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Abstracts

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Creating a Trans-Boundary Network and Shared Communication in the Changing Landscape of Asian Societies

Organizer/Chair: Yamada Takako (Kyoto University/ Kanazawa Seiryō University)

Session Abstract

The worldwide upswing during the 1990s of cultural revitalization movements among diverse indigenous and minority groups confronted us with the inescapable reality that every population seeks to preserve its own originality and uniqueness within the multicultural/multiethnic landscape of modern nation states, fighting against the notion that modernity pushes cultural uniformity and globalization. More than two decades later, through drastic mobilization of goods, information, and news, Asian populations have exposed themselves more completely, potentially endangering the preservation of their culture and ethnicity. However, in response to this endangerment, local communities have also strengthened their social solidarity and connectedness by making the most of recent technological developments. By creating trans-boundary networks and sharing communications, they have not only reorganized communal connectedness and cultural/ethnic uniqueness, but also established symbiotic relationships with other societies. This panel explores how trans-boundary networks are created and communications shared to reintegrate and maintain communal solidarity and cultural originality. A comparative viewpoint is taken, based on case studies of Kazakhs, Mongols in Inner Mongolia, Overseas Chinese Christian community in Japan, and Tibetans in Japan. The term “trans-boundary” is defined in a broad sense, including the village/community level, the ethnic/regional level, and the global level. The case study of Kazakhstan reveals that networking is conducted by reinterpreting the meaning of “ancestral land”; the case study of Mongols concerns master-disciple relationships in the inter-sub-ethnic network among shamans; the case study of Overseas Chinese Christian community argues how the marginalized populations seeking to build and nature their own community based on religion and ethnic culture; and the case study of Tibetans in Japan reappraise the making of intra-cultural and intercultural/global networks to encourage communal solidarity and connectedness in diaspora. It is suggested that trans-boundary networks solidify communal connectedness once again by the sharing of common “tradition” and “culture.”

Keywords: trans-boundary network, shared communication, changing landscape

Paper Abstracts

Ancestral Land and Networking in Course of Privatization after Socialism: A Case Study in Kazakhstan

Fijimoto Toko (National Museum of Ethnology)

Networking during economic transition is an important themes for understanding societies in socialist and post-socialist areas. Based on anthropological fieldwork conducted in Kazakhstan mainly from 2003 to 2005, this presentation explores how villagers remade their network in the 1990s and 2000s during the economic transition. Kazakh nomads sedentalized to their current village in 1930s under the collectivization policy of the former Soviet Union, and engaged in stock farming within state farms. However, state farms were broken up and transferred to cooperatives in the mid-1990s, and then transferred again to independent farmers' management in the 2000s. Although independent farmers' management was based on the decision of individual households, it was impossible for one household to engage in stock farming without collaboration with others. Therefore, networking for pasturing and making hay, as well as borrowing land from the state for stock farming, became more essential for villagers.

Under these circumstances, the rituals revitalized in the 1990s and 2000s have provided villagers with opportunities to make and remake networks among households both within and outside of a village. It is notable that a ritual related to a given lineage's genealogy and ancestral land plays a particular role in networking. Ancestral land, in this case, refers to land used by a lineage. Although ancestral land have lost their economic importance as winter quarters, they retain their significance as locations where villagers conduct rituals for their ancestral spirits.

By examining the villagers' attempt to adapt to privatization, this presetaion clarifies that villagers recreate their community based on networking through revitalizing and reinterpreting the meaning of ancestral land. Thus, this case study suggests that the local value embedded in daily life is crucial for recreating society during an economic transition.

Keywords: ancestral land, networking, Kazakh

Trans-border Master-Disciple Network of Shamans: A Case Study of the Revitalization of Shamanism in Northeastern Mongolia, China.

Zhao Furong (National Museum of Ethnology)

This paper is to clarify how the trans-border network of shaman's master-disciple in multiple contexts contributes to the unity of a group and the maintenance of an ethnic identity by dealing with the revitalization of shamanism in the neighboring areas of Horchin Mongols and Gorlos Mongols. The intercultural communication of Horchin and Gorlos shamans can be traced back deep in the past, although each has kept historically a different tradition. Since the 1980s shamanism in both areas has been revitalized. Horchin shamans reorganized the master-disciple network of shamans in the process of reactivating shamanic activities, while the Gorlos shamans failed to reorganize it. However, a trans-border network of shaman's master-disciple was reorganized: the candidates of Gorlos Mongol shamans visited the Horchin area and were apprenticed; thus, the intercultural communication with the Horchin shamans has advanced greatly. They collaborate in performing shamanic ceremonies and even in presenting shamanic performance at tourist sites. It cannot be overlooked that the Gorlos Mongols are the smallest sub-ethnic group among the Mongols who are facing with the endangerment of their community. In order to recover from the situations, shamans have contributed greatly to the claims of Gorlos' ethnic identity by collaborating in reviving cultural and religious tradition with official institutions: holding of a ceremony for Genghis Hahn, constructing the shaman culture park, and involving fully in the management of the association of shamans. The trans-border network has thus enabled the Gorlos Mongol shamans to reactivate their tradition.

Keywords: Shamanism, Revitalization, Mongolia

Creating a Trans-Boundary Network and Shared Communication in the Changing Landscape of Asian Societies

Wang-Kanda Liulan (Doshisha University)

Kobe is one of the port-towns that opened in Japan in 1868 during the Meiji era where foreigners with different cultural and religious backgrounds settled and went back and forth for trade and missionary activities. From that date, many Japanese converted to Christianity and churches were built with the help of foreign missionaries. As for overseas Chinese communities in Kobe, although their ethnic communities flourished after 1868, Christianity did not reach them and preserved the traditional Chinese beliefs passed down from their ancestors. However, this situation changed after 1949 due to regime change in China. Many foreign missionaries were forced to leave China and some settled in Japan and started missionary activities not only for Japanese but also for overseas Chinese. In Kobe, Rev. Wilfred C. McLauchlin (Chinese name 明樂林) was an American priest from the Presbyterian Church in the southern United States who pioneered evangelism for overseas Chinese. As a result, the first Chinese Overseas Christian Church, named the Chinese Presbyterian Church, was established in Kobe in 1951. Moreover, a young Taiwan-born preacher named Rev. Yang Zheng Fen (楊彰奮), who had been studying in Tokyo since 1958, was also invited to Kobe to help Rev. McLauchlin to develop and foster the new Chinese Overseas Church there. With the great efforts of these two American and Taiwanese priests and with help from the mission in the U.S., Overseas Chinese converted to Christianity. In 1973, they changed the church's name to the Kobe Chinese Presbyterian Church. This presentation describes how Overseas Chinese transformed their networks and tried to seek their own ethno-religious community as Christians in Kobe.

Keywords: Overseas Chinese, Christianity, Kobe, Japan

Creating Networks and Sharing Communications through Digital Media: A Survival Strategy of Tibetans in Japan

Yamada Takako (Kyoto University/ Kanazawa Seiryō University)

Backed by a long history of relations with Japan, Tibetan refugees have been received as settlers in Japan since the exodus of the Dalai Lama to India in 1959. Children of Tibetan refugees were able to receive support to gain higher education or professional training in Japan. Today, an estimated 220 Tibetans live in Japan: 100 from Tibet and the rest from others areas of exile. They are dispersed in various different areas of Japan, although many live in the vicinity of Tokyo. During the process of rehabilitation for Tibetans in Japan, two institutions were established to promote better understanding of Tibetan issues and culture: the Liaison Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for Japan and East Asia, founded in 1976, and the Tibetan Culture Center, founded in 1977. The former is an official institution of the Central Tibetan Government in Dharamsala, while the latter was established by one of the first Tibetan refugee children to begin study in Japan. With the recent increase of Tibetans in Japan, a variety of new web sites regarding Tibet and Tibetan issues have emerged, for example Students for a Free Tibet Network in Japan, which was launched in 2010, and the official web site of the Tibetan community in Japan, which followed in 2012. This paper aims to explore the creation of networks and sharing of communications

through digital media among Tibetans in Japan, and to suggest their survival strategy, re-establishing connectedness both in their community and with others living in Japan. It is also shown that the sharing of tradition and culture is indispensable in the process of making communal connectedness.

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Keywords: creating networks, sharing communications, Tibetans in Japan

Organized Session 2

Crafting Culture as Contemporary Concept in Japan

Organizer/Chair: Paul Hansen (Hokkaido University)

Session Abstract

Raymond Williams reminds us that “culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language” (1983: 87) and given the open ended credo of anthropology as “the most humanistic of the sciences and most scientific of the humanities” (attributed to Alfred Kroeber) it would seem a no-brainer that the concept of culture should matter to anthropologists insofar as it clearly matters to humans. One can view culture from the perspective of the German Romantic tradition, the tracing of folk practices indexing a shared culture. One can see the Victorian preoccupation with stages of culture or class, being of high and low culture. Or, one can look at a more individuated and process oriented notion of culture being hybrid, multi, or “trans”. All of these conceptualizations are alive and well in present tense Japan and how Japanese being is interpreted. Thus the key question of this conference, are you for or against culture, is itself open to flexible readings; to opinion, ethnographic experience, and ideological expression. Thus, this panel addresses first, not why, but how culture matters? And then, given the how, to whom does it matter? The core issue thirty years after *Writing Culture* and its fallout remains the use and abuse of culture in reflecting contemporary existential and phenomenological conditions.

Paper Abstracts

Japanese Culture: Seriously, Who Cares?

Paul Hansen (Hokkaido University)

Much in the way the late literary critic Miyoshi Masao entitled his 1999 critical commentary on contemporary Japanese studies, “Japan is not Interesting”, this paper is an attempt to get beyond taken for granted assumptions about capital C “Culture” in Japan. The title can be read literally or ironically. It depends on your perspective. Domestically, “Japanese Culture” is ceaselessly deployed top-down via industry, media, government and the education system. Thus, though critical of it, I have no doubt that the conceptual frame of “Japanese Culture” (big C) in all its nationalist and monolithic glory matters. Moreover, the presence of culture in Japan, (small c) is just as clear; individuals engage in their own day-to-day meshwork of persons (human or non), places and ideas shared with like-minded others. Culture and culture are there, but the key question begged here is what existential or phenomenal register is an anthropologist working in? Put another way, how and to whom do these conceptualizations matter? Thus, returning to my title, I have chosen to wallow in the mundane muck of the everyday, to focus on culture and leave Culture to its elite (and in my view not interesting) caretakers.

Japanese Origin Stories – Jomon Vs. Yayoi: The Production of Archaeological Cultures and Competing Senses of Self

John Ertl (Kanazawa University)

Anthropologists have long examined the origin stories from mythology and religion as a means to understand how people justify their beliefs and orient their behaviors in the present. For Japan in the twentieth century, as with many ethnic-national groups in the world, the primary source of their origin stories stems from archaeological research. The postwar growth of archaeology in Japan has been explained as motivated by a desire to write scientific and ideologically free narratives of the nation’s past – thought possible because the production of archaeological narratives is based upon physical (objective) remains of human and non-human activities in the past. This talk argues that the production of archaeological cultures – specifically the Jomon (14,000 - 300 BC) and the Yayoi (300 BC – 250 AD) cultures – has informed Japanese senses of self in the postwar era. Beginning with the “Jomon versus Yayoi” exhibition organized by the National Museum of Japanese History in 2005, this talk looks at how these different periods have been presented to the public as binary opposites (e.g. hunter-gatherer vs. agrarian, egalitarian vs. hierarchical society). Second, this talk will look at how “the Jomon”

has provided ideological support for contemporary social movements in Japan. What is found is that by emphasizing different results of Jomon archaeology, it can be made to support both liberal ecological and anti-nuclear movements as well as conservative historical-revisionist movements.

Japanese Media Culture and the Trivialization of Youth Social Movements

Robin O'Day (The University of Tsukuba)

SEALDs (Student Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy) burst into the public eye in Japan, seemingly out of nowhere, in the summer of 2015. Unlike most social movements in Japan today, SEALDs received an enormous amount of attention in the mainstream press. Most social movements in Japan typically receive little media attention, but SEALDs was strikingly different. Right from the start, they sought to include mainstream media into their efforts, inviting them to events, ensuring privileged access to the demos, and even bringing them into organizational meetings at times. This approach has largely succeeded in getting their stories and pictures into the mass media. Although cooperating with the mainstream press brought the movement widespread recognition, it also came at the cost of losing control over their public image. Combining fieldwork with a detailed examination of key media moments, mostly in TV and magazine coverage, this paper outlines SEALDs' sophisticated use of the mass media that was central in their ability to frame themselves as a popular and "regular" movement in ways that led to legitimation and unprecedented levels of mobilization at demos. Nevertheless, along with coverage, the mass media also introduced competing media narratives about the movement that often shifted the focus away from their primary message of opposing a controversial set of security bills in ways that sometimes even threatened to undermine the entire movement by emphasizing their style over their political substance, leading to trivialization of the movement as SEALDs members were turned into media celebrities.

Mobile Japanese youth in Europe: Beyond 'Japanese culture'?

Susanne Klien (Hokkaido University)

This ethnographic paper discusses the daily lives, experiences and narratives of Japanese individuals between 20 and 40 who have migrated to Germany and Austria, in order to pursue distinctly alternative lifestyles that emphasize self-realization. They predominantly pursue lifestyles that do not opt for employment (tsutomenai to iu ikikata, Mori 2011) and pursue careers in the creative sector. The paper aims to examine the changes individuals experienced as a result of their relocation, their social life, how migrants adjusted to their new environment, self-perception before and after their move, how they earn a livelihood, how they relate to society and how they describe their mid and long-term plans. Interviewees were asked both about what they perceive as the pros and cons of their relocation and how they view 'Japanese culture and society'. Through the comparison of Japanese migrants from a broad variety of professional backgrounds, the paper aims to scrutinize how 'Japanese identities' are negotiated in different national contexts, but also reflect on the relevance of paradigms such as 'culture' by showing how individuals choose to live and work globally, yet maintain some features of their previous lifestyles and abandon others after their move.

Organized Session 3

Culture of Periphery: Dynamics of Regional Arts and Communication

Organizer/Chair: Konya Akari (Kyoto University)

Session Abstract

This session aims to direct a spotlight to "culture of periphery" which has not been much noted by scholars until today such as regional arts, dance, physical communication and local-economic activities. We would like to discuss a complex of religious/ social/ cultural and political elements comprised of "un-written culture". Little attempt we have here is trying to evacuate from circular argument concerns the essence of culture with been repeatedly and continuously inquires among many scholars for three decades since after "Writing Culture" gathered attention. In contrast with above discussion, our inquiries are direct and practical, such as "how and with whom together writing their culture?" or "why it (local practices) has been buried from flow of major discussion until now? Although "primitive study" is no longer unsolicited in nowadays, however if we think that anthropological work not always required being follow to world-tide as Geertz explains as "overturning peoples' conviction", discussing about a "culture of periphery" could be evaluated especially in this moment when we facing to the globalization. This session is going to approach by several disciplines (anthropology, area study, cultural study, linguistics) and analysis along through a different case study from various areas: South Asia, Central Asia, Europe and the Pacific islands.

Paper Abstracts

How and with Whom Together "Writing"?: A case study of Oral tradition in Palau, West Pacific Islands

Konya Akari (Kyoto University)

This presentation aims to analysis how and with whom together people of Palau "writing" their oral tradition culture, especially focuses on a conflict between local/ global political changes. A period I analysis here are from early Japanese colonial era to after independence as a time of major imputes for dynamics of Palauan oral tradition. It has been three decades passed since after "Writing Culture" gathered attention among many anthropologist as sort of a trigger to prompt themselves to introspection. Since then, it repeatedly and continuously inquired such fundamental question as "Who has a right to writing culture?" or "What the authenticity of culture is?" which are inquires that no one could answer. Gradually this inquiry itself has getting been outdated and now scholars tend to focuses on finding a way to get out of this circular argument. In contrast with above academic-tide, people living in Palau where a primary non-literate society still now facing to an issues of "Writing Culture". Palauan oral tradition: myth, legend, history and traditional knowledge for them are exists either as their core regional identity or an intellectual property, as well as the icon to building up the national state formation after the post-colonial era. Analysis period is going to divide into four as below, with following each attentive turning point.

1. First contact with "Writing" 1914-
2. Cultural policy under the US mandatory territory 1960-1970
3. Anthropological research by US scholars 1980-1990
4. Present situation of "Writing Culture"

Keywords: Oral tradition, Writing, Glocalization

The Signs of Change in the Gender Norms of Rural Uzbekistan

Sono Fumoto (Hokkaido University)

In this presentation, I focus on rug weaving by women in rural Uzbekistan. I then discuss how women conform to traditional gender norms; sometimes they interpret the norm in keeping with their own lives, and they make new practices and values. During the Soviet period, women began to work outside their homes. Yet, although women became workers, they were still expected to serve as mothers and wives at home. Scholars have noted that traditional gender norms have been reproduced by women who have served as mothers and wives at home. After the collapse of Soviet Union, traditional gender values justified the situation of women excluded from the post-Soviet labor market. Moreover, the new Uzbek government revaluated traditional gender norms to deny the Soviet ideology of gender equality. However, little is known about what the traditional gender norms for local women are, and how they are reproduced. In this presentation, I would like to clarify the way women reproduce traditional gender norms by focusing on descriptions of the activity of rug weaving. The important point is that they do not just conform to the norm, but interpret and reproduce it according to the situation in their own lives. I discuss this point based on my fieldwork conducted in 2010-2011 in rural Uzbekistan.

How to write on a popular culture: a study on tamāśā and lāvnī in the state of Maharashtra, India

Iida Reiko (Kyoto University)

The purpose of this presentation is to discuss how we can write on a periphery culture. In particular, scholars have not paid much attention to the popular culture in India. Although Hindi films (Bollywood), a part of the popular culture, have been the subject of huge studies, such as those on the history of development and analysis of structure of the film industry, unfortunately, other parts of the Indian popular culture have not received much academic attention. Therefore, I focus on tamāśā, which is rapidly developing as a popular urban culture representing the Western Indian life. Until the 1980s, tamāśā dramas were performed in rural villages mainly for male farmers. At the time, tamāśā combined satires, erotic comedy, and love stories with popular songs and dances. A large number of the performers (tamāsgīl) were from the lower castes or outcastes. Moreover, the singing and dancing part (lāvnī) of tamāśā was performed by women committed to prostitution. In addition, one of the most important skills or parts of the repertoire of expression (ada) in lāvnī concerns the exchange of glances (najar) with the audience during the performance. This, in turn, was one of the reasons why tamāśā was considered 'low class' and 'indecent' by the urban elite and an unimportant topic by academic researchers. However, lāvnī reflects various topics and people's desires in a poetic form; hence, it is a culturally significant subject of study. Therefore, I discuss how we can write about this popular culture and make sense of this issue.

Communication in Monastic Sign Language: The Case of Germany and Japan

Shibata Kanako (Tsukuba University)

The O.C.S.O: Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance has used "Monastic Sign Language" for a long time. The O.C.S.O. was founded in France in 1098. It is a religious community that is almost completely closed off from the outside. The basics of monastic life are outlined in "The Rule of Saint Benedict", written in Italy in the sixth century. The monks and nuns still live according to these rules. The O.C.S.O. is probably the only monastic order that uses monastic sign language. The monks and nuns have used monastic sign language as a means of communication up to now. Because the O.C.S.O. monks and nuns take a vow of silence, they use monastic sign language instead of spoken language. This presentation aims to analyze the following three points using data collected through fieldwork.

1. Why has "Monastic Sign Language" not been recorded or described in linguistics studies?
2. What does communication mean for the monks and nuns?
3. Why do they continue to use "Monastic Sign Language" in the community?

This presentation will analyze each of these questions from a linguistics perspective by using actual utterances as examples. Because their sign language is used only in the monastery, its existence had been known to few outsiders, and as a result we don't know much about it. The purpose of this presentation is to consider communication of "Monastic Sign Language" which has been handed down in secret under the religious "rules of silence".

Keywords: Monastic Sign Language, Communication, Silence

Organized Session 4

Cultural Politics of the UNESCO World Heritage: An East and Southeast Asian Perspective

Organizer/Chair: Yamashita Shinji (Teikyo Heisei University)

Session Abstract

Embodied in an international treaty called the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage adopted in 1972, UNESCO has encouraged the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world that is considered to be of "outstanding universal value." As of June 2015, 1031 sites are listed as World Heritage: 802 cultural heritage sites, 197 natural heritage sites, and 32 mixed heritage sites. In this process of "UNESCO-ization" of world culture, the world heritage sites may provide national and regional pride in the context of identity formation, and economic interests through the development of tourism using the UNESCO World Heritage as a "brand." This interplay of politics and economics of the World Heritage challenges the study of culture in the contemporary world. Examining four UNESCO World Heritage sites such as Angkor Wat in Cambodia, Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras, Cultural Landscape of the Balinese Subak, Indonesia and Mt. Fuji of Japan, the session discusses the conditions of international conservation code application from the Athens Charter to the World Heritage Convention, while analyzing critically the UNESCO concept of culture. In so doing, the panel attempts to uncover global/local cultural dynamism in the contemporary world and shed light on the meanings of cultural production in East and Southeast Asia today.

Keywords: World heritage, UNESCO, Cultural politics

Paper Abstracts

The Politics of International Guidance of Heritage Tourism and Contrasting National and Local Interpretation and Application in Angkor World Heritage Site

Miura Keiko (Waseda University)

In the growing popularity of heritage tourism practices throughout the world in recent years, international agencies such as UNWTO, UNESCO and ICCROM have guided their member states to develop ideal forms of such tourism. The core issues of their approaches include local participation in tourism development and sustainable tourism. This paper will discuss the politics of international guidance and its different interpretation and application by the national authorities and local NGOs in Angkor World Heritage Site in Cambodia. The authorities tend to recreate romantic ancient landscapes with massive irrigation and construction work, arranging traditional music and costumed dancers as in the French colonial period to attract heritage tourists, while recruiting local villagers to be mainly labourers for restoration, guards, toilet cleaners, boatmen, providers of food and drinks, and producers and vendors of souvenirs. Local NGOs on the other hand rediscover and reuse local resources and revitalize local practices. The national authorities' targets are more for reproducing the grandiosity

of the imaginary static past to show off to the world and mass tourists. Some of their activities do overlap with those of local NGOs; however, the latter have taken initiatives in organizing small-scale tours oriented nature and village tourism such as wild bird-watching in Lake Tonle Sap and visiting high-stilted villages along the lake, the butterfly farm, silk-weaving workshop, and handicraft-making, organizing jungle trekking in Angkor, ox-cart rides, and learning and eating home cooking. Local initiatives reflect the orientation and approaches promoted by the international organizations to make the local people directly benefit from tourism while minimizing the impact of tourists' visits. In sum, Angkor World Heritage Site demonstrates a highly controversial national interpretation and adaptation of international guidance, which is somehow complemented or 'saved' by local NGOs' initiatives.

Keywords: Angkor World Heritage Site, heritage tourism, local participation

Cultural Politics amid Grass-root Globalization: A Case at an UNESCO World Heritage Village of Rice-Terraces

Shimizu Hiromu (Kyoto University)

Rapidly advancing globalization has had a significant effect and impact on indigenous people all over the world. I had never felt this advance more keenly than when I lived in a remote village in steep mountains in northern Luzon. My field site, Hapao village, Hungduan Municipality, Ifugao Province is located about 250 km north of Manila, and is nestled deep in the valley of upper Magat river in the Cordillera Mountains. It was inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1995. Since 1998 up until 2013, I conducted brief research ranging from one to five weeks every year there. I also revisited Hapao this New Year. I have been fascinated by the village because the people there have confronted, experienced, and actively and aggressively taken their chances in globalization.

The effects and impacts of globalization are explicit in Hapao. More than 160 villagers among 1,750 residents in 380 households, mainly women as domestic helpers and caregivers, have been abroad to 27 countries mainly in Asia but also in the Middle East, Europe, Canada, U.S.A. and Australia.

A villagers' organization has implemented a grassroots reforestation to preserve forests and wood carving industry, and cultural revitalization project, under the banner "Ifugao Global Forest City Movement" (IGFCM) in close cooperation with a small Japanese NGO (IKGS) in Hyogo Prefecture gaining 80 million Japanese yen (almost equivalent to \$ 750,000) between 2001 and 2008 from five Japanese funding agencies for reforestation, social development, and cultural revitalization projects.

Therefore, "global" is now a popular word in this village and echoes in the experiences of villagers and members who stay overseas. The world-renowned film director Kidlat Tahimic was so deeply inspired by Lopez Nauyac, the founder and president of IGFCM that he built a native hut in Hapao to stay in, and has produced several documentary films on Lopez's words and deeds, which have been shown at numerous international film festivals

Keywords: World Heritage Site, rice-terraces, cultural revitalization

Cultural Landscape of the Balinese Subak: World Heritage between Agriculture and Tourism

Yamashita Shinji (Teikyo Heisei University)

"Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the Subak System as a Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy" was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2012. It consists of five rice terraces and their water temples, which include the Royal Water Temple of Pura Taman Ayun. The subak system is considered to reflect the Hindu philosophy of Tri Hita Karana. The subak is thus a "cultural landscape," a product of interaction between the realms of the spirit, the human world and nature in Bali. Ethnographically speaking, as Carol Warren writes, the subak is described as "a customary legal institution with regulating powers, a geographic area significant ecological functions, a cooperative social organization, and a cultural expression of Balinese values." This paper discusses the Balinese subak in the context of cultural politics and heritage tourism, particularly focusing on the area between agriculture and tourism in the changing economic landscapes of globalizing Bali. In so doing, the paper aims to contribute to the understanding of complex cultural processes in contemporary Bali, comparing it to a similar case in Japan - Shirayone Senmaida in Wajima City, Ishikawa Prefecture. The paper then concludes that practicing culture in an age of globalization is a dynamic process, involving local, national and global levels, and what is important is not to preserve a frozen heritage but to create new meanings in the cultural practices for a sustainable future.

Keywords: World heritage, Cultural landscape, Bali

Multiple understandings and uses of Mount Fuji as a World Heritage site

Doshita Megumi (Tama University)

In 1992 when Japan ratified the World Heritage Convention, a number of Japanese people imagined that Mount Fuji would become the first and best World Heritage site in Japan. A discussion about the nomination of Mount Fuji as a natural site started soon after the ratification, yet owing to several problems including its short history as a volcanic mountain, and inefficient visitor and waste management, in 2003 Japan abandoned its nomination. However, from 2005, led by a former prime minister and local mayors, an attempt to nominate Mount Fuji as a cultural site was made, and in 2013, Mount Fuji was finally inscribed on the World Heritage List. Mount Fuji has unique cultural value as a sacred place and source of artistic inspiration, yet not all Japanese people agree to change its category because it has been the finest sacred mountain, worshipped as an extraordinary natural setting. Concerning the World Heritage Convention, there have been a series of discussions about the dichotomy between natural and cultural heritage, and today the distinction has been decreasing, for example, by including the notion of cultural landscapes. Japan's action seems to take advantage of this decrease but can be considered arbitrary. In addition, Japan is ordered to resolve several difficulties in visitor management and in the maintenance of spiritual and aesthetic qualities of Mount Fuji. This mountain has been popular for climbing since the Edo era, and there are diverse stakeholders concerning tourism and recreational activities which disturb its environmental, artistic and aesthetic qualities. In this paper, in order to evaluate multiple understandings and uses of Mount Fuji, the nature and value of its mountain will be (re-)evaluated, the impact of the nomination and selection as a cultural site will be examined in depth, and the diverse uses of Mount Fuji will be analysed.

Keywords: sacred mountains, tourism, natural and cultural heritage

International Conservation Code Application in East and Southeast Asia: From the Athens Charter to the World Heritage Convention

Tashiro Akiko (Hokkaido University)

The paper focuses on conservation policies for cultural heritage in East Asia and Southeast Asia. First, the study looks at how the conservation policies in Southeast Asian countries were influenced by discussions of 'restoration' in 19th century Europe. While the restoration of historical buildings and monuments became taboo in Europe after John Ruskin published *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* in 1849, restoration works on monuments rapidly increased at the beginning of the 20th century, especially in Cambodia and Indonesia. The technical method for restoration, *Anastylosis*, which was mentioned in the Athens charter in 1931, was applied as an international conservation code for restoration work on stone monuments in Angkor. The method is still common in Cambodia and in Thailand. After World War II, the international conservation code was not limited to the restoration method but was also applied to heritage management. The International Campaign and World Heritage Convention of UNESCO plays an important role in encouraging Southeast Asian countries to prepare a master plan for monuments. The involvement of the local community is a standard for cultural heritage management in a global context. The paper then turns to Japan. After Japan ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1992, international conservation trends have gradually influenced conservation policies towards cultural properties in Japan. In 2004, a system for the protection of cultural landscapes was established by the Agency of Cultural Affairs in Japan. The introduction of the concepts of 'cultural landscape' and the establishment of protection systems were possibly a result of international conservation trends. The paper aims to contribute to a clearer understanding of the problems related to the conservation of cultural heritage in East Asia and Southeast Asia through the process of international conservation code application in a local and in a global context.

Keywords: conservation, Athens Charter, World Heritage

Organized Session 5

Globalization, Regional Integration and Development: Yunnan and Southeast Asian Experience

Organizer/Chair: Chen Gang (Yunnan University of Finance and Economics)

Session Abstract

Globalization is a process that leads to free flow of technology, knowledge, ideas, capital, raw-materials, people, and culture, etc. across the border. Globalization is also the driving force of development that leads to regional integration. As the result of the globalization process, China has become the world manufacture center. It has pushed China to look for resources and markets in the world. In recent years, Chinese enterprises, private and

state-owned, have been noticed to invest increasingly in Southeast Asia. Lately, Chinese government has launched a “One Belt and one Road” strategy to promote international cooperation, which will further intensify regional integration between China and neighboring countries. This panel will explore this globalization and regional integration process in Yunnan and Southeast Asia. This region is well-known for its extraordinary biological and cultural diversity, its involvement in the rapid process of globalization, and its high-speed development resulting from China's economic expansion. Researchers can employ various research methodologies to collect, analyze and integrate data from this area on economic activities, migration and its impacts, infrastructure construction and environment, leisure and tourism, community development and socio-cultural changes, and present their research results at this panel.

Paper Abstracts

Opportunities and Challenges of a Chinese Enterprise in Northern Laos in the Context of Globalization and Regional Integration

Chen Gang (Yunnan University of Finance and Economics)

Chinese enterprises, private and state-owned, have been noticed to invest increasingly in Southeast Asia, attracting both positive and negative comments in the world. This paper explores the history of a Chinese enterprise in Northern Laos. In 2006, this company set up its first rubber farm in Northern Laos, subsidized by Chinese central government as a part of efforts to eliminate opium production with alternative cash cropping. Since then, it has set up rubber tree farms in four provinces in Northern Laos and a rubber production factory. Today, its production is highly affected by the international rubber market and the global economy. This paper will discuss the development process of this company, economic and socio-cultural problems it has faced, measures it has taken for sustainable development, and impacts it has on local livelihood.

Keywords: Globalization, Chinese enterprises, Southeast Asia, business anthropology

Cross-border Planting and Regional Development: A Case study on Hunan Immigrants in Xishuangbanna, China

Zhou Daming (Sun Yat-sen University)

In the 1950s, Chinese government set up the state farms in Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, and dispatched a large numbers of Hunan immigrants into Xishuangbanna for rubber planting. The early Hunan immigrants settled in Xishuangbanna have become the pulling force to the Hunan population who continues to move here. They are flowing in this region based on relatives, acquaintance circle, and local power, expanding their living space. From the early substitute planting for opium poppy in “Golden Triangle” conducted by state-farm, to the recent cross-border planting to Laos and Burma by the spontaneous immigrants due to the different cost of resources and labor, Hunan immigrants accumulate their economic and social capital in the continuous mobility. They construct their social network and identity by the means of attaching to the state-farm and its symbolic power and resources, implementing diversified language strategies, narrating the similar social experiences and geo-social relations, as well as establishing quasi-kinship with locals. These flexible survival strategies show that the situational membership in mobility, the dynamic relationship with state, and the shared interests with locals, are the crucial factors of achieving economic and cultural adaption in a wider area by the Hunan immigrants. Meanwhile, in the process of urbanization and the impellent of land circulation, cross-border planting by Hunan immigrants also leads to the own land leasing and the cross-border renting by local minorities. To some extent, it can be seen as the checks and balances between locals and immigrants, which change the traditional ethnic relations and regional economic structure.

The Integrated Village Development Poverty Reduction Model and Yunnan Province Ethnic Minority Community Development

Li Wenrui (Yunnan University of Finance and Economics)

This Paper is based on field research conducted in three different ethnic minority areas with different ecological environments, means of livelihood and cultures in Yunnan Province. It combines qualitative and quantitative methods to evaluate the effects of the integrated village development model on the three selected ethnic communities. It contains policy suggestions on the macro, micro and meso levels for the future. The paper is structured in to a general research report, and three case studies featuring the Miao people (Southwest Karest area),the Yi people(Southwest alpine mountains)the Mosuo people(Western mountain basin). The paper argues that the model plays a significant role in poverty reduction and development in Yunnan Province ethnic minority

areas in China poverty alleviation, and also point out that the integrated village development model has made some outstanding achievements. Conversely, the paper also came across policy implementation shortcomings.

Ethnic Consciousness and Ethnic Identity in Cross-cultural communication in Ethnic Tourism: A Case Study of Lijiang, Yunnan

Sa Lusha (South-Central University for Nationalities)

Cross-cultural communication in ethnic tourism is a kind of cultural interaction between hosts and guests. As the representatives of powerful culture, foreign tourists are considered to be presenting imbalanced ethnic relations with hosts. The development of ethnic culture in tourism can reinforce the ethnic consciousness and ethnic identity of the local ethnic group. In the meantime, host-guest impact pushes the external recognition of local ethnic culture in cross-cultural communication. Drawing on fieldwork in Lijiang, Yunnan, this paper explores the ethnic culture change and ethnic identity consciousness reinforcement in cross-cultural communication.

Keywords: cross-cultural communication, ethnic consciousness, ethnic identity

A Probe into the Southern Himalayan Culture Belt

Chen Jianhua (Yunnan University of Finance and Economics)

Although it has been suggested by some social anthropologists that there seemed to have been a cultural belt in the southern Himalayas, it still has not been fully explored so far. After years of observation of the lives in southern Himalayas region, the author believes that it is reasonable and acceptable to look at the region as a continuous cultural belt. Despite the obvious eco-diversity, it shares a somewhat the same ecological sphere from the far eastern part of so-called Tibet-Yi Ethnic Corridor to North Burma, Nagaland, Chindwin Valley, northern Bangladesh, Sikkim(now part of India), Bhutan, and Nepal. It is certain that most of the human groups inhabit across the belt are Tibet-Burmese Language ethnic groups of same origin far back in history. Cross-cousin marriage is believed to be the main form of marriage which is the foundation of social organization in the cultural belt, as well as other forms of kinship system. What's more important, the subsistence pattern of the region has been shifting cultivation, which has long been adaptively chosen as the crucial mechanism in such a typical ecosystem. In order to survive in a region squeezed by surrounding civilization entities, various strategies, such as tattoo, neck rings, and so on, have been adopted by the ethnic groups within southern Himalayan Cultural belt. James Scott believes that these human groups escaped to the area because of being afraid of ruled by lowland states. The author here argues that the reason for these human groups to occupy such a region is because the mechanism adopted by the surrounding civilization entities is not applicable to the cultural belt and hence leave it to these who are able to make use of it. Contrary to escapism suggested by Scott, the southern Himalayans have changed their mode of subsistence in the competition for living space during their migration from the north to south, and later on westwards. By resorting to Fredrik Barth's analytical concept of Niche, the author believes that human groups in southern Himalayas have subjectively adapted the ecological niche left unexploited by the main civilization entities in Southeast Asia and hence created a cultural belt with their own characteristics, the southern Himalayan cultural belt.

Citizens and Peasants: Sani people's land Transfer and identity predicament under the context of Tourism globalization

Shi Yanlan (Yunnan University of Finance and Economics)

With the rapid development of economy in China, people's living demands have become diversified. Tourism has become a significant social fact due to its local depth and global width of impact. Through presenting and combining the developing practice of tourism of Wukeshu Village, Shilin county, Yunnan Province of China, This paper has a discussion on the social topic of tourism and city-countryside integration. Based on the Karst landform landscape, ethnic culture was becoming a kind social capital for villagers to obtain economic income. However, Tourism also promotes the urban-rural integration while driving the development of local economy. Many Wukeshu villagers realized the change from agricultural to non-agricultural status in household registration. However, during the process, the social identity of Wukeshu villagers runs into a dilemma. This paper is to quest how the people with different citizen-identities cope with the changes when they have got accustomed to dual-status of the household registration (Citizens and Peasants).Is it just a simple matter of change in the household Register? Nowadays in China, how can we define the city resident identity and the famer identity? Do the famers in the Household Register still mean those people who reside in the countryside and pursue agricultural production? Through the case analysis, we know that tourism is a modern factor destroys the stable structure of the traditional rural society of Sani people at Wukeshu village, resulting in such social phenomenon as individualization within the society and

Politics of Cultural Heritage in the Ethnic and Regional Communities of East Asia

Organizer/Chair: Nishimoto Yoichi (Kanazawa University)

Session Abstract

Once, culture was a way of life that was to be studied by outside observers, including cultural anthropologists, and the people who were the subject of the study did not cast reflective eyes on their own culture. However, now culture is externalized and objectified and the people themselves frequently talk about their own culture. Culture is sometimes mobilized as a basis for its owner's identity, as the people is thought to be the owner of the culture. When we talk about cultural heritages, such politics of culture becomes more apparent. The four papers in this session examine the process in which some cultural items of given cultures are discovered, evaluated as valuable (or valueless), and utilized for some purpose, mostly for the interest of the owners of those cultures. The papers are case studies on the mobilization of the cultural resources of ethnic and regional societies in China and Thailand. Cases are from the Dong of Guizhou, the Dai of Yunnan, the Lahu of Yunnan, China and the Tai groups of northern Thailand. By describing the successful and unsuccessful utilization of the cultural resources, the session aims to elucidate the politics of cultural heritage that is operating behind the cases.

Keywords: cultural heritage, cultural resource, East Asia

Paper Abstracts

Restoration of Temples and Cultural Inheritance in Rural Ethnic Communities: A Case of the Dai Lue in Xishuangbanna of Yunnan Province, China

Hasegawa Kiyoshi (Bunkyo University)

Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture, situated at the southern periphery of Yunnan Province, borders on the Shan States of Myanmar and Laos. The inhabitants are Han Chinese and ethnic minority groups, such as Dai Lue, Hani, Lahu, Yi, Bulang, Jinuo and others. In this multi-ethnic composition, most of Dai Lue have believed in Theravada Buddhism and regarded the local temple as the most important place relating to their religious practices. In this presentation, I would like to examine the issues of religious revival, restoration and cultural inheritance of temples in contemporary China by focusing on the reconstruction process of temples in rural Dai Lue communities since the 1980s. The data are collected through my fieldwork in Gasa district of Jinghong City, Xishuangbanna Prefecture. The Great Leap Forward (1958) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) caused a deep crack in the continuity of religious practices and cultural resources in rural Dai Lue communities. Monks and novices in every temple were criticized for not working. They were compelled to return to secular life or escape to foreign countries. We must notice that the Dai Lue, especially in rural communities, strive to restore temples destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, and have revived religious practices of Theravada Buddhist. Dai Lue villagers steadily restored temples, and normalized social status of monks and novices in their rural life. In China's recent cultural policy, the Dai traditional culture and Buddhist knowledge have been categorized and preserved as "Pattra Culture (beiyue wenhua)". On the other hand, cultural inheritance in rural Dai temples has been faced with various crises.

Keywords: Restoration of temple, cultural inheritance, Dai community

Transformation of Cultural Resources: A Case Study on Folk Performing Arts of Dong people, P. R. China

Kaneshige Tsutomu (Shiga University of Medical Science)

In this presentation, I will examine that by whom and how cultural resources are utilized and transformed strategically. P.R.China is a multi-ethnic nation composed of Han Chinese and 55 ethnic minority groups. Each ethnic groups has cultural resources. As a case study, I will pick up a local Dong opera "Qin Niangmei ", one of the repertoire of the folk performing arts of Dong people, southwest China. Although, it was originally one of the repertoire of Dong village opera troupes, along with the promotion of literary policy by the Chinese Communist Party, it was appealed and transformed as one of the ethnic cultural resources of Dong people, and then appealed and re-transformed as a regional cultural resource of Guizhou Province.

In this presentation, (1) I will trace the process of transformation by a specific analysis of the rewriting of the text caused at each stage diachronically. (2) I will try to identify the principal involved at each stage of the transformation as much as possible. I will show that, from middle 1950's to early 1960's, Dong opera "Qin Niangmei " had been utilized by various entities: in order to not only promote and carry forward socialist ideology, but also to appeal the outcome of Chinese Communist party's ethnic policy, by Chinese statesmen and officers;

furthermore, in order to deny the cultural inferiority of Guizhou province and to appeal cultural superiority of folk performing arts of Guizhou province, by local cadres of Guizhou province.

Keywords: folk performing arts ethnic cultural resource, regional cultural resource

Is Myth a Culture or a Religion? : The Local Politics over the Cultural Heritage among the Lahu across the China-Myanmar Border

Horie Mio (Nagoya University)

In 2006, the Myth named Mudphal milhphal was registered as National Intangible Cultural Heritage in China. This myth is an oral transmission which had been handed down among the Lahu people, one of the hill tribes live in China, Myanmar, Thailand and Laos. This mythological oral story is written down by scholars, it composed of 17 chapters in 2,300 lines. The title Mudphal milhphal means the creation of the world, it contains the story about the creation of the sky, the earth, the sun and the moon, all things and human beings. After the registration as National Intangible Cultural Heritage, the local government of Lancang Lahu Autonomous County continuously developed and maintained the central city as suit to this myth. The gourd was seen as the Lahu's ethnic symbol because the story transmitted that the first human was born from the Gourd. The catch copy of the Lahu was also changed from "The Tiger Hunter" to "The people born from the Gourd". But in the process of developing "the Lahu culture", some problems and contradictions appeared among several actors. In this presentation, I reported the process of establishing Cultural Heritage among Lahu in several level and show how the interpretation of this myth differed between the Lahu in China and in Myanmar. It appeared as the contradiction between the Religion and the Culture because this myth is closely related with their highest divinity Xeulsha.

Keywords: Cultural Heritage, Myth, Local Politics, Yunnan

Museums and Their Communities: Cases of the Thai Local Museums

Nishimoto Yoichi (Kanazawa University)

Doing museum is a way of making use of cultural resources of a society, a community, and an ethnic group. To be made an item shown in a museum, cultural traits of a group of people are looked for, found (or disregarded), evaluated (or not evaluated as valuable), and made use of for various purposes, such as, for confirming the human group's origin and for laying a foundation for their group identity. We often have a negative image about museums that a museum has authority concerning history and culture of the people and that we go to the museums to be taught the true history and culture of the people. This often is the cause of our view on museum that a museum has an educative role and that visiting museums is boring. However, "local museums" (phiphithaphan thongthin) in northern Thailand are not of this kind. Thai "local museums" are founded and run by the communities in which the museums find themselves in. As they are in a country, 95% of whose population are Buddhist, many Thai "local museums" are based on believers' small communities that are geographically and spiritually built around the village temples. Often, Buddhist monks are the founder and the leader of the "local museums," who with the cooperation of the villagers, proceed various museum activities to preserve, restore and promote tangible and intangible cultural heritages. My paper describes several cases of the Thai "local museums" and makes a preliminary point on the issue of community's participation in the museum activities.

Keywords: local museum, community, cultural resource, Thailand

Organized Session 7

The Skill of Feeling with the World: Culture Entangled in Affective, Sensory and Material Enactments

Organizers: Andrea De Antoni (Ritsumeikan University), Emma Cook (Hokkaido University)

Chair: Andrea De Antoni (Ritsumeikan University)

Session Abstract

This section focuses on the role of the entanglements of affect, the senses and materiality in the shaping of "culture". The so-called "affective turn" in the Humanities and Social Sciences, that emerged from the "ontological turn", shed light on the (inter-)subjective intensity and dynamics immanent to bodily perceptions and matter in general (e.g. Massumi 2002). Similarly, research on the senses stressed their centrality in the shaping of social practice and culture (e.g. Geurts 2002, Howes 2004), calling for a focus on perception in processes of doing ethnography (e.g. Pink 2009). Furthermore, Ingold's work (2000, 2013) pointed at the need to highlight the creative processes in social practice and anthropology in the making, as engagements and correspondences with

materials and the environment, in which skills of perception and action emerge alongside with ontologies. In addition, anthropological works have also emphasized the important role matter plays in developing sensorial skills and in bearing or affording specific affects (e.g. Durham 2011, Navaro-Yashin 2012). A common thread among these studies is that they point at the need to go beyond symbols and representations, meaning making processes, cognition, or belief. In other words, they suggest new research directions to go beyond overly simplified conceptions of "culture". On the other hand, recent research shed light on the danger of leaving cultural differences aside, by excessively focusing on concepts - such as suffering or trauma - which rely on the assumption that they transcend culture, being human universals (e.g. Robbins 2013). This section, therefore, will attempt to elaborate a theoretical framework that mediates between these two different approaches. All the papers will rely on empirical ethnographic data and try to shed light on the entanglements among the cultural, the symbolic and the social on the one hand, and the perceptive, affective, sensory and the material on the other.

Keywords: Affect, Senses, Materiality

Paper Abstracts

Food Allergies, Senses and the Production of Personhood in Japan and the UK

Emma Cook (Hokkaido University)

Food allergies, and severe anaphylactic reactions to food, have shown a steady increase in industrialised nations over the previous ten years. Individuals who have such allergies typically develop strategies to avoid consuming what they are allergic to in order to mitigate the risk of reactions. Given that sharing and consuming food together is an important social practice that contributes to the production of personhood, avoiding particular foods, or having particular food needs, can become socially problematic. Whilst individuals who have such allergies typically experience a similar range of physiological symptoms, how these are perceived, experienced, and negotiated by individuals is, however, often mediated by a range of factors, including socio-historically mediated understandings of health, illness and the body. This paper, drawing from ethnographic material gathered in Japan and the UK looks at the varied ways that people with food allergies in these countries experience, perceive, and manage their food allergies, and how such experiences are affected by local understandings of health, illness, the body, and the role of food in inter-subjective constructions of personhood.

Keywords: food allergies, senses, personhood

Ecology of voices: How people deal with auditory hallucinations in Japan and Italy

Matsushima Takeshi (Hiroshima University)

From the anthropological perspective, mental illness is considered as something that emerges from dialectic relationships between personal experience and social system or structure (Kleinman 1991). Experiences such as suffering and pain do not transcend culture but emerge in a dialectic process of social-personal. So they are called 'interpersonal experiences' in which affects work as something that mediates and coordinates interpersonal relationships. Yet these relationships do not have to do only with other people, they can also involve other entities which often appear in hallucinations. In this presentation, I will try to examine how people with mental illness deal with auditory hallucinations in their recovery process. Comparing manners and techniques from Japan and Italy, I would like to focus on some similarities and differences which can be interpreted as 'cultural'. Doing so, this presentation shows 'cultural differences' as differences of 'arts de faire' (De Certeau 1980) which tries to deal with some invasive and anonymous powers, instead of interpreting cultural differences at the level of meaning and symbols.

Keywords: mental health, medical anthropology, auditory hallucination

Hounded Experiences: Affective Correspondences and Cultural Entanglements in Spirit Possession in Contemporary Japan

Andrea De Antoni (Ritsumeikan University)

This paper focuses on the role of affect and bodily perceptions in experience of spirit possession and exorcism in contemporary Japan. I will build on the concept of affect proposed by Massumi (2002), while integrating it with the notion of "correspondence" (Ingold 2013), in order to elucidate the spirits' emergence by looking at perceptions of bodies moving in the world and to "somatic modes of attention" (Csordas 1993). I will try to elaborate an approach that includes culture/locality specific aspects of practices and experiences, with a particular focus on processes of institutionalization. In order to do so, I will rely on ethnographic data collected in Kenmi

Jinja (Tokushima Prefecture), a Shinto shrine renown in the whole Japan because of a ritual to heal especially from possession by the Dog-God (inugami). I will provide a description of people's feelings of being possessed and healed, thus shedding light on the bodily perceptions and symptoms through which these conditions emerge. I will argue that possession and spirits in contemporary Japan do not have to be understood as self-standing phenomena, but rather as associations (Latour 2005) of particular symptoms and bodily perceptions. Secondly, I will show that the processes of selection of those symptoms occur through the institutionalized form of ritual practice. I will argue that spirits can emerge through practice, as well as through a whole set of "affective correspondences" with humans (i.e. religious specialists) and non-humans (e.g. ritual tools, the wind in the hall in which the ritual is carried out, etc.). In doing so, I will shed light on the fundamental role that these correspondences play in the entanglement of symbolic, "cultural" specific aspects with the affective dimensions of experience.

Keywords: Affect, Correspondence, Spirit Possession

Organized Session 8

Happiness and Marriage in Japan

Organizer/Chair: Sun Lin (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Session Abstract

In this panel we explore happiness in Japan from a particular angle: marriage. The meaning of marriage has fundamentally shifted in Japan in recent years, from being based on the playing of roles--salaryman/full-time housewife as the societal ideal if not the reality in most Japanese marriages--to today being based much more on emotional intimacy. What does this mean for perceptions of happiness in marriage? In this panel, two senior anthropologists and two junior anthropologists present their findings, based on their ethnographic research, on happiness in marriage in Japan. Jermaine R. Gordon-Mizusawa's paper looks at the so-called "sexless" problem among Japanese today, which has long been attributed to the country's extremely low birthrate. Based on his ethnographic interviews with a number of Japanese, he challenges the mysterious claim by the Japanese government that good sexual life can eventually lead to happy marriages with robust children. Gordon Mathews' paper, drawn on the data he collected in the past four decades, further proves that the couples who united on the base of "love" alone, which sexual attractiveness played a large role, very often ended up in unhappy marriages in later life. Instead, he argues that "characterological compatibility" is more crucial for happy marriages. While finding a marriage partner with similar values might indeed serve as a good base for a happy marriage, Glenda Roberts' paper tells us that the attainment of marital happiness also requires a lot of "work". She writes about how middle-aged salarywomen in Japan make various efforts, usually without much help from their husbands, in the hope of achieving their own visions of marital happiness, which often targets at a balanced life between work and family. Such efforts, usually involving trade-offs, endurance, and even pain, are further elaborated in Sun Lin's paper. Based on the in-depth interviews she conducted with 26 young married Japanese in Tokyo, she explores people's pursuits of their perceived marital happiness as embodied moral experience. Through this panel, we intend to demonstrate a more complex and socioculturally embedded understanding of marital happiness, which is often obscured by the more common statistical approaches aiming at studying marital satisfaction. We also try to highlight the subjective dimension of marital happiness: the individual capacity to pursuit their own visions of happiness in marriage, albeit within various limitations set by the world one lives in. By the end of our presentations, we hope to offer our audience a more concrete sense of how marital happiness is actually experienced by ordinary Japanese from all walks of life rather than mere generalities offered by numbers and charts.

Keywords: happiness, marriage, Japan

Paper Abstracts

Marriage at mid-life: Marriage, intimacy, and well-being for middle-aged salarywomen in contemporary Japan

Glenda S. Roberts (Waseda University)

This paper is based on longitudinal data from 15 women I began studying in 2003 to research the work/life balance of married salarywomen with at least one child, living in the greater Tokyo metropolitan area. While work/life balance was the lens I initially used to investigate their lives, I eventually chose 'well-being' as a more robust framework, because I found that 'well-being' encompasses more aspects of life, and it is also less culturally

specific (Mathews and Izquierdo). That is, my notion of well-being as a cultural outsider might differ from that of my salarywomen informants, but they all have specific strategies to achieve well-being in their lives, in their own terms. This includes a life where they are able to maintain full-time employment, as well as raise well-balanced children in a context within which their husbands are often working long hours or are absent, or where husbands do not necessarily perform much of the household labor or childcare. So, what do their husbands 'do' for them? Do they actively contribute to their well-being, or do they detract from it, and how? I spoke of well-being in an earlier work (Roberts, 2011), when I queried how women defined it in general in relation to their work lives and home lives. In this paper, I will discuss in more detail how these women understand their spousal relations after more than a decade of marriage and child-rearing. Although I cannot speak for their husbands, the wives' accounts leave a variety of perspectives on how working women view their marriages, what the relationship accomplishes for them, and how they see it going into the future--or not. This interview project is ongoing but this paper draws largely from interview data collected in 2014 and 2015.

Mathews, G., & Izquierdo, C. (Eds.). (2009). *Pursuits of happiness: Well-being in Anthropological Perspective*. New York, NY: Berghahn.

Roberts, Glenda S. (2011). Salary-women and Family Well-being in Urban Japan. *Marriage&Family Review* 47:8, 571-589.

Keywords: well-being, marriage, Japan

Why Marriages Are Unhappy in Japan

Gordon Mathews (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Beginning in 1980 when I first lived in Sapporo, Japan, I have had the opportunity to follow a dozen Japanese married couples through annual visits and interviews. This paper is idiosyncratic, because my sample is so small; but I perhaps can say something interesting about marriage. One point from my small sample is that marital discord is predictable: for five out of six of the divorced or estranged couples I know, it was obvious from even before their marriages that they would not be happy together, simply because their values were so different. People who marry through "love" seem often to be blind: the hormones of romance, coupled with the chance nature of romantic bonding mean that people choose their partners by happenstance. Another point is that the only happy couples I know did not follow the path of saraiiman/sengyo shufu. The gender role division sufficient for a standard happy marriage forty years ago is no longer acceptable for many today, who seek emotional intimacy. Furthermore, decades ago those Japanese who did not follow a standard path and who were deemed "weird" were more likely to find a "weird" partner whose values resembled their own. Those who were not "weird" had a much larger pool of people to choose from, and because they were conventional, had a less clear characterological basis upon which to choose their mates. A solution for greater marital happiness is a return to miai kekkon, "arranged marriage," in which there is at least some basis for finding characterological compatibility among couples. This, of course, will never happen, given emphasis on love as the be-all and end-all in Japan. This may be why the majority of marriages in Japan and elsewhere will continue to be more or less unhappy.

Keywords: happiness, marriage, Japan

The Sex and Marriage Gap in Japan: Is there a "Happily Ever After"?

Jermaine R. Gordon-Mizusawa (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Since 2005 when the fertility rate reached an all time low of 1.29 and the average age of marriage for women now reaching 30, the media has characterized Japan as being in a state of crisis. In light of Japan's rapidly aging society and apparent lack of replacement babies, the government is anxious about the sex lives of Japanese. In a frantic effort to curtail these dismal statistics, the government in concert with the media has engaged in a frantic effort to "encourage" people to get married by creating the canard that there is an "illness" formula created by herbivore men and carnivore women who have caused a lack of interest in sex, which has led to parasite singles and freeters, which equals to the rapid decline in birth and marriage rates. But is this really the complete picture? Sexual enjoyment has historically been separate from marriage in Japan. However, the relatively recent phenomenon of ren'ai kekkon or "love marriage" is being used as a tool by the Japanese government to construct a "happily ever after" narrative in order to solve impending population and economic woes. Through interviews of Japanese people about their sexual behavior and activities, this paper examines the veracity of the claims of sexlessness in Japan and explores reasons why some Japanese marry later in life or not at all. It also challenges the link between sex and marriage and questions the notions held by the government that once people get interested in sex, they will want to get married and that once they get married, they will have children.

Keywords: happiness, marriage, sex

Whose Happiness?: Exploring the Pursuits of Marital Happiness as Embodied Moral Experience in Contemporary Japan

Sun Lin (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

This paper explores people's pursuits of marital happiness as embodied moral experience. During my six-month fieldwork in Tokyo, I conducted in-depth interviews with 26 married Japanese in their 30s. I asked them various questions regarding their sense of marital happiness. How do they envisage their own vision of a happy marriage? What matters the most? In order to attain this happiness, what have been done so far? And what more ought to be done or can be done? I found that their sense of happiness is highly "morally laden", as pointed out by Edward Fischer, "replete with ideas about value, worth, virtue, what is good or bad, right or wrong" (2014:4). Although my informants' understandings of their happiness in marriage vary, I found that the process of their pursuits always involves tensions and negotiations with oneself, with one's family members, and with the larger world around. Using my informants' accounts as illustrations, I intend to show the moral domain of marital happiness, in which ordinary Japanese strategize and struggle in their everyday life in order to achieve the kind of happiness they are longing for.

Fischer, Edward. 2014. *The Good Life: Aspiration, Dignity and the Anthropology of Wellbeing*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Keywords: marital happiness, moral experience, Japan

Organized Session 9

The Shentigan Turn: Toward Cultural Ways of Experiencing the World

Organizer/Chair: Yu Shuenn-Der (Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica)

Session Abstract

Diverse cultural ways of experiencing (or sensing) the inner and outer worlds are very much a part of our daily lives. Taiwanese use the term *qi* to indicate perceiving, and also describing, our bodily and spiritual conditions. *Q* is a term used to denote a particular jelly-like food texture that Taiwanese greatly prefer. Both *qi* and *Q* are difficult to comprehend for those growing up in rather different cultural environments. We, the panelists, believe that these bodily experience categories (*shentigan*) vividly exemplify cultural characteristics and form the interface through which we make sense of the world. Also, we will argue that *shentigan* categories and the systematic relationship among them can allow anthropologists to reconsider the concept of culture. After the textual turn in the 1970s, the bodily turn of the 1980s, and the sensory turn of the 1990s, we propose a *shentigan* turn for the 2010s.
Our panelists are scholars from anthropology, Chinese literature, and cognitive psychology. Our presentations will begin with a short introduction of the concept of *shentigan*, which will be followed by five paper presentations from the three disciplinary perspectives.

Keywords: senses, everyday life, body

Paper Abstracts

Skill and Shentigan

Chung Wei-wen (National Chengchi University)

This paper proposes skill as one of the central concepts in the study of *shentigan*. *Shentigan* can be conceived of as a dialogue between an agent and its environment. However, it is important to note that this dialogue does not happen for free; the agent must actively cultivate the skills needed to engage in a smooth dialogue. This idea of skill includes the following dimensions. First, in a departure from cognitivism, skill is more than representation; it is action-oriented. Second, it denotes the ability to detect and orient toward situations appropriate to the survival of the organism. Third, considering that in the case of humans interaction with the environment is to a considerable extent mediated by artifacts, skill refers to an ability to think and act with artifacts. Lastly, skills co-evolve with the environment. This gives rise to the permanent evolution of *shentigan*.

Keywords: *Shentigan*, skill, representation

Writing Emotions, Feelings and Shentigan: A Review of the Anthropological Literature

Chien Mei-Ling (National Chiao Tung University)

Emotions and feelings are not just unseen components of the individual. The anthropology of emotions studies alternative perspectives on the features of emotions and feelings the interdependence of society, culture, history, environment, and the invention of individual subjectivity and agency. By reviewing and revisiting certain ethnographies and anthropological literature, this paper argues that those emotions, feelings and bodily experiences (of multiple senses) are interdependent and manifest how people live in the world, perceive the social world, and make cultural meaning. In other words, in unique historical, cultural, and linguistic situations, emotions and feelings show that a physical being is also a mindful being. We care about the life world. Our emotions, feelings, and shentigan demonstrate that we are living in the world, and that we understand and experience the world in unique cultural ways.

Keywords: emotions, feelings, shentigan

Material Culture and Shentigan

Chang Hsun (Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica)

Anthropological studies of material culture have long been pursued as a means to tease out the representational and ideological aspects of the material world. Artifacts have a double characteristic: one is their materiality, the other is their ability to act as a bridge, not only between the mental and physical worlds, but also between consciousness and the unconscious. In other words, objects have both physical and symbolic aspects. Because of its physical aspect, a material thing can be used, and because of its symbolic capacity, it can influence people. This article will review how the physicality of the material world shapes our thoughts, emotions, cosmological frameworks, social relations, and most importantly, our shentigan (ways of sensing the world).

The study of material things and shentigan can provide a new perspective by which to understand cultural behavior. It allows us to ask new questions: How do different cultures define objects. What are the mechanisms by which the material world affects the human body? Do material objects have any inherent essence?

Keywords: object, body, culture

Culture is All Around Us: A Shentigan Point of View

Yu Shuenn-Der (Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica)

We experience the world around us from distinctive cultural perspectives; we may also say that culture is around and within us, in our ways of sensing and making sense of the world. This paper will illustrate how Taiwanese experience their bodies, spiritual conditions, and environments through culturally informed and deeply internalized shentigan categories. These categories, in Bourdieus terms, can be understood as the sensuous habitus that is learned by living in ones cultural environment. This paper will then discuss some theoretical implications of shentigan in the anthropological study of everyday life to argue that culture is still very much relevant to us as members of our society and as anthropologists.

Keywords: everyday life, sensory experience, culture

Shentigan in Ancient Chinese Graphs

Ting Liang (National Taiwan University)

Unlike alphabetic letters that are strictly phonetic, Chinese written words were largely ideographic and this characteristic made bodily senses important in their composition. With this ideographicity, not only do shapes referring to the human body appear in various characters, but the connection of posture and mood also participate the messages that the characters convey. For example, the ancient form of 大 “bigness” is , which shows a standing person with extended arms and legs, while the ancient graph for 如 “submissiveness” is , which depicts a posture of kneeling with crossed arms. Shentigan (our bodily senses) reveal connections between the forms of many ancient graphs and their meanings. People in ancient times adapted the feeling they got from their bodily experience in the world for writing and reading. Their common feelings toward overall experiences and contexts could result in expression and comprehension between the minds of listeners and readers. For example, all the different kinds of listening , , , and  have the meaning of 聖 ‘saint,’ so later generations extend it into the characters 聖 ‘saint,’ 聽 ‘listening,’ and 聲 ‘sound.’ The graphs , , , and  are a similar case: all represent agricultural activities that carry the meaning of 辱 ‘disgrace’ so they were

later elaborated as the characters 農, 晨, 辰, 蜃, and 辱. In the operation of shentigan, all things and all activities can carry meaning. For example, a meal between two people 𩇛 becomes 卿 ‘harmony between/among people’ ; a tour of inspection in a city 𩇛 means 圍 ‘around’ ; the stringed instrument 𩇛 becomes 樂 ‘happiness’ ; and a house with a container inside 𩇛 becomes 寧 “quietness.” A quote from the Book of Changes reads: “Take from the body if near and take from things if afar.” This suggests how bodily senses revealed the lived world and connected the forms of many ancient characters with their meanings. The learning and use of such graphs helped establish a common shentigan and played an important part in social communication across ancient Chinese society.

Keywords: Chinese characters, body, shentigan

The Experts Sense of the Body in the Zhuangzi: Developing a New Field of Research in Daoism

Tsai Bi-Ming (National Taiwan University)

In the Zhuangzi, the skill of true experts is a kind of knowledge that transcends the ordinary, holistically emanating from the innermost core of the persons body and mind; this is a tacit knowledge that can only be grasped through understanding as a diachronic process and a kind of embodied cognition that requires physical implementation and the transformation of the senses. This study attempts to break the mind-body dichotomy; it examines the perceptual experience and manifest actions in the Zhuangzi, moving from the traditional concern with knowing what to an exploration of knowing how. I focus on relevant research on experts and novices in an attempt to reconstruct principles of training for the experts sense of body what might have been practiced by the disciples of Zhuangzi during the Warring States period. For Zhuangzi, the interrelationship of mind and bodily senses is akin to an interactive system of cogs. Such phrases as stop seeing, following the eyes and ears in inner penetration, at ease as if fated, obtaining the center of the ring, sorrow and joy cannot enter, fasting of the mind, form like a withered tree, body like fallen branches and departing form indicate the necessary and sufficient conditions to help the real I become an expert in bodily senses each one driving the others onward to the ultimate goal of continuously improving ones physical and mental state. The study of the sense of the body allows us to grasp the constant progress of skill in the flow of time. It is not only significant in terms of academic thought, but also contains meaning and value since it may help many common people learn about and experience the richness of traditional cultural practices.

Keywords: Zhuangzi, sense of the body, embodied cognition

Organized Session 10

Anthropology of Do-it-yourself Practices: Emancipation or Cooptation

Organizers: Gulin Kayhan (Waseda University), Mira Malick (Waseda University), Ksenia Kurochkina (Waseda University)

Chair: Paul Hansen (Hokkaido University)

Session Abstract

Do-it-yourself practices are on the rise. See it for yourself. Type “rise of DIY” into your search bar, and your search engine will assemble a potpourri of all kinds of activities: DIY democracy, DIY leather watch strap, “build your own lab; do-it-yourself biology.” The rise of DIY is welcomed by many as an emancipatory trend and is associated with green, local and alternative lifestyles solving a myriad of bio/social problems from climate change to drinking water safety. There is also a growing academic literature celebrating the rise of DIY (Munro 2005, Fox 2014). In this panel, we propose a research agenda for an anthropology of DIY practices. We argue that the current interdisciplinary debate on DIY can benefit from the methodological sensitivities and the conceptual arsenal anthropology offers as a discipline. In turn, studying DIY with a focus on practices and on the material/symbolic webs that these practices weave together, opens up unique possibilities to address some of the internal discussions within anthropology such as the debate on the validity of the concept of culture. Kayhan will discuss what anthropology has to offer to the interdisciplinary debate on DIY practices. Kurochkina, Malick and Golovina will further explore this question building on their long-term ethnographies in rural and urban Japan and Dacheng is introducing a case from China with his web-ethnography. Kurochkina’s paper is about self-sufficiency in food among newcomers to rural areas in Japan. Malick will discuss the implications of DIY on the Visual Kei music industry. Golovina studies the crafts practices of Russian migrants in Japan. Dacheng, on the basis of his participation in an online community on Traditional Chinese Medicine, discusses the relevance of these online practices to debates on DIY.

Keywords: do-it-yourself, practice, articulation

Paper Abstracts

Anthropology of Do-it-yourself: Prosumers, a new tribe in town?

Gulin Kayhan (Waseda University)

There is a growing interdisciplinary literature on "Do-it-yourself", mostly using the term prosumption. Ritzer (2008) revitalized Toffler's coinage as a portmanteau term that stands for the claim that previously passive actors are increasingly expected and/or eager to do more themselves. Prosumption blurs the boundaries between production and consumption practices and through the creation of the prosumer replaces both the alienated producer and the passive consumer of the mass industrial society, embodies a new distinctive outlook that will "shake the familiar economic framework and political structure", and challenge the "indust-reality" (Toffler 1981, p. 10). The prosumer individuals of this future "trans-market" society will no longer "be consumed by the need to build, elaborate and integrate this structure" (ibid, p.288). Sociologists of culture, adopting this celebratory rhetoric, use the term prosumption to refer to practices ranging from grocery shopping (Ritzer 2014) to post 9.11 commemorative practices online (Recuber 2012). Media studies and leisure studies scholars are praising the emancipatory potentials of prosumption. Social movement studies discuss the rise of DIY spirit in activism. Not many anthropologists, however, frame their research in terms of "the rise of DIY". I explore why there has been such a lack of focus on the culture of DIY movements and will argue for a greater involvement of anthropologists. In the interest of interdisciplinarity, I summarize what is at stake in debates around DIY to make the case that there are some important questions raised that anthropologists should also be asking and might in fact be better equipped to answer. I argue that studying DIY with a focus on practices and on the material/symbolic webs that these practices weave together opens up possibilities to address some of the internal discussions within anthropology such as the debate on the validity of the concept of culture.

Keywords: presumption, interdisciplinarity, DIY culture

Expose It Yourself: Sex, Lies and Sarasu in Visual Kei

Mira Malick (Waseda University)

Ethnographic depictions of fan practices of particular genres of music in Japan have tended to highlight their collective forms of participation, consumer identity formation vis a vis their preferred subcultural styles and their accompanying public displays of 'fan culture' (Stevens, Dunn, Tsuda, Yano, Mitsui, Inoue, Seibt, McLeod). While these have generated insights into the ways in which audiences relate to materials, texts and their producers, the focus on such forms of collective cultural practices have obscured some under-explored elements present in all 'fandoms': critique, conflict and confrontation. In this paper I will examine how anonymous internet textboards are utilized by fans of Visual Kei, a form of rock music in Japan, as a space for not only voicing a variety of opinions, but also one in which self-generated content potentially undermines the careers of recording and performing artists. I will focus on a particular action, sarasu (to expose), that takes place on these boards where fans contribute, play vigilante, and debate various scandals that are leaked regarding the artists they follow. I situate this within the larger debate of the rise of digital capitalism and the co-opting of prosumer and other D.I.Y practices towards the service of capitalism in which consumers are increasingly re-configured as co-producers and co-creators of various products through the free labor and surplus value which they willingly generate in the name of enjoyment, creativity and freedom (Ritzer, Zwick, Spracklen). I will argue that sarasu further complicates ideas about consumer exploitation and the very idea that has come to constitute the trope of what a 'fan' is itself, for the scandals generated neither clearly challenge the power of the music industry nor are they able to be subsumed by corporations into the larger creation of profit and value. I will also consider the implications sarasu has on the potential for the internet to remain as a space for free-discussion.

Keywords: presumption, music, Internet surveillance

Growing My Own Food: Practices of Self-Sufficiency Among Young Resettlers to Rural Areas in Japan

Ksenia Kurochkina (Waseda University)

Producing food for one's own family is receiving public attention in Japan as well as in other parts of the world. Some people farm on balconies or on little plots of land in suburbs for entertainment and to question world food system sustainability. This paper considers more 'radical engagement' (Giddens 2008) in DIY family gardening in the form of resettlement to the countryside and pursuing the lifestyle of self-sufficiency (jikyuu-jisoku). Ethnographic studies showed that in the post-bubble Japan there is a growing number of young migrants to rural

areas (Klien 2015, Knight 2003) with various motivations for resettlement from urban environments (Kurochkina 2015, Osawa 2014, Rosenberger 2014). My data further explores this social group of newcomers to the countryside and shows that some people try to live self-sufficiently by producing with their own hands everyday life necessities, mostly food and partially energy. They in general are concerned with social (dis)order of contemporary Japan and in particular with the food system and the excessive consumption of energy and resources. By self-sufficient lifestyle, people attempt to live sustainably and re-gain control over their own lives. Such practical endeavors of adopting a role of an active producer (rather than a passive consumer) (Ritzer 2015) raises a question of whether self-sufficiency is a new form of resistance to consumer capitalism or a new lifestyle that became available due to state policies of rural revitalization.

Keywords: self-sufficiency, DIY practices, rural Japan

Migrants' Material Culture and Bricolage: Russian-speaking Community Members in Japan Making and Procuring Objects

Ksenia Golovina (University of Tokyo)

Studies that address the experiences of modern-day migrants through the lens of materiality often succeed in unveiling the subtlest intricacies of the migrants' conception of life, identity construction, and aspirations; thus, they highlight the importance of observing material culture. This paper draws on data from fieldwork on the first generation of Russian female migrants, as well as on an online survey (funded by the "Japan Society of Lifology") of male and female Russian-speaking migrants, residing in Japan. Here, I focus on one feature of the material culture of the Russian-speaking community members: the objects resulting from their craft practices. I do not limit these objects to items entirely DIYed by them; I argue that features of co-making are also retained by objects that are modified to meet their owners' needs, as well as by those obtained in ways that require actions transcending traditional consumer experience. DIY is in fact both a description of the state of things in the pre-consumerist society, as well as a reaction to the universalization of objects in the context of consumerism; however, for migrants the term carries extra meaning. Displaced from a native socio-cultural context that is associated with certain forms of materiality, they use DIY as a tool to restore this materiality in their new location while having to rely on limited materials and specific consumption channels. The restoration process is not one-sided but is influenced by the ideas from the host culture. I suggest that these migrant practices could be approached through the concept of bricolage, which originates from Levi Strauss's discourse. Thus, not only are these objects the result of a compilation of resources at hand but also function often as the symbolic means of reproducing pre-migratory experiences in an attempt to construct an "as if" feeling of being at home.

Keywords: material culture, Russian speaking migrants, bricolage

Which Prescription Should I Use? Online Learning And Self-medication of Traditional Chinese Medicine

Yao Dacheng (Waseda University)

Based on a web-ethnography of an online course on Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), this paper studies the co-learning and self-medication practices of 325 students, including workers, and mothers from different regions of China. Although closely related to people's daily experiences of health and sickness, medicine as a specialty and as a professional service, has been understood as doctors' expertise, elevated above every day, ordinary knowledge and considered to be beyond the reach of lay people's own utilization. TCM in particular, is seen as too esoteric for lay people to comprehend. However, my fieldwork documents that an increasing number of Chinese people are participating in TCM in various forms, among which the online TCM learning can be viewed as a DIY practice with unique characteristics. I propose two ways to explore the do-it-yourself nature of online TCM communities. Firstly, students enrolled in this online course read some canonical texts on TCM and seek to obtain the capacity to solve various health issues on their own. Secondly, the online chatroom they set up functions as an online clinic with 325 'doctors'. When a student describes an illness suffered by himself or his friends and relatives, others participate in the discussion to understand the symptoms, make a diagnosis, and prescribe herbal medicine. Discussion continues until they reach a consensus, which then leads to real, offline practices: the patient trying out the prescription. Based on the data I collected from the class and from the WeChat group, I analyze how this do-it-yourself practice creates new medical encounters in people's daily life. Participants not only obtain TCM knowledge which seemed unreachable before but also create a space to live and control their bodily lives, and in fact play a role in transforming TCM in contemporary China.

Keywords: Traditional Chinese Medicine, online communities, medical presumption

Dilemmas Facing Anthropologists across Career Spectrum

Organizer/Chair: Shao-hua Liu (Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica)

Session Abstract

Anthropologists engaging in ethnographic fieldwork often reflect on the ethical, moral, political, and individual dilemmas they face while in the field and beyond. This panel engages in this line of discussion through five cases which illustrate the various dilemmas anthropologists may face or be inevitably involved in various social contexts and in different stage of professional career. Two papers in this panel present dilemmas and challenges while doing research in the field. For example, Shu-li Wang witnesses and studies the dilemmas of her informants in their construction of prestigious cultural heritages in China, which was encouraged by the Chinese government, and that becomes her own anthropological dilemmas. Donatien Chang also studies the action and its controversy of his research informants, an indigenous community in Taiwan, which was initiated against the government's development plan. The other two papers discuss the challenges emerging during the writing process. For example, Shao-hua Liu as an independent researcher encounters dilemmas when her research and writing plans appear to be in contrast to the official history of her studied community, represented by a small group of leprosy doctors in China. In contrast, Yueh-po Huang has been well incorporated into the group of his research subjects, the followers of Tenrikyo in Japan and Taiwan. Yet he also encounters writing dilemmas as to objectivity vs. subjectivity. The last paper in the panel engages in the post-research role an anthropologist may be involved. Shu-min Huang's research results have become the reservoir of the local memory he has studied since the 1980s until recently. How to construct and preserve an "authentic" local collective memory becomes an issue not only to the locals but also to the pondering of the anthropologist. All in all, this panel invites discussions about anthropological dilemmas on the ground.

Paper Abstracts

Making cultures and Writing Histories – The Situational Ethics of Anthropologists

Shu-Li Wang (Leiden University and the International Institute for Asian Studies)

Since the 1990s China has witnessed a heritage boom with a staggering number of heritage sites being established everywhere every year. This development of the global tourism and heritage industry has transformed social, economic and cultural life among local communities, reshaping both domestic and global notions of what "culture" is about. While the subjects of "culture" and tradition have long been understood by anthropologists as contextually dependent, the act of turning tradition and site into "heritage" makes culture processual by nature. Anthropologists are implicated in the politics of staging the contemporary past, which contributes to the processes of heritagization (Walsh 1992), museumization (MacCannell 1984), gentrification and disneyfication. Today, anthropologists perform multiple roles, including writing cultural histories and even making culture. Neoliberalism not only affects the roles of institutions but also individual academics. Anthropologists generally serve as committee members defining what constitutes national "heritage", as main actors writing cultural histories for heritage documents and museum panels, and as key consultants advising locals how their culture may be performed in the museum context. Sometimes we ourselves become part of the local conflicts in this heritage game. This presentation is based on the interviews with academics who involved in two heritage projects in China, and I will examine the situational dilemmas of their involvement. What is the ethical role of the anthropologist? Can we speak to the question of what a culture is about? Can anthropologists be "neutral" participants in the process of social intervention?

Taking Rights Seriously: Research on Indigenous Communities' Effort in the Social Transition of Taiwan

Donatien H.-T. Chang (National Taipei University)

Taiwanese indigenous peoples have been disadvantaged in education and socio-economic arenas and their rights have often been ignored in the policymaking. Fortunately, the article 21 of the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law, recently amended for the sake of protecting indigenous rights, stipulates that any outsiders who plan to engage in land or other natural resource developments, environment conservation, or research within indigenous regions must consult with and obtain collective consent from the indigenous community in question. But can such legal regulation really protect the indigenous communities? According to a recent news report, the indigenous township Nan-Ao of Yilan County in Northeast Taiwan is being chosen to be the repository site for high-level radioactive waste. Obviously the government did not obey the law and that enraged the Nan-Ao Indigenous Youth Union (NIYU). They have initiated action in order to protect their rights. But they are encountering difficulties that emanate not only from the government but from within the indigenous community. The real challenges are that

the traditional organizational mechanism and social relationships within indigenous communities, tribes or villages, have been transformed dramatically under the influence of modern state system. It has been not easy to unify all the members in a community for a collective action, that is, to reverse the illegal plan in the Nao-Ao case. In general, indigenous youth have often been away from their traditional communities in pursuit of education or employment, which has constrained the development of mutual trust between them and the local political elites and villagers. Local elites and villagers often question the political motivation of the youth. This paper studies the difficult process about how the indigenous community has made efforts to unify all the members and other communities in hopes of protecting their rights.

Keywords: Indigenous Community, Dispute Resolution, Social Transition, Taiwan.

Who Can Write the History? Constructing Contemporary Leprosy Medicine in China

Shao-hua Liu (Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica)

In 2014, several Chinese medical doctors involving in leprosy control proposed to write the history of leprosy in China, from ancient time to the present. This writing proposal was approved by the China Association for Science and Technology (CAST) which took the project into its publication series on the history of science. CAST is the umbrella GoNGO that accommodates nearly all associations in natural science disciplines and is said to have over 4 million members. Its acceptance of the leprosy history project indicates the recognition of leprosy medicine as distinct field within medicine. Since 2003, I have also engaged in research on contemporary leprosy control in China. In addition to the official history, I have also collected private medical reports, archival data, interviews, news reports, and personal anecdotes. In so doing, I came to realize that the history I have been constructing may sometimes be in disagreement with, or even contradictory to, the official history. This paper reflects on the dilemmas that often confront anthropologists who study up or study sensitive topics. For example: how can anthropologists position their role in writing the other's history when their historical construction is different from the narration of the research subjects? Furthermore, how can anthropologists continue to do research on the topic with clashes emerging when "they read what we write"? This paper is an attempt to engage in these dilemmas.

A Proselytizing Strategy and A Community Service: the Case of Representing hinokishin of Tenrikyo

Yueh-po Huang (Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica)

Tenrikyo, a Japanese new religious organization, requires hinokishin (community service or 'sacred labour') of its adherents. Each Tenrikyo local church may decide when to perform hinokishin, individually or collectively on a certain day or ad hoc in the event of disaster. For Tenrikyo followers, hinokishin renders the religious realm and secular sphere interchangeable, advertising the message that Tenrikyo is a religious enterprise of openness, fraternity, this-worldly orientation and altruism. Some previous studies have revealed a number of explanations for the meanings and implications of hinokishin but there are several issues with these studies: on the whole, talk of hinokishin is confined to its theological association; and also one theory posits hinokishin as a repairing cosmological karma – to banish the shadows of the past and re-establish a new set of social relations with the local peoples of Japan's old colonies. This paper will explore the ethical issues to which the author – as an anthropologist – addressed himself, in order to see things in perspective and unravel the mystery of the researcher's role in the study of Tenrikyo. In the case of hinokishin, the author has encountered the dilemma of writing about hinokishin for the Tenrikyo organization he is studying as well as representing it for the academic audience, with a complexity clarifying his stand on the activity. The paper will argue that writing about hinokishin is not a clear-cut matter of principle, positioning oneself inside or outside Tenrikyo and writing for or against Tenrikyo. Rather, it is a cyclic, mutual and processual practice which involves building and maintaining a collaborative and long-term relationship of trust with the Tenrikyo community.

Keywords: Tenrikyo, hinokishin, ethical issues, trust, collaborative approach

Co-constructing Collective Memory of Lin Village in Xiamen, China

Shu-min Huang (Institute of Anthropology, National Tsing Hua University)

This paper recalls my long-term fieldwork in Lin Village in Xiamen, China since 1984-85, and the photographs I have periodically taken throughout the research period until 2016. Since the village itself has been dramatically swallowed up and transformed by China's post-reform marketization and urbanization, my photographic images of the village's past across four decades have become a true novelty for the new generation villagers-turned-urbanites. My efforts to preserve and present the village's lost history have kindled desires of some villagers, old and young, to turn these images into an institutionalized memory house—such as a local museum—as part of their collective memory. The dilemma among them is what particular aspects of their life and

whose images should be preserved and presented. How to acquire farm tools and utensils that are no longer in use also becomes a challenge. This paper delves into this negotiation process in crafting an “authentic” collective memory, through the efforts of both the anthropologist and the informants.

Individual Papers 1 **Tourism**

Story tellers and Culture Re-rewriting: The Case of Mandarin Speaking Tour Guide in Taiwan

Chen Chien-Yuan (National Chung Hsing University)

In intra-Asia tourism, the Mandarin-speaking tour guides are oftentimes blamed for the low quality tourism that targets the PRC tourists in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other tourism hotspots of Chinese tourists. These blames help little to explore the tourism image construction projects under the state control, the transnational tourism industrial chain and the historical complex functioned behind tourism. The tour guides are the cultural interpreters who are expected to play an active role of communicating between the guest and the host, the role of delivering Chinese culture and the value of democracy, and the scapegoat for misrepresenting “the History” and promoting tourism shopping. The three roles all indicate the role of tour guide as a professional story-teller who tells stories about the state, the tradition, and the local from varied and somehow conflicting aspects.

Arguing from the aspect that story-telling constitute the major process of re-writing culture, this paper aims to show how Taiwan tour guides react respectively to the Taiwan state, the society, the travel industry and the tourists in order to meet individual expectations. Based on fieldwork during 2010-2016, this paper will explore diverse approaches of story-telling about Taiwan’s culture(s) and its past(s). By adapting the techniques of “sakura,” the tour guides have utilized this intriguing method that combines diverse historical narratives, destination interpretations that avoid identity confrontation, and connections useful to promote local specific products. Sakura thus can hardly be seen as a sale technique but strategies of resilience helps tour guides to fulfill different goals set by the state authority, employers and the tourists.

Keywords: storytelling, rewriting culture, tour guide

Anthropological perspective On Rural construction and Tourism development: A Case Study of Chixi in Fujian

Zhong Lin (Xiamen University)

The "poverty eradication" is an important subject in current Chinese political discourse, at the same time, along with the national policies of "New rural construction", many villages launch programs for infrastructure-construction as well as campaigns for ecological tourism. Taking Chixi, an inter-ethnic village in Fujian, called as "First Village on Poverty Eradication Program in China" as an example, this paper discusses the relationship between rural construction, tourism development and poverty eradication. This article uses participant observation, interviews as research methods and take the anthropological insight as analysis perspective to investigate the changes of the village after the video connection with Xi Jinping, the Chinese President at February 19, 2016. Combined with the national policies, experiential consumerism and the country's own resources, the village has developed ecological tourism in the context of poverty eradication program. Meanwhile the development of tourism industry has an impact on the poverty eradication program. Taking the advantage of national policies, local government redistributes the profits and resources between the village, external investors and the local government. Moreover, led by the local government, the She, a local ethnic minority group, actively participate at the village construction and tourism industry, the collective identity between ethnic Han and She, has been reconstructed.

Keywords: Rural construction, Poverty eradication, Tourism development

South Korean Young Adults Traveling with Technologies in the Polymedia Age

Christian Park (Hanyang University ERICA)

After a much talk on new media, media anthropologists have recently introduced a new theory of digital media called polymedia. According to them, polymedia emerged out of a need to describe and understand the emerging environment of proliferating communication opportunities and its consequences for interpersonal communication. They are referring to a worldwide phenomenon where typical young adults can choose between calling through a landline, mobile phone or internet calls such as Skype, with or without webcam; alternatively send a text or an email, use Instant Messaging or a variety of increasingly converged communication technologies. One consequence of polymedia environments is ambient co-presence in transnational family practices.

This paper attempts to expand the theory on polymedia to tourism studies and examine how this fundamental transformation of mediated interpersonal communication is impacting the ways people travel and tourism is organized. Recently, there has been some researches on social media, online reviews, and travel blogs which point to the ways various platforms like TripAdvisor and Yelp with online reviews and social media like Facebook and Instagram changed the ways tourists decide where to go, what to see and do on holiday, where to eat, and so on. But existing researches on converged communication technologies have tended to treat communication technologies as tools and to focus on specific media platforms. Polymedia premises that the users conceive each medium in relation to an integrated structure of different media. With such a backdrop, this paper explores what kinds of polymedia environments are found in Korean international tourism and how young Korean tourists experience international tourism in the age of polymedia with a special focus on smartphone. In the end, this paper discusses fundamental issues of tourism such as the dichotomy of ordinary and non-ordinary time-spaces and the hosts and the guests.

Individual Papers 2 **Medical Anthropology**

When folk belief meets biomedicine: Changes in the postpartum care industry in Korea

Che Sohee (Nara Women's University)

For the reason that giving birth is physically and mentally strenuous for mother and new-born baby, also due to the fragility of both, most societies have certain mechanism to protect them. As shown in rite of passage in many cultures, mother and infant are usually separated from everyday activities to take a rest for some time and eventually to be incorporated into the next stage in life.

In Korea, there is a widely followed folk belief about the postpartum care. Women are recommended to keep their bodies warm for at least 21 days after birth. Otherwise they will easily get the disease, Sanhupung. Therefore postpartum women used to be cared by family at home following folk rules. But current postpartum care is not exclusively practiced at home-care area for present Korean society where many social circumstances are intertwined such as the nuclear family structure, changing of perspectives on women's healthcare, improvement of household financial level, development of care service industries, last but not least, medicalization. The evident example is the postpartum care center in Korea. The center appeared first in 1996 and the number has increased dramatically to 610 in 2015. The postpartum care center is not naturally generated in the process of medicalization, nor considered as mere medical service center. Postpartum care centers in Korea are multilayered spots showing Korean traditional belief based on the oriental medical system, medicalization of childbirth and healthcare policies. Furthermore they are now associated with medical tourism, social stratification of medical services and so forth.

This research traces the change in postpartum care centers chronologically. By following their change, we can find some 'trigger events' which reveal how the oriental medical ideology meets the biomedical system and what has made postpartum care centers to grow rapidly in Korean context.

Keywords: medicalization, postpartum care, Korea

Birthing situations in contemporary Japan: how they represent Japanese values

Matsuoka Etsuko (Nara Women's University)

Overview of births in Japan shows that 53% of all births occur in hospitals, while the other half occur in clinics (46%) and much smaller portion in maternity homes (1%) or outside of any of these institutions. Due to the shortage of obstetricians since around 2005, attempts have been made such as centralizing births into larger hospitals or establishing a space run by midwives for low risk births within medical institutions. Despite these attempts small scale birth clinics are still popular among women with normal pregnancy in Japan.

This presentation argues that a popularity of small-scale birth clinics comes from the fact that they represent values prevalent in Japan; birth as a natural phenomenon, gender inequality, patriarchal family model, preference of both hierarchy and harmony and egalitarian distribution of responsibility. The presentation is based on interviews to obstetricians, midwives and women during and after birth, along with observation done in hospitals and clinics in 2016.

Small scale birth clinics are usually family-run businesses that are built on a patriarchal family model where a male doctor leads a group of midwives and pregnant women in an intimate atmosphere. They tend to transfer complicated cases to higher level hospitals, thus making it possible to deal with only normal deliveries, which suits the idea of the Japanese that birth is essentially not an illness. Also the idea of in-hospital midwifery birth centers, by emphasizing a collaboration between obstetricians and midwives, in fact highlights a hierarchical relationship between the two professionals.

Keywords: childbirth, medicine, Japan

Traditional Medical Treatment in East Asia: Taking Carbonized Human Hair(CHH) as a Tool

Watanabe Maria (Nagoya University)

This paper explores how human hair has been used in traditional East Asian medical treatment. In Chinese medicine in particular, carbonized human hair has long been viewed as effective in stopping bleeding and as a diuretic. The Compendium of Materia Medica reveals CHH was seen as medically effective because human hair was formed due to an excess of blood. CHH, however, has not been limited to Chinese medicine. While CHH is used in contemporary medical practice primarily in China, human hair has also been applied in both Korean medicine and Japanese herbalism. Since traditional medicine has long been influenced by Chinese medicine, Korean medicine and Japanese herbalism understanding of human hair and its uses are important elements in demonstrating the hair culture of East Asia. CHH has often served as a tool in diagnosis as well. For example, grey hair was seen indicating a patient was not receiving sufficient nourishment, based on the view that healthy hair would be black. The location of the grey hair was also seen indicating where disease was developing in the body, and the quality of the hair itself could aid in diagnosis. Thus, this paper clarifies how human hair has been used in traditional medicine and how it relates overall to such treatment to investigate the status of hair in hair culture.

Keywords: Carbonized Human Hair, Hair, Traditional Medical

Individual Papers 3 **Historical Studies**

Repositioning the Anthropology of Prewar Village Japan: John Embree's Suye Mura and the "Native" Ethnology of Yoshida Saburo

Donald C. Wood (Akita University)

One of the challenges to the disparity between academic anthropological conceptions of culture and actual, "lived" culture has come in the form of "native anthropology." This was acknowledged by James Clifford (1986, pp. 9-10) in his introduction to *Writing Culture* when he noted that "a series of historical pressures" (including a rise in cases of people studying their own cultures) "have begun to reposition anthropology with respect to its 'objects' of study." This repositioning was well underway in Japan in 1935 when American anthropologist John Embree arrived in the village of Suye in Kumamoto Prefecture; there already was a long history of ethnographic documentation by travelers such as Sugae Masumi, and by ethnography buffs like Shibusawa Keizo. As a matter of fact, one disciple of Shibusawa's was writing an ethnographic account of his own life and village, on the Oga Peninsula in Akita Prefecture, at exactly the time when Embree was doing his fieldwork in Suye. This man was farmer / scholar Yoshida Saburo (1905-1979). Yoshida's account provides a refreshing, valuable, and complex alternative to Embree's famous 1939 book, *Suye Mura*. This paper, in teasing out some differences between Yoshida's account and Embree's far more well-known *Suye Mura*, explores the repositioning of anthropology noted by Clifford (1986) in light of *Writing Culture's* impact on the discipline. It focuses on one finding in particular that can be gleaned from Yoshida's legacy, which forces us to reconsider the generally accepted view of social relations in prewar Japanese farming villages. Yoshida demonstrates that, somewhat contrary to Embree's depiction, these were far more than collections of households linked by sharing and reciprocal ties; they were also places where individuals took great risks in efforts to improve their own circumstances.

Keywords: native ethnology, repositioning anthropology, Japanese farming village

Analytic Frame and Objective Tone: von Siebold's Rhetorical Adaptation of a Casual Journal into a Scientific Ethnography

Chien Hung-yi (National Taiwan Normal University)

The anthropological discipline "ethnography" can trace its roots to the travel reports describing non-European peoples in the age of exploration. This kind of literature provided the European public with overseas intelligence and foreign curiosities during the early modern period, and in modern times it became a source to enhance understanding of the past of peoples with less remaining self-documentation. This presents a dilemma for scholars because historic travel literature does not usually satisfy the modern standards of social science but may be the only source to access parts of the vanished past. A common solution for these later anthropologists is to adapt these sources to fit the framework of their scholarly works. The results are thus rhetorical, but this characteristic is hidden in the objectivity of the language as typically presented. This paper takes a historical and bibliographical approach to review the case of Philipp Franz von Siebold's nineteenth century adaptation of a Dutch naval officer's journal from the mid-seventeenth century to write about the Ainu culture. In 1643, Cornelis Jansz. Coen, a Dutch officer, sailed on the ship *Castricum* to today's Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the southern Kuril Islands; he

wrote in his journal about the Ainu people he encountered. Coen's journal is still considered one of the few descriptions of the Ainu before the Japanese focused their attention on the north of the country in the late eighteenth century. After Coen's journal was discovered in an archive and subsequently published in 1858, the famous Japanologist Philipp Franz von Siebold wrote a geographical and ethnographical elucidation of the culture of the Ainu based on Coen's journal. In this article, von Siebold cited Coen's journal to analyze eight topics of the Ainu culture; this analytic frame makes his discourse appear scientific in its language. However, as we return to Coen's original journal, it is obvious that he recorded his personal experiences on the voyage and that the journal served no ethnographical purpose beyond investigating the commercial opportunities for the Dutch East India Company. Reviewing this historical and bibliographical context, this paper reveals that von Siebold's account of the Ainu culture was actually constrained by his sources, and his objectivity was a rhetorical product rather than an empirically studied science. This finding alerts modern scholars of the dangers of using historical sources to study the vanished culture of a particular ethnic group; it also highlights that treating a historical source in its true context is the only mean to avoid the danger.

Keywords: History of ethnography, Early documentation of Ainu, Textual criticism

The Link Between Jade Carving and Historical Times

Vivian Hok Wai Yuen (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Jade has been one of the favourite materials of the Chinese nation for centuries and millennia. As Xu Shen of the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 AD) wrote in his *Shouwen Jiezi* (literally 'Explaining Patterns and Deciphering Characters'), 'There are five merits in the beauty of jade,' jade has been carrying a number of symbolic meanings over the years. Despite their diverse shapes and uses, the design of jade artefacts embraces the unique characteristics of aesthetics and craftsmanship specific to the time of their creation. For example, jade artefacts from the Song dynasty (960-1279 AD) are well-known for their exquisite and refined beauty, while most of those from the late Ming and early Qing period (mid-seventeenth century AD) featured key characters of popular novels, under the influence of the commonly seen woodcut artworks. This essay aims at examining various classical Chinese texts of jade carving and jade artefacts in order to summarise the interpretations of jade and aesthetic characteristics of jade carving at different times of history, as well as to identify the impact of historical era on the craft of jade carving.

Keywords: jade carving, jade artefacts, classical Chinese texts

Rethinking of the Hibakusha and their narratives

Aiba Yui (Nagoya University)

This presentation aims to reconsider some aspects of the situation of the Hibakusha, the survivor of atomic-bombing, and their narratives today. The contents of their narratives, as well as their feelings against former hostile countries, have been gradually changing. Almost 70 years have passed after the end of the Pacific War, the relation between Japan and the United States and the relations among Japan and the East Asian countries have been drastically changing. For example, Barack Obama, the 44th President of the United States, visited Hiroshima on 27th May, 2016. He became the first sitting U.S. president to visit there and showed deep sympathy with all the victims of the atomic bomb. His historical visit and his speech made an enormous impact on the Hibakusha and some of them begin to talk even what they could not talk before. However, the number of the living Hibakusha is critically decreasing because of aging. Collecting their narratives as well as reconsidering their experiences is urgently needed, considering the present situations surrounding nuclear weapons today. What they are newly beginning to talk, and to whom? How their feelings against former hostile countries, especially against U.S. and China, have been changing? How is their idea and thought on war crimes, or, on perpetrators and victims of war? The presenter provides some data of case studies, based on my participant observation, direct observation, and hearing survey carried out in Japan, and tries to offer some insights into these topics.

Keywords: the Hibakusha, narrative, the Pacific War

Individual Papers 4 Contemporary Issues

How to write the aging culture in China? : Comparing the social discourse of aging to the understanding of aging by the active elderly.

Park Yeori (People's Health Institute)

The present study analyzes the ways in which senior citizens living in Chinese cities reconstruct their old age in

response to the already constructed discourse on old age through their experience with collective physical training, which is known to be a culture specific to the country. To achieve this goal, the present researcher conducted research on senior citizens aged 60 or above who participated in collective physical training in Zizhuyuan Park in Beijing for approximately five months from the end of September 2014 to the end of February 2015.

Old age has thus tended to be defined as a negative concept in Chinese society. The concept of old age current in Chinese society has been reproduced through the discourse on old age. The dominant discourse on old age overlooks the particular life experiences of individuals and summarily determines those aged 60 or above as elderly from the perspective of chronological age (CA). Moreover, old age has been determined as an object of support and of physical and mental inability. On the other hand, in the post-Mao era, when the state is no longer fully responsible for individual lives, the dominant discourse on old age urges participants to prepare for their own old age. On the other hand, however, participation in collective physical training while embodying the modernization discourse on self-management has also served as the driving force for responding to the dominant discourse on old age, which dismisses participants as negative objects. In particular, through an emphasis on the concept of activities (huodong), participants demonstrate that they are alive as beings still useful to society. They stress that, unlike other elderly people, they are physically and mentally active.

Keywords: Aging, China, Health

Pursuing safety between cultural norm and scientific knowledge: constructing food safety system at a Japanese cooperative union of consumers after Fukushima nuclear accident

Kim Inah (Seoul National University)

I shed light on how safety system of food at one of Japanese cooperative unions of consumers has been settled down, combining specific cultural values and scientific knowledge after Fukushima nuclear accident. The East Japan Disaster unexpectedly has made it necessary to reestablish existing food safety system of the cooperative union by considering radioactive matter. While the cooperative union suggested alternatives to the safety system of government, it also needed to find the way to coexist with food producers in Northeast area. The food safety system of cooperative union went through a dilemma that the cooperative union should consider the well-being of consumers, especially those who raised children who were vulnerable to radioactive matter, and at the same time, it ought to deliberate over nationwide cultural norm of supporting producers in Northeast area. In the process of establishing safety system, members of the group scrutinized the relationship with other agents, such as government, food corporations, disaster including Chernobyl nuclear accident, food producers in Northeast Japan, their own families, and other members of the cooperative unions. This study indicates that scientific system is constructed culturally and specific scientific knowledge is selected and suggested by being intertwined with certain cultural norms and values, and it also reveals the subjectivity of sense of safety and risk in the social group.

Keywords: food safety, Fukushima nuclear accident, subjectivity of scientific knowledge

Practices of cultural memory after 3.1: Does a “post-disaster culture” exist?

Flavia Fulco (Sophia University)

The catastrophic chain of events occurred in Northeast Japan on March 11 of 2011, left three Japanese prefectures (Fukushima, Miyagi and Iwate) dealing with different degrees of destruction. While many communities still suffer from displacement, reconstruction processes are going on along the coastal areas of Northeast Japan. Rebuilding planning (machi-zukuri) includes discussions about the possibility of maintaining damaged building as memorials of the disaster. Far from being univocal, the decision process divided many communities involving psychological issues and politics. The Disaster Prevention Office Building in Minamisanriku (prefecture of Miyagi) is one example of this debate, culminated in the decision of keeping it for twenty years (at Miyagi prefecture's expenses) before re-discussing its future. Creating landmarks is just one of the practices that show the difficulty of establishing a collective memory. At the same time, to keep and transmit local history and the experience of the disaster, a movement of kataribe (storytelling of the disaster), started to flourish in all the affected areas. The aim of the modern kataribe, is to tell stories of a recent past of local communities to outsiders and tourists. Place making and kataribe tours are just two examples of different practices that have been developing as part of the recovery process. Draw upon reflections from ongoing ethnographic fieldwork I am trying to understand if such practices keep alive and strengthen local traditions and history or if they could also create the base to reinvent new local identities and therefore give new nuances to the concept of culture(s). While analyzing those practices will contribute to the discussion about the the notion of culture (especially within Japanese society), it will also revitalize the debate around the possibilities of writing (about) culture.

Discussing idleness in the Achievement Society: Work and Youth in Japan

Rafael Munia (Waseda University)

Following the work of Korean-German social theorist Byung-Chul Han, we can see that in his attempts to describe our current society, he builds the concept of Achievement Society through terms like tiredness, depression, burnout, restlessness, and so on. His choice to tackle society through such maladies is accompanied by plenty other social theorists such as Jonathan Crary's focus on the end of sleep or Paul Virilio's long time focus on speed. In fact, much of the political emancipatory literature and movements have tried to propose exits to similar problems. The anti-work authors on the left, the praise of idleness of Domenico de Masi and of Bertrand Russell, or even recent decolonial theories of Sumak Kwasai and Teko-Pora, based on the indigenous philosophies from South America are good examples of such a preoccupation. Meanwhile, in the case of Japan, where death by overwork (karoshi) has become part of the global imagination about Japan, the preoccupation from the social theorists, policy makers, and social activists seems to rest much more on access to work or worker's rights, rather than on the aforementioned consequences of contemporary forms of all-encompassing work. This paper will argue, however, that rather than being an exception to the case of Achievement Society, Japan is a great example of such categorization. In order to build this argument, ethnography with youngsters in Japan currently working or preparing to work will be examined, as well as movements and discourses on Work-Life Balance and the Slow Movement. By the end, this paper will also examine the Japanese case in comparison to the global scenario.

Keywords: Work, Japan, Idleness

Roots & Leaves: the Analysis of Identity for Hong Kong Chinese ethnic Muslim women

Gong Fang (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

Hong Kong is an international and multicultural metropolis. Compared with the Muslim community constituted in mainland China, composed of the Muslim community in Hong Kong is very pluralistic, including domestic workers from Indonesia, the descendants of immigrants from Pakistan, as well as the local Chinese Muslims. Although these Muslim communities are in different cultural backgrounds, the relationship between them very harmonious, and exchange activities are also very frequent. This research attempts to characterize the external different cultural symbol in local Chinese Muslim women groups, in order to explore their identity and segment between multiple Muslim groups. It is very difficult to adhere their own Islam faith and habit from these Muslim women hidden in the metropolis.

Individual Papers 5 **Food, Teaching, Theory**

Fruitful Yet Humble: The Role and Meanings of Banana Plants in Javanese Culture

Maharani Dian Permanasari (Kanazawa University)

In Javanese traditions concerning with life events since birth until death, banana plants are ever present in various ways and meanings. Yet, there are still lack resources and documentations about the topic, because banana plant is considered as a common and regular plant in Java. Banana plants also produce banana bark as agricultural waste, and it is less noticeable than other materials such as bamboo, rattan, or wood. Hence, it motivates me to be lead this research in combining creative process in innovation between academics, craftsmen, and farmers.

My research goal firstly is to document the unveiled values, roles and meanings of banana plants in Javanese culture. Secondly, is to understand the relationship between Javanese people with banana plants as a material culture. Thirdly, is to generate ideas on how to maintain or revive traditions through various means, such as design concept or system. Research result not only will uncover the hidden potential of banana barks, but also will inspire the public to explore further about sustainable materials, to make the best benefits to the community. Additionally, the database about this topic needs to be enriched by immaculate specific study. Thus, I am hoping to accomplish this multidisciplinary research and share the outcome in related publishing in material culture, Anthropology, Design, or Cultural Management.

Keywords: banana, culture, anthropology

Roles of Feeding in Culture of Japanese Companies

Sawano Michiko (Ritsumeikan University)

Feeding is an act to prepare for a meal, and to feed someone. Some kinds of dynamics works between givers and takers of foods, and sorts of foods and way to treat of foods decide the quality of such dynamics. I have pointed out an importance of feeding, it connects people and make form of social relations, through the cases of "meogigi"

in female patients culture of Korea [Sawano 2014]. However, it is local cases in Korea. We have to build a cross-cultural and universal theory about functions of feeding in social relations.

Therefore, in this presentation, I clarify roles of the feeding through the culture of companies in Japan. It depends on the following reasons to pay attention to such culture. Works and labors are carried out not only as economic activities but also as realization of various social value [Nakatani and Udagawa 2016:14]. Therefore, sometimes uneconomic practices are chosen at working places, or business myths have important roles in management [Hioki and Nakamaki 2012]. In addition, local view of the world or religion influence to culture of working places. I clarify functions of feeding in working places which are the bases of the lives of people, and I consider the social value and roles of feeding.

Keywords: feeding, Japanese Companies, social relations

Telling the story, doing the culture, and eating the cultural heritage: culinary discourses and practices on “culture” in South Korea

Sana Ho (Soochow University)

This paper attempts to examine the discourses related to food, culture, and intangible cultural heritage in contemporary Korean. Food is important for Koreans to build up collective identity. Fermented food, such as kimchi, is especially constructed as representations and symbols of Korean traditional cultures. Kimjang, a specific food way related to Kimchi, has been registered as UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. Kimjang is the activity of making and sharing kimchi together that is conducted all over Korea during late autumn as part of the preparations to secure fresh, healthy food for the winter season. This tradition was registered by UNESCO on its Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity on December 5, 2013. The story about Kimjang has been told to illustrate the value of humanity in this age-old tradition of making kimchi, which is considered as a collective cultural activity contributing to affection (情) and a shared sense of social identity and solidarity among today’s Korean people. Furthermore, it takes efforts to not only telling the story but also “doing” it in order to fit the image of worldwide cultural heritage. Kimjang festivals have been held by government annually, to include others/foreign tourists into the imagined “community,” to enhance the sense of solidarity and identity, and to fulfill the “affection” spirit by sharing those kimchi to the poor. In this case, Koreans have revitalized a vanishing local cultural tradition by telling the story, doing the culture, reinforcing and reconstructing the values behind it, and finally escalated it as a shared Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

Keywords: storytelling, doing culture, food

Whose Culture? Western, Han and/or Indigenous? Experiences Teaching Cultural Anthropology in Higher Education in Taiwan

Wu Tien-Tai (National Dong Hwa University)

Teaching cultural anthropology in Taiwan, we usually only have 2-3 hours at our disposal each week for introductory courses. Professors typically choose western textbooks which are translated into Mandarin as the teaching materials. There is a feeling, however, that western experiences are insufficient as the basis for such classes. We have thus started using locally produced materials, including those related to indigenous cultures, to build links to students' life experiences. Native studies sometimes serve as additional teaching materials. Several questions naturally arise: Why do so few Taiwanese anthropology professors write our own textbooks? Does cultural anthropology rely too heavily on knowledge gleaned and presented from western perspectives? How can professors transmit our own study experiences into the teaching process? How do students respond when we explain culture from our own case study experiences? This paper takes one of the authors' classes taught in 2016 as a case study. For this class, some of lectures and teaching materials were prepared from the perspectives of Han and Indigenous cultures. Feedback was collected from students via interviews and group discussion after completion of class evaluations. The results show that professors' efforts were appreciated by the students, who came away with the feeling that cultural anthropology is both interesting and inspiring when taught from diverse points of view.

Keywords: cultural anthropology, anthropology of education, indigenous education

Reflections on Korean Anthropological Theories under Western Anthropological Orientations

Yi Jeong Duk (Chonbuk National University)

"Main theoretical currents of Korean anthropology are positivism, culture as a way of life, socio-structural functionalism, structuralism, political economy and postmodernism. A few different orientations from Western

anthropology include folklore orientation in the early age (~1980s) and skeptical examination on the knowledge system of Western anthropology. However, positivistic approach is dominant and most Korean anthropologists focus on proving through data. This approach emphasizes data collection and has the strong trust in the formal coincidence between language and the reality. However, a small number of Korean anthropologist raised questions about the truthfulness of the proven results through positivist approaches. Some others believe that the knowledge is based on Western experiences and since the life experiences of the West and the East, the Western knowledge does not fit into Korean or Asian life experiences and cannot explain well the Eastern lived experiences. However, no Korean anthropologist succeeds in forming Korean or East Asian style of knowledge which can be differentiated from Western philosophical orientations in anthropology yet."

Individual Papers 6 **Gender, Kinship, Migrants, Networks**

Safety Dancing: transformation of 'immoral' ballroom dance in Japan

Inoue Atsuki (Hokkaido University)

There was once a Japanese devotee, James Hyojiro Kato, in early 20th. He explained the reason why ballroom dance had not popularized at that time in Japan. He, who could be a first Japanese broadcast situation of Japanese ballroom dance to abroad in English, contributed a short story, Ballroom Dancing in Japan, to *Dancing Times* in September 1930. Quoting a celebrated Japanese proverb, Boy and girl at seven years of age should never sit together, he indicated that it was difficult to spread a practice of ballroom dance to all Japanese men and women due to most of elderly who adhere this proverb. It was widely believed that closeness of man and woman was immoral in public space. While many dance teachers and fans worried about unpopularity of it like him, they studied some English technique books very hard. Under their energetic direction, ballroom dance had gradually spread to ordinary people in Japan. In the period of the post second World War, ballroom dance got popularity especially among young Japanese mainly for social gathering. Because of great effort to popularize by predecessors, ballroom dance has widely practiced as healthy sports or graceful performing art in present Japan. It seems that ballroom dance is not what it used to be, immoral. In this popularized process, however, where has immoral aspect once thought to lie in ballroom dance gone? Did Japanese social norm about closeness of men and women disappear? In this presentation, based on my fieldwork, I will examine logic of transformation of ballroom dance into safety dance. Through this work, I aim to argue the way to reduce immorality when people dance and also to refer change of social norm about physical contact of man and woman which once believed to be one of Japanese cultures.

Keywords: immorality of dance, physical contact of man and woman, Japan

Rebel brides with smartphones: the changing gender roles in Contemporary Uzbekistan

Kikuta Haruka (Slavic-Eurasian Research Center at Hokkaido University)

In Uzbekistan, it is common for Muslim girls to get married in their late teens or early twenties. After the marriage, the bride, called a *kelin*, generally assumes the weakest position in her husband's house. She has to follow the directions of her parents-in-law, her husband, brothers and sisters-in-law, and everyone else in her new household. Although the Soviet Union enjoyed considerable success in their efforts to transform traditional gender roles and attitudes among Uzbek women, the lowly position of the *kelins* and the virilocal customs have remained almost unchanged. Moreover, since Uzbekistan gained its independence in 1991, the Uzbek government has abandoned the socialist program with regard to women, and lifestyle choices for young Uzbek women has been limited to being *kelin* or being forced out of their dense networks of relatives and neighbors. The typical image of a young Uzbek woman is that of a hard working bride surrounded by her husband's relatives, who are running the household. However, the recent social stabilization of post-Soviet Uzbekistan and a certain extent of economic prosperity since approximately the mid-2000s have brought *kelins* one revolutionary weapon: the smartphone. This paper investigates two examples of *kelins*, Aziza and Gulnoza (not their real names), considering the effect smartphones have on their attitudes towards their family-in-laws. They both use smartphones as a type of weapon to cope with the harsh lives of *kelins*. It explores the strategies, merits, and demerits of their using smartphones. These rebels have not achieved total victory yet, but they exemplify the changing gender and lifestyles of young Uzbek women in contemporary Uzbekistan.

Zongzu and the concept of relatedness: the Potential of Studying Chinese Lineage

Jia Yulong (Osaka University)

The presentation discusses the potential of the studies of Chinese lineage through the concept of relatedness. Chinese lineage, which is called *zongzu* in Chinese, is a central topic in the anthropological studies of China. The

studies of Chinese lineage based on fieldwork started in 1925, and attracted the attention of anthropologists by M. Freedman's functional lineage model from 1950s. Later, some scholars attempted to improve Freedman's model by focusing on the process of the formation of Chinese lineage with a socio-historical approach, and some others investigated the logic of Chinese kinship from a native perspective. These researches became the mainstream schools of studies of Chinese lineage in 1980s. However, as it is a part of kinship studies, the studies of Chinese lineage became the target of D.Schnider's critique on the former. Schnider claimed that what anthropologists treated as kinship is just an indigenous assumption in Western folk beliefs about kinship, but sexual procreation was not necessarily central to local idioms of relatedness. Due to cross-cultural differences of kinship, the comparative studies of kinship in anthropology failed. As a result, papers on Chinese lineage written in English disappeared from 1990s. As a reply to Schnider's critique, J.Carsten reopened comparative studies of kinship with a new term of relatedness. According to Carsten, relatedness is a kind of connection based on the lived experience in local context, and we can bring new vitality to kinship studies by exploring cultures of relatedness in comparative context. Based on a review of Chinese lineage studies and kinship study, firstly, I will show what we can learn from the concept of relatedness and previous studies. Secondly, I will take several ethnographies about Chinese kinship influenced by Carsten, and discuss how to realize relatedness in the local context of China. Finally, I will prospect the potential of studying Chinese lineage with the following keywords: individual perspective, everyday practice, domestic space.

Keywords: Chinese lineage, kinship, relatedness

What are the Chinese Diaspora expecting from their hometown: An Unchanged Relation Between New Chinese Migrants and Qiaoxiang?

Zhang Yuling (Yamaguchi Prefectural University)

After the market-opening reform policy was adopted in 1979, hundreds of thousands of Fuqing (located in the north of Fujian province) people emigrated to Indonesia, Japan and Singapore, where their relatives had previously migrated and built their economic foundation. In many villages, most of the young people migrated and settled abroad or big cities far from their hometown, leaving their aged parents behind. Since then, many deluxe mansions and Citang (halls dedicated to the ancestors of the lineage) have been reestablished with the remittances and subscriptions from Chinese migrants, which indicate an intimate relationship between the Chinese migrants and their hometown. By the Chinese diaspora's active border transgression and the expansion of their transnational networks, Qiaoxiang, hometown of the Chinese diaspora, which was formed on firm kinship of the lineage, is losing its meaning as a geographical concept, but still has a strong centripetal force to the Chinese diaspora. To Chinese diaspora, who are not considering a return to their hometown, what does Qiaoxiang mean? In other words, what are the Chinese diaspora expecting from their hometown? This study will discuss the reasons for the tight-knit relation between the Chinese diaspora and their hometowns based on fieldworks done in Japan, Hongkong and Fuqing between 2014 and 2016.

Keywords: Chinese Diaspora, Qiaoxiang, Revival of Lineage

The grassroots communities in global context: Fuzhou Migrants and the logic of the small world digesting the big world

Song Ping (Xiamen University)

Transnational migration has been becoming one of significant phenomena in global context. This article discusses the logic of cultural resistance: how the small world of grassroots community digests the big world of cosmopolitan cities. Based on my fieldworks carried out both on the US and Fujian area of China, this article unfolds the cultural resistance in two levels: firstly, how Fuzhou migrants construct the networks of migration, investment and business; and how these multiple nets, based on the rural cultural elements, have developed into a set of cultural strategy which can cope with the American modern life. The second level is about the construction of the cultural community of the migrants. This article reveals the fact that the cultural community, based on the ties of lineage, of region and of folk belief, provides the grassroots migrants the key approaches for meaning construction.

Keywords: undocumented immigration networks, ethnic economy networks, associational networks

Critical consideration about global discourses as indicators of musical "authenticity": Case study of dancehall reggae in Japan

Ikeda Taiyo (Kobe University)

The purpose of this presentation is exploring Japanese interest in Jamaican popular music culture, particularly dancehall reggae, and reconsidering several discourses developed about what is "authentic" dancehall reggae in Japan, with performances and responses for them as clues. Dancehall reggae is one of music genres that has developed from Jamaican sound system culture since 1970's, complexly involving songs, dance, and fashion. This music has got deep rooted popularity among mainly Afro-Jamaican low wage workers. In Japan, since 1980's, dancehall reggae has attracted attention to Japanese youths mainly in Yokohama, and lots of Japanese dancehall artists, dancers and sound systems have begun their performances. Recently Japanese dancehall reggae is called "Japareggae (Japanese reggae)", and it is constructed and performed in Japanese own terms with their social and generational backgrounds, different from Jamaican. Earlier studies of Japanese dancehall reggae mainly payed their attention to racial iconography as Japanese stereotypes for Afro-Jamaican, and usage of Jamaican creole language, as known as "patois", for self-expression. These points are actually understood as indicators about "authenticity" of Japanese dancehall reggae among practitioners and audiences, but these studies lacked consideration to internal difference and diversity of discourses about that "authenticity" in Japanese context. In this presentation, I illustrate the data of my field research in several events of dancehall reggae around the Kansai Region, and present some specific examples about ambiguity and diversity of those discourses about "authenticity", like the choice of major label or indie label, the proper use of Japanese and patois, the types of music events, and so on. Then, I discuss how Japanese dancehall reggae has sometimes been understood and practiced as not "authentic", but "real" musical practice, depending on each occasion in Japan.

Keywords: Japan, Dancehall reggae, Authenticity

"Tradition and Innovation": Examining China's Cultural Production and Promotion at International Book Fairs

Jiang Chengli (Sophia University)

In her seminal article on "culture in action," Ann Swidler (1986) asked the right question on behalf of researchers who seek to understand and utilize culture as a subject matter, as a concept, or as a method: "When do we invoke cultural explanation?" It may be too natural for a research on China's contemporary cultural production and promotion to locate culture at the center of its inquiry, however, when economic and political concerns enter the scene, one must reconsider the naturalness of pure cultural explanations. Starting from 2003, the Chinese government has arduously pursued a cultural promotion policy named 'Chinese culture going abroad.' With strong governmental support, various sectors of the Chinese cultural industry begin to expand and internationalize, projecting their power overseas, which in turn has created contradictions and tensions both domestically and internationally. Several controversies include the American criticism against the Confucius Institutes and the German media attacks on the Chinese 'Guest of Honor' events at the 2009 Frankfurt Book Fair. This paper focuses on the publishing sector, connects the author's ethnographic data at a number of international book fairs where the Chinese publishing sector has been actively promoting itself, and aims at providing an overview on how, in this particular case study, culture emerges as a subject matter, a concept, and a method as well as its interrelations with economy and politics. For China to improve the international acceptance of its cultural products, it is unavoidable to tailor, to modify, to internationalize its practices of 'Chinese characteristics,' particularly the vocabulary used in its talks with the outside world. China has been conscientious in molding a new 'vocabulary.' However, so far, the domestic economic, political, and cultural conditions have all worked to constrain its capacity to produce an effective new narrative about 'what China represents.'

Keywords: China, cultural production, cultural promotion

The Revival of Local Traditional Culture in global context:the Incense Enterprise in the Southeastern China

Jin Yan (Xiamen University)

Since the new century, Mainland China has shown its spectacular power of absorbing culture. Against the background of globalization, Mainland China rapidly absorbs Western knowledge and ideas while trying to recover its traditional cultures. Use of Incense is among the abundant traditional culture elements which are being excavated. Over a long period in the past, incense has almost disappeared from Chinese everyday life. Although

the use of incense in Buddhism and folk religions in the southeastern China has never been suspended, it's still far from people's expectation for a "Chinese incense culture". Mainland China is rebuilding its local incense culture system. Consumption is one of the main topics of the century. The revival of Chinese incense culture is closely related to the large number of incense enterprises. They not only want to achieve an industrial transformation (from the realm of religious ceremonies to daily life incense) but to make a new consumption field. With the development of the incense industry chain, the number of consumers who purchase daily use incense is increasing. These consumers not only simply purchase goods but also consume the newly created "Chinese traditional culture", or even a form of life. Traditional culture is reviving in a new way in the consumer world.

Keywords: Incense culture, Consumer culture, the Revival of traditional culture

In Between 'Naluwan' and 'Taiwan Hao': Authoring Formosan Indigenous Cultures

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The patriotic song, Taiwan Hao, was written during the Chiang regime about re-launching battle against Communist China, yet the origin of the tune from an indigenous village in southeastern Taiwan was not acknowledged in most instances of this widely sung song, showing a juxtaposition of the core nationalistic focus against the indigenous on the periphery. Yet, indigenous popular music and culture were placed on the pedestal of being representative of the national image in the 1990s through cultural performances at culture parks and tourism marketing. As indigenous cultures come under the national spotlight in Taiwan due to state and market interests in recent decades, the evolution stems from a stark denial of the indigenous entity in the construction of state narrative and history education. The recognition of indigenous existence is highlighted, albeit imperfectly, in government, media and other forms of public discourse, furthering the impression of the indigenous existence away from the core of Han-dominant Taiwan. This paper examines how indigenous elements are featured or configured politically in the national narrative construction of Taiwan. The paper also highlights the peripheral placement of indigenous ethnic identity in the larger state context, juxtaposed by authoritative and mainstream discourse and portrayal of indigenous cultures in Taiwan for objectives such as tourism marketing and national identity imaging, alluding to a form of state-driven capitalisation. Methods include content and textual analysis of the cultural production and reproduction within and discourse analysis of indigenous issues related to cultural rights. The paper reveals that cultural ownership and autonomous authorship accord indigenous groups a tool of expression, in contrast with externally funded writing and portrayal of their cultures for aims, which may extend beyond cultural preservation and propagation. The paper concludes that there are growing avenues for sociocultural and sociopolitical discussion and indigenous articulations on ethno-cultural identity.

Keywords: indigenous, ethnic identity, minority

From illiteracy to literacy: Developments in the writing culture among the Parauk Wa

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Parauk, a major branch of the Wa people in China's southwest Yunnan province did not have a writing system until the 19th century when three types of scripts were introduced into their society: Chinese characters, Thai-Tai characters, and the Roman alphabet. In this paper, we focus on the Roman script to analyze cultural changes from illiteracy to literacy among the Parauk. Based on our field research, we will discuss the following two points: literacy and texts. First, for literacy, the Roman script is used to transcribe the language of the Parauk. It can be classified into three spelling systems: the People's Republic of China's (PRC) orthography; the Bible orthography; and the Myanmar's orthography. Both the PRC's orthography and the Bible orthography have interminably competed against each other linguistically and politically. They have been revised many times, but literacy in these remains very low, with each being accepted as an ethnic symbol rather than as a spelling system. The former is the official symbol while the latter is a religious symbol. The Myanmar's orthography, which is derived from the Bible orthography and adopted as the official Wa spelling system by the central authorities of the Wa Special Region 2 in Pangkham, is little known in the Parauk of Yunnan. Second, there are many texts in the PRC's orthography, but few readers. While there is limited content available in the Bible orthography, for which readership has increased gradually over the years. The Myanmar's orthography is used rarely and can be found only in karaoke DVDs. However, this spelling system from Myanmar may become significant as the use of electronic gadgetry spreads.

Keywords: Literacy, Text, Parauk Wa