



National  
Museum of  
Ethnology  
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## Special Theme: Globalization and Migration

*In Japan, as in most countries, migration is a contentious subject. When Japan closed its national borders on April 3, 2020, at the onset of the Covid-19 crisis, many of Japan's long-term foreign residents became stranded abroad. The policy did not distinguish permanent or long-term residents from tourists and other temporary travellers. Foreigners are seen as primarily tourists or migrant workers who come and go, rarely as people who have settled down and become part of Japanese society. Yet anthropologists have different stories to tell on this subject. In this issue, two members of the Department of Globalization and Humanity at Minpaku and their colleagues shared with us their insights from long-term research on migration in Japan and around the globe. (Hatsuki Aishima, special theme editor)*

## Introduction

Kenji Yoshida

National Museum of Ethnology

The National Museum of Ethnology (commonly known by its Japanese abbreviation "Minpaku") opened its doors on the site of the Osaka Expo in 1977 as an inter-university research institute in the field of cultural anthropology and ethnology, with the added function of a museum. We celebrated our 40th anniversary in November 2017. Over the decades, Minpaku has collected artifacts from around the world (starting with a founding "Attic Collection", see [tinyurl.com/y82cmpvs](http://tinyurl.com/y82cmpvs)) and currently holds around 345,000 items. This is the world's largest ethnographic collection built mainly in the late 20th century, and to a large extent our anthropological research has focused on the modern world and contemporary issues.

### Contents

#### Special Theme:

#### Globalization and Migration

Introduction

Kenji Yoshida ..... 1

About "the transnational family" and its sense of place

Akiko Mori ..... 2

Living "two cultures"?

Shinsaku Ishikawa ..... 4

Japan today and the German experience

Sachi Takaya ..... 6

Hakka migration and the virtual world

Hironao Kawai ..... 8

Column ..... 9

Exhibition ..... 11

Conference ..... 12

Editor's Note ..... 13

Information ..... 13

New Staff ..... 14

Overseas Visiting Fellows ..... 15

Publications ..... 15

Forthcoming Exhibitions ..... 16

Each spring since 2005, we have partnered with *Mainichi Newspapers* to hold a public lecture in central Osaka. This year, under the title of "Living Two Cultures: Lessons from Turkish Migrants in Germany", we planned this event as an opportunity to think about the future for those of us living in Japan, with reference to Germany's Turkish migrant communities. Unfortunately, this highly significant and timely event was cancelled due to the global spread of Covid-19. Nevertheless, we wish to showcase some of the anthropological research on migration that is carried out at Minpaku, in this special 50th issue of the *Newsletter* (see Editor's Note).

Migration is an urgent challenge for the world today. One factor in the exit of Britain from the European Union was the increase in migration from other parts of the EU.

In the case of Germany, it aggressively recruited overseas workers, especially after World War II. According to the German Federal Statistical Office (2016), of the total population of 82.40 million, some

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23% now have a migrant background if the children and grandchildren of migrants born and raised in Germany are included. The largest immigrant population is Turkish, and most people in this population are Muslim.

Many of the foreign workers who moved to Germany eventually brought their families to live with them. While living in Germany, they maintained their ties with their home country, with new generations being born along the way. Due to cultural differences, it is not uncommon for those with migrant backgrounds to experience confrontation and friction in German society. How do they view their own lives straddling the distinct worlds of Germany and Turkey, and how are they

living them?

In Japan, April 2019 saw passage of the amended Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, which will result in increasing numbers of people with foreign citizenship living in Japanese society. There is a lot to be learned from the experience of Turkish migrants in Europe in terms of building a society in which we can live together and overcome differences in language and culture.

This special issue will enhance our understanding of the experience of those with migrant backgrounds in Europe, but I hope that it will also give us some guidance towards realization of multicultural harmony in Japan.

## About “the transnational family” and its sense of place

Akiko Mori

*National Museum of Ethnology*

Akiko Mori is Professor in the Department of Globalization and Humanity at the National Museum of Ethnology. She specializes in the Anthropology of Europe, and has conducted fieldwork in Austrian Carinthia and Berlin. Her publications include: *The Anthropology of Europe as Seen from Japan: Considering Contemporary Forms and Meanings of the Social*, Senri Ethnological Studies 81 (2013, A. Mori ed.) and *Exhibiting Cultures: Comparative Perspectives from Japan and Europe*, special issue, Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 38 (2014, A. Mori ed.).

Migrants settle and integrate with the localities and patterns of daily life of the country in which they reside. At the same time they are engaged elsewhere in the sense that they maintain connections and influence local and national events in the countries from which they emigrated. At times they experience serious friction between their native culture and the culture of their host society. How do they see those two cultures, and how do they construct their sense of belonging, while raising their families in the globalizing world?

*Turkish migrants in Germany*

Turkish migration to Germany began in the postwar period of *Wirtschaftswunder*. From the mid-1950s to early 1970s, many countries in Europe – and also Japan – had high economic growth. While European countries sought foreign labor, the required workforce in Japan migrated from rural areas to the cities. In 1955, West Germany began by sourcing labor from Italy, and further agreements with Spain and Greece were made in 1960. Agreements with these countries came first, because the countries were seen as culturally more familiar. In 1961 an agreement was signed with Turkey, a Muslim country.

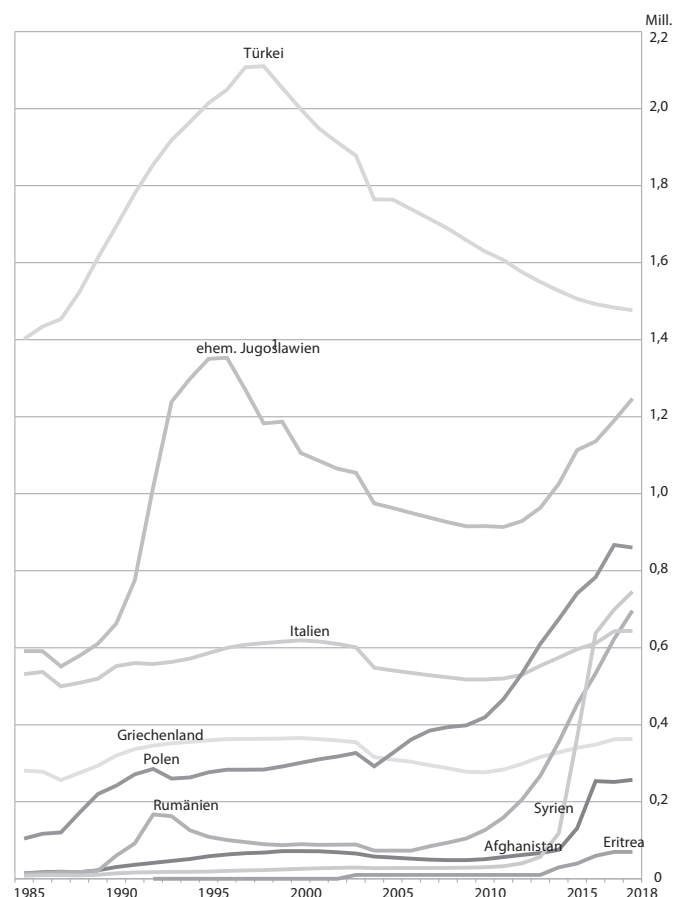
Those laborers who passed a rigorous medical examination by

German doctors were dispatched to every corner of West Germany, while their families stayed in the homelands. The initial plan of the state was a rotation principle: a temporary laborer's stay (usually two to three years), then return to the homeland. This is why they were called “guest workers”. However, the rotation principle proved inefficient for industry because the workers had to be replaced just when they had become familiar with the work place. Companies called upon the government for legislation to extend workers' residence permits. The industrial structure required simple labor, in other words foreign workers with low levels of specialization.

In those days companies provided beds and meals for foreign workers in dormitories. The workers' life-space was limited to almost only the workplace and the dormitory. After several years of stay, they would become acquainted with just a limited part of the work process and a specific terminology useful only at their workplace. The hardworking Turks were prized by companies. By 1964, the number of foreign workers in West Germany reached the one million mark.

*Formation of “the transnational family”*

In 1973, the German government stopped advertising for workers on the occasion of an energy- and economic





Street cleaning and  
story telling in Berlin  
(Mori, 2003)



participants followed a well-made plan, forming three groups, each taking responsibility for a route to clean. On the street they paused a few times while an appointed person in the cleaning group explained the story of the place through her/his own experiences. For example, a German gentleman described a memory from his youth just after the war, and a Turkish-German youth explained how he played on the street in the early 1980s, when he was brought to Germany from Turkey by his parents. The destination of all three groups was a house owned by an association, where people had a light meal accompanied by music and dance. The event was planned by a volunteer working group, whose approximately 10 members were of various cultural backgrounds and were mostly residents of the borough. The leading spirit of the group was a Turkish-German lady who worked as a social worker.

What were the results? Although the streets became clean, they stayed that way for only an hour. However, there were other benefits: through the physical activity of street cleaning, and watching and hearing real storytelling, participants became better acquainted

with both the present and history of the place. Among younger mothers and children from Turkish families, experiencing this activity heightened their interest in the street and borough. Because many younger mothers grew up in Turkey and married into immigrant families in this borough, they lacked a sense of connection to the place where they were living. Some of those organizing the event also wished to show the Berlin public that many immigrants in the borough are interested in public service and are willing to engage in voluntary activities.

I regard this event as a project that helps to create and revitalize the neighborhood within a metropolis. The character of the neighborhood is notable: belonging is contingent and spontaneous; neither nationality nor residence is a privileged condition, and the relationships among neighbors are not fixed. The character is substantially different from that of a traditional community. Being closed off is not expected here; rather, a tolerant acceptance of diversity and openness is valued. I see the migrants here raising their families in the globalizing world and constructing their own sense of place.

## Living “two cultures”? Turkish immigrants in a German city

**Shinsaku Ishikawa**

*Tohoku Gakuin University*

In the Republic of Turkey, the country that sent the most guest workers to Germany, 99% of the population is Muslim. Turks and other Muslims living in Germany are believed to number between four and seven million. Islam has a difficult position in Europe, often

filling the role of the “other” amid a “clash of civilizations” discourse.

The Ruhr region, the heart of Germany’s modernization, employed many guest workers after World War II. In Duisburg, my fieldwork location since the mid-1990s, migrants

represent nearly 40% of the population and it is estimated that almost half are of Turkish origin. In the past, they did not have much interaction with the local community, but over time they have managed to build social relationships despite experiencing intercultural friction.

The city has several migrant residential districts where mosques have existed since the 1970s. These mosques were rooms in apartment blocks that were decorated by hand, their presence advertised only by a modest sign outside. At some point these came to be known as “backyard mosques”. In the evening, bearded men would gather to drink tea and watch satellite television programs from Turkey, performing prayers when the clock struck a certain hour. These were seen as Muslim-only spaces isolated from mainstream German society. A phrase emerged to describe these separate social spaces where there was no exchange with the wider community: “parallel society”. (“Backyard mosques” have also appeared in Japan since the 1990s).

In fact, it appears that many non-Muslim residents of the city did not know about them and for a long time, they did not receive much attention. However, in the mid-1990s, the existence of backyard mosques and Muslims in general filtered into the public consciousness as a result of the debates surrounding the call to prayer. (God commanded Muslims to pray five times a day between dawn-break and evening, and mosques announce the times). Traditionally, callers shouted from the mosque towers but in the late twentieth century, some started using microphones and loudspeakers. This led to friction which then generated dialogue, resulting in this “parallel society” becoming part of the local community.

These processes were also related to initiatives to tap into the vibrancy of migrants who make up 40% of the city’s residents for the tourism and service sectors instead of the ailing heavy industries. This became symbolized by what was Germany’s largest mosque at the time, built in the largest migrant district in Duisburg in 2008. In this article, I will use this as a case study to look at how social relationships change with the system.

At the end of September 1996, some Islamic associations offered to the Foreign Council of the city to perform the *adhan* (call to prayer) outdoors, although it was considered “noise pollution” by some members of the local community. The problem was escalated by the pastor of a Protestant

church in the parish where the Islamic association was located, sparking a “theological” debate. The argument continued for some time and was reported by the major press, although *adhan* itself was approved on the condition of not using loudspeakers.

The “backyard mosque” thus became a concrete image of “parallel society”. At the same time, however, it was also a chance for the public discussion about Islam among citizens, including immigrants, in Duisburg. In response, the city launched a project called “Understanding and Learning” centered on the Foreign Affairs Bureau, creating a framework for dialogue between Islamic associations and local citizens. The federal and state governments eventually evaluated this framework, which led to the construction of a full-fledged mosque.

The mosque, named Pollmann Merkez Camii, was built in 2008 in Marxloh district, north of Duisburg, an area known as the Migrant Housing District. In 2000, a Turkish Islamic organization called the DITIB Duisburg-Marxloh applied for construction permission. This required further discussion with local citizens. The completed mosque became a complex with a place of worship on the upper floors and an educational and exchange center in the lower floor. In 2003, an advisory group called Dialog unter der Kuppel, which consisted of various organizations in the region, was established to realize this entirely new concept facility. Dialog members were Catholic and Protestant churches, political parties, district committees, schools, civic initiatives, local residents, and the Duisburg Development Company. Construction of the mosque component used donations by Muslims, while the exchange center used subsidies from

Shinsaku Ishikawa, Professor, Department of Co-Existing Society Studies, Faculty of Economics, Tohoku Gakuin University. As a cultural anthropologist, Ishikawa has focused on migration studies, Turkish migrants living in the German city of Duisburg, and foreign migrants living in Japan. Key publications include *EU society as seen from the periphery: Minority and citizen anthropology* (2012, Sekaishisoshakyo Kyogakusha) and *The culture and local communities of Turkish migrants living in Germany: cultural anthropological research on social integration* (2012, Rikkyo University Press) (both in Japanese).

The mosque in Marxloh district, Duisburg (Ishikawa, 2008)



the European Union and North Rhein Westphalia. The construction also received tangible and intangible support from the city and region.

This project showed a change of consciousness among immigrants, local residents and the municipality. Immigrant groups are trying to gain approval by contributing to the region and society along with efforts to “integrate”, while local citizens and governments are actively involved in the “integration” of immigrants, and expect them to add economic vitality and attract tourists. People seem to be seeking co-existence (*zusammenleben*) by rebuilding social life and finding value for each other.

Changing relationships between migrants and local communities cannot be explained without talking about the second-generation migrants, who are native German speakers. Between the 1960s and the turn of the millennium, the German government did not have an official migration policy and denied the presence of migrants in Germany society (in a manner similar to the ethnically homogenous nationalism seen in Japan). Migrants were treated as “foreigners” who would return to their countries at some point. During this half a century, “foreigners” had “lived” in Germany, working and raising their families. Under the judicial principle and social norm of *jus sanguinis* (citizenship by blood), the children of “foreigners” reaching adulthood in the years before the millennium were burdened with handicaps in terms of citizenship, language and education. These young adults did not have a “home country” to go back to – their homeland was Germany. Germany woke up to this issue and rapidly set about building a judicial system

to allow migrants to gain German nationality in the 21st century. However, this was long overdue. The delay came at the price of making the second generation of migrants a “lost generation”. At times we see statements such as “Immigration in Germany has failed” or, to quote Chancellor Angela Merkel’s announcement in 2010, “Multiculturalism has ended in failure”. However, it is a mistake to take these statements out of context. The biggest failure was the overdue action. Germany is now desperately struggling to overcome its five-decade lag.

Multiculturalism assumes that different cultures can coexist in the same society at the same time. However, in the modern social space where people actually live, completely different ways of life do not exist separately, side-by-side (*nebeneinander* as Merkel has expressed it in German). I think Merkel’s announcement suggested such reality, not the failure of a multicultural policy. In fact, there is no multicultural policy in Germany.

The case of Duisburg indicates that immigrants’ livelihoods are embedded in German society and German and European social institutions. Not as a representation, but in a cultural space where people live in reality – Islam and Muslim lives are embedded in “Germany” as an indivisible cultural tissue. Likewise, the judicial system has transformed from a nation state based on *jus sanguinis* to *jus soli*, a nation state that legally acknowledges immigrants. However, as seen in the rise of xenophobic populism, it is equally true that people’s consciousness cannot uniformly adapt to the changes associated with migration.

Similar phenomena may be experienced in Japan in the near future.

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## Japan today and the German experience

Sachi Takaya  
*Osaka University*

At the end of 2019, the population of foreign residents in Japan was over 2.9 million. There has been long-term growth since the 1980s, but in recent years the population has surged with around 200,000 foreign nationals being added every year (see graph). In April 2019 the amended Immigration Control

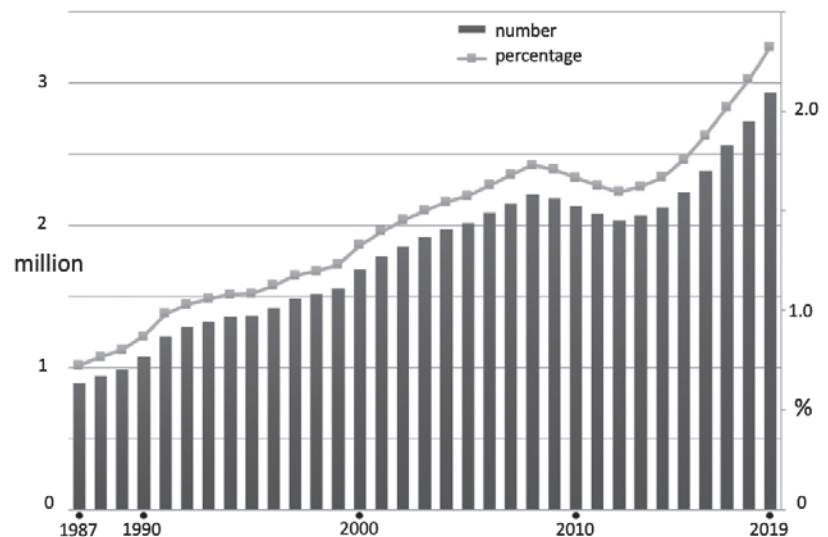
and Refugee Recognition Act was enforced, opening the door to workers with a “Specified Skills” visa. This new system is mostly a temporary migration program in which the migrant workers are allowed to work to a maximum of five years in fourteen sectors such as construction, care service and



agriculture. Only in three sectors can residency be extended and family reunifications be allowed, after the five-year limit is reached.

The introduction of this system is new in that Japanese government has officially decided to accept migrant workers because of the labor shortage. While reform of the Immigration Control Act in 1990 allowed immigration by specialized workers in professional and technical fields, the government has stuck to the policy of not admitting so-called “non-specialized and technical” workers. Since then, *Nikkei* (descendants of Japanese emigrants) permitted to enter as “family visitors”, trainees (now technical interns) under the system for international contributions, and international students have been making up for labor demands in “non-specialized and technical” fields. In 2018, the number of migrant workers reached 1.46 million. Only 19% of these workers were “specialized and technical”, while trainees and international students amounted to 40% in total. This is why Japan's migration policy has been called as a “side-door” policy.

The government's denial of migrant workers might affect the people's recognition of those workers and migrants in general. The terms “migrant” (*imin*) or “migrant worker” (*imin rodosha*) are not commonly used in Japan – people normally say “foreigner” (*gaikokujin*) or “foreign worker” (*gaikokujin rodosha*). As such, Japan today still sees a dichotomy between Japanese and foreigners, with a tendency to see “foreigners” as “people from outside of

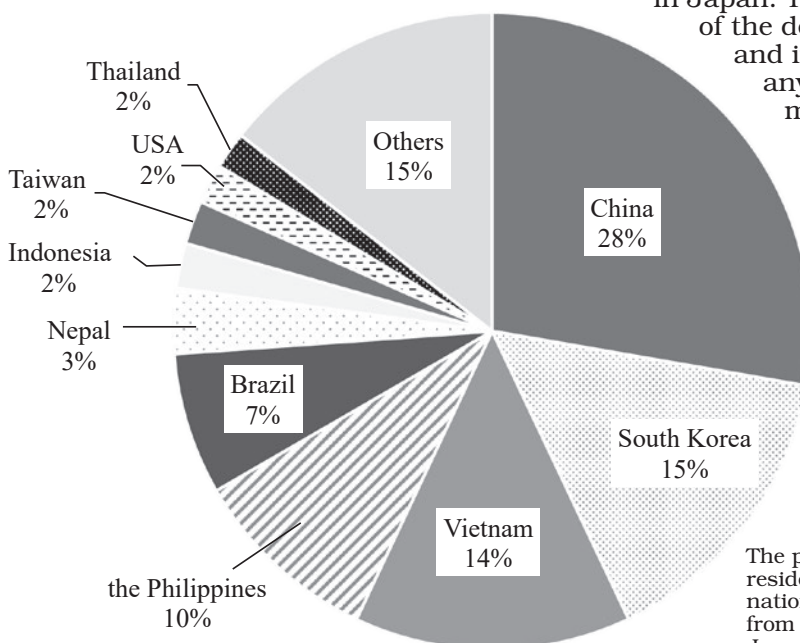


Foreign residents in Japan: changes in number and in percentage of total population, 1987–2019 (data from Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Japan)

Japanese society”.

In this sense, Germany was once the same. West Germany began seeking foreign labor back in the 1950s. It stopped importing workers in 1973, but families continued to join their parents/spouses and they continued to settle. Yet for a long time, the migrants continued to be seen as “foreigners” and “people who would go home to their countries again”. It was only around the year 2000 that the German government started to call them “migrants” and realize the need for a policy of integration. It had taken 50 years since the arrival of the first foreign workers.

Over the last thirty years, there has been little sign of an integration policy in Japan. Yet, in the shadow of the denial of “migrants” and in the absence of any integration policy, many “foreigners” are indeed living in society as migrants. The German experience offers a chance to consider the reality of migration in Japan and to learn the importance of having an integration policy.



The proportion of foreign residents in Japan by nationalities, 2019 (data from Ministry of Justice, Japan)

Sachi Takaya, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University. As a sociologist and researcher of migration studies, Takaya investigates migration in Japan, with a particular focus on irregular migration and the nexus of gender and migration. She has also worked with migrant rights NGOs. Key publications include *What is migration policy?* (2019, Jimbun Shoin), *Politics of deportation and resistance* (2019, Nakanishiya Publishing) (both in Japanese) and “Making Irregular Migrants Insecure in Japan”, in J. Song and A. D. B. Cook eds. *Irregular Migration and Human Security in East Asia*, pp. 23-37 (London: Routledge, 2014).

# Hakka migration and the virtual world

**Hironao Kawai**

*National Museum of Ethnology*

Kawai is Associate Professor at Minpaku. His research themes include the anthropology of landscape, urban anthropology, and the ethnology of Han Chinese. Recent publications include *The Anthropology of Landscape: Body, Politics, and Materiality* (in Japanese, Jichosha Publishing, 2016, editor), *Family, Ethnicity and State in Chinese Culture under the Impact of Globalization*. (Bridge 21 and Routledge, co-edited with HAN Min and WONG Hueng Wah) and *The Social Production of "Hakka Space": An Ethnography on the Creation of "Homeland" in Meixian, China* (in Japanese, Fukuyosha Publishing, 2020).

The main focus of my research has been the Han peoples of Guangdong, a coastal province of southeast China. Generally, the Han of Guangdong can be broken down into three major groups, based on differences of language and customs: the Cantonese, the Chaoshanese and the Hakka. I began researching the Cantonese people of Hong Kong and Guangdong before starting my main field work in Hakka regions.

The Hakka are scattered across Guangdong Province, but the largest populations are found in Meizhou, Heyuan, Huizhou, and the Longgang district of Shenzhen city. These areas are the homelands of overseas Hakka Chinese. Since the 18th century in particular, the Hakka have crossed the oceans to find new homes in all parts of the world. The Hakka represent the largest group within the Chinese communities of Sabah (Malaysia), India, Mauritius, Reunion, Tahiti, New Caledonia and several Latin American countries. While based in the Hakka hub of Guangdong Province, I have also carried out research in Chinese communities around the world.

Hakka, or *kejia* ("guest") in Mandarin are known as "strangers within Han" and are a group with its own language (Hakka) and a distinctive

culture. However, many Hakka people living in Japan and the Americas are second to fifth generation migrants and have experienced a sharp increase in numbers of those who no longer speak the Hakka language. Moreover, it is not at all rare to see cases of Hakka adopting the nationality of their new country, attending schools with non-Chinese, marrying with partners outside their cultural group, and no longer passing on the culture of the homeland to their children.

I have met Hakka who do not appear to have Chinese backgrounds. Yet despite the move towards greater local integration and heterogeneity, the large number of people maintaining a strong Hakka identity found in my survey was extremely surprising. They speak proudly of their own roots in Guangdong Province, China, and the hardworking character, cohesion and respect for ancestors of their ethnic group. They also organize group tours to destinations believed to represent the birthplace of the Hakka people, Shibi Hakka town in Ninghua prefecture and the circular earth buildings in Yongding prefecture (see photo). These places have become Hakka symbols.

I have long wondered why such importance is placed on Shibi Hakka Hometown and the circular earth buildings, in western Fujian Province. The circular earth buildings are a kind of local group housing that exists only on the border of Guangdong and Fujian Province, in an area inhabited by non-Hakka Han people. Just part of the area – that of the circular earth buildings designated a World Heritage site by UNESCO is a Hakka residential district. The absolute majority of Hakka living overseas are from Guangdong, so their ancestors did not live in the circular houses. Nevertheless, the circular earth houses are central to the Hakka identity of those living abroad. The walls of the *huigan*, or Hakka association halls, around the world, are adorned with photographs of circular earth houses. Hakka people in Taiwan, Malaysia and Indonesia are also building more and more circular earth houses never found in these countries. In this seemingly curious phenomenon, Hakka are buttressing their identity



A circular earth building in Yongding, Fujian Province (Kawai, 2017)



with designs never seen in their own ancestral homes.

Why did circular earth houses come to be seen as a Hakka ethnic symbol? Until the 1970s, they were very rarely seen in records of the Hakka. Since China adopted reform policies in late 1978, these curiously-shaped structures were presented in books and magazines by Taiwanese and Japanese researchers, catching the eyes of overseas Chinese for the first time. And the tool that suddenly brought the exotic visual images of the circular houses to the world? The internet. The shape of the houses was touted online as a symbol of self-protection from the time when the Hakka ancestors had migrated south from the Central Plain. These images were uncritically accepted by Hakka all over the world as symbols of group cohesion.

In recent years, Hakka Chinese who have lost their ability to speak the language have emphasized their cultural heritage through websites, theater, film and animation. For example, actress Sha Tamae, from Japan's Takarazuka Revue Company, in 2012 produced the play "Hakka", which recreated the folk history of her people as portrayed online.

In Taiwan over the past few years, scholars and the Hakka Culture Development Center have recreated a number of World Heritage sites in the Hakka region with animation and cartoon characters in picture books and on DVD (see photo). Recently, I

visited a Hakka group in Hawaii, where I encountered Hakka Americans debating whether Hua Mulan (Fa Mulan) was Hakka. Hua Mulan is the main character in the Disney film *Mulan*. The live action version of the film features the circular earth houses as a location. The Hakka I met spoke of the possibility that Hua Mulan was Hakka and were weaving the story into their ethnic identity.

In my survey of migrant Hakka, we cannot ignore the virtual world of today. Perhaps the producers of *Mulan* used the houses not to portray Hakka but "China". However, once an image is created in the virtual world, it becomes an "affordance" (according to the James Gibson usage) in the real world. When I am interviewing a Hakka person in China or elsewhere, they sometimes give me information they have discovered online. Today, the Hakka Chinese inhabit both the real and virtual worlds. To date, I have studied the Hakka and the flow of their culture from a multi-sited perspective. However, I feel we are reaching the limits of a research method that simply joins the dots of real society today. To what extent should we also be considering the virtual world and its impact? That is my new research interest.



The Taiwanese Hakka mascot character Da Shi Xiong (Big Lion Brother). For appeal to children, the stone lion that is a cultural heritage of Pingtung County was made into a cute local mascot. He is often sighted in Hakka districts of Taiwan (Kawai, 2019)

## Column

# The multimedia ethnography of 25 years past

Yasunori Yamamoto

Twenty-five years ago, we won a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research on Priority Areas funding for "A study on multimedia ethnography". It was a team of three: Yuki Konagaya, my colleague and a specialist in the nomadic herders of Mongolia; Takashi Matsukawa, who was a Center of Excellence (COE) researcher for Minpaku at the time, and myself.

The research was an attempt to explore ways to address contemporary criticisms of ethnography in terms of its objectivity, validity and manipulation of the recording of foreign cultures.

We aimed to achieve this with the innovation of computerizing our documentation to be shared with everyone, in contrast to the existing ethnographic methods of text and film.

We took a two-fold approach to our experiment in multimedia ethnography.

The first approach was to make "Spring in Mongolia", a multimedia ethnography including hypertext format about the life of herders in springtime in Mongolia, the subject of Konagaya's research. While a paper book is to be read in order of the pages, hypertext is a format that allows readers to directly

The technology we used was the World Wide Web (WWW), which was just becoming known in Japan at the time. Typically WWW consists of a server that provides information through the Internet and a browser, but it is possible to create hypertext

Today, the varied information we receive with hypertext online is an essential facet of our lives. Back then, though, I felt that QuickTime VR was poor man's fake 3D. However, the technology may be different from QuickTime VR now. If you look at the panorama movie on the Minpaku website today, showcasing the exhibition hall, or at the database we made including object movies on ethnographic materials of indigenous North American peoples, it is clear that our research experiment was well ahead of its time.

The multimedia ethnography, "Spring in Mongolia", implemented by web browser

Panorama movie of a *ger*  
and object movie of the  
horsehead fiddle created  
with QuickTime VR



## Exhibition

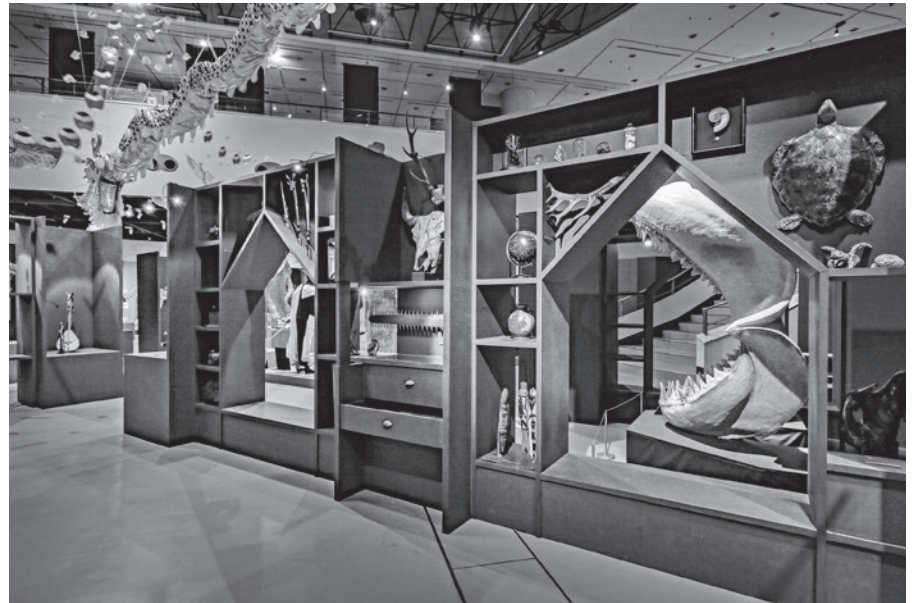
### REGNUM IMAGINARIUM: Realm of the Marvelous and Uncanny

*Special Exhibition*  
Aug. 29 – Nov. 26, 2019

When we humans encounter strange beings or out-of-the-ordinary phenomena (such as inexplicable light, sound, and movement), we are overcome with the sense of wonder and unease. Cognitive scientists say that this is because an instinctive understanding of biology or physics is pre-wired into our brain, so anything that goes against this innate understanding of nature triggers confusion in the mind. One way to escape this muddled state was to find an explanation in the existence of invisible forces – spirits, demons, the divine... However, as Stanley Kubrick said, “you cannot imagine the unimaginable.” The mental image of the unseen can only be shaped by reshuffling and merging elements that are already known. This process may reflect the “bricolage mentality” recognised by cultural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss.

In “Biota of the Imaginary”, Part I of the exhibition, we explored composite creatures – mermaids, dragons, winged horses, and mandrakes – spawned from a bricolage of features found in the animal, plant, and mineral kingdoms of this planet. The fantastic creatures of the waters, heavens and earth come in many forms, with regional and cultural differences. Certain exaggerating, minimizing, multiplying, reducing, and combining patterns in the conception of strange beings also emerged.

Part II of the exhibition, “Cultural History of the Imaginary”, traced the cultural history of how marvels and wonders, the strange and the uncanny have been perceived, understood, and used as sources of artistic inspiration. The section on “Sounds of the



(DAIDO Yukiyo, 2019)

Brink” let visitors focus on the auditory experience which stimulates imagination. “Sights of the Marvelous and Uncanny” and “Knowledge Systems” present how information about strange beings and events was collected and organized in the East and West as an integral part of natural history. Works by artists featured in “Contemporary Creations”, the final section, offering a view into the future of human imagination.

After a three-month run, the show came to an end, enjoying a very favorable reception from the public, with a total of 78,682 visitors (1,021/day average) – numbers we have not seen in the past two decades – and abundant media coverage including a review in English in the *Japan Times*. The Japanese-English bilingual exhibition catalogue published from Kawade-shobo-shinsha (ISBN: 978-4-309-22781-8) not only reached its fourth reprint during the exhibition period, but received the “Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry – Commerce and Information Policy Bureau’s Director – General award” in the National Catalogue Contest offered by the Japan Federation of Printing Industries, and also the jury award in the editorial category of *Applied Typography*

30, which is the almanac of the Japan Typography Association (the exhibition posters also won honorable mention in the same almanac). The enchanting effect of the exhibition was achieved through the magical craft of the creative team: display design by architect WAKABAYASHI Hiroyuki, graphic design by SATO Daisuke, emblem illustrations by manga artist IGARASHI Daisuke, and photographs by DAIDO Yukiyo.

The reenchanting forest of marvelous creatures has long been dismantled, and the museum doors remain closed to the public for fear of virus contamination. But the message of the creatures still resonates in the menagerie of my memory, revealing how humans have dealt with the fear of things invisible and incomprehensible with imagination and humility. We should perhaps see them not just as “fantasy” or “superstition” but as a form of “knowledge” necessary for the survival of humanity on this earth; especially now in a time of uncertainty when the illusion of control is slipping through our fingers.

YAMANAKA Yuriko  
*National Museum of Ethnology*



## Conference

### Interruptions: Challenges and Innovations in Exhibition Making

*World Museologies Workshop  
December 11–14, 2019*

MINPAKU hosted the World Museologies Workshop “Interruptions: Challenges and Innovations in Exhibition Making” from December 11 to 14, 2019. Eighteen museologists, researchers and museum curators from Europe, Americas, Asia, and Oceania discussed the latest trends in museology and museum exhibition. Three Minpaku staff participated in the workshop. In the title, “interruption” refers to suspension of existing understandings of museology in order to imagine new “museologies”.

On December 11, the workshop started with a lightning introduction in which each participant talked about his or her research interest and on-going project. On December 12, in the first session “Paradigms and Interruptions”, we tried to get an overview of how the existing paradigm regarding museum exhibition has been challenged by some advanced museums such as Musée d’ethnographie de Genève and Haida Gwaii Museum, and innovative curators like the late Fernando Estévez González. In the second session, “Museums as Heterotopias”, we examined curatorial attempts that recognize the museum as a place to embrace diverse cultures. We looked at a series of exhibitions in Musée d’ethnographie de Neuchâtel and the special exhibition *Regnum Imaginarium: Realm of the Marvelous and Uncanny* held at Minpaku in 2019. These exhibitions suggest that we may approach “heterotopia” in two ways: not only through the diversity of cultural materials exhibited but also through curatorial methodology and practice. In the third session, “Internationalizing



Dr Anthony Shelton, one of the organizers of the workshop (Yuriko Yamanaka, 2019)

Museums”, we focused on museum exhibitions in Southeast Asia, South Korea and Taiwan and how to conceptualize non-Western museologies. In this session, we also compared relationships between indigenous peoples and museums in Taiwan, New Zealand and Canada, and explored the conditions needed for indigenizing museum practice.

On December 13, in the fourth session, “Who and What is the Experiment: Artist, Curator, or the Museum?” we discussed various problems for exhibiting art works cross-culturally. The main issue was how to challenge the insularities of curatorial practice through the juxtaposition of foreign conceptualizations of art. One example was “Traces of Words:

Art and Calligraphy from Asia” exhibition held in the Museum of Anthropology at University of British Columbia in 2017, in which letters of Asian languages were shown as visual art. Another example was “*Arte Popular: Contemporary Expression of Mexican Crafts*” exhibition held at Minpaku in 2019, in which the Mexican concept of *Arte Popular* was presented to Japanese public using multi-sensory devices. Related to this issue, we discussed how to implement Nicholas Bourriaud’s notion of “relational aesthetics” when artists and curators are from different cultural backgrounds.

In the final session, we summarized discussions of the whole workshop. It became clear that while the old paradigm of museum as material collector and knowledge disseminator was questioned in various ways, it is too early to say that a new paradigm has been established. Currently we are in a period of fragmentation, which is reconstituting the field of museology as a heterotopia of museologies.

On the last day, December 14, participants visited the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto and the Kyoto International Manga Museum to experience the heterotopic museum scene in contemporary Japan.

Motoi Suzuki  
*National Museum of Ethnology*



Guided tour in the exhibition halls of Minpaku (Nuno Porto, 2019)

## Editor's Note

### What is news? Marking the 50th issue of *Minpaku Anthropology Newsletter*

"News" by definition refers to something "new" but what is new for one person can be old for another, and *vice versa*. News reports from a century ago, may speak not just of their own time, but of events and things and human relationships that are surprising and "new" for later generations. Our newsletter, first published in December 1995, is merely 24 years and 50 issues old, but it already records the transition from a first generation of Minpaku staff and their research, to a new generation of staff who have mostly arrived within the last several years. The newsletter thus serves as a biographical history of the Museum, a history of research themes, topics, conferences, and exhibitions, and a history of change and reorientation as the world around us changes. Since 1995, there have been two constants: the Museum remains a research institute focused on human life in all its facets, through the approaches

of anthropology, museology, and related disciplines, and the primary audience of the Newsletter includes former visiting scholars, research collaborators, and staff. In his inaugural message for the first issue in 1995, the second Director General of the Museum, SASAKI Komei introduced the Newsletter as follows:

"We are proud that the Museum has accommodated about 350 overseas researchers from a total of 49 different nations around the world from its foundation [1974] to the present... The initiative to launch the Newsletter is aimed at creating a forum of personal exchange between the Museum faculty in Japan and researchers abroad, by sharing information and deepening mutual understanding... we are going to make every effort to expand a human network through its medium, to promote exchanges of views in the international community of anthropology and the study of museums. This should help us to deepen our understanding of the many issues of diversity that we are trying to resolve. It is also our sincere hope that this contribution to the global network will enhance international understanding among nations as we move towards the 21st century.

Those first 20 years of the

Museum before the Newsletter remain somewhat shrouded in mystery, and might perhaps be a good theme for a future issue. It is not that there was no news to report in the first 20 years. Rather, those early years were a period of intense activity, to build the museum and establish collections, and to build academic networks locally and globally through numerous large research projects and conferences.

As current leader of the editorial panel of the Newsletter, I would like to personally thank our first panel leader, Professor emeritus TANABE Shigeharu, for his efforts. It was under his enthusiastic and creative leadership that the Newsletter first began to take shape. While our format remains broadly the same, there have been minor innovations over the years, and major steps forward with electronic distribution, while continuing to produce the print edition. Still lacking, unfortunately, is active interaction with former research visitors within the pages of the Newsletter, which was originally envisaged as a "forum" for academic exchange. This is perhaps compensated for by fact that former visitors often do remain in contact, contributing articles to other publications produced by the Museum, and joining conferences and research projects over many years.

Not all the news is here.

Peter J. Matthews  
*National Museum of Ethnology*



Shortly after the outbreak of Covid-19 in Japan, all new exhibitions had to be postponed or cancelled; the museum is now gradually reopening (Matthews, March 31, 2020)

## Information

### Awards

**Hideaki Suzuki**  
*Associate Professor,  
Department of Globalization  
and Humanity,  
National Museum of Ethnology*

Received from the Japan Consortium for Area Studies (JCAS): Award for Prominent Scholar (November 2, 2019) for his book *Slave Trade*



*Profiteers in the Western Indian Ocean: Suppression and Resistance in the Nineteenth Century* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). The award recognises individuals or groups who have published significant academic works that integrate humanities, social sciences and natural sciences.

### **Hirochika Nakamaki**

*Professor Emeritus  
National Museum of Ethnology*

Elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI), United Kingdom, on November 7, 2019. Honorary Fellows are persons eminent in anthropology but not normally resident in the UK. Hirochika Nakamaki is the second Japanese national elected by the RAI Council.

### **Mao Fukuma**

*Visiting Researcher  
National Museum of Ethnology  
(2019–2022)*

Received the Fray Bernardino de Sahagún Award for Best PhD Thesis (Ethnology and Social Anthropology) for her thesis submitted to Autonomous Metropolitan University, Mexico: *Hacia la trans-nación yaqui: intercambio, fronteras e identidades* (Towards the Yaqui trans-nation: exchange, borders and identities). Awarded by the National Institute of Anthropology and History, Mexico, on November 13, 2019.

## **New Staff**

### **Emi Okada**

*Associate Professor, Department  
of Advanced Human Sciences*



Emi Okada is an ethnomusicologist and received her PhD in musicology from the Tokyo University of the

Arts in 2010. Her doctoral research focused on keyboard instruments and globalization in Asia and published *Keyboard Instruments in India: The Process of the Global Improvement and Diffusion of Harmonium and Electric Keyboard* (Keisuisya, 2016), which was awarded the 6th JASAS Award of the Japanese Association of South Asian Studies in 2017. She worked as associate professor at the University of the Ryukyus in Okinawa (2012–2019). Currently she carries out fieldwork in Nagaland, Northeast India focusing on traditional polyphonic singing culture of Naga tribes of Indian minorities.

### **Ippei Shimamura**

*Associate Professor, Department  
of Cross-field Research*



His major interests are Anthropology of Religion and Mongolian Studies, focusing on Shamanism, Buddhism and

their links with ethnicity and/or nationalism in Mongolia. After graduating from Waseda University in 1993, Shimamura had a unique chance to visit Mongolia as film crew. This triggered his wish to become an anthropologist. He completed a master's degree in Ethnology at the National University of Mongolia in Ulaanbaatar in 1998, being the first person from Japan to do so. After living in Mongolia for several years, he returned to Japan to study at the Graduate University for Advanced Studies (Sokendai). After completing his doctoral course, he joined the University of Shiga Prefecture as a lecturer in 2005. His thesis was later published as a book, first in Japanese (2011), then in English (*The Roots Seekers: Shamanism and Ethnicity Among the Mongol Buryats*, 2014). For this study, he received the JSPS Prize, Daido Life Encouragement Prize for Area Studies, Japan Consortium for Area Studies (JCAS) Award, and the

Sokendai Scientist Award.

### **Sohee Che**

*Assistant Professor, Center for  
Cultural Resource Studies*



How have indigenous medical systems developed from beliefs concerning body and nature? A fascination with this question

led Sohee Che to specialize in birth culture and postpartum folk illness in South Korea. Her particular interest is in how social processes and practices are related to and expressed through bodily disorders. Her MA from Seoul National University in Korea was awarded for the thesis "Ethnographic study on the process in medical practice: focusing on Ulleung island women's narratives about the pregnancy, labour and birth". She completed her PhD at Nara Women's University in Japan with a dissertation entitled "Sociocultural construction of illness: focusing on *sanhupung* (postpartum folk illness) in Korea." Her ongoing comparative study of postpartum folk illnesses in different cultures deals with the transformation of traditional medical knowledge and concepts under the hegemony of biomedicine, and postpartum folk illness and birth rituals in Asia.

### **Kaoru Suemori**

*Assistant Professor, Department  
of Advanced Human Sciences*



Suemori specializes in Conservation Science and Cultural Heritage Studies, especially in relation to

Chinese Buddhist Art. He has conducted research for conserving museum collections, and fieldwork in the Buddhist grottoes of Gansu, China. He is currently developing and applying optical survey methods for museum collections and to reproduce the visual functions of ancient mural paintings.

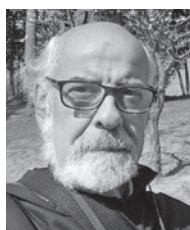


He studied at International Christian University (1999–2004) and Tsukuba University (2004–2009), and he received his Ph.D. from Tsukuba University in 2018. Before joining Minpaku, he worked with the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo (NRICPT), the Grand Egyptian Museum Conservation Center Project of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), and Kansai University. He recently published a book, *Thousand-Buddha images in Dunhuang Mogao Grottoes: Sacred spaces created by polychromatic patterns* (Hozokan, in Japanese). In 2019, he received the encouragement award of the Japan Society for the Conservation of Cultural Property.

## Overseas Visiting Fellows

### Samuel Araujo

Professor, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil



Dr. Samuel Araujo is a Professor of Ethnomusicology at the School of Music, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, where

he also coordinates the Ethnomusicology Laboratory (LE-UFRJ), a research unit comprising other faculty members, graduate and undergraduate students working on a broad range of issues relating music, sound and performance to public debates and actions on both political and socioeconomic concerns. Of particular impact on the ethnomusicological literature and related disciplinary fields have been their continuous and systematic efforts to devise theoretical and methodological approaches to integrate fieldwork interlocutors as acknowledged coauthors of research products. His published books, book chapters and journal articles

in languages such as English, Spanish, French, and Portuguese have appeared in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, France, Germany, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, USA, and other countries. (February 24–March 12, 2020)

### Gopalan Ravindran

Professor, University of Madras, India



Gopalan Ravindran (Ph.D., University of Madras, Chennai, India) is Professor and Head of the Department

of Journalism and Communication, University of Madras. His research and teaching activities focus on Critical Theories and Philosophies, Communication and Performing Arts, Political Economy of Journalism and Communication, Spatiality, Temporality and Materiality of Communication, Critical Pedagogies in Journalism and Communication, Film Cultures, Digital Cultures and Diasporic Cultures. He has co-authored two books, and is editor of the book, *Deleuzian and Guattarian Approaches to Contemporary Communication Cultures in India* (Springer, March 2020). He has been actively engaged in creating and cultivating alternative critical-communication pedagogical methods using folk and theatre arts. At Minpaku, he has worked with Professor Terada Yoshitaka for the international collaborative project and symposium on *Performing Arts and Conviviality*. (January 31–June 22, 2020)

### Shi Yingxin

Associate Professor, Dalian Minzu University, China



As an Associate Professor of Dalian Minzu University, Shi Yingxin specializes in public economics and policy.

He received his PhD in international public policy from Osaka University. Shi holds a bachelor's degree in Mechanical Engineering, worked for an international trading company in Japan, and then as an officer in Xinjiang Autonomous Regional government of China. All these experiences help him to try solving many real problems with different approaches. He led a group of researchers to study environmental and new energy problems in the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) of Cabinet Office of Japan, worked with hundreds of natural scientists in the Chinese Academy of Engineering (CAE) program on grassland ecosystems, and planned the reform of Xinjiang as vice director of a team for political and social governance reform. At Minpaku, Shi is working with Masayuki Deguchi to plan a symposium that will address the law, accounting and culture of NPO/NGOs in East Asia (to be held in August 2020). (April 1–September 30, 2020)

## Publications

Online at:  
[www.minpaku.ac.jp/publications](http://www.minpaku.ac.jp/publications)

### Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 44

**Issue 3:** Y. Sugimoto, "Symposium of Universalists: Anagarika Dharmapala and Theosophy"; R. Yamasaki, "Nomadic Storytellers: Scottish Traveller Self-Representation in Stanley Robertson's *Exodus to Alford*"; K. Sagara, Research Note "Changes in Two-, Three- and Four-Digit Numbers in Japanese Sign Language, Taiwan Sign Language, and Korean Sign Language".

**Issue 4:** H. Suzuki, "To Listen to the Beat of Maritime World (Kaiiki Sekai): Seasonality of the 19th Century Western Indian Ocean World"; N. Niwa, "Private Exploration in the United States in the 1930s:

Analyzing the Toshio Asaeda Expeditions Itinerary and Routes", T. Mishima, Research Note "Cultural Movement and Regional Radio of Soninke: Ethnographic Study on 'Culture Week'".

### **Senri Ethnological Studies** **102**

N. Sonoda (ed.) *Conservation of Cultural Heritage in a Changing World*. 215 pp. (English).

### **Senri Ethnological Reports** **150**

H. Kawai and W. Chang (eds) *Hakka Ethnicity and Their Global Experiences: A Contemporary Perspective on the Chinese Diaspora in "South Side Countries"*. 407 pp. (Chinese).

### **A new journal,** **TRAJECTORIA**

On March 31, 2020, Minpaku published the first issue of *TRAJECTORIA*, an international online, open-access, peer-reviewed journal situated at the intersection of anthropology, heritage studies, museum studies, and the arts. Since 1974, Minpaku has

disseminated research findings to scholarly circles and the general public through diverse channels and methods. Recently it has reconceptualised the museum as an "Info-Forum Museum" or platform for the multilateral exchange of ideas and information concerning the diversity of material culture and other forms of human heritage held in museum collections. The new journal provides a formal channel for continuing this exchange by focusing on the entangled, multiple trajectories of artifacts, knowledge and actors through time and space, both within and beyond the museum.

To explore non-verbal or sensorial realities the journal welcomes contributions that cannot be realized through text-oriented journals: experiments with non-textual forms of knowledge creation and storytelling, ranging from audio-visual works to different combinations of textual and non-textual media, including still/moving images, illustrations, maps, and sound. To share knowledge and the process of knowledge creation the journal aims to stimulate creative collaborations and cross-fertilisation between

researchers and source communities (the people and places where museum collections and research outputs originate). The journal will also explore uses of multi-media and other exhibition techniques that allow diverse museum audiences to participate in knowledge production. It will be published annually and aims to reach scholarly circles and the wider public, serving as both a gallery and an archive for the topics under discussion. The Museum aims to provide the highest possible technical support for the presentation and preservation of the journal's content.

URL: [trajectoria.minpaku.ac.jp](http://trajectoria.minpaku.ac.jp)

### **MINPAKU** **Anthropology Newsletter**

The Newsletter is published in summer and winter. "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. Available online at: [www.minpaku.ac.jp/publications](http://www.minpaku.ac.jp/publications)

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Signed articles represent views of the authors, not official views of the Museum. When a surname precedes first name in an article, the surname is capitalised.

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## **Forthcoming Exhibitions**

Thematic

### **UMESAO Tadao's 100th Anniversary: The Front-runner of Intellectual Production**

September 3–October 20, 2020  
National Museum of Ethnology,  
Osaka



*Field notes from Mongolia, 1944–45*  
© T. Amakawa, 2011

Special

### **Treasures of Indigenous Peoples**

October 1–December 15, 2020  
(re-scheduled)  
National Museum of Ethnology,  
Osaka



*Newar mask, Nepal*