



National
Museum of
Ethnology
Osaka

Number 34
June 2012

Special Theme: Business and Anthropology

The Genesis of *Keiei Jinruigaku* at Minpaku

Hirochika Nakamaki

National Museum of Ethnology

Keiei Jinruigaku at Minpaku has its origins in the Inter-University Research Project 'Cultural Anthropological Study of Company and Salaryman' which started in 1993. The naming itself arose later when a group of members paid a visit to a company museum in Kobe in 1995. Since then, this study group has adopted *Keiei Jinruigaku* as its banner.

In the beginning, the group had two pillars. The first was formed by researchers of business administration and business historians headed by Koichiro Hioki (Kyoto University); the second included anthropologists and ethnographers around the author. There were also a few sociologists and Japanese historians on the periphery, but as the two main pillars were business administration (*Keieigaku*) and anthropology (*Jinruigaku*), our study group was named 'Anthropology of Administration' (*Keiei Jinruigaku*).

What is more important, however, was that we shared a common interest in management and culture, which we considered to be inseparable from each other. We looked for mutually complementary and synergistic relationships, and were free to explore different approaches in various ways without drawing any dividing lines between them. Our shared goal was to understand the company as a cultural community, not as an organization seeking profit. We thought each company had its own individuality and specific codes of behavior, just as it is with tribes and indigenous peoples.

The main research theme treated by the Anthropology of Administration was the concept of *companygraphy*, or company ethnography. The reason for this interest was the existing imbalance in the field of company research — there were quite a lot of company histories (diachronic studies) on the one hand, and too few company ethnographies (synchronic studies), on the other. However, it is surprisingly difficult to do fieldwork over a long period of time at a company. Excluding PhD students who may have the time to do so, it is extremely hard for researchers who teach and work at universities or research institutes, both in terms of time and position. To overcome these constrictions we came up with the idea of studying company museums. It was Hioki's idea. He suggested that we could analyze the culture of a company by looking at its museum exhibition. The fact that Minpaku functioned as a museum was favorable. Fortunately, we could get a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research of the Ministry of Education, 'Comprehensive Study of Corporate Culture' (1995-1997), and

Contents

Business and Anthropology

Hirochika Nakamaki	
The Genesis of <i>Keiei Jinruigaku</i> at Minpaku.....	1
Brian Moeran	
Business and Anthropology	3
Tomoko Hamada Connolly	
Thoughts on Anthropology and Business	5
Zhang Jijiao	
China's Private Enterprises: An Enterprise Anthropology Perspective	7
Heung Wah Wong	
A Few but Valuable Things that I Learned from Nakamaki Sensei	8

Conferences	10
New Staff	17
Visiting Scholars	18
Publications	19
Information.....	20

MINPAKU
Anthropology Newsletter



The first International Forum on Business and Anthropology (IFBA) in July 2010 at Minpaku

Nakamaki is professor emeritus at Minpaku. His recent research themes include Shanghai Expo 2010, and a comparative study of calendar cultures. His major publication in English is Japanese Religions at Home and Abroad: Anthropological Perspectives (Routledge Curzon, 2003). His book Mukashi Daimyo, Ima Kaisha: Kigyo to Shukyo (In the Past, Feudal Lord, at Present, Company: Enterprise and Religion) (in Japanese, Tankosha, 1992) was translated into Chinese by the Peking University Press in 2011.

we split into subgroups to visit more than 100 company museums across Japan. Using the same grant, we could also study company museums in the UK.

For our next research theme we chose company rituals. Having evolved in Japan, company funerals turned out to be an excellent research object. Company funerals reflect *shaen* (the associational ties among employees) which flourished during the period of high economic growth. Luckily, we could get the support of a funeral home, and thus go deeper into the working conditions of the funeral business. We also extended our research interest to corporate rituals (or rites of passage) such as initiation ceremonies and memorial services for deceased employees. Nakamaki's research on company tombs and memorial services for deceased employees, conducted before our joint research, played an important role in development of the project.

After company ceremonies, the next step was to study company myths — a research theme suggested again by Hioki. We addressed this theme by studying corporate foundation myths, hero myths, and brand myths, among others. Here we did not limit our research to companies. We extended our studies to include myths found in

other organizations such as orchestras and museums.

Of course, when it comes to almost twenty years of joint research, there are other themes that have been studied — globalization and corporate culture, company and religion, business and sacred space, and more. Meanwhile, some critics point out that the 'Anthropology of Administration' has been limited to the field of 'rituals and symbols', 'culture diffusion', and 'interpretation of meanings'. If we take such remarks positively, we can say our field is quite promising and we can expect boundless future prospects. It is also worth going back to the starting point, namely the concept of company ethnography.

This essay is one of the initial narratives of the Anthropology of Administration. It sets up two founders as its 'foundation myth'. However, it has not created its 'hero myth' nor 'brand myth', yet. In this sense, it is worth watching for future developments.

In the current issue there are contributions concerning recent trends in similar research fields in Europe, the USA, Hong Kong and China. Though our contributors write with different nuances and tones, they have all been closely involved with our projects.

Business and Anthropology

Brian Moeran

Copenhagen Business School, Denmark

Business and anthropology go back a long way, although use of the word 'business' in relation to anthropology seems to have been adopted only in 1986 when Marietta Baba published her monograph, *Business and Industrial Anthropology: An Overview* (American Anthropological Association, 1986). This title itself reflects some of the terminological uncertainty over anthropologists' study of work and its surrounding institutions in contemporary societies. In addition to 'business anthropology', we find 'industrial anthropology', 'corporate anthropology', 'organizational anthropology', as well as the 'anthropology of work', 'applied anthropology' and, as an input from Hirochika Nakamaki and his colleagues at Minpaku, 'enterprise anthropology' — to name but some of the variations associated with the concept of business and anthropology.

There are now quite a few historical overviews of anthropologists' encounters with the business world, and in recent years certain points have been cited so much that they form 'myths' — in the sense of a particular 'mode of signification' or 'form': the 'Hawthorne studies' of the 1930s in the USA; the founding of the Society for Applied Anthropology in 1941; the division of anthropologists' engagements with industry, work and business into historical periods; and so on.

What becomes clear in such discussions is that the anthropological study of business is an *American* development, and that the businesses studied are themselves either American or located in the USA. In a way, this is fair enough. Lloyd Warner and his colleagues at first Harvard, and then Chicago, did indeed pioneer ethnographic studies of corporations like IBM, Sears Roebuck and Co., and Western Electric, but anthropologists in other parts of the world also found themselves engaging with — say — colonial administrators and, through them, with government and private business interests. Indeed the mid-19th century origins of anthropology in the UK were predicated on its practical use to 'the utilities and requirements of

society'. Nevertheless, it remains clear that in the field of business and anthropology, it is *American* literature that is cited primarily by Americans who often have little conception of what has taken place in different historical periods in different parts of the world — specifically in Europe, but also in South America, Africa and Asia.

It is at this point that I wish to bring in Japan — not simply in deference to the more recent contributions in the field of enterprise anthropology by Nakamaki and his colleagues, but also because of what I perceive to be an intriguing set of historical developments in the anthropological study of Japanese society and culture that have spilled over into the study of business more generally. Japan is in many ways the *kuroko*, black-robed puppeteer in the development of what has now generally come to be referred to as 'business anthropology'. Let me try to explain what I mean.

One theme focused on by pre-war pioneering scholars of Japanese rural society such as Kizaemon Aruga and Kunio Yanagita was kinship and the traditional Japanese 'family' system. There were obvious reasons for this that I will not go into here, but which had to do with Japan's development as the world's first non-Western industrialised society and a felt need to differentiate Japanese society and culture from other industrialised societies and cultures in Europe and the USA. Over time, two competing theories of Japanese kinship emerged: one stressing the patrilineal blood line and 'lineage', the other the economic functions of each family residence and the 'extended household group' (*douzoku*).

It was the latter theory — that the Japanese household formed a political and economic 'in-group', whose members were related primarily, but not necessarily, by blood — which came to prevail and was then applied to analyses and explanations of other social forms in Japan. In particular, it was argued that certain business formations imitated the Japanese household system (or *ie seido*). One of these was the *zaibatsu* business monopoly, or financial clique, that

Moeran is professor of business anthropology at the Copenhagen Business School and founding Editor of the Journal of Business Anthropology. A social anthropologist by training, he has spent several decades conducting research on such topics as folk art pottery, advertising, women's fashion magazines, publishing, and incense production in Japan. Monographs include *A Japanese Advertising Agency* (Curzon, 1996), *The Business of Ethnography* (Berg, 2005) and *Ethnography at Work* (Berg, 2007). He has also edited *Advertising Cultures* (with T. de Waal Malefyt; Berg, 2003) and *Negotiating Values in the Creative Industries* (with J. Strandgaard Pedersen; Cambridge University Press, 2011).



Brian Moeran (right) and Heung Wah Wong (center) at the first IFBA in July 2010, at Minpaku

emerged in the early pre-War stages of Japanese industrial development. The way in which it hived off functional subsidiary companies, each of which was headed by a family member, resembled, it was suggested, the extended household group (consisting of main and branch houses) that flourished in parts of Japan during the feudal period. The formation of *keiretsu* business groups after World War II followed this pattern of 'alliance capitalism'.

Japan's traditional household characteristics were also seen to play an important role in the formation of the limited stock company. Both formed closed 'in-groups' whose members, it was said, were 'permanent' with 'lifetime employment'. Both looked after their members' needs beyond their daily working conditions, by providing lodging, health care, and even marriage partners when so required. In these and several other ways, including the designation of 'appropriate' gender roles, both household and company were marked out as distinct from families and corporations in Europe and the USA. Japan's business was based not on stock market, but on 'welfare' capitalism.

These organizational arguments about the underpinnings of Japanese business forms came, ironically, to be

framed in *cultural* terms when, faced with the success of the Japanese economy during the 1980s, American firms began to search for why they had failed so miserably to compete. The answer, it appeared, was 'Japanese culture'. Japanese culture had something that American culture didn't, but needed if it was to compete in the global marketplace. From this emerged the perceived need, following American understandings of Japanese firms, for 'corporate culture'. If Japanese firms had their own cultures, and if they were successful, which they were, then American firms also had to have cultures to be successful! This line of thinking gave birth to a whole new academic industry, but one that has virtually ignored — or misunderstood — anthropology's potential contributions to understandings of culture.

The connections between anthropology and business study in Japan, therefore, are of considerable historical depth and cast a shadow on the mid-1980s proclamation of the birth of 'business anthropology'. Let us not forget that both Thomas Rohlen (*For Harmony and Strength*. University of California Press, 1974) and Ronald Dore (*British Factory — Japanese Factory*. University of California Press, 1973) had published the results of long-term anthropological fieldwork in a Japanese bank and British and Japanese factories in the early 1970s, while another English anthropologist, Rodney Clark wrote a definitive study of the Japanese company at the end of the same decade (*The Japanese Company*. Yale University Press, 1979). These pioneering works have been followed by many more during the past three decades.

What anthropological approaches to the study of business need now, I believe, is a more nuanced understanding of all that has been going on, not just in the USA, but in Europe, Africa, South America, and East and Southeast Asia. Business anthropology needs to be truly comparative and properly theoretical. It is to this end that, with the support of Nakamaki, Christina Garsten and I have established the *Journal of Business Anthropology* (www.cbs.dk/jba).

Thoughts on Anthropology and Business

Tomoko Hamada Connolly

College of William and Mary, USA

I came to anthropology and business via my network-and-socio-metric training in sociology. As a young graduate student, I translated Everett Rogers' books on diffusion theory and organizational communication into Japanese. Rogers' theory of diffusion of innovations attempted to explain how, why, and at what rate new ideas and technology spread through cultures. After earning an MA in sociology, I thought of pursuing an academic career at a Japanese university, but soon became frustrated with Japan's patriarchal academia, which offered little opportunity for female career advancement. I left Japan in 1973.

I quickly found a welcoming niche in the USA, among professional anthropologists at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB). Although I arrived too late for the 60s' counter-culture movement in the Bay Area, I could still breathe the fresh air of intellectual and personal freedom, appreciation of diverse voices, and rigorous mentoring of young minds, that characterized the unique and culturally rich heritage of UCB anthropology. Having experienced blatant sexism in Japan, I put myself on the side of the 'underdog' and as a member of the 'subaltern, counter-culture'.

It was around that time when Berkeley professor Laura Nader issued her first call to anthropologists to think more about 'study of the colonizers, rather than the colonized; the culture of power rather than the culture of the powerless; the culture of affluence, rather than the culture of poverty'. The female professor's urgent call to 'study up the culture of power' inspired me. I began examining the internal managerial systems of several Japanese multinationals that were rapidly expanding globally, often in competition with Euro-American multinationals. Being engaged in daily participant observation of an US-Japanese joint venture company, I witnessed first-hand frequent clashes of managerial assumptions as to how to do business.

During this period, many western management scientists dismissed the so-called 'Japanese style of management' and considered the phenomenon as being symptomatic of a

step Japan had to take in her development toward eventual conversion to the (presumed) universal, western, model of effective management.

I also witnessed how the so-called *nihonjin-ron* theorists stressed the uniqueness of the Japanese style of management. A heated debate ensued, as to whether 'Japanese culture' had anything to do with the competitiveness of Japanese business firms. In general, the convergence theorists believed that the 'cultural' variations between Japanese and Western firms were not sufficiently great or important to override variations within each culture. Several social scientists reported that large-scale comparison of matched samples of companies in different countries revealed little cross-cultural variation on all structural dimensions except the number of ranks. Interestingly enough, those who found little significant difference between Western and Japanese systems used quantitative methods such as questionnaire surveys and statistical analysis, while those who stressed the cultural difference employed qualitative methods such as ethnography. Most quantitative researchers came from management sciences and sociology, and they tended to investigate formal structure, formal methods of work flows and labor relations. On the other hand, those who found differences were 'culture' people, i.e. anthropologists or anthropologically-trained industrial ethnographers, who tended to investigate particular organizations for a long period of time. They were interested in how specific corporate practices actually took place, and how decision-making was interpreted and executed by organizational members. By doing so, they found salient differences in the organizational praxis, management rationale, and logic behind certain decisions and practices.

During the 1980s-1990s, I became actively engaged in a revival of scholarship in anthropology and business. The field was given a new name, 'corporate anthropology' or corporate ethnography. Together with many colleagues, I ran a series of panels on business and anthropology

Hamada Connolly is professor of anthropology at the College of William and Mary, Virginia, USA. The primary focus of her research has been the culture of complex organization. She is particularly interested in global team development, deployment of information technology, and collaborative learning in multinational settings. Her publications include American Enterprise in Japan (State University of New York Press, 1991); Anthropological Perspectives on Organizational Culture (co-editor, University Press of America, 1994); Social and Cultural Development of Human Resources (editor, UNESCO, 2002); and 'Anthropological dimensions of global change' (Journal of Social Sciences 1(3), 1997). Together with H. Nakamaki and other distinguished scholars, she is organizing a major symposium on business and anthropology during the 2013 IUAES meeting in Manchester, UK.

for the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA), and joined, as a founding member, the Society for the Anthropology of Work (SAW) in 1999 and the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) in 1980, both of which were formed within the American Anthropological Association (AAA). NAPA launched concerted efforts to make the voices of non-academic practitioners more salient within the association. At that time, AAA was still dominated by academic anthropologists.

The shifting political economy of the 1980s–1990s influenced anthropologists' creation and dissemination of knowledge, in tandem with on-going post-colonial development, market-penetration, and globalization. The Golden Age of academic anthropology ended about the same time. A crisis of unemployment hit newly minted PhDs, and the academic job market continued to contract during the subsequent decades. The long-held myth that academe was the only respectable destination for a doctoral education was shattered. Having joined my current employer in 1988, I received tenure and became the head of department as the crisis hit. Formal and informal meetings among anthropology department heads revealed the rather dire financial situations of many academic institutions. Some members even criticized the relevance of anthropology, and doubted the sustainability of graduate programs in anthropology.

Organizations with applied foci, such as SfAA and NAPA, and later AAA itself began offering workshops and training sessions. Applied anthropology programs and practitioner-networks began to prepare students for non-academic jobs. Today more than one-half of new PhDs in anthropology find jobs in non-academic settings. Business anthropology is one of the key areas of non-academic job expansion.

During the last few decades, anthropology has experienced a paradigmatic shift, due to the emergence of interpretive anthropology, critical anthropology, post-modernism, post-structuralism, and globalization studies, and the decline of past evolutionism, functionalism, structuralism, and other ‘-isms’. The basic assumptions of anthropology and business today can be summarized as follows. Firstly, progressive-modernism, scientific positivism, and grand-narratives have been rejected. Secondly, anthropology has abandoned to claim universal truth across time and space.

Today, no one talks about the convergence theory. Most of us have abandoned models of ‘evolutionary’ development or modernization toward some monolithic Euro-American (grand) model. Thirdly, anthropologists painfully recognize the fact that the discipline's origin and its knowledge creation have been deeply situated in the history of colonialism, domination, and resistance. After the wrenching soul-searching period of the so-called ‘crisis of representation’, many have turned their attention again to empirical pragmatism, historiography, politico-economic discourse, institutions, and power relations, with special attention to epistemology and language.

Looking forward, I see several important directions: The first is the expansion of empirical analyses of diverse business organizational forms and organizational behavior, to take stock of an incredible diversity of organizational forms. For example, China offers a distinct form of state-owned enterprises. At the same time, China alone has some 3.6 million privately-owned enterprises, 1.6 million more than a decade ago. Meanwhile, within a single generation, the Indian offshore services industry has emerged out of nowhere, becoming an industry of enormous size and significance. With annual revenues of \$60bn, the industry now employs more than two million people and is the engine driving the Indian economy. The offshore services industry attracts a lot of media coverage but so far there has been little in-depth analysis.

What we witness today is not just a quantitative explosion of business forms, but also a fundamental shift from some traditional multinational forms of the center and periphery. This is most apparent in design anthropology. New system designs, services, and products have become ubiquitous, not only in manufacturing but also in the gaming, service, media, social-network, and music industries. Rapidly growing areas of inquiry are consumer behavior and marketing. Following the discipline's history and historical study of material culture and human civilization, anthropologists in this sub-field aim to articulate the meanings of objects that are saturated with symbols, while situated in consumer practices, identity, sociality, and power relations. Ethnographic studies that focus on the consumer can re-frame the ‘materialism and commodification’ debate in terms of creative agency and meaning management.

Anthropologists today do not just discuss 'knowledge' but also analyze 'knowledge claims' and 'knowledge legitimization'. Business anthropologists are in an ideal situation to examine and problematize such key terms as 'business', 'design', 'marketing', 'consumer' and 'economic development'. These terms are all created, legitimized, resisted, internalized, and/or acted out by many

stakeholders. We need to problematize basic categories and the epistemology we employ as researchers, because we are particularly sensitive to how certain discourses get constructed, employed, and incorporated, and how these processes affect people's well-being. The time is very ripe for many more anthropologists to play a key role in this significant area of inquiry.

China's Private Enterprises: An Enterprise Anthropology Perspective

Zhang Jijiao

Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China

The enterprise is not only a kind of economic organization, but also a kind of social and cultural organization. Anthropologists need to understand enterprises (transnational, state-owned, and private), based on knowledge of social organization from the past to present, and can contribute greatly to the field of enterprise research.

In Shanghai Expo, Chinese Private Enterprise Pavilion (CPEP), official name 'Dynamic Matrix', covered 6,000 square meters, used the 'living cell' as its design concept, and explored the theme of 'Infinite Vitality'. The pavilion used cutting-edge technology to give visitors a spectacular interactive experience of Chinese private companies.

This Dynamic Matrix pavilion became a splendid showroom with national influence, and also created a mechanism of self-modification, self-thinking and self-development, that provides a model for future development. Though not the biggest building in the Expo, it is regarded as a hall of fame for Chinese entrepreneurs.

The sixteen co-sponsors of the pavilion are regarded as 'China's first class private enterprises', and had enough courage and strength to stand out as 'first class' on a world stage.

There is no doubt that China remains a socialistic country. Most Chinese companies listed in the global 500 are state-owned enterprises, which are also known as 'eldest sons of the Republic'. Since traditional communism doesn't encourage private ownership, the government has named private enterprise 'non-state managed enterprise'. Private enterprises have

been created under the economic reform, but have experienced very tough struggles. The opportunity to make their voices heard, at the Shanghai Expo, was very precious for Chinese private enterprises.

The remarkable development of the non-state sector has changed the landscape of China's industries. The most dynamic segment in the non-state sector is formed by rural enterprises, which accounted for 36% of the national industrial output in 1993, up from 9% in 1978. Within the rural sector, township, village and family enterprises account for about three-quarters of rural industrial output, or more than one quarter of the national total.

By the end of 2008, China had 3.596 million privately-owned enterprises, 1.614 million more than four years previously. Over the past ten years, the wealth growth rate of China's private enterprises was higher than that of both state-owned and foreign-funded enterprises. Deregulation by the government, which essentially helps loosen control of the private economy, has directly contributed to China's economic miracle. China's private enterprises have grown up in a market with a special political and legal environment. They have shown great courage and wisdom against hardships, which cannot be easily summarized as a simple Puritan spirit of capitalism.

By 2010, among the top 200 richest people, private enterprise owners accounted for 95%, and the per capita GDP of China had exceeded 4,000 US dollars. How Chinese became rich by doing private business has been studied from the 1950s to 1990s.

Zhang is professor, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in China. Founder and chairman, Commission on Enterprise Anthropology of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. He began to study enterprise and markets in 1996. Since 2001, he has published seven books, including: Value Chain Management (China Price Press, 2001); 50 Overseas Chinese Businessmen and Managers in Southeast Asia (Intellectual Property Publishing House, 2009); and Enterprise Anthropology: Applied Research and Case Study (China Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 2011). The author was a member of the research project on Shanghai Expo, which was conducted by H. Nakamaki (Mirpaku).



Chinese Private Enterprise Pavilion (CPEP) at the Shanghai Expo in 2010

Researchers generally regard the family or kinship ties as an important reason for the success of Chinese private business. Maurice Freedman described the 'bidding' among overseas Chinese. William Skinner compared the economy development of overseas Chinese in Java and Thailand. David Y.H. Wu and Ellen Oxfeld Basu studied respectively the Chinese businessmen in Papua New Guinea and Calcutta of India. Although their views varied, they generally used Maurice Freedman's kinship theory, which considered familism as one of the main reasons for the success of Chinese private business. Individuals were endowed with values and rules of social conduct by families or clans, and the Chinese associations or other ties maintained the kinship network.

In his book, *The Spirit of Chinese Capitalism* (Walterde Gruyer & Co., 1990), Gordon Redding pointed out that Chinese enterprises have several characteristics in common: centralization, lots of small enterprises,

informality, power-combination, and low specialization.

In the 1980s, the famous Chinese anthropologist Fei Xiaotong described 'Wenzhou Pattern' of development in private enterprises. Since then, Li Peilin, Ma Rong and their colleagues have made a great progress in studies on different kinds of organizations of private enterprise.

Since the reform and opening-up of China, a number of new research subjects have emerged during the transition from planned to market economy. Scholars have studied the resource allocation of governments, markets and enterprises. Resource allocation by families has been relatively little attention by scholars. Its role was especially distinctive in the primary period of the reform and opening-up in China. In 1996, I did my fieldwork in Qionghai, Hainan Island of China, and discovered that the local government and banks generally discriminated against the private economy, while the planned economy still occupied an absolutely dominant status. At this time, private-catering, family businesses, and family industries represented a spontaneous resistance by local residents to the rigid planned economy. In Qionghai, private industries have developed rapidly since the reform and opening up.

Chinese Private Enterprise Pavilion succeeded in attracting sixteen top Chinese enterprises to jointly create a stunning structure showcasing for the world how China's private sector will influence the domestic and global economy in the future. The pavilion highlighted the nation's tremendous economic accomplishments of the last three decades, and illustrated how China's private sector is shifting from an exclusive pursuit of profitability to a broader pursuit that includes technological advancement and sustainability.

A Few but Valuable Things that I Learned from Nakamaki Sensei

Heung Wah Wong

The University of Hong Kong, China

Harding states anthropologists 'appear to us not as an invisible, anonymous voice of authority, but as real, historical

individuals with concrete, specific desires and interests' (S. Harding (1987) 'Introduction: Is there a feminist

method?' in S. Harding (ed.), *Feminism and Methodology*, pp.10–14. Indian University Press). In a recent joint paper *An Anthropology of 'Applied Anthropology' in Postwar Hong Kong* (forthcoming), I argued that individual factors such as personal encounters and personality to a great extent determine anthropologists' theoretical frameworks, methodologies, and even research agenda. My career in anthropology is no exception. In a sense, my life has been very lucky because I could meet many great anthropologists who have influenced my anthropological enterprise tremendously. The late Wang Song Hsing introduced me to the fascinating Japanese society when I was an undergraduate student in anthropology at The Chinese University of Hong Kong, in the early 1980s; and Chen Chi-nan taught me that Japanese companies can be better understood in the context of Chinese societies when I was struggling to choose a PhD topic. I also learned from Marshall Sahlins that culture is the essential condition of human beings as a species, when I studied anthropology at the University of Chicago. Brian Moeran not only gave me a job at my current university, but also taught me that social relations rather than culture are the major issue in understanding human societies. Then, it was Hirochika Nakamaki of Minpaku who has encouraged me to take Japanese companies as my life-long research topic.

I first met Nakamaki at his office at Minpaku in 1995 when I was still writing up my PhD thesis on a Japanese supermarket in Hong Kong. He immediately invited me to give a talk at his famous workshop 'Cultural Anthropological Study of Company and Salarymen' at Minpaku. This was one of the most important occasions in my life: I met almost all active members of Nakamaki's research team, and they welcomed me enthusiastically. From that time on, I have had the honor to be invited to join some of Nakamaki's research projects and contribute chapters to a few volumes jointly edited by Nakamaki and Koichiro Hioki of Kyoto University, the two founding members of a new research field, which is now well-known as *Keiei Jinruigaku* (Anthropology of Administration).

In 2001, Nakamaki gave me an opportunity to spend my first sabbatical leave at Minpaku for nine months under his supervision. My stay in Minpaku was an unforgettable experience. In addition to enjoying the excellent research environment, I could learn from Nakamaki that Japanese

kaisha (companies) are not just economic organizations governed by the logic of profit-maximization. They are instead embedded in the Japanese society and therefore are also a Japanese social organization, or in Nakamaki's term *kyodotai*. That is to say, Japanese *kaisha* operate in a logic different from that of their counterparts in the West. This conception of Japanese *kaisha* as *kyodotai* inspired my first monograph *Japanese Bosses, Chinese Workers: Power and Control in a Hong Kong Megastore* (Curzon, 1999), in which I devoted a whole chapter to structural analysis of the concept of *kaisha*.

I also learned that the idea of Japanese *kaisha* as *kyodotai* can be traced to Japanese cultural tradition and therefore Japanese *kaisha* should be understood in the cultural context of Japan. One major methodological implication, among others, is what Sahlins called methodological relativism — which refers to 'the simple prescription that, in order to be intelligible, other people's practices and ideals must be placed in their own context, understood as positional values in a field of their own cultural relationships, rather than appreciated in terms of intellectual and moral judgments of our making. Relativism is the provisional suspension of one's own judgments in order to situate the practices at issue in the historical and cultural order that made them possible' (M. Sahlins (2000) 'Introduction' in M. Sahlins, *Culture in Practice: Selected Essays*, pp.9–32. Zone Press). Inspired by Nakamaki's methodological relativism, I tried to trace the concept of *kaisha* to the Japanese traditional *ie* (home) in my subsequent research, by which I do not mean that Japanese *kaisha* is *ie* but that the morphological structure of *kaisha* is similar to that of *ie*. More importantly, Nakamaki taught me that tracing the origin of *kaisha* to Japanese traditional *ie* cannot be understood as another example of the invention-of-tradition type of argument simply because the concept of *kaisha* is not invented out of nothing, but in terms of the tradition of *ie*.

More importantly, Nakamaki's conceptualization of *kaisha* as *kyodotai* leads to a new set of research topics. *Kaisha* as a *kyodotai*, not unlike other *kyodotai*, has its own social structure, cultural representations, religions, rituals, and so on. Nakamaki and his team thus chose to conduct research on corporate museums, company religions, corporate funerals, and management philosophy, all topics that have been ignored by anthropologists

Wong is associate professor at the School of Modern Languages and Cultures, The University of Hong Kong. He holds a PhD from Oxford University. His career started with an anthropological study of a Japanese supermarket in Hong Kong and since the 1990s he has worked on Western social thought, Japanese companies and management, globalization of Japanese popular culture, Japanese companies in Greater China, creative industries in East Asia, and international relations from an anthropological perspective. He is the author of *Japanese Bosses, Chinese Workers: Power and Control in a Hong Kong Megastore* (Curzon Press & The University of Hawaii Press, 1999). He co-edited the book *Dismantling the East-West Dichotomy: Essays in Honor of Jan van Bremen* (Routledge, 2006) with J. Hendry.

looking at Japanese companies in the West. It is widely known that scholars from various disciplines who had been concerned with Japanese management and companies since the late 1960s have emphasized the famous 'three sacred treasures' of Japanese management: life-time employment, the seniority wage/promotion system, and enterprise union. The 'three sacred treasures' had become the 'given' model of, and framework for the study of, Japanese companies and management, which unfortunately prevented scholars from paying attention to other aspects of Japanese management and company structure. What Nakamaki and his team have been and are doing can, therefore, be considered as a breakthrough in the study of Japanese companies. Their studies provide an alternative paradigm that helps us to paint a more comprehensive picture of Japanese companies and management.

Perhaps the most important theoretical thesis I learned from Nakamaki is that we cannot easily accept the classic formalist-substantivist dichotomy in economic anthropology in the 1970s. Since anthropologists who have been 'cooked' in postmodern anthropology may not know or even hear of this classic dichotomy, Sahlins's excellent summary of what the dichotomy is about may be very helpful,

Broadly speaking, it is a choice between the perspective of Business, for the formalist method must

consider the primitive economies as underdeveloped versions of our own, and a culturalist study that as a matter of principle does honor to different societies for what they are (M. Sahlins 1972 *Stone Age Economics*, pp. xi-xii. Aldine-Atherton).

To Sahlins, there is 'no ground for the happy academic conclusion that "the answer lies somewhere in between"' (M. Sahlins (1972) *Stone Age Economics*. Aldine-Atherton). But while the economy of modern Japan is different from those of Western societies, it can hardly be considered as 'primitive'. The ontological difference among Japanese economy, its Western counterparts, and other 'primitive' economies demand a more sophisticated epistemology that challenges the formalist-substantivist dichotomy. Nakamaki takes up this challenge and strategically chooses to work with scholars in management sciences, aiming to find an approach that can help us better understand Japanese *kaisha* and management in particular, and non-Western economies in general.

Of course, Nakamaki's search is still a mission in progress but his courage, creativity, and never-settle-with-easy-answer spirit are a few things that every academic should appreciate, learn and never give away.

To Nakamaki sensei, I never have doubt that I am a very lucky person because I could know you and learn these few but valuable things from you!

Conferences

Voluntarism in the Age of Global Support: Perspectives from Southeast Asia

*International Symposium
November 5, 2011*

This symposium was held as a part of Minpaku's Core Research Project, 'The Anthropology of Supporting: Constructing Global Reciprocity'. We focused on NGOs, volunteers, and anthropologists as actors taking part in various international and internal cooperation activities in Southeast Asia, and discussed three issues: 1) the

roles, contributions, and constraints of the actors, 2) their social and political effects on the people and communities they are attempting to cooperate with, and 3) influences they have from the people and communities through their supporting activities.

The invited speakers for the symposium were Masao Ayabe (Tokyo Metropolitan University), Adrian Lasimbang (Tonibung), Colin Nicholas (Center for Orang Asli Concerns, COAC), and Toshihiro Nobuta (Minpaku). Ayabe and Nobuta are Japanese anthropologists engaged in long-term intensive field research among the Lisu of northern Thailand and the Orang Asli of Peninsular Malaysia, respectively. Lasimbang is the director of Tonibung, the Malaysian NGO

that supports indigenous peoples in Sabah and Sarawak by community based development projects using micro-hydro and other small-scale appropriate technologies. Nicholas is the founder and coordinator of COAC, another Malaysian NGO that works particularly on issues pertaining to the rights of the Orang Asli.

After opening remarks by Ken'ichi Sudo (Director-General, Minpaku) and introductory remarks by Chihiro Shirakawa, the organizer of the symposium, the invited speakers gave the following presentations: 'An Anthropologist's Positionality on the Site of NGO Activities: Fieldwork among Indigenous Peoples in Malaysia' (Nobuta); 'Empowerment of Indigenous

Peoples in Malaysia through Community Based Projects: A Case Study on Community Mapping and Community Based Micro-Hydro' (Lasimbang); 'The Need to Surmount Activism Thresholds in the Pursuit of Orang Asli Rights in Malaysia' (Nicholas); and 'Support and Time: Stages in Committing Myself to Cultural Promotion of the Lisu of Northern Thailand' (Ayabe). Comments were made by two Japanese anthropologists, Elli Sugita (Toyo University) and Taeko Udagawa (Minpaku), and were followed by a general discussion.

The symposium was attended by nearly forty participants including researchers, students, and NGO members. Discussions held throughout the symposium may contribute to both academic research and practical cooperation activities. To give an example, it was argued that NGOs, volunteers, and anthropologists are contributing to the formation of 'global civil societies', and that their activities might be understood as an indication of current global change.

Chihiro Shirakawa
Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Nationalism and Popular Culture in Modern and Contemporary India

*International Research Forum
November 5, 2011*

This forum was held alongside the thematic exhibition 'Indian Popular Art: Encounter with Colonial Modernity', which was held at Minpaku from September 22 to November 29, 2011. The exhibition, based on the excellent collection of Jyotindra Jain, former director of the National Craft Museum of India, aimed to show the Japanese audience how popular visual culture in colonial India was strongly influenced by the modern West, and how it entered or helped create public spheres of life involving large strata of people. Printed pictures formed the basis for the imagined Indian and/or Hindu community and encouraged various kinds of people to join political struggles against the colonial regime.

Since then, Indian nationalisms and independence movements and popular visual culture have shared a symbiotic relationship. Each has drawn strength from the other. Even after independence, Indian popular visual culture has always had a dynamic relationship with politics, power and social movements.

With this historical nexus of popular culture and politics in mind, and taking account of the contemporary proliferation of new media technologies, our forum considered three main questions. How has Indian popular culture reflected the changing power relationships? How has Indian popular culture itself influenced changes in political situation in contemporary India? And how have the dynamics of Indian popular culture been related to transformations in the identities of private agents, society and the state?

Three prominent scholars specialized in this field were invited for presentations. Tadao Nakamura of Ritsumeikan University reviewed the history of popular printing culture in India, and inquired into the reflective relationship between religious paintings and Hindu pilgrimages. Jyotindra Jain presented a paper focused on new emergent forms of Hindu nationalism in western India, and the tactical use of new media technologies for image production. Christopher Pinney of University College London, as a media studies' specialist, investigated one of the most controversial socio-political movements of India in 2001, the Anna Hazare movement.

Around fifty participants attended this forum. After the three presentations, participants enjoyed a broad discussion on contemporary Indian nationalism and its reflective nexus with popular culture.

Minoru Mio
Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

New Horizon of Oyirad — Mongol Studies

*International Symposium
November 6 – 7, 2011*

This symposium focused on the Oyirad, a Mongol group that is still poorly understood and sparsely represented in the scientific literature, although, in recent years, there have been a number of scholarly



A popular gods' 'photographs' shop in Delhi, India (Chie Fukuuchi, 2011)

works both in Mongolia itself as well as in other countries about the group.

Sources on the ancient history of Mongols, in particular, those on the history of Oyirad are scarce. According to the opinions of most researchers, the early phase of ethnogenesis of Oyirad took place within the boundaries of Central Asia and Southern Siberia. During the first millennium AD, the vast areas of Mongolian steppe from the Great Wall in the south to southern Siberia in the north and from the headwaters of the Irtysh River in the west to the Amur River in the east were inhabited by a number of nomadic peoples in succession.

During the 10th–11th centuries, a change occurred in the ethnic map of Mongolia. The Khitai invasion into regions of Central Asia began, resulting in an exodus of Turkish-speaking tribes from the area, and replaced with Mongolian-speaking tribes. By the middle of the 12th century, Mongolian tribes already ruled the whole territory of Mongolia, and adjacent areas to the north, except for some Turkic-speaking groups remaining in Western Mongolia. These groups were gradually assimilated by Mongolian invaders, among whom were the ancestors of the Oyirad. As a result, this region became as now, intermingled between Turks and Mongols.

In 1207, the Oyirad joined the Mongolian state of Genghis Khan, and participated in the conquests of Central Asia, the Far and Middle East, and Eastern Europe. During the 15th–17th centuries, there were two sister-Mongolian people: the Mongols proper, or Eastern Mongols, and the Oyirad. Although sharing language, traditional culture and religion, each of these peoples considered themselves to be a separate ethnic group.

In the 17th century, there was a rapid surge in military and political activity among the major ethno-political Oyirad associations. As a result, three distinct groups of nomads appeared in Eurasia — the Junggar Khanate in Dzungaria

and western Mongolia, the Kalmyk Khanate at Lower Povolge, and the Khoshut Khanate at Khukhnore. Nomadic Oyirad groups thus extended from the lower reaches of the Volga River to the Great Wall of China and up to the foothills of Tibet.

The outstanding event in the history of Oyirad in the 17th century was the conversion of people to Buddhism, and the creation of a writing system. Since then, Oyirad have been involved in the global cultural process, and have formed part of the Tibetan-Indian Buddhist culture.

**Ichinkhorloo Lkhagvasuren
Symposium Member
Mongolian University of Science
and Technology**

Learning from the Past: Exploring the Potential for Research on Aynu Culture

*International Symposium
November 12 – 13, 2011*

This symposium was held on the occasion of our special exhibition 'Devotion to the Arts of Living: Daily Life among the Aynu of the Kurile, Sakhalin and Hokkaido Islands — Objects from the Late 19th to Early 20th Century Collections

of Ethnological Museums in Germany and Japan'. The aim of the symposium was to discuss how to utilize past materials and records for research and as an inheritance of Aynu culture. Young researchers, specialized in archaeology, history, linguistics, cultural anthropology and museology, reported on practical studies from various perspectives.

The meeting began with the special lecture entitled 'The General Picture of the Aynu in Europe' by Hans Dieter Ölschleger (University of Bonn). This was followed by the organizer's keynote speech, ten presentations and three commentaries.

Archaeology and history researchers suggested reconsideration of the 'Aynu period' following excavations. Historians and linguists presented the research on ethno-history and regional variation based on oral literature. We also discussed the potentials and limits of oral literature as sources for academic research.

Concerning museums, two researchers described reconstruction of materials for which information is missing and the recovery of orphan works. The importance of adequate administration of materials and collaborative work with source communities



Surveying the old Aynu garments for reproduction (Koji Yamasaki, 2008)

(indigenous people) are emphasized.

One speaker explained how a young Aynu dance group reproduced traditional dance performances using old photos, films and sound records.

Through these diverse approaches and examples, we gained a better understanding of how past materials can be useful for research in the area of traditional Aynu culture. We also confirmed the need for interdisciplinary symposia like ours.

Reiko Saito
Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Cultural Transmission in Glocalization

International Research Forum
November 26, 2011

The broad aim of this forum was to examine the relation between cultural transmission and glocalization, with attention to the roles of state government, areas, markets, elites, and the bearers of culture. Our particular focus was on Chinese traditional folk beliefs and the traditions of corporate culture.

Twenty-four participants attended the forum. Some were invited from the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (IEA), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

The key concept of 'glocalization' used in this forum combines two apparently contradictory ideas, namely that the world is becoming more homogeneous, and that the world is becoming more diversified. While the world is experiencing economic and political globalization, people are at the same time seeking their own locality, ethnicity and nationality.

Han Min, the forum organizer, gave a brief general introduction, then six speakers from China and Japan presented case studies as follows: Se Yin (IEA), 'Mongolian Shamanism: An Anthropological Investigation',

Hiroko Yokoyama (Minpaku), 'Yuanshengtai' Movement, as a Phenomenon of Glocalization', Liu Zhengai (IEA), 'Ancestor Worship Ritual and Transmission of Folk Culture: Shaoxiang (incense burning) in Kuandian County of Liaoning Province', Zhang Jijiao (IEA), 'China Old Brand Enterprise: Current Situation and Future Development', Shigeyuki Tsukada (Minpaku), 'Culture of Embroidered Ball among the Zhuang People: The Practice and Symbolism', and Shu Yu (IEA), 'Technique Succession in a Time-honored Brand: The Case of Shengxifu Hat Manufacture'.

Anthropologists from the fields of East, Southeast Asia and North Asia, contributed to the discussions including Shiro Sasaki, Yuki Konagaya, Kyonosuke Hirai, Atsushi Nobayashi of Minpaku, Yoshio Watanabe (Chubu University), and Zhou Xing (Aichi University).

Thus, anthropologists with wide experience in Asia could exchange ideas, examine cultural transmission in China, and consider the possible consequences and directions of globalization from an Asian perspective. Through this productive forum, cooperation within the network of anthropology in China and Asia was strengthened.

Han Min
Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Media and Power in Contemporary South Asia

International Symposium
December 17 – 18, 2011

This was the second international symposium of INDAS, the Contemporary India Area Studies project initiated by the National Institutes for the Humanities (NIHU), Japan. INDAS is a network research project involving six research centers set up at five Japanese universities and a research institute, including Minpaku. The present conference was hosted by the research centers

of Minpaku and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

The conference was designed as a sequel to the previous two symposia organized by our network. The first national INDAS symposium held at the Kyoto University was in 2010, 'Social Change and Media: Aspects of Global India'. Several important issues remained to be addressed, such as the impact of changing media on the transformation of regional society, and the influence of contemporary politico-economical dynamics on the constellation of media and media messages. The next symposium was first international INDAS symposium in January 2011, 'Understanding Global India: The South Asian Path of Development and Its Possibilities' held at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Here the importance of social media networks in forming new public spheres, and in the diversifying of South Asia, was hinted at, but not deeply considered.

Bearing these issues in mind, the present international symposium addressed the media-power nexus in globalizing South Asian society. In the first of four sessions, we considered how media themselves produce the power to change socio-political conditions, compared the old and the new media in the role of producing public spheres, and considered the potential of new IT-based media to empower people in negotiations with changing social conditions.

In the second session, we considered how politico-economical power relations affect media formation and messages, and discussed how production and consumption have had impact on various media. The third session was focused on the film industry, and explored how global politico-economical power relations and technological changes have affected the production of cinemas, cinema songs and TV programs.

The final session, having synthetic role, examined how censorship and other forms of

power have molded the messages from media. We considered also how media themselves have acquired power through negotiations with external powers, to frame people's epistemes — their social and political realities.

The foreign delegates to this symposium came from India, the UK, Germany, Canada and New Zealand. Sixteen papers were presented, and the various impacts of the media on contemporary South Asian society were discussed by more than 100 participants on each day.

Minoru Mio
Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Research on Materials Related to Japan around the Baltic Sea Area

International Forum
February 4 – 5, 2012

This forum was the starting point of a six-year project of the National Institutes for the Humanities (NIHU), Japan: 'A Study of Japanese Overseas Collections', and specifically for 'Research on Materials Related to Japan in Russia and Northern Europe'. The purpose of the research is to discover the extent of Japanese and other East Asian ethnological materials (eg. objects, photographs, movies, texts) in Museum collections and other institutions in the Baltic Sea Area. Most of them are not examined nor unfiled.

The following presentations were given: 'The History and Contents of Japanese Collections in the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm' by Håkan Wahlquist (National Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, Sweden); 'Western Collectors in Early Modern Japanese-European Cultural Exchange: The Case of the Swedish Naturalists C. F. Hornstedt and J. A. Stützer' by Wolfgang Michel (Kyushu University); 'Japanese Collections in the German Baltic Area' by Josef Kreiner (Hosei University); 'Historical

Representations of Cultural Contacts: The Collections of Japanese Craft Arts in Estonia' by Kärt Summatavet (University of Tartu, Estonia); and 'Exhibition and Storage Methods in Ethnological Museums in Japan' by Hiroyuki Ito (Osaka Museum of History).

To conclude the forum, expert commentaries were provided by: Etsuji Fujitsuka (Folk Museum of Ota-City), Hiroki Kimura (Ryukoku University), Mabumi Kojima (Kagoshima Immaculate Heart University), Shiro Sasaki (Minpaku), and Hiroshi Shoji (Minpaku).

Important information and valuable academic exchanges were gained and enjoyed as a result of the forum. Through this forum, the outline of our research came out.

Masaki Kondo
Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Consuming Textiles Through Their Uses and Reuses

International Workshop
February 7 – 8, 2012

Textiles have an intimate relationship with humans, and each piece of cloth has its own biography comprised of manufacture, circulation, and use. However, that is not the

end of the story. Some textiles and clothes are discarded, gathered, and reused in a fantastically varying ways. The aim of this workshop was to examine the biographies of textiles worldwide, from ethnographic and historical perspectives.

During two days, three sessions were held with eight presentations. Session 1 concerned historical circulation of second-hand cloth. Shinya Kobayashi and Miki Sugiura, both from Tokyo International University, reexamined second-hand clothes in Tokugawa Era at the City of Edo. Ilja van Damme of the University of Antwerp dealt with the same topic with regard to Antwerp in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Session 2 focused on the modern circulation of second-hand goods and copy products. Jeremy Prestholdt of University of California, San Diego, looked at how African consumers in the modern global market have emerged in response to modern colonialism, and how things and commodities have changed their shapes. Sayaka Ogawa of Minpaku talked about the trans-border trading of second-hand clothing and copy products in East Africa. Lucy Norris of University College London turned our eyes towards India, showing us how the textile recycling industry there is linked to global networks. She described the



Absorbed in discussion during the international workshop 'Consuming Textiles through their Uses and Reuses'

shooting of a new documentary film depicting a shoddy factory and its women workers. To close the first day, Ogawa summarized several points raised by the presentations, and a lively discussion followed.

Session 3 on the second day was titled 'Between the Heritage and the Market: The Production and Circulation of Traditional Textile'. The first speaker, Miwa Kanetani from Kyoto University focused on African *kanga* cloth, pointing out its Indian connection as some *kanga* was manufactured in India, circulated around the Indian Ocean, and embodied many types of Indian image on it. Teruo Sekimoto of Minpaku took up the theme of Indonesian batik. Though Indonesian batik is generally seen as Indonesia's cultural heritage, production has been inseparably meshed with the emergence and development of modern society and industry in the Dutch East Indies, since the 19th century. Batik has taken many different forms as material for daily clothing, high fashion, antiques of semi-artistic quality, and many more. Finally, Ulara Tamura of the Research Institute for Humanity and Nature offered a story about Turkish carpets today. In a village in southwestern Turkey, a piece of carpet changes its face repeatedly within the village, appearing on different occasions as a commodity, a form of savings, gift, and household item. The changes are not uni-directional. The three presentations were brilliantly reviewed in the commentary by Ayami Nakatani of Okayama University, and this led to spirited discussion.

The workshop was organized for a Minpaku core research project: 'Anthropological Study of Humans and Textiles'.

Teruo Sekimoto
Co-organizer
National Museum of Ethnology



Participants of the symposium 'Exhibiting Africa' in the Africa gallery at Minpaku (2012)

Exhibiting Africa: Contemporary Perspectives on the Representation of Cultures in Museums

*International Symposium
February 17 – 18, 2012*

A few years ago, Minpaku began refurbishing the whole permanent exhibition, beginning with the galleries for Africa and West Asia. These reopened in March 2009, the Music and Language galleries in March 2010, the Oceania and the Americas galleries in March 2011, and most recently, the Europe gallery and the newly installed Information Zone in March this year. The refurbishment will continue over the next several years until all the permanent exhibition galleries have been renewed.

To realize changes in the Africa gallery, we asked museum professionals in Africa to be advisors from the planning stage. Our hope is that the exhibition will function as a continuing platform for academic cooperation.

The symposium 'Exhibiting Africa: Contemporary Perspectives on the Representation of Cultures of Museums' was held at Minpaku, to review the new exhibition. Specialists who

directly or indirectly contributed to realization of the exhibition were invited.

After visiting the new Africa Gallery, curators from Africa, Europe and America presented recent developments in exhibitions of Africa in their own countries. These reports enabled us to place Minpaku's new African exhibition in a global context. Through discussion, the achievements and shortcomings of the new African exhibition became clear. Many overseas participants appreciated the display in the 'Work' section, which focuses on individuals with their portraits, names, the tools they work with, and video or text messages that tell us what they think about their occupations. As curators of the exhibition, our intention was to more vividly introduce the lives of people who live together with us in the same era. The work display was appreciated as one which suggests a new direction for ethnographic exhibition.

The balance between pieces information shown in the galleries and those given in our digital guide were also highly appreciated; they are not overlapping, and the latter give deeper, and in some case more esoteric, knowledge than the former.

Some shortcomings were also pointed out. Especially the name of the section entitled 'Rest' was said to be misleading. This

section actually reveals more about urban life on important aspect of African life, and a couple of reviewers suggested that it should be renamed as such.

We are ready now to reflect on the renewal of further galleries. The symposium helped us to identify more positive and productive ways of exhibiting cultures in museums, now and in the future. Our participants, from inside and outside Africa, unanimously expressed the need for (and potential of) exhibitions that bridge gaps in our common perceptions, that is, between we and they, Africa and the West, 'the primitive' and 'the civilized', etc. In this way we can raise awareness of the fact that we all are contemporaries. It seems that the new African gallery at Minpaku was appreciated, in part, because it has achieved some of these goals.

Kenji Yoshida
Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Living in a Community of Resilience: A Comparative Study on the Search for Well-being in Multicultural Aging Societies

*International Symposium
February 25 – 26, 2012*

This symposium was held to present results of the project 'Anthropology of Caring and Education for Life' (2011–2013), a core research project of Minpaku in the domain of 'Anthropological Studies of Inclusion and Autonomy in the Human World'.

With so many concerns about the directions of modern society — fewer children being born, more older people, and the widening of social gaps between different groups — what kind of life can be hoped for by those who plan on working in the future, as well as those who will be retired? How will individuals share 'time-spaces' and transmit culture? Our symposium explored beliefs, practices, and

issues with special attention to seniors' well-being in the strongly multicultural nation-states of Singapore, Australia, Brazil, the USA, and in South Korea, while making comparisons with Japan.

Session 1 was titled 'The Well-being of Older Persons in Culturally Diverse Societies'. Here we explored well-ageing in culturally diverse communities with the following presentations: Leng Leng Thang (National University of Singapore), 'Ageing and the Well-being of Older Persons in Singapore'; Susan Feldman (Monash University, Australia), 'Understanding Ageing Well in Culturally Diverse Australian Communities'; Itsuko Kanamoto (Momoyama Gakuin University), 'Active Ageing and Well-being of the Japanese Elderly in Brazil'; and Hyunsoo Hong (University of Tokyo), 'Terminal Care and Well-being in South Korea'.

Session 2 was titled 'Creating a Place for Everybody in the Pursuit of the Well-being of the Elderly'. Presentations were: Mariko Fujita-Sano (Hiroshima University), 'American Elderly People and Voluntary Activities'; Yoko Taniguchi (Senshu University), 'Various Means for the Pursuit of Well-being by Japanese Elderly Women'; and Nanami Suzuki (Minpaku), 'Creating

and Cherishing a Living Space'. These presenters explored interactions between senior citizens and the larger community and its inhabitants.

Session 3 was titled 'Studies on the Care of Older People Living in the Aftermath of the East Japan Great Earthquake Disaster'. Presentations were: Nobuyasu Koizumi (VITAL-CARE Inc.), 'Something to Be Learned and Told from an On-site Experience of the East Japan Great Earthquake Disaster'; Reiko Suzuki (Tohoku Fukushi University), 'Activating a Community of Elderly People by Conducting Gymnastics'; and Hiroo Hagino (Tohoku Fukushi University), 'Care of Elderly People and Local Residents after the Disaster'. These reports on problems faced in the Tohoku region of Japan, struck by the Great East Japan Earthquake of March 2011, were prepared by people with extensive experience in senior citizen care in that region. They described ingenious ways and practices utilized to continue providing care under difficult circumstances.

The symposium attracted participation by 120 people, including members of the public. In our discussion, we concluded that activities to enhance the well-being of senior citizens may also help



Intergenerational programmes in Dulwich Picture Gallery (by courtesy of Dulwich Picture Gallery, 2011)

create environments in which people from diverse cultural backgrounds can coexist and enjoy lifelong learning. In such environments, people are likely to think about the meaning of life at every moment of life.

Nanami Suzuki
Convener
National Museum of Ethnology

Designing Inclusive Environments and Services for Lifelong Learning and Care

*International Symposium
March 3 – 4, 2012*

The purpose of this symposium was to discuss the role of 'Inclusive design' for care and learning in the community. Emphasis was given to environments where people can live together and share time.

The term 'Inclusive design' was advanced as a new concept of design in Europe, especially in the UK, in the 1990s, while the concept of 'Universal design' emerged in the 1980s in the USA. Inclusive design has mainly focused on issues of age, ability, health, labor, and various inner city problems that modern society needs to contend with now and in the future. We discussed methods for the realization of care and learning, especially focusing on the practices in museums and art galleries, including the programs and space devoted to the sharing of experiences. Some presenters introduced the concept of designing for social engagement, design with examples of cooperation between disabled and other peoples, instead of design for unidirectional support.

Three guest speakers from the UK gave us new insights. Gillian Wolfe, CBE, introduced outreach programmes of the Dulwich Picture Gallery. The Gallery has been trying to engage new audiences: the unemployed, inner city youth, mentally or physically disadvantaged, prisoners, and the residents of drug-rehab centres, hospitals, and care homes. I did not know of any

Japanese museums or art galleries that might recognize such groups as audiences. Those at Dulwich believe in the power of Art to change society, and their work is not only inside the museum, but also in wider social action. Mike Ayres, an independent designer, gave an interesting presentation: the multi-sensory environments he has designed have no texts. Our common sense regarding museum exhibits limits the design of museums or art galleries. His presentations suggested that facilities with multi-sensory environments can give very positive and pleasurable experiences to everyone, thus extending the realization of inclusiveness. This can be in education and also in the world of leisure, including museums, which often serve as places for both education and leisure.

Through general discussion, we came to know better the problems for care and learning, and the need to develop environments where they can be provided. It is very important that the process of creating environments for care and learning should not be treated only as a cost — instead, the process itself is an essential first step in providing care and learning.

The symposium was organized as part of a new Core Research Project entitled 'The Anthropology of Care and Education for Life'. This project was launched at Minpaku in 2011.

Atsushi Nobayashi
Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

New Staff

Itsushi Kawase
Assistant Professor, Research Center for Cultural Resources

Kawase specializes in theory and practice of anthropological filmmaking. Since 2001, he has spent three years intermittently in northern Ethiopia, conducting intensive fieldwork with hereditary singers as well



as with street children for Kyoto University, where he received his MA and PhD. He has produced several films, including the award-winning *Room 11, Ethiopia Hotel* (2007). He has been showing his films at numerous international ethnographic film festivals and conferences. He has investigated the prospects and challenges of imparting anthropological knowledge by actively communicating with protagonists on-screen, and occasionally, debating with people through his films. He has recently spent two years at the Granada Centre for Visual Anthropology, the University of Manchester, as a Japan Society for the promotion of Science (JSPS) fellow. He is currently a board member of Commission on Visual Anthropology, International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES).

Sayaka Ogawa
Assistant Professor, Center for Research Development



Ogawa has specialized in African area studies and cultural anthropology. She worked at Minpaku as research fellow until March, 2012.

Her research theme is exploring how marginal people can construct their own life-world while adapting to the logic of global capitalism, and how they can build their own communalities for mutual security, while respecting the autonomy and heterogeneity of smaller social units. Her main publication titled *The Art of Surviving in the City* (in Japanese, Sekaishissha, 2011) explored the unique business practice and communalities of street traders in Tanzania by focusing on

street-wise cunning. Now she is exploring the global distribution system of second-hand goods and copy products in order to discuss contemporary consumption culture.

Hironao Kawai
Research Fellow, Center for Research Development



Kawai was educated at Tokyo Metropolitan University, where he received his PhD in social anthropology in 2009.

Since 2001, he conducted field research on landscape and built environment in Okinawa, Hong Kong, and mainland China. He worked for the Hakka Institute of Jiaying University (2008-2010) and the School of Sociology and Anthropology, Sun Yat-sen University (2010-2011) in Guangdong, China. His research interests are: urban anthropology, the anthropology of landscape, and the ethnology of Han Chinese. He is currently working on the urban spaces and cultural landscapes of Hakka people in South China and Southeast Asia.

Junko Goya
Research Fellow, Research Center for Cultural Resources

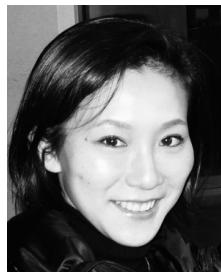


Goya is conducting research in the area of anthropology of education, with a focus on traditional performing arts education in

schools in Korea and Okinawa. She received MA degree from Seoul National University (anthropology, 2007). Her main research question is how education influences cultural identity, especially Korean traditional music (Kook-ak) education. She has studied traditional music education in Korean public elementary

schools, and has analyzed the role of traditional music education in the formation of nation-states. Currently, as a PhD candidate at Nagoya University, she is conducting research on the relationship between culture and the development of personality. Her areas of interest include: traditional performing arts education, development of personality through the transmission of traditional performing arts, and school education in Okinawa, Japan.

Mari Kagaya
Research Fellow, Center for Research Development



Kagaya is a cultural anthropologist with expertise in community studies in the Okinawa region. Her previous focus was on gender relationships and their diachronic changes in Kohama Island. In her PhD thesis from Ochanomizu University (social science, 2006), she compared and tested her own empirical data with conservative representations of Okinawan gender. Prior to her new role in Minpaku, she lectured at Hosei University and The Open University of Japan. Her research areas include the transfiguration of traditional community in Yaeyama and influences on family resulting from elderly welfare policies (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, 2010-2012). Her current challenge is to investigate the proposal that family is the most intimate and systemic form of community.



of Anthropology and Ethnology at Xiamen University, China, and secretary-general of the Chinese Society for

Anthropology. He is former director of the Anthropology Museum of Xiamen University (2000-2007), and former director of the Anthropology Institute, Xiamen University (1994-2004). He is the author of *Ethnolinguistics* (Xiamen University Press, 1993) and co-author of *Classification of Languages and Dialects of China* (Zhonghua Book Company, 2009). His fields of study cover anthropological linguistics, cultural heritage, cultural anthropology, area cultural study and ethnic relations in Southern China. As project leader, he took lead in a research project 'China Digital Science and Technology Museum — Earth Buildings of the Hakkas', which received World Summit Award (2007). His paper 'A study on lexicostatistic classification and measurement of the time depth of Zhuang-Dong languages' won him the National Excellent Achievement Award of Higher Education Science and Research (China, 2009). At present he is cooperating with Katsumi Tamura and Han Min on the study of interrelations among ethnic groups and regional culture in Southeast China.

(December 15, 2011 – June 14, 2012)

Marie Roué
Senior Researcher, National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), France

Marie Roué is an anthropologist, specialized in interdisciplinary approaches to nature and traditional knowledge, mainly in the Arctic and Subarctic. After her PhD on Sami reindeer herders in Kautokeino, Norway (Sorbonne/Paris V), she worked with the Inuit of Arctic Quebec

Visiting Scholars

Deng Xiaohua
Professor, Anthropology and Ethnology at Xiamen University, China

Deng Xiaohua is the professor



on their knowledge of caribou ecology and with the Cree Indians in relation to the James Bay hydroelectric development

where she analyzed conflicting views and uses of the land among developers, indigenous peoples and environmental NGO's. More recently she carried out research on National Parks in France (Cévennes) and northern Sweden, in UNESCO World Heritage Sites. She studied the impact of their labeling as cultural landscapes, as viewed by the peasants of the Cévennes and the reindeer herders of Sweden. She has published two books about the Sami and directed two issues of the International Social Science Journal on biodiversity and cultural diversity, indigenous peoples and NGO's. Her research with the Cree Indians on the spring migration of geese led to her current research at Minpaku, which concerns seasonality in Japan, in particular the meaning of spring in an urban and contemporary context.

(December 15, 2011 – September 14, 2012)

Jiannan Cao

Associate Professor, Department of Humanity and Communication, Shanghai Normal University, China



He obtained his PhD in cultural and social studies at the Graduate University for Advanced Studies in Japan in 1996. At

Shanghai Normal University he has been teaching the Japanese language and culture while investigating Chinese folk religion but has for the last few years mainly studied tea culture. At Minpaku he will

compare the tea cultures of Japan and China — from the perspective of materiality and art. The research will be based on previous folkloristic research regarding Japanese tea culture at Minpaku and material will further be collected from all over Japan through fieldwork. As an additional goal during his one year visit, he aims to collect literature about Japanese tea culture as a resource for future research in China.

(January 25, 2012 – January 24, 2013)

Chuluun Sampildondov

Professor, Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Mongolia



Sampildondov graduated from the National University of Mongolia as a historian-ethnologist. He studied socio-

economy and ethno-culture of ethnic groups in Northern Mongolia and received his PhD from the Moscow State Pedagogical University. He has worked at the Institute of History, Mongolian Academy of Sciences since 1999 and he became Director of the Institute in 2010. His main research area is ethnogenesis, history, and social relationships among the ethnic groups in northwestern Mongolia. In particular, he focuses on the relationship between Mongolians and native people at the borderland in Tuva, Buryat and southern Siberia. He has conducted fieldwork among Hotogoid and other ethnic groups more than thirty times, and has studied historical records relevant to the history of Mongolia in the 17–19th centuries in main archives of Russia. His research focuses on missionary relationships, neighborhood policy, heriot, policy towards Russians, and the life-style, culture and religion of Mongols of the 17th century as noted in

missionary records of Mongolian, Russian and Manchu sources. Recently, He has worked on the history of relationships between Mongols and the Russian Empire, in the 17th century.

(April 2, 2012 – March 29, 2013)

Publications

From January to June 2012, we published the following issues and articles:

Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 36

Issue 2: N. Kishigami, 'Sharing and distribution of Bowhead whale meat among the Inupiat in Barrow, Alaska, USA'; M. Togawa, 'Mahatma Gandhi's ideology of "ahimsa" (non-violence) and civil society in Post-colonial India'; and T. Ishizaka, 'Discussion aiming to expand the capabilities among microcredit borrowers: Based on case studies in Bangladesh'.
Issue 3: Y. Sugimoto, 'From universal brotherhood to Buddhist nationalism: The Vicissitudes of the ideology of Anagarika Dharmapala'; O. Sakiyama, 'Japanese as a mixed language: Sound law and semantic change from proto Austronesian to ancient Japanese'; and M. Kondo, 'The cases of cannibalism in contemporary Japan'.

Issue 4: R. Kikusawa, 'On the development of applicative constructions in Austronesian languages'; Kalina, 'The traditional hunting production of the Ewenki people and Orochon people'; K. Ikeya, 'On nomadic pig pastoralism in the Bengal delta of Bangladesh'; K. Hirai, 'Museum and social movement: Redefining the Minamata disease incident through exhibit and narratives'; and T. Nishio, 'A bibliography of the Arabian Nights in the 18th century'.

Senri Ethnological Studies

No. 77: Nakamura, W. and R. Kikusawa (eds.) *Objectivization and Subjectivization: A Typology of Voice Systems*. 235pp.

No.78: Spriggs, M., D. Addison and P.J. Matthews (eds.) *Irrigated Taro (Colocasia esculenta) in the Indo-Pacific: Biological, Social and Historical Perspectives.* 363pp.

No.79: Suzuki, N. (ed.) *The Anabaptist Idea and the Way of Practicing Care: Reconsidering the Meaning of Life in the 21st Century.* 81pp.

Senri Ethnological Reports

No.101: Lkhagvasuren, I. *Altai Uriankhains: Historical and Ethnographical Investigation Late XIX – Early XX Centuries.* 261pp.

No.102: Suzuki, N. (ed.) *Toward a Society without Environmental Handicaps: Focusing on the Practices of Normalization Searching for People's Well-beings.* 113pp.

No.103: Iida, T. (ed.) *Dynamics of Cultural Phenomena in Local Societies of Madagascar.* 301pp.

No.104: Nobayashi, A. (ed.) *Pre-modern Visualisations of Ethnos and Race in East Asia.* 171pp.

No.105: Kolhatkar, M. and M. Tachikawa. *Buddhist Fire Ritual in Japan.* 198pp.

Information

An Academic Information Repository has been created at Minpaku

(<http://ir.minpaku.ac.jp/dspace/index.jsp?locale=en>).

The Repository has been created using DSpace, an open-source, digital archive management system used by academic organisations worldwide. The Repository will provide free, open access to past and future publications of the museum, in English, Japanese, and other languages.

To deal with this matter, the Museum is asking all authors to permit republication in the *Academic Information Repository*. We have been attempting to contact the copyright holders of earlier publications directly and also through a public request on the Repository homepage (see URL above).

The text of the request includes the following statements:

'We hereby ask authors of non-disclosed [ie. not-yet online] copyrighted works for permission to register and use their research results in the Minpaku Repository. Please note that the Agreement for Online Disclosure of Copyrighted Works concerns reproduction rights and rights of public transmission only, it does not apply to transfer of copyright.

If you do not wish to have your publications electronically available, please contact us ... by September 28, 2012.

Any copyrighted works for which we have not received any indication of the author's intention by the date indicated above will be regarded as tentatively approved and will be put online. However, if the author subsequently submits a request for non-disclosure, the said work will be promptly deleted.' (Internet, June 5, 2012).

Museum publications (three academic series) now placed in the Repository are:

- *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology*
- *Senri Ethnological Studies (SES)*
- *Senri Ethnological Reports (SER)*

Please visit the Repository website for further information on this matter, and contact details, if you have previously had work published in any of the above series of our museum. The present *Newsletter* is currently displayed online in a different area of the museum website (see URL in the blue panel at right).

Forthcoming Special Exhibition

The Warp and Weft of Weaving: Handlooms and Textiles of the World

National Museum of Ethnology
Osaka

Sep. 13 – Nov. 27, 2012.
Produced by Minpaku

MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter

The Newsletter is published in June and December. 'Minpaku' is an abbreviation of the Japanese name for the National Museum of Ethnology (*Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan*). The Newsletter promotes a continuing exchange of information with former visiting scholars and others who have been associated with the museum. The Newsletter also provides a forum for communication with a wider academic audience.

The Newsletter is available online at: <http://www.minpaku.ac.jp/english/research/activity/publication/periodical/newsletter>

General Editor: Ken'ichi Sudo

Editor: Michiko Intoh

Editorial Panel: Kyonosuke Hirai, Ritsuko Kikusawa, Peter Matthews, Chihiro Shirakawa

Production: Yumi Edamitsu

Address for correspondence:

The Editor

MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter
National Museum of Ethnology
Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka 565-8511, Japan

Tel: +81-6-6876-2151

Fax: +81-6-6878-7503

E-mail: nletter@idc.minpaku.ac.jp

Signed articles represent the views of their writers, not necessarily official views of the National Museum of Ethnology.

© National Museum of Ethnology
2012. ISSN 1341-7959

Printed by Nakanishi Printing Co., Ltd