertising agency, even in Japan. The creative teams that develop advertising are frequently composed of strong-willed individuals with differing ideas about what needs to be done. Managing their conflicts is the role of creative directors, who select their teams' members, mediate their conflicts, push them to excel, and, when necessary, have the final word on what is presented to clients. This task is approached in different ways, and creative directors, too, have strong opinions about how best to proceed: Some are martinets; others are facilitators, who use self-deprecating humor to ease tensions and create an atmosphere in which other team members can build on each others' ideas. As part of my on-going research on the social networks that link members of teams whose ads emerge as winners in the annual Tokyo Copywriters Club advertising contest, I am gathering information on the team-building precepts of winning teams' creative directors. This presentation will include early results from this research, starting with the ideas collected by ace copywriter/creative director Maki Jun and editor/book packager Matsunaga Mitsuhiro in *一つ上のチーム* (Superior Teams). Of particular interest to social anthropologists is Maki's proposition that ad agency creative teams are a useful alternative model to the military style of organization historically favored by large Japanese corporations.

II) 'Company-graphy' of the Customers' Divinization in 'Departmental Conflict': An Anthropology of Administration Study of 'Company Myths'

Mitsuhiro Nakahata, Meiji University

This presentation analyzes and discusses CONFLICTS between different sections in a corporation. These conflicts include crucial factors upon which the direction of corporate strategy depends, as well as problems concerning systems inside the organization. Although they tend to be received negatively, they produce a significant "value" towards attaining corporate goals. This presentation will pay attention to these aspects of conflict and analyze the

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structure of the conflicts and value system. My hypothesis is that these 'continuous conflicts' generate the so-called management culture in a corporation.

By focusing on the processing industry of steel boards, I will examine aspects of the conflict between four sections (business, purchase, production, and accounting sections), and six combinations of these (business-purchase, business-production, business-accounting, purchase-production, purchase-accounting, and production-accounting). For analysis, I will construct a 'company-graphy', employing anthropological techniques, as well as some case studies about conflict situations between each component.

The conflict examined in this paper is not a kind of internal struggle typical of a family corporation, a 'coup', a 'family discord', or a 'collapse of a corporation' on the management side. Rather, the conflict occurs between sections during the course of more positive daily business interactions. These conflicts could manifest themselves through the honesty of a member of a company attempting to accomplish faithfully the whole section's business goals. The conflict in this paper, therefore, is equivalent to TASK CONFLICT (as in Matsuo's demonstration study and non-Japanese studies as JEHN, 1995; Pelled et al., 1999; AMASON, 1996; Jehn and Mannix, 2001).

Finally, this paper will develop the view that diversity in organizations is regulated by CULTURE, which is an intermediate variable. By paying attention to management culture and organization culture, and by examining how conflicts are integrated to the company's corporate strategy, I will attempt to address the anthropological significance in conducting participant observation on 'management optimization' of a corporation aiming at "what should be done" for the company.

III) Ethnography of Customer-value Creation: Anthropology of Service Work

Keiko Yamaki, Researcher, Graduate School of Management, Kyoto University.

Today's management philosophies in many companies are of customer-value creation. They try not only finding the meeting point with customer's needs but also creating and providing value in the market. Those companies which succeed in customer-value creation can survive; however, the loser companies must leave the industry in the end. Then employees have to transfer their *SHAEN* (=solidarity) network [Yoneyama, 1981] to another company like migratory birds. Avoiding this situation, the employees try very hard to create customer value to compete against the rival companies by providing new trends and fresh

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surprises to the market. During the specific process of customer-value creation and integration, productive conflicts among solidarity members can be observed.

In this presentation, I would like to present my participant observation about the in-flight service project in Airline N. Airlines service is to provide travel; however, they are actually in hard competition to create the added-value. For this, staff from different departments work together on the several projects. They try to transfer the value which satisfies the passenger within different cultural background into the visible service products. Planning the new in-flight menu is one example. During the process of making new service products, developing conflicts and their integration can be seen against the different interests among staff. Working for the company today is a typical way of life in *SHAEN* networks. That means people have to join industrial competition and also contribute to society at the same time.

Panel 3 Homogeneity vs. Multiculturalism: Conflicting Versions of Reality?

Chair: Michael Shackleton, Professor, Osaka Gakuin University.

I) Actual and Perceptual Constructions of the 'Homogeneity' of Japanese Society in the Period 1945-1985: Rethinking Social Change in post-WWII Japan.

Ken Matsuda, Professor of Sociology, Kansai Gaidai University.

I argue that various historically-specific forces coincided in Japanese society in the period of around 1945-85, and together they made it look very homogeneous during this period. This further made people (both inside and outside of Japan) perceive it to be a truly homogeneous society, where its members looked, acted, thought, and lived the same way. These forces include egalitarian values, a sharp decline of the non-Japanese population immediately after the Japanese surrender, the GHQ policies which echoed the new Constitution (as well as the Civil Code as well as the Fundamental Law on Education Act), egalitarian classroom practices and meritocracy in education, progressive taxation and other practices which kept income disparity relatively small, and diffusion of the mass media, which enabled the masses to share the same content.

I do not intend to deny that Japanese culture stresses the virtue of conformity, which perhaps also contributes to the Japanese behavioral homogeneity/similarity. However, I emphasize that historically specific factors were largely responsible for the making of social homogeneity in post-WWII Japan, and for the public perception that the society was homogeneous. This paper will attempt to map out these homogenizing/ equalizing forces in 1945-85

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Japan.

II) Changing Contours of Migration and Citizenship in Japan: Conflicting Ideas over Tradition and New Paradigms

Joseph Ryan M. Indon, Master's student, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University.

Japanese people are often led to believe that their society is monoethnic and monocultural, which in turn justifies the restrictive measures Japan imposes on in-migration. Lately, trends such as how some Japanese forming families with non-Japanese or the inflow of foreign labor into Japan have overwhelmed Japan's citizenship and immigration policies. Pressure is mounting on the Japanese state to change the course of these restrictive policies in order to address not only the problem of an increasing number of resident foreigners and their families who are demanding equitable treatment, but also issues such as lower birth rates, an aging population, and a slowing economy. Despite this pressure, there is also counter-pressure from right-wing elements to maintain and enhance the exclusive nature of Japan's migration approach.

This paper identifies general principles behind Japan's citizenship and migration policies and how they are in conflict with current trends in migration and transnationalism. It also discusses some of the reasons why it is difficult for change to take hold by looking at the Japanese context. Finally, it also looks at how non-Japanese residents and their supporters are trying to overcome the obstacles to making them more equitable members of society.

III) Conflicting Approaches to Japan's Emergent Multiculturalism

John Ertl, Associate Professor, Department of International Studies, Kanazawa University.

Since the early 1990s new waves of immigration and international marriages have brought attention to the fact that Japan has an ethnically and culturally diverse population. Statistics of foreign residents have reached around two percent of the population. This figure does not include naturalized Japanese from different national and ethnic backgrounds or their children (often of mixed ethnicity). As the ethnic diversity of the 40,000 "international" marriages per year (reaching about ten percent of all marriages in parts of Tokyo) and their children go "unmarked" in the national census, it is impossible to place a number on the diversity of the Japanese population. This growing diversity has brought about a deluge of ideas about how to reconceive and reshape Japan as a multicultural nation. This paper will introduce a range of national and local government

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policies enacted in response to changing demographics, the increasing numbers of civic groups that bring attention to and help to resolve issues of foreign residents and ethnic minorities, and educational efforts to bring awareness of Japanese multiculturalism. The focus of this paper will be on the work of prominent activists Komai Hiroshi and Debito Arudo, whose divergent approaches to ethnic and minority activism highlights the complexity of conceptualizing and enabling a “Japanese multiculturalism.”

IV) Images of Studying Abroad: A Study of the Construction of Participants’ Images Before and After Using PAC Analysis

Rumi Watanabe, Assistant Professor, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University

In recent years, more than 80% of Japanese universities conduct short-term exchange programs of less than one year for students and each year approximately 10,000 students participate in intensive programs that are less than one month. The policy surrounding and the impact of these programs differ from one to the next. They are normally considered to be a good opportunity for inter-cultural experiences and developing students’ language skills, as well as acting as an incentive for longer-periods of study abroad in the future. However, there are few studies of the effects of short-term programs.

This study aims to demonstrate the impact of an intensive program by using the PAC (Personal Attitude Construct) analysis for three students. The participants were asked to write down their images of studying abroad before/after participating in a summer program to the University of Groningen, in the Netherlands. How the images of studying abroad changed as a result of experiencing intercultural activities will be discussed. The paper also explores the conflicts and challenges that students face as a result of contact with and face-to-face experience of a different culture.

V) Intra-cultural Development – Japan-based Think and Action Tank for Social Cohesion, Conflict Prevention and Diffusion

Bruce White, Lecturer, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Studies, Doshisha University.

This report attempts to illustrate how psychological/anthropological understandings of the relationship between personality, identity and culture can inform a variety of strategies for peace building and conflict resolution/prevention/defusion.

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This "Intra-Cultural Development" approach is being developed to suit a variety of contexts, including assisting in the implementation (in the public mind set) of multicultural policies, directly tackling discrimination, violent and non-violent conflict and building upon other social cohesion efforts. Much of the current focus of Intra-Cultural Development work is in building media campaigns which positively manipulate cultural symbolism in order to achieve particular aims, but creating educational curriculums, governmental advisory approaches and accessible print media production are also areas under development.

The Organization for Intra-Cultural Development (oicd.net) is based in Japan and one of the themes of the talk (and areas where discussion and audience feedback would be highly valued) is on the subject of how certain Japan-based networks and agencies could be instrumental in bringing the Intra-Cultural Development framework to life as a innovative Japan-based resource. The Japan Ad Council, JETRO, and various peace organizations exist which could easily dovetail in with the approach. These and other Japan-specific developments are under consideration for reasons that will be explained in the talk.

Panel 4 – Life-time Value Change in Contemporary Japan: Basic Data Analysis of a US-Japan Comparative Panel Survey

Panel Organizer and Chair: Toru Kikkawa, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University.

Discussant: Carmi Schooler, Senior Researcher, University of Maryland, Department of Sociology.

Panel Abstract

This panel features three papers by researchers in the Social Data Science Program in the Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University. We have carried out a quantitative life-time panel survey of couples in Japan. The baseline wave of the survey was carried out in the Kanto area in 1979. Follow-up surveys were carried out in 2004 and 2006. This project was designed as a comparative study of an earlier American survey conducted by the National Institute of Mental Health. That panel survey was first carried out in 1964 with two follow-ups.

Empirical analysis of the completed data sets for Japan and the US is still in its early stages, but we have been able to identify cross-cultural comparative data that is equivalent. While it is early, we have found remarkable similarities as well as dissimilarities between the Japan-US data sets in the orientation of couples.

In the first paper, Toru Kikkawa will offer an overview of the unique aspects of the survey design and explain some basic descriptive traits. In the second paper,

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Yusuke Sakaguchi will present preliminary results concerning the change over time in attitudes such as authoritarianism, conformity, self-confidence, standard of modality, fatalism, coping, and anxiety among working men in Japan and the US. In the final paper, Sho Fujihara examines the convergence of the value orientation and attitudes of the married couples. Finally, Carmi Schooler, who set up the original American panel survey, will act as discussant, which will further add to the range and depth of the panel.

The longitudinal nature of the quantitative data set and analysis gives clues to the interpretation of several phenomena in contemporary Japanese society that will be of interest to those working from a qualitative perspective. It is our intention to discuss the broader aspects of our results.

I) Research Overview and Descriptive Analysis

Toru Kikkawa, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University.

II) Change and Stability of Respondents Social Orientation

Yusuke Sakaguchi, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University

III) The Similarity or Orientations between Spouses and its Change over 20 years: Comparison between the U.S. and Japan

Sho Fujihara, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University.

Welcome Address – AJJ President, **Professor Hirochika Nakamaki & Professor Junji Koizumi**, Trustee & Vice President. Osaka University, External Advisor to AJJ.

Keynote lecture by Patricia Stenhoff, Professor of Sociology, University of Hawaii

Title: Studying Conflict in Japan Since 1984

Taking her 1984 co-edited book *Conflict in Japan* as a starting point, Professor Stenhoff will consider how study of conflict in Japan has developed over the past two-plus decades, weaving in her own work during this period. She will demonstrate how conflict has become a normal part of the study of Japan and how paradigms generated since 1984 have facilitated this process.

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Sunday

Panel 5 The Private and Beyond: Body, Childcare and Healing as Sites of Conflict

Chair: Greg Poole, Professor of Anthropology, School of Global Studies,

I) The difficulty in doing research on individuals suffering from the Japanese *hikikomori* syndrome

Haruka Konishi, Temple University.

This paper examines my personal experience of doing research on individuals suffering from *hikikomori* in Japan. *Hikikomori* is a highly debated social phenomenon in contemporary Japanese society that can be defined as the state in which one becomes acutely withdrawn from society for longer than six months without contact with anyone outside of family. Through several attempts at gathering empirical data several layers of factors that contribute in making research among this group difficult were revealed. These elements include the vulnerabilities of the actual *hikikomori* population and the current situation of mental health in Japan and Japanese society. Although data collection was unsuccessful, insights into the psyche of an individual suffering from *hikikomori* were discovered and the elements which make empirical research difficult in Japanese mental health were ultimately unveiled.

II) Domestic Violence Impacting Women's Life and the Implementation of Domestic Violence Policy in Japan,

Kaoru Kuwajima, Ph.D. Student, University of Tokyo.

It was in the late 1980s when the American anthropologist Babior's fieldwork at an emergency women's shelter in Tokyo revealed that, contrary to what many Japanese people had believed, patterns of violence similar to those in the U.S. existed in Japan as well. Since the 1990s, domestic violence (DV) has become a growing social problem, requiring resources to help its victims. The term "DV" has become a familiar one among the public. In this presentation, I shall talk about domestic violence which women in Japan experience within intimate relationships, mainly based on my fieldwork at governmental and non-governmental agencies from 2006 to 2008.

In a feminist theoretical framework, DV, which is primarily violence against women, is interpreted not merely as conflict but also as an issue of control and power exerted upon women by men. However, DV occurs within specific contexts, intertwined with many other problems, such as debt, alcoholism,

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unstable jobs, marital relationships, and child-rearing. These problems, along with violence, have detrimental impacts on women's daily life. Japanese domestic violence policy, however, fails to deal with the multifaceted nature of DV, but merely focuses on providing welfare assistance to those who escape from their batterers and do not return to them permanently. The implementation of domestic violence policy at the local government level shall be examined from an anthropological perspective.

III) Homeopathic Schools in Japan: A school battle?

Yuri Nonami, D.Phil. Candidate, University of Oxford

The use of complementary and alternative medicine (CAM) has become increasingly popular worldwide and in Japan over the past few decades. This is not only because people have begun to be aware of the limitations of "Western medicine" – for instance, in the treatment of chronic diseases or with the harmful side-effects from pharmaceuticals – but also because of a growing awareness that diseases must be treated at the mental and spiritual, as well as physical level.

Homeopathy, one type of CAM, has been imported mainly from the United Kingdom to Japan and has gradually gained the spotlight in the trend of "*Iyashi*" boom, natural and safety therapy in Japan. Homeopathy was practiced by the first homeopath in Japan, Dr Sakura Sakon. She studied homeopathy in the United States and prescribed remedies in Japan from the end of World War II, but it seems she is without a successor (Nakamura 2003). In the 1990s, homeopathy was reintroduced to Japan, by both medical and lay homeopaths trained in the UK. There are some influential homeopaths and established the homeopathic schools in Japan.

I researched three schools; the Royal Academy of Homeopathy in Japan, the Hahnemann Academy of Homeopathy, the International Academy of Classical Homeopathy Japan. I was admitted to attend classes and interviewed the principals, teachers and students. Despite the gradual increase in the numbers of school members and homeopaths in contributing to the prevalence of homeopathy in Japan over the last ten years, there are some kinds of tensions between the schools and between medical homeopaths and lay homeopaths. In this paper, I compare the homeopathic schools and how these tensions are influencing the prevalence of homeopathy in Japan. I also analyze it from the point of "glocalization" of homeopathy in Japan.

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iv) *Twilight School vs. Gakudo Hoiku*

Steven Ray Shaw, Master's Student, Faculty of Social Sciences, School of East Asian Studies, University of Sheffield.

Japan is facing a population distribution crisis which will bring into question the division of labour as well as current educational values and child rearing traditions. This presentation will assess and report the state of the ongoing conflict between the City of Nagoya and the semi-independent Gakudo Hoiku after-school-child-care, system. The City of Nagoya, going against the national trend, continues to establish Twilight School daycare programs which function as an extension of the state-run school system despite 40 years of state supported, but independently organized, Gakudo Hoiku child care. This presentation will focus on the contrast between Gakudo Hoiku, born from a grassroots citizen's movement in the 60s and the top-down, institutionalised Twilight School. Both serve roughly the same function. The appeal from each side, the motivations for the introduction of a new system that aims to eliminate the hitherto established one, and who and how the change effects will be analysed.

Panel 6 Protest Movement as Sites of Change in the Expression and Management of Conflict

Panel organizer and Chair: Patricia Steinhoff (Professor, University of Hawaii)

Discussant: Scott North (Associate Professor, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

Panel Abstract

This panel uses contemporary social movement theories and case studies of protest movements to investigate changes in the expression and management of conflict in Japan. By definition, a protest movement challenges the dominant power structure in some way, and engages in an unequal conflict interaction with agents of that power structure. Each paper in our panel applies a double lens to its empirical case. On the one hand, the papers look directly at the mode of external conflict: the framing and strategies the movement uses to challenge and confront power, the target toward which its confrontation is directed, and the response its challenge elicits. On the other hand, each paper also considers internal changes in the choices movement organizations make, by asking how contemporary social movement frames and strategies have developed out of experience, dialogue, and critical engagement with earlier protest movement approaches.

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The papers span the period from the end of World War II to the Iraq war, and reflect the social movement participation of several overlapping generations of Japanese during the postwar period. Shinji Kojima traces the peace and anti-war framing of the contemporary anti-base movement in Okinawa to shifts in the framing and targets of the Okinawan reversion movement of the 1960s as Fukkikyō (the reversion movement's central organization) reinterpreted the meaning of the Battle of Okinawa and changed both its protest slogans and demonstration routes. Akemi Nakamura shows how the anti-fingerprinting movement achieved changes in Japan's alien registration law by targeting their actions at the local government officials administering the national law, who framed the issue differently from national officials and became sympathetic allies. Patricia Steinhoff analyzes the organizational culture and practices of Japan's "invisible civil society" as a collection of small social movement organizations that remain largely invisible to the mainstream, but have the capacity to mobilize large protest movements. Yuuki Hamajima uses a systematic content analysis of protest events to reveal how anti-Iraq war protests in post-9.11 Japan incorporated contemporary elements while also building on and reinforcing older movements and historical memories.

Paper Abstracts

I) Okinawan Anti-Base Movements: How does Memory Matter in Situations of Conflict?

Shinji Kojima, Doctoral candidate, University of Hawaii

This study analyzes the relationship between collective memory and collective struggles in postwar Okinawan protest movements. The contemporary anti-base movement in Okinawa frames its opposition to U.S. bases in a broader peace and antiwar perspective that invokes memories of Okinawa's direct experience in the Battle of Okinawa. In retrospect this appears natural, but it was actually the product of frames and targets that emerged gradually in the protest movements during Okinawa's long U.S. Occupation. Okinawa was placed under U.S. military rule at the end of the Pacific War and remained under U.S. control until its reversion to Japan in 1972. During the period of occupation, various groups in Okinawa coordinated their protests under the banner of the Reversion Council (Fukkikyō) to gain democracy and human dignity through reversion to Japanese constitutional protection. Analysis of primary and secondary materials on the protests led by Fukkikyō from 1951 to 1972 reveals two dynamics: a shift in the Council's movement aim from winning reversion per se to the removal of U.S.

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military bases; and a pacifist ideology based on the memories of the Battle of Okinawa that gradually infused the Council's goal of removing the military bases. I analyze the ways in which the two dynamics coincided at a specific historical moment, and argue that memory is both the medium and outcome of social movements. In the context of conflict between the people and the state, the past becomes a significant resource to develop worldviews to attach meanings to the present crises, while evocation of such past for the purpose of the present results in reconfirming and redefining that past event.

II) "Foreign Nationals" or "Local Residents": The Perception of Target and the Process of Conflict over Alien Registration in Japan

Akemi Nakamura, Doctoral candidate, University of Hawaii at Manoa

This paper presents the dynamics of the conflict over alien registration in Japan by examining local and national responses to fingerprinting refusals in the 1980s as the means of challenge against the institution of alien registration. It focuses on the relationship between the policymaker (the national state) and the policy implementer (local governments). Although refusal to undergo fingerprinting as part of alien registration renewal was an individual action carried out at the local government office, these acts developed into a mass anti-fingerprinting protest movement among second- and third-generation Korean residents of Japan, which was carried out largely outside the traditional ethnic organizations representing Korean nationals in Japan. The national government insisted that local governments must report and sanction those who refused fingerprinting, but many local governments, city workers, and other Japanese sympathized with the challengers and supported them. I argue that the difference in response between the national and local levels reflects the difference in perception of the targeted population as "foreign nationals" at the national level and as "residents of Japanese society" at the local level. This difference in framing produced variations among municipalities in their level of compliance with the national policy, which ultimately led to changes in the alien registration law and procedures.

I conclude that delegating the task of administering the alien registration system to municipalities left them some autonomy for interpretive freedom. When challengers have very limited access to the level of policymaking, they may focus their challenge on those who merely implement the policy. However, the response depends on the level of compliance with the policymaker in each institutional setting. A sympathetic response from those who have been delegated to implement the policy gives the challengers more powerful allies,

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reveals potential conflict between the national and local levels of government, and may result in policy change.

III) Japan's Invisible Civil Society: How Post-New Left Groups Mobilize and Maintain Protest Movements

Patricia G. Steinhoff, Professor of Sociology, University of Hawaii

The literature on contemporary Japanese civil society focuses primarily on mainstream organizations that have registered under the 1998 NPO law and are thus affiliated with a government ministry. They may occasionally conduct signature campaigns and hold demonstrations to promote particular government policies, but they do not fit the definition of protest movements that challenge the state. Meanwhile, the Japanese left that mobilized enormous protest movements to challenge the state in the long decade of the 1960s is widely viewed as moribund. However, there is a lively collection of social movements active today in what I call Japan's invisible civil society, whose roots can be traced to the New Left generation of the late 1960s. They exist as small issue organizations lacking any official status and are active within an alternative civil society and public sphere, but they can occasionally mobilize large numbers of participants to protest or promote particular issues, thereby becoming momentarily visible to the mainstream public.

Researchers frequently encounter such organizations when they study a particular social issue, but may not see their common properties or the larger alternative civil society within which they are embedded. This study examines the organizational culture and practices of groups in the contemporary invisible civil society in relation to their experiences and critique of the protest movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s. It identifies the structural features that simultaneously render the groups invisible to the state and mainstream society, yet enable them to mobilize relatively large protest movements around particular issues. My aim is to present a general model of the invisible civil society, based on my own extensive fieldwork and examples reported by others, in order to help researchers understand the structure and dynamics of such groups and how they manage internal and external conflict.

IV) Post-9-11 Anti-War Protests in Japan: New Approaches and Historical Links **Yuuki Hamajima**, M.A., University of Hawaii

This study investigates antiwar protest events in post-9.11 Japan through a systematic content analysis of *Asahi* newspaper articles. Japanese protests against the war in Iraq opposed both U.S. policy and the Japanese government that

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supported it, and were constructed in both Japanese and international context. The movement was large and widespread despite the fact that its focus was a war fought by another country in a faraway place. In addition to many local events in regions all over Japan, there were several nationally or globally coordinated protest events. The antiwar movement in Japan grew rapidly from the beginning of 2003 in response to several global coordinated anti-Iraq War protests, reached a peak in March 2003, when the Iraq War actually started, and continued intermittently thereafter as new domestic issues emerged.

The two key characteristics of the protests are their close relation to domestic political concerns and the organization of events based on some kind of anniversary. An event usually dealt with multiple issues, and the anti-Iraq War issue was embedded into Japan's pre-existing movements and domestic issues. Anti-Iraq War statements incorporated their historical memory of the Pacific War and the longstanding movements against U.S. bases and nuclear weapons. These pre-existing movements are reinforced by anniversary events every year, and this provided the basic perspectives for Japanese people to frame the current issue. At the same time, new movement actors denied the ideological argumentation of the traditional leftist movement, and developed a more contemporary style to express their ideas. In this sense, protests in the 1970s and the post-9.11 antiwar movement were not connected. Nevertheless, to the extent that my findings reveal the role of the pre-existing antiwar movement and frame alignment using the past war memory, there is some general linkage to the past.

Panel 7 Conflict in rural settings

Chair: John Mock, Professor, Doctoral Program in International Public Policy,
College of International Studies, University of Tsukuba

D) He Made the Trees Die: A Community in Conflict with and Around its Anthropologist,

D.K. Andrews, Associate Professor, Faculty of Letters, Kanazawa University

Entering my third year of ethnographic field research in a rural village community I obtained employment in the local history museum. Consequently, my relationship with my fellow villagers abruptly transformed. I no longer enjoyed the privileged status of scholarly guest that had excluded me from knowing about, and becoming embroiled in the community's oft hidden disputes. Rather I now found myself in direct economic competition with the villagers and a target of hostility.

On a personal level, I came into open conflict with the septuagenarian curator, who I had replaced, and the other museum staff, who had warmly welcomed me

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at the outset of my fieldwork. More indirectly, I became a catalyst to reinvigorate a dispute rooted in a 1957 amalgamation between two opposing sides of the village, where tensions regarding perceived inequality in the distribution of economic resources and political power emerged in the midst of the arrest of several village assemblymen in a bribery scandal.

For better or for worse, I was witness to a series of unanticipated and perhaps unfortunate events, which nonetheless reveal the nature of conflict and its resolution.

II) 「社会人であることと、障害者であることー北海道浦河町 浦河べてるの家の利用者たちの事例よりー」

間宮育子（まみや いくこ）、国立身体障害者リハビリテーションセンター研究所

精神障害者が病名を公表しながら働く機会は、多くの場合、福祉的就労の場（施設、作業所等）に限られている。社会規範の遵守が求められる民間企業では、症状に起因する障害当事者の発言や行動について、雇い主や同僚、家族たちが受け入れがたいと感じる場面が現れ、結果として職場の対人関係にトラブルが生じ安いためである。障害当事者にとっても、自分自身の症状や体調の変化と対人関係を維持しながら就労を続けることは大きな課題である。本発表では、精神障害者が地域生活を営んでいる先進的な事例と言われる北海道浦河町の浦河べてるの家の利用者を主対象とし、障害当事者が地域社会で働くときに生じる、雇用者、支援者、そして障害当事者の間の葛藤について報告する。

浦河べてるの家と関連機関である浦河赤十字病院では、感覚、感情、対人関係上のコミュニケーション技術を習得するプログラムを開発してきた。生活時間の多くの部分や、現実感覚の中軸となる現象に出会うとき、幻覚や妄想を体験している人びとにとっては、痛覚、温度感覚、自分自身の感情把握について独自の解釈が与えられている場合が多いため、これらのプログラムは有効に活用されている。一方、社会関係を形成する技術や、社会情勢についての知識を一定以上持ち、地域生活を自律的に営むことができる状態にある人にとっては、社会的活動の拡大に向けた（特に就労）移行的支援プログラムも、当事者同士の情報交換も少なく、個々人が個別に対応している。本発表では、浦河べてるの家にて行われている個人の意思と成熟の機会を徹底的に尊重するという価値観と、社会規範を尊重する地域住民たちの価値観との接点で生じるいくつかの問題が、彼・彼女たちの就労への取り組みの中で顕在化していると捉え、これらの問題点を明らかにする。

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III) Common Conflicts: Common-lands Depicted in Historical Maps of Early Meiji Japan,

D.S. Sprague and N. Iwasaki, National Institute for Agro-Environmental Sciences.

Japan's rural landscape once contained large common-lands that were natural resource areas for the villages that shared them. Since the commons were very important for farmers to sustain agricultural production, they were the cause of conflict within and among villages. Called *iriai-chi* in Japanese, a large scholarly literature exists on the fate of common-lands in Japan. In this paper, we attempt to map the commons for a study area in southern Ibaraki Prefecture, and review historical records on conflicts and conflict resolution over these commons. Local histories list the villages that participated in particular commons in the Edo period. In addition, commons are depicted in historical maps, including maps drawn to settle disputes over common-lands. Conflict resolution among villages was an important function of government. In the early Meiji era, many of the commons in Japan were transferred to government or private ownership. Many common-lands in Ibaraki Prefecture were ultimately transferred to former samurai who started farming because they had become unemployed after the break-up of feudal domains. In the land use maps that we study in our historical GIS project, a large part of the land use change we observe in the early Meiji were the result of the commons changing hands to new users. These land transfers sometimes lead to legal suits against government by villages seeking to maintain ownership or usufruct rights.

Panel 8 Conflict and Conflict Avoidance that Transcends National Borders

Chair: **Bruce White**, Lecturer, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Studies, Doshisha University.

I) On the Margins of Okinawan Society: Okinawan-Filipinos and the U.S. Bases

Johanna O. Zulueta, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Hitotsubashi University.

While the continued existence of the U.S. bases in Okinawa is largely a political issue with Japan and the United States at its helm (which will not be elaborated on in this paper), the voices of those directly dependent on and affected by the presence of these bases continue to be relegated to the margins, as the global continues to override the local. The Okinawan-Filipino Nisei, in this regard, continues to occupy a marginalized position within Okinawan society with their

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voices seemingly unheard. While not actively involved in pro-base/anti-base demonstrations, their silence should not mean resignation. Rather, their position as Okinawan-Filipinos in Okinawa, with most of them working as base employees, should open up a different perspective on how they see and locate themselves, as well as how they are seen and located (by others), within Okinawan society and the U.S. presence in the prefecture.

The Okinawan-Filipinos occupy a privileged position as skilled, professional workers on base. Their middle-class status enables them to lead relatively comfortable lives compared to most workers of Okinawan descent (particularly those coming from Latin America) as well as the locals. Their work on base is reminiscent of their Filipino fathers, who were hired to work on the military installations in the immediate post-war years. Most of these Okinawan-Filipinos have acquired Japanese nationality (by virtue of their Okinawan mothers) and enjoy the privileges of a regular Japanese national. However, their lives are dependent on the bases' existence as working outside the base would translate into their relegation to factory and other unskilled work due to their inadequate Japanese-language proficiency. In the end, their position as ethnic migrants and minorities would seem to outweigh their Japanese nationality.

This study looks at the Okinawan-Filipino Niseis' views on the existence of the U.S. bases in Okinawa as well as recent issues regarding this. By looking at their views regarding the U.S. presence in Okinawa, a new perspective on Okinawan diasporic identity is being aimed at, and hence a deeper understanding of this particular identity at the crossroads of the U.S. and Japan could be established. This study also aims to present a migrant's perspective on the base issue rather than the usual pro-base/anti-base dichotomy. Data from face-to-face interviews and questionnaires are used for analyses.

II) Crafting Korean National Pride Exhibitions and history in the Seodaemun Prison Museum, Noriko Sato, Pukyong National University.

This paper traces the process of knowledge production by analysing educational programmes at the Seodaemun Prison History Hall, programmes that craft Korean national pride. This museum was opened in 1988 at the site of the former Seodaemun Prison constructed by the Japanese colonial power during the Occupation, and where they detained Koreans who opposed Japanese rule. The aim of the museum is to honour and pay tribute to the spirit of those patriots who devoted their lives to resisting the Japanese. The site's displays are designed to educate Korean children about the atrocities conducted by the occupiers. The exhibitions provide the visitors with a constructivist view of Korean history.

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They offer it as a 'true' interpretation of history, whilst ignoring all other possible options. The museum aims at generating a consensus that those patriotic ancestors, who were imprisoned and never surrendered to Japanese oppression and torture, reclaimed Korean sovereignty and freed them from Japanese rule. This article will examine how school excursions to the Seodaemun Museum serve to construct Koreans' anti-Japanese sentiments, which affect contemporary relations between Japan and Korea.

Although the exhibition seeks to guide and control the experience of visitors to the museum, Koreans find themselves overwhelmed by feelings that the repressive acts performed by Japanese in the past have wounded their national pride. Such an experience fuels the practice of modern anti-Japanese graffiti which the visitors have inscribed on the walls of the exhibition rooms. These exhibits challenge Japan about both its moral values and its power by recasting the epistemological framework for understanding the past. The torments suffered by the prisoners symbolize their struggle for dignity and prosperity. Their spirit, which refused to submit to Japan, represents both the collective and individual identities of contemporary Koreans. It is through the exhibition that the state instills in Korean youth its project to retrieve what it believes to be the rightful history of Korea. Yet this presentation of communal history can only perpetuate Korean hostility towards Japan.

III) Conflict avoidance in Japanese-Korean relations,

James Strohmaier, Assistant professor, Division of International and Area Studies, Pukyong National University.

In July 2008, the Japanese government decided to allow for the inclusion of passages regarding the dispute between Korea and Japan over the Dokdo/Takeshima/Liancourt Rocks islets in the East Sea/Sea of Japan region between the two countries. This decision set off a chain of events that brought the two countries precipitously close to military conflict. Two advanced industrialized economies and mature democracies again almost traded blows over uninhabitable rocks that possess greater symbolic than strategic value. In the aftermath, relations between the two countries have stabilized, though have not improved substantially. This research paper will examine the issue from the perspective of conflict resolution. No attempt will be made to analyze or weigh in on ownership claims; rather, the focus will be on how this extremely divisive issue can be managed in the short term, and why it is vital for these two countries to work together on other pressing regional security and economic issues that are far more important. The Dokdo/Takeshima/Liancourt Rocks

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controversy has the ability to derail almost all efforts of these two countries to move forward and form a more permanent, constructive security partnership. Here it will be argued that finding a way to manage this conflict is of paramount importance to the futures of both countries.

This paper is divided into four sections. The first part addresses Japan's current strategic situation in Asia, and why closer economic and security cooperation with Korea is paramount. The second section discusses the history of conflict over the islets, with particular focus on what actions have prompted saber-rattling and how those instances of conflict escalation have been managed. The third section discusses the bilateral relationship between Japan and Korea and each country's strategic calculus in diplomatic negotiations. Here the focus will be on the utility functions of each country and the different economic and strategic gains available to both from cooperation. The final section will examine conflict avoidance as the most viable strategy for dealing with the issue, as well as how that strategy should be implemented. Any attempts in the present environment to resolve the issue seem unlikely to bear fruit, and have the potential to spiral into renewed conflict. This paper will argue that the most perspicacious strategy is to avoid settlement of the issue—though there is room for back-channel diplomacy—for the time being and continue to pursue economic cooperation and security cooperation in other areas. The conclusion will address areas for future policy analysis and research.

Closing remarks: AJJ President, Professor **Hirochika Nakamaki**

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Recent/major publications:

- Padoan, Tatsuma, "Sacred Economy and Transactional Religion: Dynamics of Power, Economics and Religion from Pre-modern to Contemporary Japanese Society", in International Shinto Foundation (ed.), *Shinto – Essays on Shinto*, vol. 4, Tokyo, International Cultural Workshop, 2007, pp. 6-15 (ISBN 978-4-907676-01-8).

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- Hirayama, Y. and Ronald, R. (2008) Baby-boomers, baby-busters and the lost generation: generational fractures in Japan's homeowner society, *Urban Policy and Research*, 26(3) pp 325 – 342
- Ronald, R. (2008) Between investment, asset and use consumption: the meaning of home ownership in Japan, *Housing Studies*, 23(2) pp 233 – 251.
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- Ronald, R. and Alexy, A. (Eds) (forthcoming, 2009) *Home and Family in Japan*, London and New York: Routledge

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