

The Perspective of Glocalization

Addressing the Changing
Society and Culture
under Globalization



Edited by

**Tomiyuki Uesugi
Matori Yamamoto**

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CENTER FOR GLOCAL STUDIES
SEIJO UNIVERSITY

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URL: <http://www.seijo.ac.jp/research/glocal-center/>

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Notes on the Contributors

Yasuyuki Karakita is a professor at the Faculty of International Studies, Utsunomiya University, Utsunomiya, Tochigi Prefecture, Japan.
E-mail: karakita@cc.utsunomiya-u.ac.jp

Gergana Petkova is an associate professor at the Research Centre on Contemporary Japan, Sofia University "St Kliment Ohridski," Sofia, Bulgaria.
E-mail: simeonpetkov@spectrumnet.bg

Girardo Rodriguez is a PhD candidate at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Beppu, Oita Prefecture, Japan.
E-mail: girardorp@gmail.com

Ratana Tosakul is an anthropologist, who formerly taught at the Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasat University, Thailand, and now lectures on Asian Studies at Seijo University, Tokyo, Japan.
E-mail: ratanaboon@gmail.com

Tomiyuki Uesugi is a social anthropologist and the Director of the Center for Glocal Studies, Seijo University, Tokyo, Japan.
E-mail: uesugi@seijo.ac.jp

Silke Werth is a PhD candidate at the University of California, Santa Barbara, California, USA.
E-mail: silke_werth@umail.ucsb.edu

Matori Yamamoto is a cultural anthropologist and professor at the Faculty of Economics, Hosei University, Tokyo, Japan.
E-mail: matoriy@hosei.ac.jp

Manami Yasui is a professor at the Faculty of Letters, Tenri University, Tenri, Nara Prefecture, Japan.
E-mail: m-yasui@sta.tenri-u.ac.jp

Preface

This book consists of the revised papers originally presented at the panel entitled “The Perspective of Glocalization: Addressing the Changing Society and Culture under Globalization,” which was one of the panels of the IUAES (International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Studies) Inter-Congress 2014, “The Future with/of Anthropologies,” held at Makuhari, Chiba, Japan, on May 15, 2014.

On behalf of all contributors to the book, we the editors would like to extend our heartfelt gratitude to the Center for Glocal Studies (CGS), Seijo University, for making this publication a reality. The CGS was established almost ten years ago in 2008 at Seijo University, Tokyo, in order to advance and promote a new area of research which the center had formulated as “glocal studies.” As part of its research activities for developing and promoting glocal studies, this book was published by the center. Without its personnel and material contributions, particularly financial support, publication of the papers in a book would not have been possible.

Although most of the papers published in the book had been submitted well before the publication, its final publication was significantly delayed under various unavoidable circumstances. Because of the long delay, we regret to say that we could not publish one paper although it had once been submitted for publication. As the editors of the book, we sincerely would like to apologize for the lengthy delay of publication and the resultant omission of one paper.

Because of the lengthy delay of publication, some of the information, data, and facts appearing in the book may already be well-known as well. However, the editors are sure the glocal perspective of, or approach to, contemporary society and culture demonstrated in each chapter/paper of the book has become more critical and provocative with the passage of time.

Tomiyuki Uesugi

Seijo University, Tokyo, Japan

Matori Yamamoto

Hosei University, Tokyo, Japan

March 2016

Introduction

Tomiyuki Uesugi and Matori Yamamoto

While globalization is thought to homogenize local societies and cultures, anthropologists have observed the localizing process of globalization. The perspective of glocalization, the analysis of interactive process of globalization and localization, should be useful for understanding the world today.

The globalization of people, money and goods in the last three decades has generally been thought to be irresistible, irreversible and to be a homogenizing or standardizing force on various societies and cultures worldwide. Nevertheless, anthropological studies demonstrate the incessant process of localization in which globalized goods, services and systems have been transformed and are now situated in the local context. Anthropological studies also reveal that locally situated societies and cultures can exert a considerable impact on the globally expanding societies and cultures. Hence, for example, while McDonald's restaurants have been transplanted and are found all over the world nowadays, their meanings, imagery and the eating habits of customers are different from one society to another. Moreover, locally defined meanings, images and eating habits are sometimes "reversely" globalized.

Glocalization is a word first "invented" as a marketing strategy by which transnational companies adapt global products to a certain local situation. However, when introduced into sociology and/or anthropology, the concept of glocalization today is defined as the process through which global processes result in the provision of locally-specific goods and services, and bring locally-specific information back to the global system.

Anthropological research is very suitable for observing the glocalization process. An anthropological observation analyzes a local society and culture in depth and thus clarifies the interactive process of globalization and localization. The glocalization perspective is increasingly useful for globalization studies, and anthropology can significantly contribute in this area.

The Outline of the Book

As the outline of the book, the editors of the book reproduce the abstracts of each chapter (paper) originally provided in the proceedings (for "short abstracts") and on the website (for "short abstracts" and "long abstracts")⁽¹⁾ of the IUAES (International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Studies)

Inter-Congress 2014, “The Future with/of Anthropologies,” held at Makuhari, Chiba, Japan, on May 15, 2014, for the panel entitled “The Perspective of Glocalization: Addressing the Changing Society and Culture under Globalization”⁽²⁾. The panel was organized by Tomiyuki Uesugi and Matori Yamamoto, now taking the role of editors of the book. Of 11 papers presented in the panel, 8 revised papers are published in this book.

Chapter 1: “*Glocal studies*”: *formulating and conducting studies on glocalization* by Tomiyuki Uesugi

This chapter (paper) is to demonstrate that in order to observe and examine contemporary socio-cultural phenomena in this globalized world more dynamically and effectively, we need to focus on the simultaneity of and mutual interaction between globalization and localization, known as “glocalization.”

From the very beginning of the popularization of “globalization” around the early 1990s, it was well-recognized that globalization would always develop in tandem with and through interaction with localization. Hence, the telescoping Japanglish word/concept of “glocalization” was introduced into sociology and anthropology to emphasize the tension and mutual interaction between global and local factors.

However, when we discuss globalization, we focus on the one-way interaction from global to local factors. Some consider globalization as a homogenization process, and criticize it for causing the demise or disappearance of local factors. Others consider globalization as a diversification process and appreciate it for creolizing and reconstructing local factors, but both sides have rarely talked about “reverse globalization” or the globalization process that influences the center from the periphery.

In order to shed light on the hitherto not fully examined socio-cultural dynamics within myriad contact zones between the global and the local, the center and the periphery, and the outside and the inside, I would like to demonstrate that “glocal studies” based on the concept of glocalization are needed. Using the framework of glocal studies, we can also focus on movements that symmetrize socio-cultural power imbalances between the center (mostly Euro-American global cities) and the periphery (typically non-Euro-American local towns and villages).

Chapter 2: *Hayao Miyazaki and the Glocal Aspects of Anime Art* by Gergana Petkova

The chapter (paper) presents Hayao Miyazaki’s anime as a glocal phenomenon. By applying analytical methods of folktale study, the author

reveals the two layers of Japan-bound and boundary-free characteristics composing Miyazaki's art, to answer questions concerning its domestic and world impact, its distribution and its role in various settings.

Fairy tales (and folklore in general) have always been examined in their local frame and background in the same extent in which they have been thought as a universal phenomenon. Be it on a socio-historical level with the theory of Lutz Roehrich, or within the depth-psychology stream initiated by Sigmund Freud, on a structural level applying Vladimir Propp's morphological parsing, or through Max Luethi's literary analysis, in the methods of geographic-historical school of Krohn and Arne, or the theories of origin and distribution developed by von Sydow, Benfey, and Bastian, folktales have always been as much a local as a global phenomenon.

Shiro Yoshioka calls Hayao Miyazaki's *Spirited Away* "a folktale for the 21 century which teaches that contemporary culture is an extension of, or even a part of, a much larger context of Japanese tradition" (2008: 258). In the proposed paper we would argue that Miyazaki's anime is a glocal phenomenon and we shall come to this conclusion by applying methods of analysis originating in folktale study. In this sense, the work examines some of Miyazaki's anime features to see their Japan-bound and boundary-free characteristics. In this way the author hopes to clarify also the impact Miyazaki's works have over both domestic and foreign audiences. In this new anime-lore the author traces the emerging medium for transmission of ideas and visions, which are born in the interaction of local and global cultures.

Chapter 3: *Resisting the Monetization of Land and Life: The Case of the Outer Islanders of Yap* by Yasuyuki Karakita

This chapter (paper) reports on how the monetization of land and funerals reinforces the ethnic identity of the outer islanders of Yap state, Federated States of Micronesia (FSM).

The U.S. policy toward the Trust Territory of Pacific Islands and the Compact of Free Association between the U.S. and FSM poured money into Micronesian societies, characterized as societies with a gift economy. The monetization occurred mainly in the government sector located in district centers and state capitals, areas which attracted the outer island population.

Living in urban areas necessitates money for housing, food, and health, which government employees are unable to afford on their salaries. When the government could not provide public housing to migrants from the outer islands in the 2000s, employees from this area raised money to secure the land for outer islander communities on the Yap main islands. The traditional trade partners

from Yap proper also offered their land to communities from the outer island.

Recently, money has become essential for medical treatments and funerals for the outer island patients. When the government morgue service was privatized and their fees became unaffordable, the outer island employees established funds to subsidize the costs of morgue and funeral services. Trading partners from the Yap proper also provided burial places to their outer island partners.

The monetization of land and life has reinforced the ethnic identities of the outer islanders as they struggle for the money indispensable for their urban life; further, fund-raising practices have been expanded through the migrant network beyond the national boundaries.

Chapter 4: *The Glocalization of Childbirth in Japan and Palau* by Yasui Manami

The concept of glocalization is utilized to explore how both Japan and Palau have, in reaction to the medicalization of childbirth that has attended modernization, turned to traditional values and practices to create newly re-indigenized maternity care systems suitable for their particular needs.

In the modern era, traditional systems of childbirth have become increasingly medicalized as childbirth moves from the home to an institution, from deliveries involving midwives to those overseen by obstetricians, and as the state becomes involved in matters of birth. This globalization of childbirth does not proceed in uniform manner in every culture, however, as the form of the state's intervention, the interactions of obstetricians and related medical personnel, and the reactions of mothers, their families, and the larger society, are all highly varied. The result can be taken as the glocalization of childbirth, which provides not only hints for reassessments in societies where the medicalization of childbirth has progressed too far, but also prospects for developments in societies where it has yet to occur.

This study utilizes the concept of glocalization to explore dimensions of childbirth in a comparison of Japan with the Republic of Palau, in Micronesia. In both societies, the influences of modernization and Western culture have resulted in the medicalization of childbirth and movements to reject the traditional roles of professional midwives. Yet today we witness attempts in both Palau and Japan to recreate former natal and post-natal care systems. In Palau, the matrilineal chiefs have revalued the traditional system of the maternity care. In Japan, NPO and volunteer groups are working to help women and their babies after birth. Both societies have sufficient resources of traditional practice available for the creation of newly re-indigenized maternity care systems suitable for their particular needs.

Chapter 5: *Glocalization of the Election System and Modernization of Samoa*
by Matori Yamamoto

In order to reconcile the indigenous chiefly system with democracy, Western Samoa introduced chiefly suffrage when it gained its independence. The glocalized election system, however, brought a significant change. This chapter (paper) discusses the Samoan endeavor to glocalize democracy in their society.

The Samoan Islands, in the indigenous political form, had been integrated into several chiefdoms that were in rivalry before contact with West. After the colonial period, in seeking its independence and the worldwide recognition right after World War II, Western Samoa had to democratize in order to conform with global standards as a modern state. In its nation-building process, Western Samoa adopted a unique suffrage in which only chiefly title holders could vote. Chiefly suffrage was the transitional system adopted by the New Zealand colonial government to prepare Western Samoa for its independence. The Samoan political leaders in those days insisted that since the chiefs were elected within respective kin groups, chiefly suffrage was based on their indigenous democratic way. Western Samoa proudly became the first independent nation in the South Pacific in 1962. The glocalized election system, chiefly suffrage, however, ironically brought significant change to the Samoan chiefly system because, in order to gain more ballots, Samoan chiefs started to give as many chiefly titles to kin as possible for the election. They gave titles to many youth, women and children who were not suitable for the position according to traditional Samoan values. After long turmoil and many debates, Western Samoa introduced universal suffrage in 1990, and the first new election was executed in 1991. Nevertheless, the story did not end there. The Independent State of Samoa (present Western Samoa) still needs incessant endeavor to glocalize the election system in order to maintain their own local political system in the age of globalization.

Chapter 6: *Glocalization of Lifestyle Sports: Californian Dreams of Japanese Skaters* by Silke Werth

This chapter (paper) explores the glocalization of skateboarding as a subculture through the narration of four young Japanese “skaters” sojourning in Santa Barbara, California.

Skateboarding as participant-oriented lifestyle sport and “subculture” has reached worldwide popularity and has attracted many young people seeking alternative identifications or trying to create new values. While many elements ascribed to “skate culture” including the more consumerist aspects

and the alleged image as “slackers” and “anti-mainstream flair” predominate worldwide, the recognition and connection as skaters appears to be locally bound. This chapter (paper) explores the glocalization of skateboarding in Japan by narrating first hand experiences of four young Japanese self-declared “skaters” whose lifestyle triggered them to embark on a sojourn in California, the birthplace of skateboarding. The four individuals introduced have very different backgrounds, previous life experiences and dreams, yet their identification as skaters binds them together in different ways. This chapter (paper) shows how the identification with subcultures such as skateboarding, on the one hand, creates a more fluid and borderless perception of the world while on the other hand it stresses the sense of belonging to a localized community by giving insights on how young Japanese full blood skaters abroad struggle with identifying with the lifestyle they considered key in their perception of self while at home.

Chapter 7: *The Glocalization of ‘Eastern Spiritualities’ in Cuba: Some Considerations on Religious Change in the Age of Globalization* by Girardo Rodriguez

The glocalization of ‘Eastern spiritualities’ in Cuba is discussed. These global flows modify the local religious field, but also receive new forms and functions from Cuban adherents. Symmetrical interactions are evident in hybridizations with local religions and new glocal meanings.

Asian religions and related spiritual elements spread increasingly beyond their traditional enclaves. Their impact in Europe and North America is such that some see it as an “Easternization of the West”, while others announce a predominance of this trend in the overall globalization process. Whereas this view questions notions of the hegemony of Westernization/Americanization, it still stresses the idea of globalization as homogenization, thereby neglecting the symmetrical interactions involved in glocalization. The latter is especially necessary to understand social contexts like Latin America (and elsewhere) where cultural mixing is largely normative and where Asian religions have also been introduced recently. This presentation focuses on some instances of ‘Eastern spiritualities’ in Cuba, which have developed in the Caribbean island since the 1990s. Previous field research on Reiki is reconsidered from the glocalization perspective, and insights from the author’s own fieldwork on Soka Gakkai in Havana in 2011 are discussed. While acknowledging that these global flows bring unprecedented changes into the local religious field, it also shows that far from occurring in a unidirectional relation, these (globalized) Asian religious elements take new forms and functions among Cuban adherents.

Symmetrical interactions are evident in hybridizations with the local religious culture and with new meanings attached to these spiritualities that allow for interpretations of social reality and the creation of new glocal identities.

Chapter 8: *Thai Diaspora Studies: Future Directions* by Ratana Tosakul

The chapter (paper) discusses the historicity of intellectual and political influences on the shifting conceptual approaches of diaspora studies of Thailand over the past fifteen years.

The chapter (paper) discusses the historicity of intellectual and political influences on the shifting conceptual approaches of diaspora studies of Thailand. Recent studies of diaspora (and transnational anthropology) in Thailand have been influenced by the postmodern theory and conditions. Many have become global anthropologists through their higher educational training overseas. They have refined and developed western models with the use of anthropological field research data emphasizing local knowledge and concepts. Diasporas are cultural phenomena. Contemporary culture of peoples who are mobile has become increasingly glocalized, reflecting the nature of local and global cultural assemblage. Within the context of global shifts in the movement of peoples, a classical paradigm of cultural and ethnic identities bounded by a village community and a nation-state has come into question. Emerging diasporic movements and communities have the potential for investigating and conceptualizing a range of new cultural and ethnic identities. Recent key theoretical strands contributed by some anthropologists in Thailand relating to newer studies of diaspora and ethnic identities tend to emphasize the dynamic and complex acts of cultural construction involved in the social processes and consequently the necessary multiple, fluid and often over-determined the nature of diasporic conditions.

Notes

- (1) "IUAES 2014 with JASCA, Panels, P115: The perspective of glocalization: addressing the changing society and culture under globalization," <https://www.nomadit.co.uk/iuaes/iuaes2014/panels.php5?PanelID=2923>, retrieved on March 3, 2016.
- (2) The editors basically reproduce the original abstracts of each chapter (paper) provided in the proceedings and on the website of the IUAES 2014 Conference. However, this book has been edited in order to fix obvious grammatical errors and imprecise word usage without the changes being indicated.

Chapter 1

“Glocal Studies”: Formulating and Conducting Studies on Glocalization

Tomiyuki Uesugi

Introduction

For observing and examining contemporary socio-cultural phenomena in this globalized world more dynamically and effectively, we need to focus on the simultaneity of and mutual interaction between globalization and localization, now generally known as “glocalization.”

In the following, first of all, I will briefly review the concept of globalization and globalization/global studies. After redefining the concept of glocalization, I will introduce a new research field of “glocal studies” which a group of trans-disciplinary-minded researchers at Seijo University, Tokyo, have been formulating in order to adequately and effectively address the current socio-cultural realities. Then, as a case study of glocal studies, I will demonstrate my research findings about the joint cultural movements for inscribing Japanese and Korean female fishing divers’ culture on the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage list.

1. Background Facts and Figures

Before examining our main themes and topics, I will adduce some background facts and figures so that we can confirm the present state of scholarship on these matters. When I was preparing for the paper to be presented at the IUAES 2014 Conference at Makuhari, Chiba, Japan, in order to confirm some background facts and figures I searched for some keywords like “globalization,” “global studies,” “glocalization” and “glocal studies” by using a Google search engine. The figures bellow were the results of my search.

The number of websites being searched by using the keyword of “globalization” was about 9,680,000, while that for “globalization studies” was about 23,900,000 and “global studies” 642,000,000. When I ran a multiple-keyword search by using words “global studies” and “university,” the result was about 412,000,000. Among the listed websites were those for the School of Global Studies at University of Sussex, the UK, the Center for Global Studies

at University of Illinois, USA, and lots of other universities and higher research institutes.

When I ran another keyword search by using Japanese words “グローバル研究” (gloubaru kenkyuu) and “大学” (daigaku), terms equivalent to “global studies” and “university,” the result was about 8,980,000. I had been able to find a wide variety of university faculties, departments, research institutes and research centers: Among them were the Global Innovation Research Organization at Ritsumeikan University (立命館グローバル・イノベーション研究機構), the School of Global Japanese Studies at Mieji University (明治大学国際日本学部), the Institute of Global Concern at Sophia University (上智大学グローバルコンサーン研究所) and so on.

Just a simple and short search on the Internet had revealed that in the age of current globalization, a huge number of university departments, faculties, research institutes and centers focusing on globalization and global/globalization studies had been established all over the world.

In contrast to the facts and figures regarding globalization and global/globalization studies, the results of a Google search for “glocalization,” “glocal studies” or “glocal studies” plus “university” were extremely scarce compared with the previous search. The search result for “glocalization” was about 216,000 and that for “globalization studies” 87,800, while “global studies” 225,000. When I googled a set of words “glocal studies + university,” the figure was just about 77,200. Compared to the figures for “globalization” and “global studies,” we might not be wrong in saying that the Center for Glocal Studies, Seijo University, is the only research center or institute of or for glocal studies in the world to this date.

2. Globalization and Global Studies

2-1. On the Concept of Globalization

According to the Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, 4th ed., 2000, the term “globalization” refers to the process by which the world is transformed into a single global system. Aspects of what is now called globalization were first seriously discussed by sociologists during the 1960s and 1970s. In 1960, Canadian sociologist Herbert Marshall McLuhan introduced into the analysis of culture and the mass media the expression “the global village,” in order to describe how, in his view, the world was shrinking as a result of new technologies of communication such as radios and TVs at that time.

In current discussion, globalization has three dimensions or manifestations: economic, cultural and political. As we are anthropologists, we have been focusing on the socio-cultural aspect. Globalization of culture is said to be

the result of the rise of mass tourism, increased migration of people between societies, the commercialization of cultural products and the global spread of an ideology of consumerism, which have the effect of replacing or supplementing more localized cultures. The marketing activities of multinational companies and the development of mass media of communication contribute to cultural globalization. “McDonaldization” is a well-known and frequently cited example of globalization.

2-2. The Evaluation of and the Responses towards Globalization

Schematically speaking, there are two types of evaluation and response towards globalization: One is thinking of globalization as homogenization and the other as diversification. Those who take globalization as homogenization consider globalization as something that demises and erases local/peripheral societies and cultures. As a result, most of them tend to express sympathy towards anti-globalization movements.

“Homogenization” vs. “Diversification”

Globalization as homogenization	Globalization as diversification
Cultural imperialism	Cultural planetization
Cultural dependence	Cultural interdependence
Cultural hegemony	Cultural interpenetration
Autonomy	Synthesis, hybridization
Modernization	Modernizations
Westernization	Global mélange
Cultural Synchronization	Creolization/crossover
World civilization	Global ecumene

(Source: Macionis and Plummer, 2012:913)

On the other hand, those who take globalization as diversification emphasize globalization as something that creolizes and reconstructs local/peripheral societies and cultures. Consequently, most of them do not totally oppose globalization. As you will see in my following presentation, when we formulate and conduct glocal studies, we stand on the latter side.

2-3. The Limitations of Globalization/Global Studies

Irrespective of which side we stand on, as we live in this globalized

world, we have to deal with globalization. As a consequence, many university departments, faculties and research institutes or centers of/for globalization/global studies have been established all over the world. When I review global studies¹ at those university educational and research institutions, however, I sometimes get frustrated: There seem to be limitations in global studies as a theory and method for describing and analyzing contemporary socio-cultural dynamics.

Global studies is the study of globalization and accordingly it focuses too much on the “center” (source) of globalization. That means global studies ordinarily pays too little attention to the local “peripheral” aspects. Or, in the case of global studies followers who oppose globalization, global studies pays too much attention to the local aspects.

What makes me most frustrated is that global studies pay little attention to simultaneity of and mutual effect between globalization and localization dynamics.

3. Glocalization and Glocal Studies

3-1. Glocalization

According to *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words*, the concept of glocalization was formed around 1990 by telescoping “global” and “local” to make a blend of the two terms (Tulloch (comp.) 1991:134). The idea of going for the world market (*global marketing*) was a feature of business thinking in the early eighties. By the late eighties and early nineties, Western companies had observed the success of Japanese firms in doing this while at the same time exploiting the local conditions as well; this came to be called *global localization* (or, at first, *dochakuka* in Japanese), soon abbreviated to *glocalization*.

The marketing buzzword of glocalization was then introduced into sociology/anthropology by a British sociologist Roland Robertson in the middle of the 1990s to refer to ‘global localization’ (cf. Robertson 1995). As I mentioned, initially, the word glocalization referred to the marketing strategy of global companies which introduce minor modifications into global products for different local markets, to comply with local tastes. In sociology/anthropology, however, it came to express the tension between local and global cultures. As a process, it refers to the globalization of the local, and the localization of the global (Abercrombie *et al*, 2000:155). In other words, it is the process through

1 In the following, I use “global studies” in a broad sense as a word/concept signifying “global studies” in a narrow sense as well as “globalization studies.”

which global processes, such as the activities of transnational enterprises, result in the provision of locally specific goods and services, and communicate locally specific information back to the global system (Scott and Marshall (eds.) 2009: 287).

3-2. Two Notable Aspects in the Concept of Glocalization

From the definitions ascertained above, we can extract two notable aspects of the concept of glocalization: *i.e. simultaneity* of and *mutual interaction* between globalization and localization. Glocalization always takes place in tandem with localization simultaneously or sequentially. Globalization and localization are not necessarily always but often mutually affecting each other.

3-3. Formulating Glocal Studies

Thus, refining the concept of glocalization, we at the Center for Glocal Studies (CGS), Seijo University, have formulated “glocal studies” in order to illuminate socio-cultural dynamics within the global and the local, the center and the periphery, the outside and the inside, as well as multiple, simultaneously occurring local realities in new and innovative ways.

Tentatively, we the researchers at the Center for Glocal Studies, Seijo University, have formulated glocal studies as follows:

Glocal studies is the theoretical as well as empirical studies on socio-cultural processes and/or the condition of glocalization, putting particular emphasis on the simultaneity of and mutual interaction between globalization and localization.

In order to further elaborate, promote and conduct glocal studies, with the grant-in-aid from the Japanese government (the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology), we established a new research center, the Center for Glocal Studies (CGS) at Seijo University in September 2008. Since then, we the researchers at the center have been conducting glocal studies.

Our objectives of the center are threefold:

1. Formulating the theory of and for the pursuit of glocal studies
2. Conducting empirical reach of and for glocal studies
3. Envisaging future societies and cultures of conviviality based on glocal

studies

4. A Case Study of Glocal Studies

4-1. Outline

As an example of glocal studies, I will briefly describe and examine the joint cultural movements for inscribing female fisher-divers' culture of Japan and Korea onto the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage list.

It is said that for thousands of years, there have been female fisher-divers in parts of insular and coastal East Asia, areas we know today as Japan and Korea. Without any modern fishing equipment except goggles and wet suits, these female fisher-divers harvested and still harvest edible seaweeds and shellfishes such as abalones, turban fishes, conches, sea urchins and sea cucumbers. They are called *ama* in Japan and *haenyeo* in Korea, both of them literally meaning "sea/ocean women."

As female fisher-divers are now found only in Japan and Korea, they have their own inherent fishing techniques, beliefs, rituals and oral traditions. Around the establishment and implementation of the UNESCO Convention of Intangible Cultural Heritage in the middle of early 2000s (2000-2010), an organized joint movement was formed in Japan and Korea. In that joint movement, the "culture" among female fisher-divers in Japan and in Korea has been systematically "reworked" or "invented." Its final objective is to jointly inscribe female fisher-divers' culture of Japan and Korea on the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage list².

4-2. The "Invention" or Reworking of *Haenyeo* and *Ama* Culture

In the year 2000, some leading anthropologists and folklorists at Jeju National University, Jeju, Korea, organized a research project entitled "The Jeju *Haenyeo*'s Value in Terms of the History of Marine Civilization" and received a grant-in-aid from the Korean Scientific Academy. With that aid, they implemented the interdisciplinary research project on *haenyeo* of Jeju Island. The objectives were to explore and evaluate *haenyeo* society and culture in the context of ocean civilization history, and to formulate "*haenyeo* studies" as an academic field.

2 By the end of 2015, when I finished writing this article, because of the increase of strategical and conceptual discrepancies between the Japanese and Korean sides of the movements, the joint movements for inscribing the female fisher-divers' culture of Japan and Korea on the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage list were dismantled.

Meanwhile, the 17th FIFA World Cup soccer games were to be jointly held in Korea and Japan from May to June in 2002. Three games were to be held on Jeju Island. As the World Cup soccer games were the first held in Asia, in order to celebrate the occasion, the two “rival” countries, Korea and Japan, competed to organize and hold a series of festivals and events. As part of those commemorative events, anthropologists and folklorists at Jeju University, who had started the *haenyeo* studies project, and other interested parties, suggested to the local government to revive the dormant *haenyeo* festival. Along with the festival, they also suggested holding an international conference on *haenyeo* or *haenyeo* studies. Their suggestions were accepted, and on June 9-11, 2002, an international conference on *haenyeo* entitled *The 1st World Jamnyeology* [the studies of *j amnyeoo*= *h aenyeoo*] *Conference: Values of Woman Divers and Their Cultural Heritage* was held at Cheju National University.

Female fisher-divers *haenyeo* were chosen as the conference’s main theme because they were considered to symbolize the peace, hospitality and eco-friendly lifestyle of Jeju islanders specifically and Koreans in general. Additionally, *haenyeo* represented the intimate relationship between the two host countries of the World Cup soccer games in 2002, Korea and Japan, because the culture of female fisher-divers is unique to these two countries and there is a long history of migration of Jeju *haenyeo* to Japan. Some of Jeju *haenyeo* have settled down, married and now dive as *ama* of Japan. Therefore, invited participants to the conference also included specialists on Japanese *ama*.

At the end of the symposium, an invited American participant, being aware of the then-forthcoming UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (finally adopted in 2003), suggested that *haenyeo/ama* culture could be jointly nominated for recognition as UNESCO intangible cultural heritage. The suggestion was unanimously accepted, and it marked the beginning of joint efforts to nominate *haenyeo/ama* culture for inscription to the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Since then, anthropologists, folklorists, cultural conservationists, tourism developers, municipal/prefectural government officials and *haenyeo/ama* themselves have gradually joined the movement. The Korean side established Jeju *Haenyeo* Museum (JHM) in 2006 and since then the museum has been promoting and conducting research on *haenyeo* culture, organizing exhibitions on female fisher-divers of Korea and Japan, and publishing their research findings.

In responding to the Korean call, the Japanese counterparts of the movements, particularly the Toba Sea Museum in Mie prefecture, has been systematically promoting and conducting research on *ama* culture, organizing

exhibitions, publishing various kinds of books on *ama*. Both sides have also independently or jointly organized seminars, symposium and festivals on female fisher-divers' cultures of Japan and Korea.

(If you would like to know the details of the movements, please refer to my papers and books).

4-3. Global vs. Local vs. Glocal Contexts

Now, I will analyze the movements in three different contexts: In global, local and glocal contexts.

In a global context, *haenye/ama* culture inscribing movements are the penetration of the UNESCO's globalized policy for safeguarding world intangible cultural heritage into Korea and Japan. Hence, we can consider the movements as typical examples of globalization in Korea and Japan. In a local context, the movements are independent reworking or revitalization movements of local female fisher divers' traditional cultures in Korea and Japan respectively. It is in a glocal context that we can combine the global context with local context.

When we put the movements in a glocal context, we can clearly recognize the simultaneity of and mutual effect of globalization and localization.

In a glocal context, we recognize globalization in the penetration of the UNESCO's safeguarding policy of intangible cultural heritage into Korea and Japan. We also recognize localization in the interpretation and practicing of the UNESCO's policy in Korea and Japan.

In a glocal context, we recognize how the globalizing concept of the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage affects and starts reworking traditional local female fisher divers' culture in Japan and Korea. At the same time, a locally and peripherally reworked/reconstructed concept of nation, culture and state affects and challenges the global and central concepts.

4-4. Challenges from the Local/Peripheral to the Global/Center

(1) Challenge to the Monolithic Concept of One Nation-One Culture

In the process of inscribing a culture (an "element" in the UNESCO's terminology) on the UNESCO world heritage list, basically one particular state, region or ethnic-group is supposed to have one particular culture. It is also supposed, therefore, that that one particular culture will be or should be the "core" for one particular national, regional or ethnic identity.

When we examine the joint endeavors of Korea and Japan for nominating *ama/haenyeo* culture on the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage list, the movement implies that two nations, Korea and Japan, share the same female

fisher-diver culture. The movement also reveals that one particular culture, in this case *haenyeo/ama* culture, can exist beyond national and ethnic boundaries. That mode of culture may be called “multi-cited culture.”

(2) Challenge to the Monolithic Concept of One Nation-One State

Needless to say, however, most of the globalized cultures such as popular music (reggae), fast food (McDonalds hamburger) or Apple’s iPhone have spread everywhere in the world and exist beyond national boundaries. Hence, the recognition of the mode of “multi-cited culture” is, in a sense, a call for recognition of the ongoing mode of transnational culture. The movement implies more than that.

Until the present national, regional and ethnic boundaries were fixed, the mode of “multi-cited culture” seems to have been not unusual. That means the cultural mode of “multi-cited culture” is the normal mode of cultural evolution. The movement for nominating *ama/haenyeo* culture on the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage list should, therefore, be considered as an acknowledgment of the normal mode of cultural evolution. The advancement of the local-level movement in Korea and Japan presses the national-level governments of Korea and Japan and the global-level institution of UNESCO as well for acceptance of the mode of “multi-cited culture.”

(3) Challenge to the Powers: Politics of Culture

Under the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, those who can apply for the inscription on the UNESCO list should be the representatives of each contracting nation. In the case of Japan, the national-level agency, the Agency for Cultural Affairs (Bunka-cho), makes the final decision on the priority for nomination on the UNESCO list. The agency decides the authenticity and importance of a particular cultural item. Therefore, traditionally it should be this agency that takes the representative role for Japan as far as a UNESCO intangible cultural heritage is concerned.

As shown in my presentation, however, in the case of the movement for nominating *ama/haenyeo* culture on the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage list, the Korean party of the movement directly contacted the Japanese counterpart and called for subsequent cooperation. For the time being, no party at the national level has been effectively involved in the movement yet. Local people initiated the movement and they developed it. That means local people of Korea and Japan can decide the authenticity and importance of their own cultural items, in this case, *ama* and *haenyeo* culture. The movement may problematize the nation-state-based system for evaluating the authenticity,

importance and value of a culture. In this way, the movement has also been changing the politics of culture.

Hence, I have shown how the globalized concept of UNESCO intangible cultural heritage has localized in Korea and Japan. From the traditional globalization perspective, the movement may be considered as a simple example of redefining local culture within the framework of a globally-recognized concept of the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage. However, when examined from a glocalization perspective, deeper, broader socio-cultural implications of the movement become visible. In doing so, I pointed out we could address at least two points hitherto not fully examined, i.e. the mode of “multi-cited culture” and the “changing politics of culture.” By elaborating the theory of “glocal studies,” I expect we can have a better and much more effective theoretical tool to objectify and analyze our ever changing society and culture.

Concluding Remarks

Hence, I have shown how useful and effective the concept of glocalization or the new research field of glocal studies is for describing and analyzing the socio-cultural realities of the contemporary globalized world. By applying the theory and method of glocal studies to a not-fully-examined socio-cultural movement in Japan and Korea, I have demonstrated we could describe and analyze it much more “thickly” and “deeply.” By practicing glocal studies, we can objectify or visualize “the invisible.” Furthermore, in conducting glocal studies, we can also focus on developments that may lead to symmetrizing what is thought of as an asymmetrical socio-cultural power balance between “the center” and “the periphery.”

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Chapter 2

Hayao Miyazaki and the Glocal Aspects of Anime Art

Gergana Petkova

Introduction

In the present article I refer to the glocal aspects of Hayao Miyazaki's anime art and trace the co-presence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies on the example of one of his most popular work *Spirited Away* (2001), which is believed to be an example par excellence of the influence both on local and global levels. Although the glocalization processes are mostly associated with the integration of local markets into the world, in academia the field of glocal studies has recently brought a new perspective especially in regard to the "glocal literacy" and the response of education to globalization issues. In my case, the recent tendencies in Japanese studies, especially in regard to the prerequisites for interest in this field in general, made me aware of the anime as a glocal phenomenon.

Background

The student profile in our BA Programme has changed in the last decade. Japanese studies at Sofia University, Bulgaria, were established in 1990 as a regular five-year Master degree course¹. Although published data is hard to find², being also a graduate from the first classes, I have direct observations on the motivation of the students enrolled in the program back in the 1990's. Motivation could be summarized in two main streams: first comes the positive image of Japan in Bulgaria thanks to the decades long cultural exchange³, resulting in "an aura of attractiveness" associated with everything Japanese.

1 For further reading on the history of Japanese studies in Bulgaria see Tsigova 2013: 16-21.

2 So far no research has been conducted on the topic of motivation, save for a student project examining the first years of Japanese Studies at Sofia University, conducted in the beginning of 2014. <https://sites.google.com/site/gesiclass/classroom-news>, <http://youtu.be/npeNrZuDMRU>

3 In 1975 an official agreement for cooperation between Bulgaria and Japan initiated a period of active cultural, art and scholarship exchange between the two countries (Kandilarov 2013: 79).

The second is more of political and economic background, as these were the first years after the end of the socialist era in the country, marked by the establishment of an open market and the introduction of a capitalist system. So, young people back then were assuming, to a great extent in a utopian way, that there would be a market for their specific skills and that many Japanese companies would become a part of the Bulgarian economic environment.

Now, 25 years later, the profile of the average Japanese Studies student at our university has changed substantially. And whereas the first stream remains more or less the same – Japan still holds a very special place in the heart of the Bulgarian, both because of its traditional values as well as the economic and technological development; the second stream has shifted to a new direction. Unlike in the 1990's, the present-day Japanese Studies student has been drawn to the field because of a keen interest in Japanese culture arisen by anime, manga and TV dramas. According to recent survey results, more than a half of our students define anime as a major motif to become interested in Japanese culture and language⁴.

Another student project⁵ showed that young people do have some expectations to find employment after graduation, yet this is not the primary urge to enrol in the Japanese Studies program. Moreover, already in the first two years of their study they get to realize the scarce opportunities to find a well-paid job involving Japanese language. With around 20 freshmen enrolling each year, by graduation a fourth of the students have dropped their BA degree in Japanese studies. And the reason for that may also be sought in their initial motivation – coming from the “fairy” world of manga, anime and TV drama, students face enormous difficulties in the acquisition of the Japanese language – their self-confidence induced by learnt-by-heart phrases quickly evaporates due to the strain of learning Japanese grammar, hieroglyphs, and new lexica. They discover that what seemed an easy and pleasant path in the beginning has unexpectedly turned into a steep hill inaccessible to all.

Nevertheless, the number of state and private institutions offering Japanese language courses continues to grow – and while there was only one institution in 1990 (Sofia University), nowadays courses are offered at two national universities, five schools and more than a dozen private establishments

4 The survey was conducted in March 2014 among 85 past and present Japanese studies students (Appendix 1).

5 Student Team research project on the career path of Japanese studies graduates:
<https://sites.google.com/site/gesiclass/classroom-news>, <http://youtu.be/7xnyN7r3KJk>

around the country. In the last two years, for example, the number of people taking Japanese Proficiency Test has doubled and reached nearly 500 in 2013, even though there are very few Japanese enterprises in Bulgaria, the country is not considered a priority region for Japanese economy, and employment opportunities with Japanese language are limited. These numbers show that young people still feel attracted to Japanese language and culture, and the competition for the limited number of places for Japanese Studies at Sofia University continues to be one of the most severe ones in the oldest and biggest university of Bulgaria.

2. Local Miyazaki

This is how my interests in the theme of anime and its effect upon non-Japanese public were born. It seems that anime has become a very important driving force in the field of Japanese Studies, which one cannot simply ignore⁶. As I come originally from literature and folklore studies, the closest starting point I found was the anime art of one of the most renowned directors in the world of animation – Hayao Miyazaki⁷. In his art, much as in fairy tales, I have found well traceable layers of both local and universal phenomena. To illustrate these in the present article I shall refer to one of his most popular and beloved pictures – *Spirited Away*⁸, and there are few main reasons for that.

6 Interesting yet still running is the survey of Anton Andreev who is examining the average profile of manga and anime fans in Bulgaria. The survey results of September 2013 from a manga/anime event in Sofia, show clearly that Bulgarian fans do recognize these art forms as contributing to the possibility to get in touch with “a different world”, “a different art from the European”, “to get emotionally involved in the story together with the main characters”, “to experience more interesting and complex plots and characters in comparison to European”, to encounter “a different vision” and “rich thematic scope”, “to learn about another culture”, etc.

7 Hayao Miyazaki is one of the most influential directors in the world of animation nowadays. Miyazaki’s influence has drawn much attention because he rethinks and reorganizes the art of animation in the contemporary world, placing it within a new paradigm. On one hand he introduces an innovative form of “pop-cultural spirituality” (Yamanaka, 2008: 237), and on the other – a new medium to introduce Japanese culture abroad. In fact manga-comics and animated pictures anime have produced keen interest towards Japanese culture abroad (Poitras, 2008) and have even been introduced in the classroom to raise motivation (Ruble and Lysne, 2010).

8 The story of *Spirited Away* (千と千尋の神隠し) is about a little girl who enters the parallel world of deities and after undergoing adventures and overcoming obstacles, rescues her parents and herself, to return to the human world in the end. The heroine undertakes a journey to her inner self and simultaneously frees herself; she becomes independent, wise and self-aware. The process of inner transformation is accomplished through integration within the community and without breaking her familial

2-1. *Spirited Away* by Hayao Miyazaki

First, when in 2001 Miyazaki released *Spirited Away*, the production received a number of renowned awards both in his home country and abroad⁹. Second, statistics show that the production was seen by every fifth person in Japan (23.5 million, Yamanaka 2008), and has become the highest grossing film in Japanese history whatsoever (including foreign features). Third, this is the picture which was seen by most of the participants in the recent survey on Miyazaki's art. Therefore, *Spirited Away* seems to be a picture well-known and appreciated both in its home country as well as abroad. The reason for that, as we shall see, is the fact that it echoes both on local and global levels, just as fairy tales do, and this is what makes it interesting as a glocal phenomenon.

Shiro Yoshioka calls *Spirited Away* “a folktale for the 21 century which teaches that contemporary culture is an extension of, or even a part of, a much larger context of Japanese tradition” (2008: 258). Dani Cavallaro also examines the link between the fairy tale and anime (2011). Max Luethi, one of the most influential scholars in the field of folktale study, summarizes the local and global strati in folktales in the following way: “There are traits which in the fairy tale genre as a whole are made to stand out. (...) The fairy tale itself is not ahistorical; it is subject to the tastes of the times, (...) dependent on the epoch, which vary from region to region, and which are tied to social class, it also displays important and characteristic elements which are timeless and independent of region and class” (Luethi 1987: 159). Examining *Spirited Away* from the view point of fairy tales will enable us to see what makes it so special and so successful both at home and abroad. Although anime as an art form involves a number of research techniques, hereafter we shall apply a hermeneutic approach, literary and folkloristic analysis with some reference to text structural study and survey analysis.

First, we shall examine the Japanese-bound strata in *Spirited Away*. From time and space positioning, across the choice of dramatis personae, to atmosphere and motifs – Hayao Miyazaki creates a very “Japanese” playground for his 10-year old heroine. The reason for that Miyazaki explains as follows: “We just don't know how rich and unique our folk world – from stories, folklore, events, designs, gods to magic – is. Certainly, Kachikachi Yama and

bonds, but through the awakening of the “invisible power” within herself (Yamanaka, 2008: 246).

9 The picture has received so far more than twenty international rewards, as well as the major Japanese ones such as “Japan Academy Award for best film” (2002), “Golden Bear” – Berlin (2002), Academy Award for best animated feature (2003) and many others.

Momotaro have lost their power of persuasion. But it is poor imagination to put all the traditional things into a snug folk-like world. Children are losing their roots, being surrounded by high technology and cheap industrial goods. We have to tell them how rich a tradition we have”. So, by reviving folklore, Miyazaki resurrects the notion of traditional roots in the heart of the Japanese. The reason for that is Miyazaki’s belief that “a person with no history, a people who have forgotten their past, will vanish like snow, or be turned into chickens to keep laying eggs until they are eaten”¹⁰.

In order to revive this attitude towards home culture Miyazaki applies references to Japanese folklore, history and way of thinking. A few of the most important characteristics are the village community and social order, religious and folk beliefs, traditional aesthetics, the concept of Otherworld together with a rich environment of Japanese culture props and everyday life.

2-2. *Kyōdōtai* Community

To start with, we shall refer to the village community *kyōdōtai*¹¹, its structure and role for the individual in Japanese society. Tokutarō Sakurai calls it “a small universe” (1996: 134), Tadashi Takeda (2002: 62) sees the image of this community permeating all types of Japanese folktales (of animals, jokes and ordinary) – and indeed, the bathhouse, where Chihiro gets hired in order to rescue her parents, resembles pretty much this community union. The *kyōdōtai* in a broader sense refers to the historically developed concept of community life in Japan.

Among the basic characteristics of *kyōdōtai* is the well-being of the community, which is a result of the harmonious coexistence of its members. There is a strict order in this small universe, and whoever is about to enter it is considered a threat to the harmony. The new-comers are viewed as strangers, outsiders, called *ijin* (異人) – or the different ones. Kazuhiko Komatsu studies the relationship of these *ijin* to the community and suggests that in Japanese folklore one can trace the *ijin-goroshi* (kill-the-stranger) phenomenon (1987: 102-110). In the case of *Spirited Away*, the main heroine will disappear unless she gets hired in the bathhouse, i.e. unless she gets integrated in the bathhouse community. In this world she is facing the risk of *ijin-goroshi* (異人殺し) in the form of *ijin-gie* (異人消え), or fading and disappearing.

10 www.nausicaa.net/miyazaki/sen/proposal.html (08.04.2014)

11 The term *kyōdōtai* 共同体 refers to an organized group of people sharing common life, following established rules and interacting actively with each other in daily, religious and professional life.

Miyazaki gives his heroine the chance to get contextualized within the community, to get trained, learn about friendship and devotion, and survive by using her wisdom¹² and from an individual *kojin* (個人) and a stranger *ijin*, to turn into *kanjin* (間人), referring to Schnell and Hashimoto's idea (2003: 191) about the socially contextualized hero. Chihiro is not a lonely individualist - she manages to get included in the society with the help of her new friends (Yamanaka 2008: 244).

Further, *Spirited Away* incorporates traits of all religious and philosophic ideas developed throughout Japanese history. Miyazaki's approach towards these issues could be characterized as eclectic, yet eclecticism is nothing but characteristic of Eastern philosophy as a whole - be it in "the unity of the three teachings" *san-chiao ho-i* (三教合一)¹³, or in the syncretic character of the Japanese "religion", supplying in addition to the three teachings of Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism, the originally Japanese Shintoism and the developed later Zen-Buddhism. Although a complete account of religious ideas within this animated picture is difficult due to the limited scope¹⁴, a few important issues will be mentioned.

First, starting from the setting of the stage – the bathhouse, references to Shinto beliefs keep popping up. This is a place where Shinto deities come to relax and purify, and Miyazaki even dares to present these deities in shapes and bodies in order for the public to be able to visualize them. The bathhouse itself accumulates the notion of purification as a main religious practice. The role of the bathhouse in Japanese folklore has been studied from various perspectives, here it seems necessary to recapitulate the most important conclusions, among which the role of the bath as "a meeting place, /.../ an opportunity to communicate, /.../, a chance to come in touch with the supernatural and nature, a place for rebirth and a birth place" (Petkova 2011: 107). Last but not least, bathing is a symbol of ritual cleansing¹⁵. Miyazaki chooses a main stage for the story directly related to Shinto beliefs and practices.

12 www.nausicaa.net/miyazaki/sen/proposal.html (08.04.2014)

13 The three teachings of Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism.

14 Further readings on the topic could be found in Napier 2006b, Thomas 2007, and Tanabe 2007.

15 According to Japanese mythology the god Izanagi having visited his wife in the Land of Death, washes himself in a river and this is how three new deities are born, one of which is the sun-goddess Amaterasu.

2-3. Haku or *Mizugami* Water Spirit

A very meaningful message is encrypted also in the figure of the young apprentice Haku, who is an enchanted water deity or *mizugami* 水神. As the plot unfolds, Haku helps Chihiro to the same extent in that Chihiro helps him. Being a water-spirit, Haku represents Nature and in their interdependence the girl and the water spirit illustrate a far deeper context of human-nature co-existence, in tune with Japanese Shinto beliefs. Haku represents these beliefs and the cultural aspect of the unity with nature, or as Boyka Tsigova speaks about the relation of Japanese people to Nature: “the self-identification with the pristine beginnings of Nature” /2006: 29/. A recent study applying Vladimir Propp’s morphology for structural analysis of *Spirited Away* examined Haku and Chihiro as a unity, as a single dramatis persona (Petkova 2014) and we shall step a little further to add that by becoming Sen, the name of Chihiro becomes homophonous with one of the readings of the hieroglyph for river. In this way Chihiro and Haku realize the Shinto concepts of interdependence and coexistence between man, nature and super-nature, seen as a unity and wholeness.

Further, speaking of names and words, we should also mention that the young heroine is deprived of her name and from Chihiro (千尋) she becomes Sen (千). On the surface the link name-identity is direct, yet digging deeper into this motif one can find the relation to *kotodama* (言霊) in Shinto prayers *norito* (Yamanaka 2008: 242) or the power of spoken words as a medium for the will of the deities. As one can see in two further scenes, Chihiro “regains herself” when Haku reminds her of her real name, and at the end of the story it is Haku who is freed from the spell cast upon him, and this happens the instant Chihiro pronounces aloud his real name - Kohaku. Miyazaki himself says: “Today words are considered very lightly, as something like bubbles. It is just a reflection of reality being empty. It is still true that a word has power. It’s just that the world is filled with empty and powerless words”. And Miyazaki successfully revives the concept of *kotodama* with the power he enshrines in the words spoken and written throughout the plot.

2-4. *Mono-no Aware* or the Breath-taking Feeling

Another strong reference to traditional Japanese values could be found in the incorporation of *mono-no aware* through the sad, but beautiful separation motif in the end of the story. This sad and beautiful separation is one of the most typical motifs in Japanese folktales – it is an embodiment of *mono-no aware* or the breath-taking feeling born in sight of the transitional. Hayao Kawai (1982) and Toshio Ozawa (1994) both define “The non-human bride” tales as most typical Japanese tales, with hardly any analogues around the world. And not

because of the man-animal coexistence, which is a common motif in myths and naturvoelker tales, but exactly because of the way in which partners separate in the end of the story. Be it in other cultures, some action on the part of the main characters would have been expected (Petkova 2012: 11-21), but not in Japan – this sad parting, the separation of the partners, echoes in the heart of the Japanese, and remains incomprehensible to the rest of the world. Chihiro and Haku need to part in the end of the story – the reason Chihiro cannot stay forever in the world of the divine is the same as the one for the Crane Wife, who leaves the human world, or for Kaguya-hime, who returns to the Moon¹⁶.

Among folk beliefs which could be perceived in this animated feature the one that stands out is encrypted already in the title and refers to the folk belief in *kamikakushi*, or “being hidden by deities”¹⁷. According to folk beliefs, the deities *kami* abduct people in order to teach and enlighten them, in other words not to punish but rather to reward or add to their spiritual education (Staemler 2005, Blacker 1967). This is what happens to the young heroine in *Spirited Away* – even though no real abduction takes place, Chihiro undergoes a transformation (not in quantitative but in qualitative terms), her actions become gradually more independent and self-aware, she recognizes the power within herself needed on a life-journey and when she returns to the world of humans she is already enlightened, or “en-spirited”.

2-5. The Otherworld

Among other characteristics of Japanese folklore is the concept of the Otherworld. The world which Chihiro and her parents enter resembles very much the image of the parallel world typical for the Japanese fairy tales. Here are all the basic characteristics – to enter the world the family crosses all typical thresholds – a forest, a tunnel, a river, and a bridge (Petkova, Vol. 106). Time runs at a different speed and when they come back it seems they were long absent¹⁸. The entrance to this world appears suddenly and very often it cannot

16 Both are well known stories, the first is one of the most famous Japanese fairy tales, the second – a legend and the first Japanese piece of written literature. The group of tales belonging to the Non-human bride type usually speaks of a grateful animal or divine being which comes to reward a human being. Most of the stories end with the non-human partner leaving the world of man forever (For more see Ozawa 1994, Petrova 2004).

17 Japanese folklore examples speak of the sudden and mysterious disappearance of men, believed to have been abducted by supernatural beings or Shinto deities *kami*. The abducted, if they ever return, are either mentally deranged or tell incredible stories of fantastic voyages.

18 In the tale of Urashima, for example, the visit of the main character to the undersea Kingdom lasted

be found at other occasions. Although this Otherworld seems to open its doors especially for the main character¹⁹, there are rules which must be obeyed, non-human inhabitants, gorgeous food, tests and tasks, and miracles. The specifics of the Japanese otherworld is that it is parallel to the human world, it exists simultaneously – it is not a matter of distance or inaccessibility, it is just not always SEEN and EXPERIENCED by everyone – the doors to this realm open only for the Chosen ones²⁰.

3. Anime in the Glocalization

By reviving these Japanese-bound folklore images Miyazaki succeeds not only to remind of roots forgotten²¹, but also to resonate in the heart of the Japanese to whom these characteristics, even if partly forgotten, seem close and understandable. Yet Miyazaki goes further and manages to reach also the non-Japanese public and we shall now examine that what makes this picture so successful far beyond Japanese boundaries could be explained by the specifics of the structural and thematic corpus of the animated picture.

First, the story of Chihiro has quite a universal origin. Miyazaki states that it is “a story of a girl” or *少女の物語* (Miyazaki 2008: 230), yet it is also a story of initiation of this girl. The theme of the path to adolescence, the rites of passage and initiation, has long been traced in folklore. And indeed, the title also suggests it, as Chihiro could be read as a stressed The Hero (*ぢひろ*), and in the same time more of a male name in Japanese language. Chihiro is the hero with a thousand faces – a motif which appears in narratives all around the world (Campbell 1949).

Starting with Vladimir Propp’s work on the historical roots of the fairy tale (1946), where the author studies thoroughly the rites of passage which the hero undergoes; cross Joseph Campbell’s “The hero with a thousand faces” (1949),

for 3 days, yet these were equal to 300 years in the world of humans.

19 The same happens for example in the tale *The house of Uguisu*, where the main character finds by chance a house in the forest, which turns out to be in the parallel universe of the bush warbler’s realm.

20 The parallel universes are best illustrated in the tales about fox and badger, as these two animals possess the unique ability to create parallel worlds and use them often to punish or reward the main character. The concept of Otherworld in Japanese folklore and in Miyazaki’s works shows that “the powerful web of life that naturally, socially and cosmically links human beings with a mysterious other world beyond ourselves permits every being to find a place in which it is totally accepted and can thrive” (Yamanaka 2008: 248). See also Kimler 2010.

21 For example, Birgit Staemler finds more than 100 thousand websites addressing the *kamikakushi* phenomenon; 90%, however, refer to Miyazaki’s film (Staemler 2005: 346).

following the hero's journey in various cultures and narratives; then Lutz Roehrich's work on folktales and reality (1956), where the author speaks of the emancipation path of the hero, and more recently Robert Bly's "Iron John: a book about man" (1990), together with a row of other studies that perceive in the narratives throughout the world the journey of the main character to adolescence and independence. In most of the cases it is a journey for male characters, not female, yet what happens to Chihiro in *Spirited Away* is very similar to all those "boy's stories".

While on a journey in the Land of Gods, Chihiro is changing, she is undergoing a transformation as every rite of passage would suggest. This transformation, the process of Change, the metamorphosis is an art of *pien-hua* (變化). In its Taoist sense "to transform oneself is to correspond to all things in nature" (Robinet 1979: 40), and Chihiro indeed reacts to, integrates into, learns from, and interacts with all and everything in the new environment she has become part of by the act of *kamikakushi*. Miyazaki himself does not see it as a growing up process, rather as an awakening process: "It's very important to make it plain and unexaggerated. Starting with that, it's not a story in which the characters grow up, but a story in which they draw on something already inside them..." (in Broderick 2003). Yet to the foreign public it surely sounds like the well-known motif of the path to adolescence, which we are used to from the age of myths and gods up till now, and this is why the story echoes in Western minds as well as in Eastern.

Then the theme of good and evil – one of the most exploited ones in the narratives around the world – also finds its place, although from a different perspective. It's not an opposition of extremes, but of binomial coexistence. Miyazaki reconciles both extremes, by saying: "... (it) is not a confrontation between good and evil. It will be a story of a girl who was thrown into a world where both good and evil exist. She gets trained, learns about friendship and devotion, and survives by using her wisdom. ... It is because she gained the power to live." (ibid.). This ambiguity towards the concepts of good and evil is considered a trademark of Miyazaki's productions. "Many consider one of Studio Ghibli's major offerings to society to be precisely the lack of a clear-cut vision of good versus evil", says Susan Napier in regard to all animated features produced by Miyazaki-Takahata tandem (2006: 60)²². Yet this is quite characteristic of Eastern philosophy in general, or as Richard Smith defines the

22 The studio was founded in 1985 and is headed by the directors Hayao Miyazaki and Isao Takahata and the producer Toshio Suzuki.

phenomenon in regard to Chinese religious life – the East fails “to develop a concept of ‘evil’ as an active force in the Western sense” (1978: 34). Although the yin and yang co-existence is sometimes difficult to grasp for the non-Eastern public, surely this public recognizes the theme of good and evil, especially in regard to the “happy ending”. It leads to a satisfying conclusion. The initial lack or harm, in Propp’s terms²³, is liquidated by the end of the story and this is very much in tune with the expectations of the public.

Additionally, this picture certainly promotes environmental issues as well, not only because of the Shinto beliefs, but also because of motifs like the cleansing of the polluted river god, an act by which Chihiro acquires the magic object to rescue her friends. Environment pollution in the last decades has turned into a hot-potato topic, starting with the Kyoto Protocol in 1997. The extent to which governments and society as a driving force are responsible for environment protection has become an acute topic for discussions all around the world. Long before the Kyoto Protocol, Miyazaki released *Nausicaa of the Valley of the Wind* (1984) where environment protection becomes one of the main themes of his art thereafter²⁴.

By incorporating global and universal themes in *Spirited Away* Miyazaki successfully reaches out for an international audience. Yet there is one more reason for the popularity of the picture abroad. I believe it lies much within the structural composition of this animated feature.

As far as Japanese folktales are concerned the structure of the plot very often follows a circular model (回帰性) unlike most of the western folktales where linear plot structure (完結性) is common, and this difference is well studied by Toshio Ozawa who concludes that this is one of the main reasons non-Japanese audiences find it difficult sometimes to grasp a Japanese fairy tale (1994: 219-222). Yet in a study applying morphological parsing to explore difficulties in reception of Japanese folktales abroad, we have found out that despite their circular model, Japanese fairy tales do follow the pattern suggested by Vladimir Propp in his *Morphology of the folktale* (Petkova 2009). In another recent study on *Spirited Away* we have found out also that despite the ending, which obviously brings spatially the main heroine back to the starting point of her journey, the plot of the animated feature follows very closely the 31-function

23 Here we refer to the 31-function model applied for structural analysis of folktales, developed by the Russian formalist Vladimir Propp. In the sequence of 31 plot-building elements the initial harm/lack is perceived as a turning point followed by hero’s actions to liquidate it.

24 For more see Murphy 2009.

model suggested by Vladimir Propp. In fact, the story is built upon 20 of his functions appearing exactly in the order suggested by the Russian structuralist (Petkova 2014). Propp derives the model by analysing 100 Russian fairy tales, yet later many scholars have applied his morphology to discover that it is working on a global scale for narrative examples from different geographical regions and cultures. So, Miyazaki uses this established and anticipated pattern of the fairy tale, and in this way succeeds in achieving resonance in a non-Japanese audience. This is believed to be a very important prerequisite for the reception of *Spirited Away* by foreign audiences, because despite the circular model of the plot, the composition is in tune with the most popular fairy tale structures around the world.

Concluding Remarks

To recapitulate, we shall now return to the issue of anime reception in Bulgarian students of Japanese Studies, to see to what extent they find out and feel the local and the glocal strati in Miyazaki's works. And indeed, in our recent study on Miyazaki's reception, asked upon what his works promote, two thirds of the participants answered that it promotes both Japanese and universal values. More than 80% of the respondents pointed out the statement "Miyazaki's messages can reach people's hearts regardless of gender, nationality or age" to be the closest to how they feel about his art. Further, top results (above 90%) on themes in Miyazaki's art achieve friendship and nature, whereas the respondents find clear reference to Japanese folklore, Shinto beliefs and Japanese way of thinking, of which in fact they have become more aware thanks to Miyazaki's animation. In this way the results of the survey show how smoothly and effectively Miyazaki incorporates both local and global values, promotes Japanese culture and has an impact on foreign audiences, which makes his works worth examining as a glocal phenomenon.

In the limited scope of this article I could not possibly track down all the local and global elements in the animated pictures of Hayao Miyazaki, yet to my firm belief I have explored some of the very important issues which make this work a glocal phenomenon. And I would like to finish with other data - above 90% of the participants in the above cited survey state that they would recommend Miyazaki's pictures to their friends, family, and colleagues. And for more than a third of them his pictures have made a difference in their life. What more to ask from a Japanese director who by reviving Japaneseness in the hearts of Japanese people, manages to reach out and impact the hearts of the public at the other end of the world.

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Appendix

This is the question sheet of an online survey on anime and Hayao Miyazaki's works, conducted in March 2014 among 85 past and present students of Japanese Studies

Would you define yourself as an anime fan?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not sure

Would you define anime as a major motif to become interested in Japanese culture and language?

1. Yes
2. Not really

Are you fond of Hayao Miyazaki's anime?

1. Yes, very much
2. Not really

Which of the following have you seen?

1. Nausicaa of the Valley of the Wind
2. Princess Mononoke
3. Howl's Moving Castle
4. My Neighbour Totoro
5. Spirited Away - Sen to Chihiro no Kamikakushi
6. Ponyo
7. Laputa - Castle in the Sky
8. Porco Rosso
9. Kiki's Delivery Service
10. The Castle of Calioastro
11. The Wind Rises

What do you like about Miyazaki's anime?

1. the art of animation
2. music
3. plot, story
4. characters
5. messages and ideas

6. presence of Japanese culture/philosophy
7. universal values
8. themes
9. details

Do you find any of the following themes in Miyazaki's pictures?

1. love
2. friendship
3. peace
4. hope
5. nature
6. human life
7. future
8. present
9. past

Do you think that Miyazaki's pictures have relevance to any of the listed:

1. Japanese folklore
2. Shinto
3. Buddhism
4. Dao
5. Traditional culture and way of life
6. Japanese way of thinking
7. Environmentalism
8. Pacifism
9. History

In your opinion what does Miyazaki's anime promote?

1. Japanese culture and values
2. Universal values
3. Does not promote anything in particular
4. Promotes both Japanese and universal values

Have you become more aware of anything of the following thanks to Miyazaki's pictures:

1. Japanese food culture
2. Japanese architecture
3. Japanese way of life in the past
4. Japanese way of life in the present

5. Japanese family relations
6. Japanese social relations
7. Japanese attitude towards nature
8. Japanese folk beliefs

Can you identify yourself with one of the following characters from Miyazaki's pictures:

1. Porco Rosso
2. Nausicaa
3. Chihiro
4. Ponyo
5. San /Mononoke Hime/
6. Mei /Totoro/
7. Soji /Howl's moving castle/
8. Howl
9. Ashitaka /Mononoke hime/
10. Haku /Spirited Away/
11. Kiki
12. Yes, but is not listed

Do you have any other favorite anime director/studio?

1. No, Miyazaki is my favorite.
2. Yes, other Japanese.
3. Yes, other European.
4. Yes, other American.
5. Yes, but not listed the above.

Do you use Miyazaki's anime to polish your Japanese language ability or to get better understanding of Japanese culture?

1. Yes
2. Not really

Would you be interested in more classes/lectures on Japanese anime as a part of the Japanese Studies university curriculum?

1. Yes, very much
2. Maybe
3. Not really

How do you watch/ find access to Miyazaki's pictures:

1. Bulgarian DVD editions
2. Internet
3. AV library
4. from friends
5. other, not listed above

Would you recommend Miyazaki's pictures to your friends, family, colleagues?

1. Yes, definitely
2. May be
3. I don't think so

Which of the following is closer to how you feel about Miyazaki's art:

1. He is one of the greatest directors
2. His art can find admirers all over the world
3. His messages can reach people's hearts regardless of gender, nationality or age
4. He is a talented director
5. His pictures are interesting
6. I feel quite indifferent about him and his art
7. I don't like animation as an art form
8. I don't completely understand his pictures

Has any of Miyazaki's pictures made a difference in your life?

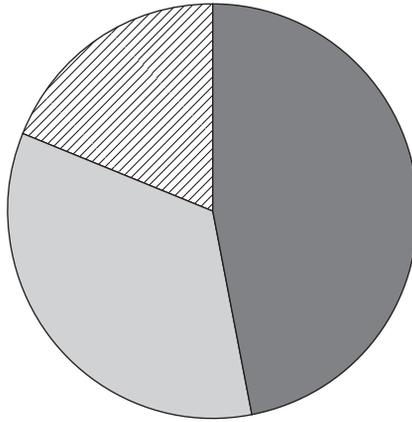
1. Yes
2. Not really
3. Cannot judge

You are currently:

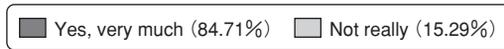
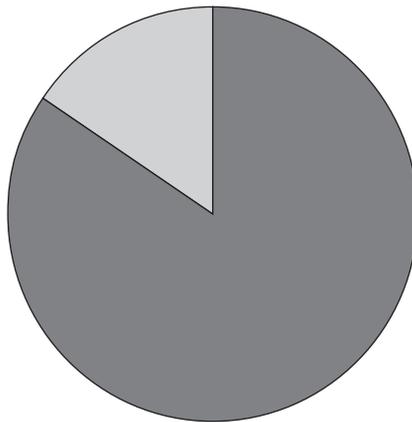
1. a student in Japanese Studies BA Program
2. a student in Japanese Studies MA Program
3. a Sofia University Japanese Studies graduate
4. other, Japanese Studies Specialist
5. other

Some of the results are listed hereafter:

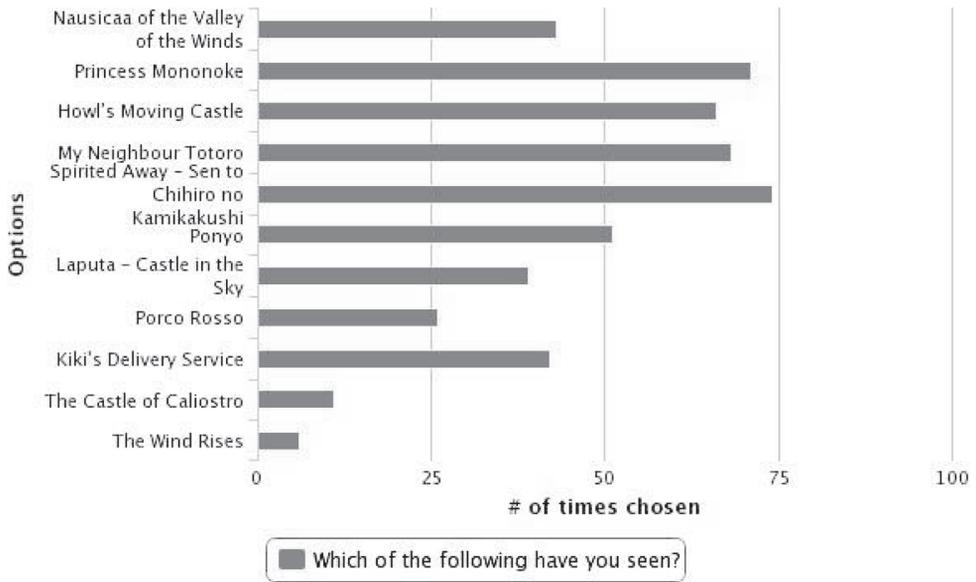
Would you define yourself as an anime fan?



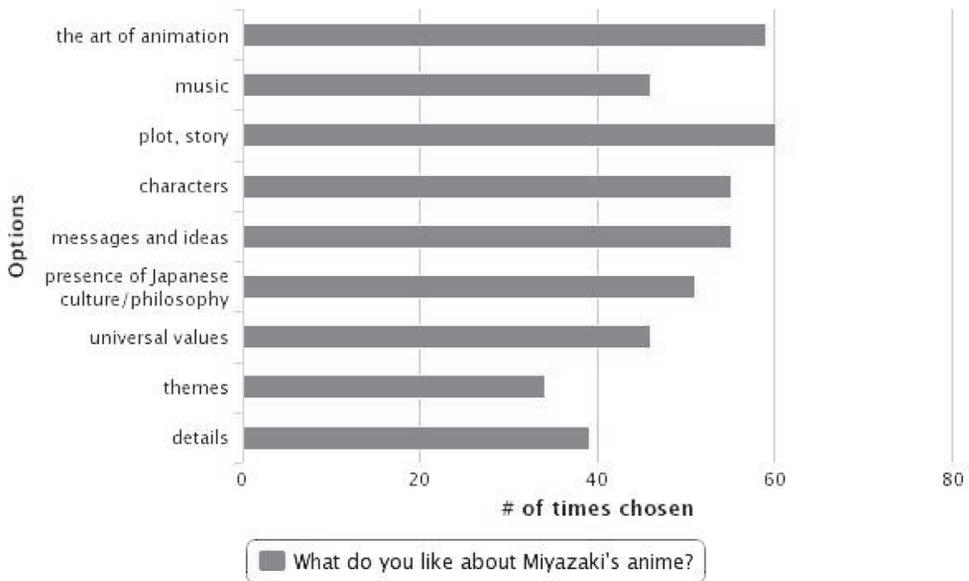
Are you fond of Hayao Miyazaki's anime?



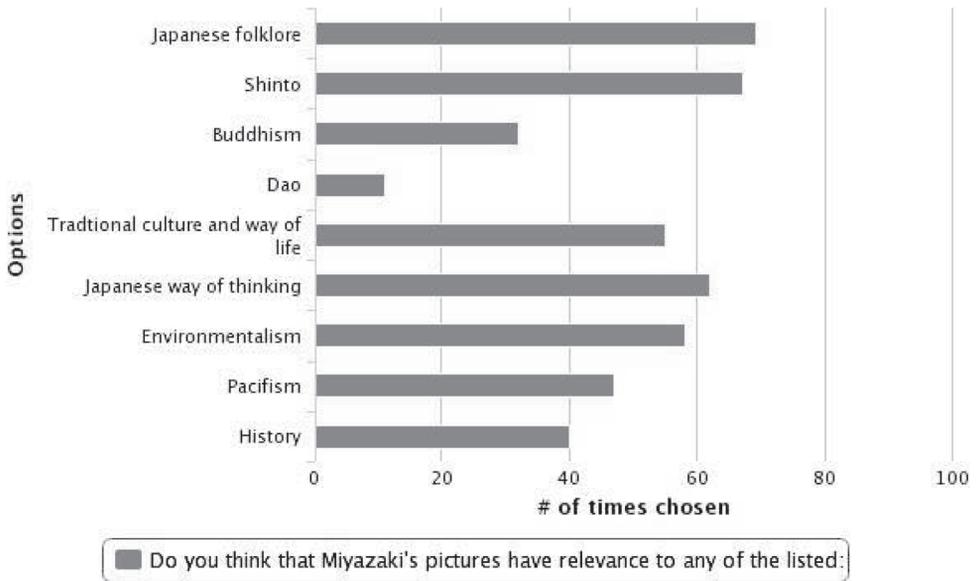
Which of the following have you seen?



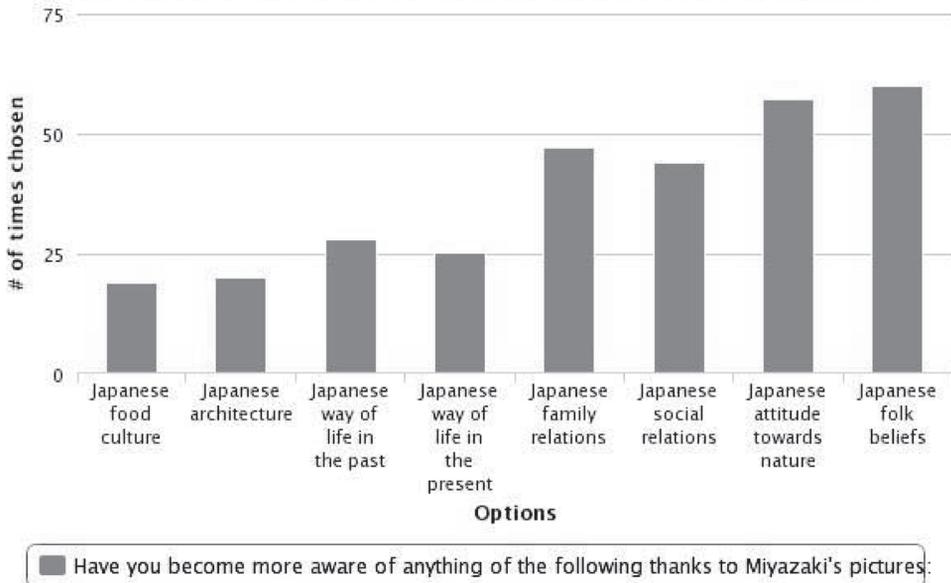
What do you like about Miyazaki's anime?



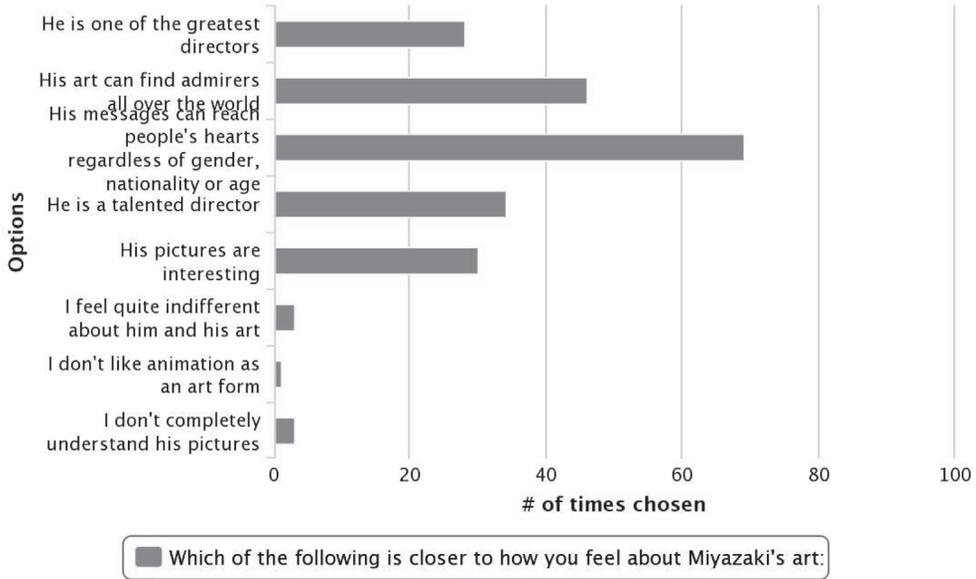
Do you think that Miyazaki's pictures have relevance to...



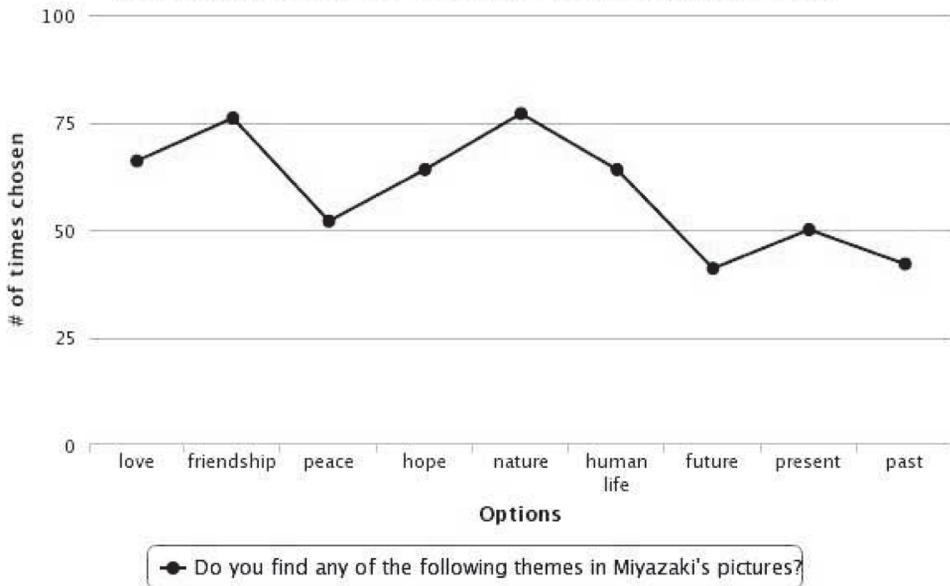
Have you become more aware of anything of the following...



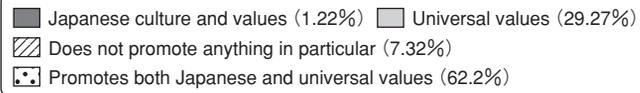
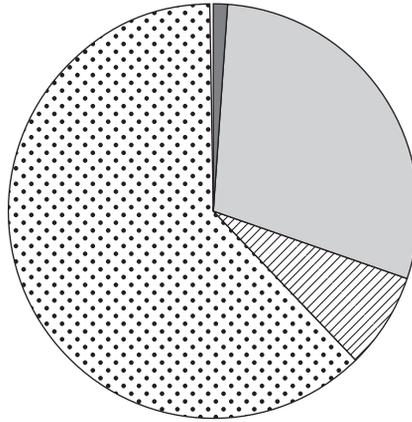
Which of the following is closer to how you feel about...



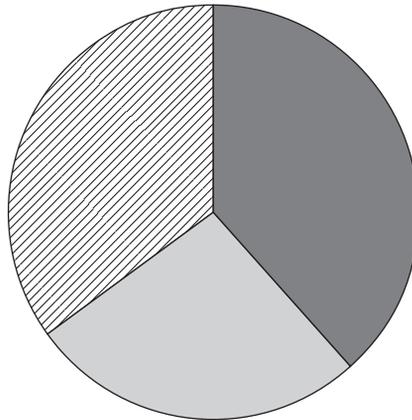
Do you find any of the following themes in Miyazaki's...



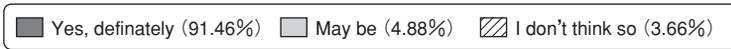
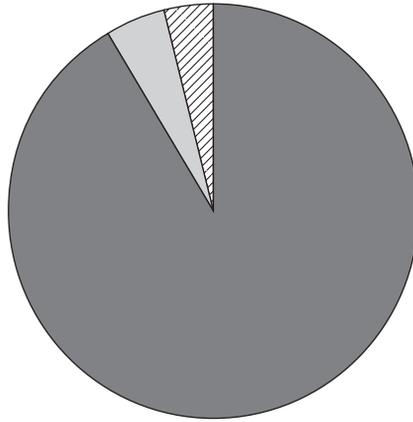
In your opinion what does Miyazaki's anime promote?



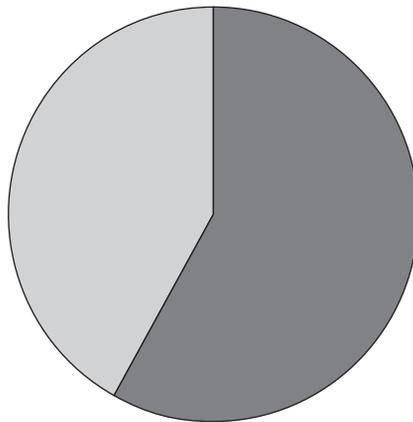
Has any of Miyazaki's pictures made a difference in your ...



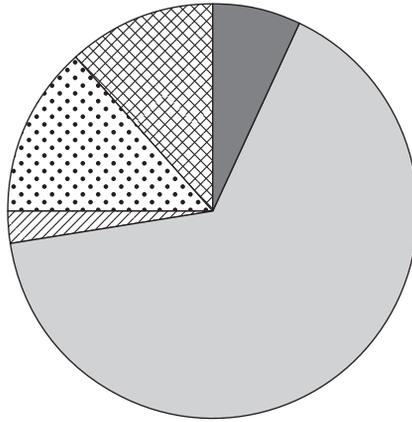
Would you recommend Miyazaki's pictures to your friends, ...



Would you define anime as a major motif to become interested ...

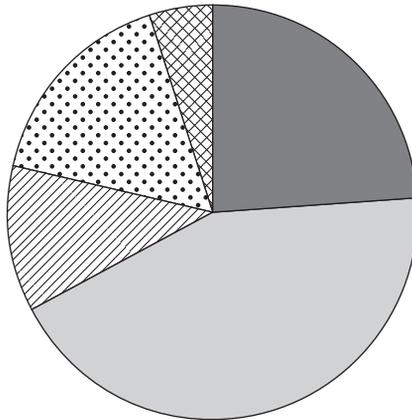


How do you watch/find access to Miyazaki's pictures:



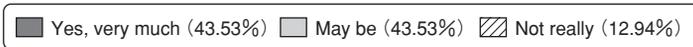
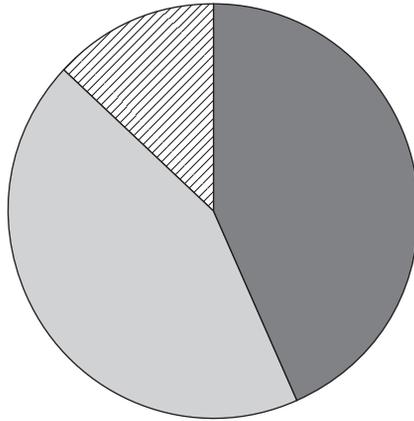
Bulgarian DVD editions (7.08%)
 Internet (65.49%)
 AV library (2.65%)
 from friends (13.27%)
 other, not listed above (11.5%)

Do you have any other favourite anime director/studio?

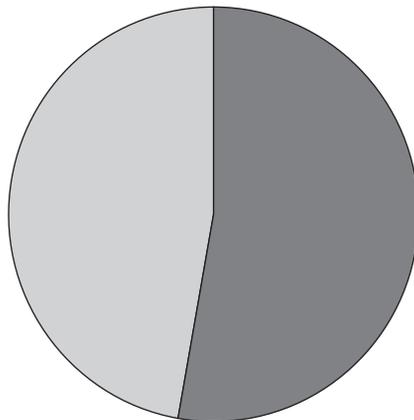


No, Miyazaki is my favourite. (24.04%)
 Yes, other Japanese. (43.27%)
 Yes, other European. (11.54%)
 Yes, other American. (16.35%)
 Yes, but not listed the above. (4.81%)

Would you be interested in more classes/lectures on Japanese ...



Do you use Miyazaki's anime to polish you Japanese ...



Chapter 3

Resisting the Monetization of Land and Life: The Case of the Outer Islanders of Yap

Yasuyuki Karakita

Introduction

The monetization of social relations is certainly an important aspect of the social changes that are occurring globally. It is often argued that money transforms societies based on gifts into those based on commodities (Gregory 1982), societies based on inalienable social relations into those based on alienable ones (Weiner 1992), and so on. In Micronesia, US policy toward the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands poured money into societies characterized as gift economies (Peoples 1985).

Monetization occurred mainly in government sectors located in district centers and state capitals, areas that attracted outer-island populations. Living in urban areas necessitates the use of money for housing, food, and health; government employees are unable to afford these on their salaries.

When the government was no longer able to provide public housing to migrants from the outer islands in the 2000s, government employees from this area raised money to secure land for outer-island communities on Yap Proper. In addition, the traditional trade partners of the outer islands hail from Yap Proper, and they offered their land to the outer-island communities in Yap, thereby reinforcing their mutual interdependence.

In addition, as the outer-island communities in Yap have come to be established, money has become essential for medical treatments and funerals for outer-island patients. When government morgue services became privatized and their fees became unaffordable, outer-island government employees established funds to subsidize the costs of morgue and funeral services. Trading partners from Yap Proper also provided burial places to their outer island partners. The monetization of land and life has created and reinforced the ethnic identities of outer islanders as they struggle for income that is indispensable for urban life; further, fundraising practices have been expanded beyond national boundaries through the migrant network.

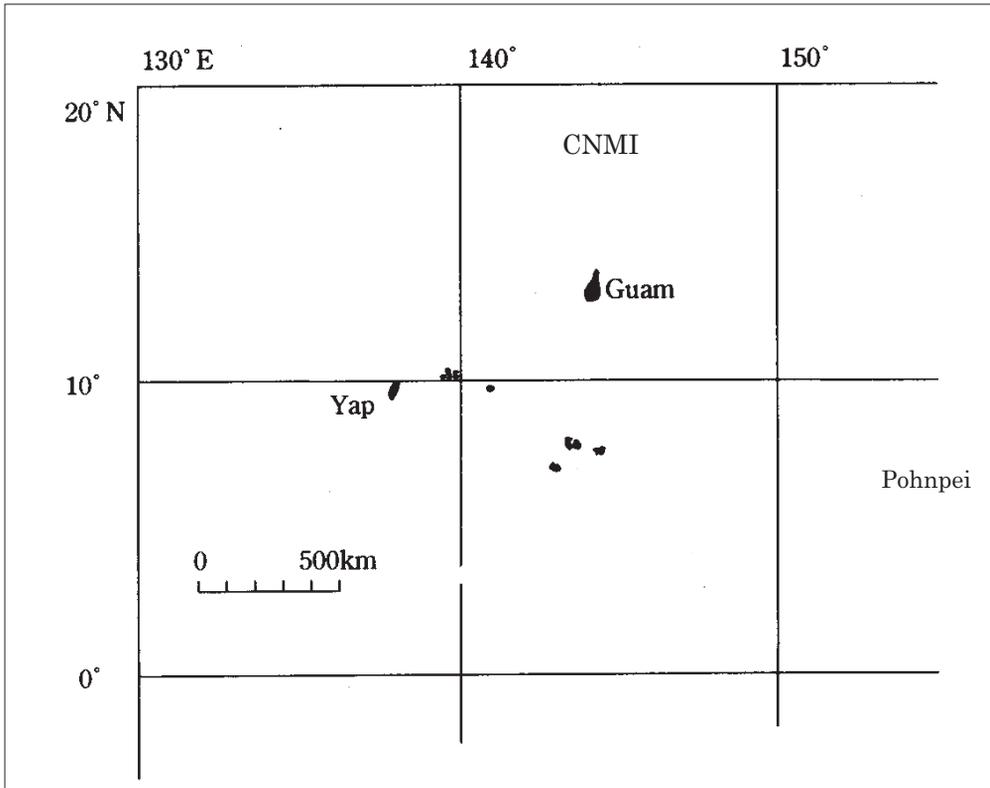
As mentioned before, it is often argued that money transforms societies

based on gifts into those based on commodities, societies based on inalienable social relations into those based on alienable ones, and so on. However, Parry and Bloch (1989: 28–30) claim that these conclusions reflect Western notions of money, stating that money has no such intrinsic powers or universal impact. Rather, when it is adopted, money articulates two “transactional orders” that allow for the realization of the short-term interest of individuals on the one hand and the interests of the enduring social order on the other. Thus, monetary transactions may reinforce existing social orders. Following but modifying Parry and Bloch’s ideas, Robbins and Akin (1999: 38–40) further claim that it is an intrinsic property of money that allows the articulation of the two transactional orders. As money cannot be consumed and can only be exchanged, it transcends the boundary between the transactional orders of individual short-term interests and the enduring social order. In societies where money is adopted, it can be transformed into local objects that serve the long-term goals of the society accepting money.

This paper argues that recent trends toward the monetization of land transactions and the funeral practices of the outer islanders of Yap State create and reinforce their ethnic identity. Furthermore, monetization also necessitated the appropriation of traditional trade partnerships between Yap Proper and outer islanders in a monetized social context, reinforcing their mutual interdependence. Thus, the necessity of money in land transactions and in funeral practices is transformed into the long-term ethnic identity of the outer islanders in Yap and interdependence between the trading partners.

The Traditional Trading Network between Yap Proper and the Outer Islands

The atolls of the Yap outer islands include Ulithi, Fais, Sorol, Woleai, Eauripik, Faraulep, Ifalik, Elato, Lamotrek, and Satawal. Along with the volcanic islands, namely Yap Proper, they constitute Yap State, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM). The Yap Proper and the outer islands were integrated into a trading network, known as *sawey*, which is the most extensive in Oceania and still relevant in contemporary life (Figs. 1, 2). In the early literature on Micronesia, this network was referred to as constituting the “Yap Empire.”

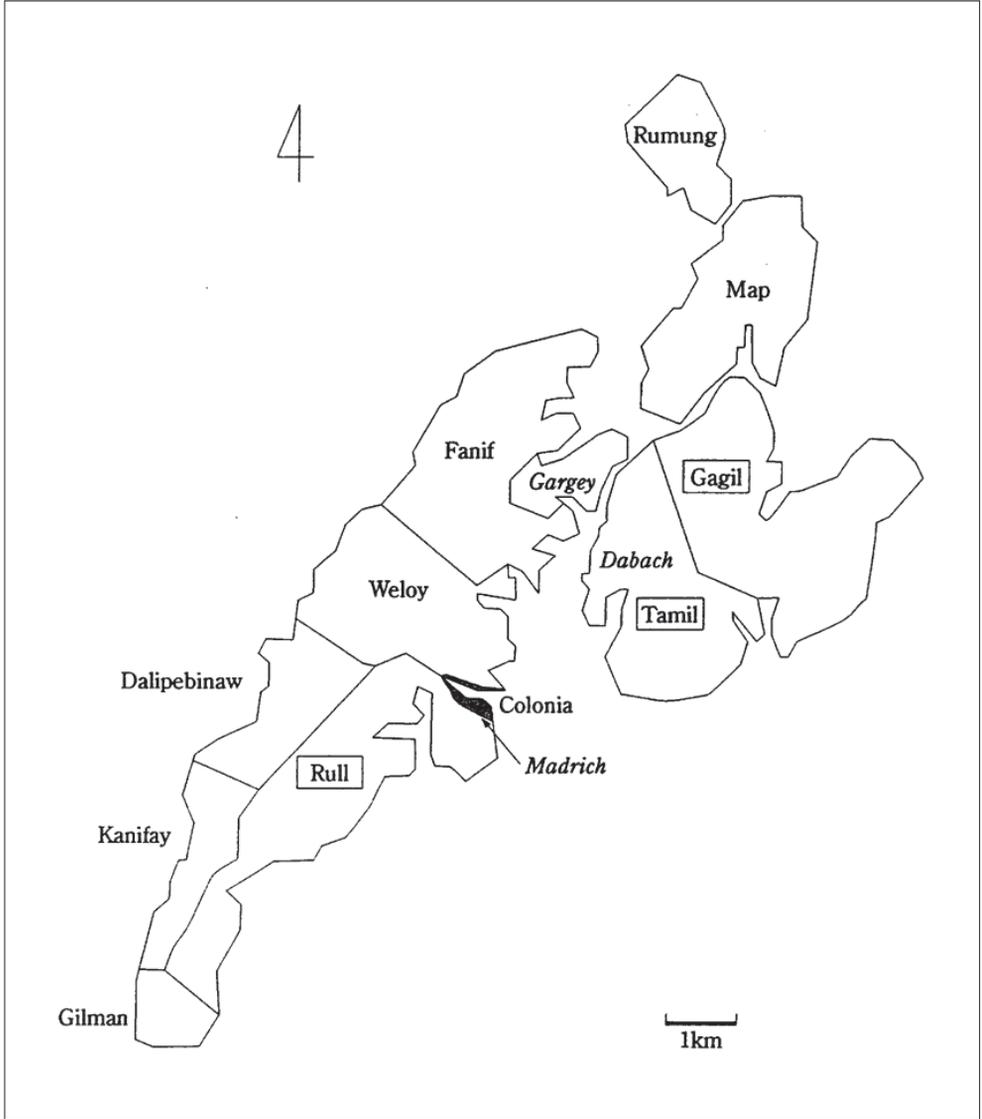


(Source: Author)

Fig. 1 Yap Proper and Outer Island

The *sawey* network connected chiefly and traditional estates in Gagil municipality on Yap Proper, the clans on Ulithi Atoll, and the village districts of the eastern atolls (Fig. 3). The estates, clans, and village district are ranked, but they should not be regarded as stratified classes; rather they are networks with a rank difference. The participants in the network were tied to each other by reciprocal obligations, rather than through political-economic exploitation and subordination.

Until the early period of Japanese administration, the eastern atolls sent expeditions to Yap Proper and gave tribute of local valuables to their trading partners. In return, trading partners from Yap Proper gave materials not available in the outer islands. These expeditions ceased, but *sawey* bonds are still active in the Yap–outer islands relationship.



(Source: Author)

Fig. 2 Yap Proper, Gagil municipality, and Colonia (state capital)

Yap Proper estates	Ulithi and Fais clans	Eastern atolls districts
Suug, Yowal		Pulusk
	Fashilith	Pulwat, Pulap
Pebinaw Ipo	Numuruy (Mogmog), Falmay (Mogmog)	Lamotrek, Satawal, Elato
Toboguy	Muroch (Mangajang)	Saliep, Togaulap, Falalap (Ifang), Woleai
Lieleb	Ipul (Fas)	Falalap (Rugalap), Ifaluk Wattagai(Pugol), Falalus, Woleai
Ngaraay	Lebogat (Fassarai)	Ifaluk (Falatic, Laoi), Falalap (Ifan), Ifaluk Raur, Woleai
Marian	Fashilith (Mogmog)	W o t t a g a i (T b w o g a p , Nigapalam), Woleai
Low	Bogatlaplap (Losiep)	Falalap (Rugulfuriy), Woleai
Dumurigots	Fal Howal (Falalap)	Falalap (Lulipelig), Woleai
Malal		Mariang, Paliau Woleai
Gara'aw	Maiyor (Sorleng)	
Owal		Falaulep, West Fayu

Fig 3. *Saway* relationships among Yap Estates, Ulithi/Fais clans, and districts in the Eastern Islands. Adapted from Ushijima (1987)

The Development of the Dualistic Government Structure

The *saway* trading network is an important aspect of the relationship between Yap Proper and the outer islands in contemporary social life. However, contemporary relationships between Yap and the outer islands cannot be understood without considering the actions of the US administration from the 1960s and the Compact of Free Association with the US. The expansion of public employment, mainly in health and educational services, created a concentration of population in Colonia, the state capital, located in Yap Proper. Then, the Compact of Free Association in 1986 allowed the “habitual residence” of citizens of the FSM in the US, and outer islanders are now migrating to the state capital as well as the national capital, Guam, Hawaii, and

cities on the US Mainland. The development of the district and the state center moved the destination of outer islanders from Gagil to Colonia and beyond, even though the *sawey* relationship is still relevant in contemporary life.

Democratic institutions show the contrast between Yap Proper and the outer islands in the structure of Yap State government. Candidates for governor and lieutenant governor run for office as a pair. The candidate for the governor is always from Yap Proper, and the lieutenant governor is always from the outer islands. The state government has two councils of traditional chiefs. One is the Council of Pilung for Yap Proper and the other is the Council of Tamol for the outer islands. The dualistic structure of the government of this state has become elaborated as the FSM achieved self-governance and independence (Karakita 2000).

The Council of Pilung and the Council of Tamol reproduce the traditional hierarchy between Yap Proper and the outer islands. However, both councils of traditional chiefs are based on an institution introduced during the period of the American governance. The Council of Pilung is based on the Yap Islands Council of Magistrates introduced by the US naval government in 1947, and the Council of Tamol is based on the Outer Islands Chief Council, established in the 1960s. The Yap Islands Council of Magistrates is one of the earliest democratic institutions introduced during the American period. The Yap Islands Council of Magistrates was composed of traditional chiefs. The senators of the Yap Island Legislature established in the 1960s were often young members of the *élite* and formally educated (Lingenfelter 1975). However, the members of the council, as well as the legislature, must be elected. On the other hand, the chiefs of each outer island decide among themselves whom to appoint as representative to Outer Islands Chief Council, even though the council itself is an introduced institution. When the FSM won independence through the Compact of Free Association with the US, the Yap Islands Council of Magistrates redefined itself as the Council of Pilung, i.e., a council of the traditional leaders of Yap Proper. Thus, Yap State defines itself as a democratic government with two traditional authorities.

The Council of Pilung is composed of traditional leaders of municipalities of the Yap Islands, and the Council of Tamol comprises the traditional leaders of municipalities of the outer islands. Both councils have the power to veto a bill that is deemed to be against tradition and custom. However, tradition and custom are not frequently discussed at the meetings of the Council of Tamol, which the present author studied. At such meetings, an outer islander officer of a department of the Yap State government briefs the members of the council on government projects with regard to the outer islands and seeks approval

from outer islander chiefs. However, it is often these government officers on whom the chiefs depend for their decisions. Nevertheless, chiefs retain their power in government through their influence of the selection of candidates for congressman, senator, and governor.

The outer islanders living in Yap Proper consist of two types of migrants, namely, first, government employees and their relatives and, second, transients staying for health services and their relatives. The latter support their living from their savings, temporary work, aid from health services, and assistance from employees who are their relatives and island mates. The number of transients is too large to be supported by the employees. Therefore, the outer islanders often visit trading partners in Gagil municipality to obtain food. In return, the outer islanders provide traditional valuables such as local loincloths, which are valuable in the traditional gift exchange in Yap Proper.

The Invention of the *Reimetaw* Identity

In the middle of the 1980s, elected officials and government employees from the outer islands formed an association called the *Pangal Reimetaw* Organization (PRO) to share information relevant to the conditions of the outer islanders living in the Yap Proper and the outer islands in general. *Pangal* means “all” in the language of the outer islands, and *reimetaw* means “people of the sea.” Anyone could join the organization, regardless of his or her island origin and position. The PRO supported the decisions made by the council of chiefs.

One of the most important concerns of the council of chiefs and the PRO was housing for the outer islanders coming to Yap Proper, and incidents surrounding the purchase of land in Yap Proper by outer islanders suggest that demand for money created and reinforced ethnic and island identities.

Madrich, which consisted of land in Yap Proper donated to outer islanders by the Catholic Church, was once an enclave settlement for transient outer islanders. Government projects expanded Madrich from the late 1960s to accommodate the increasing outer islander population in Yap. However, one such project resulted in a problem for outer islanders. A landfill project in 1989 was conducted with a 10-year land lease agreement between the landlord and the government. After 10 years, the landlord refused to renew the agreement and demanded lease payments for the landfill from residents. The council of chiefs discussed the problem in late 1998 and sought the advice of the attorney general. The mediation of Gagil municipality was sought. This mediation was not successful, as the landlord chose to solve the problem in monetary terms. In the end, the council of chiefs and the landlord agreed to a lease agreement, and

people from each outer island who were employed contributed money for the lease payment. Each island collected the money as a unit.

The landfill problem is reminiscent of current land problems elsewhere in Micronesia. In these cases, landlords, who had previously provided their land in exchange for social status, begin to ask for money as land becomes a commodity rather than social valuable. However, the need for money reinforced the island identity of employed residents as the money was collected by each island.

That the need for money reinforces island identity is evident in the purchase of Gargey land by the outer islanders in Tomil municipality in Yap Proper. A Gargey landlord needed money for the construction of a house for his parents. It was impossible for him to sell land in Yap, and he looked to the outer islands. Initially, Satawal Island and Woleai Atoll were interested. However, the council of traditional chiefs decided to intervene and asked the state government for support for the project. However, the Yap State government was reluctant, as it was already burdened with other similar projects.

Thus, the council decided in 1999 to purchase the land themselves. The first payment was made with money borrowed from the island funds of Satawal and Woleai. For the second payment, the council appropriated an annual allowance for each island chief. When the money ran out, the council asked the federal government for help. Although the Council of Tamol had to depend on the federal government, the initial step toward the purchase of Gargey emphasized the unity of the outer islands and the distinctive identities of the islands that comprise the outer islands. Again, this is because the money was collected by each island.

Here, it is important to note that Fais Island did not participate in the joint purchase of the Gargey land. Fais received another land called Rue from their trade partner without the payment of money. Similarly, the people of Ifaluk received a piece of land called Maaq from their trade partner in 2010. These two transfers of usufruct are regarded as having followed traditional trade partnerships.

Fundraising for Funeral Services

Nowadays, funerals for both migrants and non-migrants involve complex events occurring simultaneously in different places around which migrants circulate. Fundraising by employed residents of an island and the appropriation of trade partnerships are found when outer islanders must cope with the money necessary to pay their medication and funeral expenses.

Suppose somebody from the outer islands passes away in Guam. Catholic

prayers are conducted for nine days at the residence of the deceased. Then, there is a funeral ceremony called the “viewing of the body,” in which mourners not at home say their farewell to the deceased, who then leaves for his/her home. Then, the body is transported to Yap in its coffin by air, where it is kept in the morgue, the services of which have become privatized because of the rationalization of government operations. The viewing of the body is repeated in Yap before a ferry boat carries the body back to his/her home islands. As the ferry service is infrequent, the cost of morgue services sometimes becomes exorbitant for the relatives.

These complex funeral processes do not involve only migrants. All medical services beyond primary care are available only in the state capital. Critical patients must be referred to places such as the Philippines, Guam, and Hawaii. Thus, patients in critical states may pass away abroad and go through the same complex funeral process as migrants.

The medicalization and monetization of death have put a heavy financial burden on relatives and island mates of deceased outer islanders. The rise in costs resulted in the creation of a fund for the funeral of Woleaian migrants in Yap in 2010, with each employed person required to donate \$10 to one funeral. However, this donation proved difficult to collect, and in 2011, a new schedule was suggested, in which each employed person was required to donate \$1 per pay day. This contribution of money is seen as *emam*, i.e., gifts of food to patients close to death. Apart from money, people contribute *tugtug*, or the loincloths that are wrapped around the body of the deceased.

Here, I will introduce a case of funeral fundraising involving the Woleaian Organization of Guam, Woleaian migrants in Yap, and non-migrants. A Woleaian male elder was hospitalized at Yap Memorial Hospital in the summer of 2011. He had cancer and was referred to a hospital in the Philippines through Guam. His son, who lived in Guam, accompanied his father. The patient passed away in the Philippines and was sent back to Yap and kept in the morgue.

When the patient passed away, a first meeting was called to obtain the funeral contribution of employed persons. It was agreed that they would donate \$30 each. The total amount of the contribution was \$2,060, with the addition of \$650 from the Woleaian Organization of Guam. However, donations were not able to cover the amount of money needed, and the balance was borrowed from a fund maintained by young men in Woleai. Then another meeting was called to discuss the remaining medical bills. Meeting participants agreed that each employed relative would donate \$40 to reimburse the money borrowed from the Woleaian young men’s fund. The total amount of money contributed was more than the per capita GDP of the FSM in 1999.

In the past, outer islanders that passed away in Yap were buried in Gagil municipality, and there used to be burial sites for outer islanders in their trade partners' municipality. People started sending outer islanders' remains back when morgue and embalming services became available in the 1970s for expatriate officers working in Yap. Currently, complex funeral processes accompany the death of an important person. However, when a Woleaian passed away in Palau in September 2009, people again decided to use Gagil municipality as the burial site for outer islanders. This was because field trip shipping service was not available at that time, and people could not afford the cost of morgue services. A trade partnership was appropriated to mitigate the cost of the funeral.

Conclusion

This paper reports on the emergence of ethnic identity among the outer islanders of Yap State as counter movements against the concentration of the cash economy and governmental services in the state center. The inter-island trade system between Yap Proper and outer islands, known as *sawey*, was not based on a categorical contrast between Yap Proper and the outer islands; rather, it was a network of relations between the estates of the Yap Proper village and the outer islands. However, in the era of both the Trust Territory and the Freely Associated State, there have been movements in which people are becoming aware of their categorical identity as outer islanders and *reimetaw*.

In the middle of the 1980s, elected officials and government employees from the outer islands formed an association called the *Pangal Reimetaw* Organization (PRO) to share information relevant to the condition of the outer islanders living in Yap Proper and of the outer islands in general. The organization of elite public servants of outer islanders called itself the Pangar Reimetaw Organization, emphasizing that anyone from the outer islands can be a member.

However, *sawey*, as a bundle of individual trade networks, did not give way to a categorical dualistic contrast between Yap Proper and the outer islands. The outer islanders on Yap, whether they are short-term visitors for government services or long-term residents and government employees, have to depend on *sawey* trade partners from Gagil municipality for the supply of local foods and political protection in Yap, and the outer islanders and the Yapese from Gagil maintain relationships as *sawey* trade partners. There is a coexistence of a bundle of network relations and a dualistic categorical contrast between Yap Proper and the outer islands.

This paper has analyzed how the outer islanders living in urban areas of

Yap raise money to purchase land and pay for medication and funeral expenses. The monetization of land and life has created and reinforced identities among outer islanders because the demand for money compels employed people to raise money in the name of their respective islands or as people of the sea (*reimetaw*). At the same time, people appropriate trade partnerships to mitigate the impact of the demand for money. Both fundraising and appropriation reinforce the identities of the outer islands and Yap Proper.

As mentioned before, it is often argued that money transforms societies based on gifts into those based on commodities, societies based on inalienable social relations into those based on alienable ones, and so on. However, Parry and Bloch (1989: 28–30) claim that money has no such intrinsic powers or universal impact. Rather, when it is adopted, money articulates two “transactional orders” that allow for the realization of the short-term interest of individuals on the one hand and the interests of the enduring social order on the other. Thus, monetary transactions may reinforce existing social orders.

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Chapter 4

The Glocalization of Childbirth in Japan and Palau

Manami Yasui

1. “Glocalization” as an Analytic Perspective

In the modern era, traditional systems of childbirth have become increasingly medicalized as childbirth moves from the home and into medical institutions – from deliveries involving midwives to those overseen by obstetricians – and as the state became involved in matters of birth. This medicalization of childbirth has not proceed in a uniform manner in every culture however, as the forms of state intervention, the interactions of obstetricians and related medical personnel, and the reactions of mothers, their families, and the larger society are all highly varied. The result can be seen as the ‘glocalization’ of childbirth, which provides not only hints for a reassessment of midwives helping mothers before, during and after birth in societies where medicalization of childbirth has progressed for many years, but also prospects for developments in societies where this has yet to occur.

In this paper, I will use the concept of “glocalization” to depict concrete aspects of local childbirth customs in Palau and in Japan, paying attention to the processes of both globalization and localization. This concept works effectively to analyze Palau, a society that has a long history of contact with colonial powers, and Japan, a society that has recently undergone thorough medicalization, even though home delivery by midwives was widespread as recently as 60 years ago. As every society has its own customs of childbirth, glocalization is a framework that can reveal a rich variety of processes of the medicalization of childbirth and the current childbirth customs.

The word “glocalization” originally emerged from the Japanese business world, where, as Japanese corporations rapidly expanded onto the international stage in the 1990s, strategies that combined global and local aspects were essential to corporate actors. As Roland Robertson says, the term was “adopted by Japanese business for global localization, a global outlook adapted to local conditions” (Robertson 1995:28). He defined the word in an academic sense to transcend the tendency to cast the idea of globalization as inevitably in tension with specific local practices. He argued that globalization meant that

the compression of the world involved, and increasingly involves, the creation and incorporation of local differences. This process of incorporating local specificities largely shapes, in turn, the compression of the world as a whole (Robertson 1995:40). Uesugi also notes that, “the telescoping Japanglish word/concept of “glocalization” was introduced into sociology and anthropology to emphasize the tension and mutual interaction between global and local factors” (Uesugi 2014;5-6,20).

Building on Uesugi’s intended use of the term, the concept of “glocalization” is suitable for analyzing what occurs in contemporary childbirth around the world – practices which cannot escape the mutual influences of the global process of the medicalization of childbirth and local childbirth customs, beliefs, practices, and traditional midwifery.

When pushed by the global current of modern medicine, the manner of transformation which childbirth in traditional societies may undergo is truly varied depending on the culture. To illustrate, as delivery more commonly takes place in a hospital, both maternal and infant mortality rates for childbirth decline, but at the same time, the body giving birth becomes captive to medical treatment, and various harmful effects emerge as a result. For example, in the name of medical “progress” in regions where contraceptive devices are implanted in women’s bodies to control sex and the risk of reproduction (Nishikawa 2001), rates of birth by Caesarian section also increase; there are also urban districts where postpartum depression is becoming more widespread (Matsuoka 2007). Additionally, there are still areas where it is not yet possible to receive adequate medical care in cases of abnormal delivery.

In contrast to such varied paths toward greater medicalization in the name of progress, today we also witness attempts in both Palau and Japan to recreate former maternity care systems in the postpartum period. In Palau, the matrilineal chiefs have revalued the traditional system of maternity care. In Japan, NPOs and volunteer groups are working to help women and their babies after birth, by visiting and talking to them, giving body massage to new mothers and teaching postpartum yoga. Both societies have sufficient resources of traditional practice available for the creation of newly re-indigenized maternity care systems suitable for their particular needs.

2. Childbirth Customs and Modernization in Palau

The author began research with fieldwork in the Republic of Palau, situated at the western end of the Caroline Islands chain in the western Pacific. In Palau, matrilineal ties are the basis of society. This section will depict the history of modern medicine in Palau with a brief explanation of a traditional rite

of passage for new mothers still carried out today. The rite, called *ngasech*, the first-child ceremony, holds an important role in the creation of new social bonds through the exchange of commodities and labor between matrilineal kin groups of both the mother and father. It is a rite of passage showing that the woman has fully come of age through giving birth and will also offer us an example of glocalization within the context of globalized medical care.

2-1. Changes in Modern Medicine in Palau

Modern medicine was brought to Palau when it was under the colonial rule of Spain, then Germany, Japan, and finally, the United States. Full-scale provision of medical care was started by Germany, which began its rule of the Micronesian region in 1899. The German government set up hospitals at the locations of its colonial offices and branches, treating the local populations (Yazaki 1999:35), while also passing laws prohibiting prostitution known as *mengol* and clamping down on infanticide (Aoyagi 1985:79).

Subsequently, in the roughly thirty years between 1914 and 1945 during which Japan ruled, Palau's colonial government, the South Pacific Mandate, built Belau Hospital on Koror Island. Whereas the Palau archipelago is comprised of over 200 islands large and small, efforts were made to spread medical care among the Palauans by such measures as conducting touring clinics several times yearly for the major islands lacking medical facilities. The government induced Palauans to make use of these healthcare facilities by "setting extremely low rates" for them (Nan'yō Kyōkai Nan'yō Guntō Shibu 1935: 214). The diffusion of medical care was also essential, from the perspective of the colonial administration, as a way of securing a supply of healthy Palauans for labor in economic activities such as phosphate mining.

Traditionally, childbirth in Palau was conducted entirely under the care of women of the matrilineal kin group. During the period of Japanese rule, in case of abnormal delivery Palauan women would also call upon Belau Hospital, and delivery would be made with the assistance of a Japanese physician. Subsequently, as Japanese lay midwives began to set up practice in Koror, they came to take part in normal deliveries for Palauan women in addition to those of Japanese women living there (Yasui 2007).

During the Pacific War, fierce fighting between the Japanese and American military forces unfolded in Palau. With Japan's defeat, most of the Japanese who had been living in Palau were repatriated, and subsequently the United States came to administer Belau as a Trust Territory. The town of Koror had been destroyed, the government had changed, and with this came a new medical care system. The American government recruited talented Palauan women

and gave them training, then employed them in the naval hospital as nurses. Delivery in the hospital was promoted, and private practices began to open. By the 1970s, approximately seventy percent of deliveries were being conducted in the hospital.

Palau achieved independence in 1994. At present, Palau National Hospital, located in the capital Koror, is the lone general hospital. Within the state of Koror, where eighty-five percent of the population is concentrated, Belau National Hospital can be reached by car from anywhere within thirty minutes. By contrast, people living on Babeldaob Island, or southern islands such as Angaur or Peleliu, call on the hospital by motor boat in times of crisis. Access to medical care on the islands of Palau varies greatly depending on the island.

At present, when Palauan women realize they are pregnant, they are examined at Palau National Hospital, and subsequently have regular checkups. When labor begins they go to the hospital, and have the delivery under the care of Palauan obstetricians, who are male, and nurses who are both male and female. In recent years, births by Caesarian section are increasing, and there is concern that some unnecessary medical intervention is perhaps being seen on the occasion of childbirth.

2-2. The First-child Ceremony

Next, a brief explanation will be made of what Smith calls the “first-child ceremony” in Palau. For details, please refer to R. Smith’s ethnography, “*Palauan Social Structure*” (Smith 1983), and the author’s earlier contributions (Yasui 1995, 1999).

The first-child ceremony in Palau is conducted for women who have had their first child. As childbirth was formerly conducted in a woman’s maternal home, care was provided before and after birth by women of the matrilineal kin group, such as her mother and mother’s female siblings, with experienced women assisting the delivery. Subsequently, with the assistance of these experienced women of the matrikin group, the new mother would take a hot bath (*omesurch*) several times daily. For Palauans who ordinarily bathe in unheated water, taking a hot bath in itself becomes a special act. The number of days these baths are continued is decided based on the particular matrilineal group, but on the last day of *omesurch*, a tent is made of a bamboo frame resembling a large bird cage, covered with materials such as blankets or banana leaves, and the woman goes inside for a steam bath. This is thought to be efficacious for conditioning the body after giving birth.

After this, the new mother is dressed up and makes an appearance, called the first-child ceremony, in front of a large body of guests. Formerly, a woman

would begin the sequence of bathing shortly after giving birth at home, but the ceremony has now come to be conducted after the postpartum examination at the hospital, six to eight weeks after delivery, after it has been confirmed she has no physical problems (Yasui 1995).

Doctors of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology of Belau National Hospital do not take a negative stance on the first-child ceremony, seeing it as linked with the physical and mental relaxation of the new mother. Next, various interpretations recently made in Palau concerning the first-child ceremony will be examined.

2-3. The “First-Child Ceremony” Today

In recent years in Palau, actively showcasing the first-child ceremony as a rite representing Palauan culture can be observed. At the 9th Festival of Pacific Arts, held in Palau in July 2004, a demonstration of the first-child ceremony was conducted. The Festival of Pacific Arts is a gathering held once every four years where people from Pacific island nations put their dances and arts on display and deepen mutual exchange. It began in 1972 at Suva in Fiji, after that island nation had the opportunity to gain independence.

As host country for the 9th Festival of Pacific Arts, Palau not only put on the traditional displays of dance and theatrical performances, but also set about new projects such as displays of medicinal herbs and folk healing practices. For Palau, the 9th Festival of Pacific Arts was an opportunity to have the honor of being the first host country from Micronesia. Accordingly, in order to impress its existence upon other Pacific island nations it was necessary to emphasize something “truly Palauan.” The first-child ceremony was one of the elements chosen for introducing Palauan culture in this manner to the outside world (Fig. 1). It is likely to be assessed as an element of the national culture of Palau.

Further, on December 5, 2007, the Bilung (female chief) Gloria Sali gave a speech to the Third Annual Public Health Convention held in Koror. The Bilung took up in detail Palauan taboos regarding pregnancy, childbirth, and childrearing, along with dietary customs, and stressed how important these are for the healthy development of children (Bilung Sali 2007).

The characteristic feature of the first-child ceremony in Palau today is that the ceremony and its range of rituals are still being conducted by women through a strong network of matrilineal kinship. The time when the ritual starts is not soon after a woman has a baby as in the past, but one or two months after giving birth in a hospital. Formerly there was a taboo by which a new mother stayed with the baby, apart from her husband for 10 months, as one kind of birth control, however now this is no longer followed. Instead, a new mother



Fig. 1 A demonstration of the “First-Child Ceremony” at the 9th Festival of Pacific Arts

lives with her husband and the baby, and women who belong to the same matrilineal kinship visit the new mother one by one to help her. Also, in Palau everybody tends to be affectionate toward babies. In this way, even though hospital delivery has become common today, women who are involved in the Palauan birth ritual are supporting the new mother, which characterizes today’s postpartum care in Palau.

3. Transformation of the Childbirth Environment in Japan

In this section the author would like to outline how care was provided for new mothers after birth according to former customs in Japan. Based on that consideration, the purpose of this section is to explore a variety of possible measures for providing postpartum care in the contemporary childbirth environment. The term “childbirth environment” as used here includes all

things concerning pregnancy, childbirth, and the postpartum condition, such as: national policies and systems regarding medical care and maternal and child health; medical institutions including hospitals and clinics as well as health care providers like obstetricians, midwives, and nurses; human relations and networks such as the family, relatives, friends, and people in the community; the folklore and customs of pregnancy, childbirth, and the postpartum period; plus society itself in which the birth, care, and rearing of children take place (Yasui 2014:22).

First, we begin with a brief explanation about the transformation of the environment and customs of childbirth in the recent modern and contemporary periods in Japan.

3-1. The Emergence of Modern Midwives

Shin'ichi Fujita asserts the nature of childbirth in Japan has twice seen dramatic transformations since the latter half of the 19th century, calling these the “first” and “second childbirth revolutions” (Fujita 1979). The first revolution indicates the decrease in the infant and maternal mortality rates at the end of the 19th and the start of the 20th centuries, due to the emergence of trained midwives. The second refers to the change in the place of childbirth, from the home to medical institutions such as hospitals or clinics, over a short span of time in the 1960s. Through these transformations, childbirth has become an object of medical treatment and the medicalization¹ of childbirth has progressed. Building on Fujita’s analysis, the author proposes to characterize the current condition as the “third childbirth revolution,” as will be discussed later (Yasui 2013).

Here, the author would like to focus on modern midwives who have been greatly involved in the transformation of childbirth in Japan, and who are also taking an important role in today’s childbirth environment as described later on. While the common term in Japanese for midwife, *samba* (a combination of the characters for “childbirth” and “old woman”), did not change, it is important to distinguish the medically-trained practitioners whose emergence constituted “the first childbirth revolution” from their traditional counterparts. Nishikawa does this by referring to the state-qualified midwives as “modern midwives” in contrast to the former unlicensed midwives, whom she calls “old midwives” (Nishikawa 2003: 82). The modern midwives appeared throughout Japan at

1 The word “medicalization” was first used in 1972 by the American sociologist Irving Zola, in the form “medicalizing.” (Smeenk and ten Have 2003:153)

the beginning of the twentieth century and attended most home births until the 1960s, when hospital births became more common (Nishikawa 2003: 82). The author also uses the term “modern midwives” following Nishikawa’s definition, to make clear what kind of childbirth customs they tried to implement.

The first policy instituted with regard to midwives in the modern era was a prohibition against the sale of medicine and the practice of abortion by midwives, and was issued by the Meiji government in 1868, soon after its establishment. Then in 1880 abortion was made a criminal offense with a measure modeled on the French penal code. In its promotion of modernization, the Meiji government took abortion and infanticide as pre-modern evils, and severely constrained midwives who were previously involved in these practices.

This period also witnessed the appearance of a new type of midwife, regarded as a professional practitioner by the Meiji government when the first health care system was promulgated in 1874, known as the *Isei* (Guidelines for Medical Affairs) and issued only for the three cities of Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto (The Medical Section on the Ministry of Health 1976: 63-65, Nishikawa 1997: 3, Yasui 2013: 25-27). It was stipulated at first that midwives had to be at least 40 years old, with experience under a doctor’s supervision of 10 normal births and 2 difficult deliveries. Subsequently, in 1899, regulations called the *Samba Kisoku* (Regulations for Midwives) were issued on a national scale, and women who were 20 years or older and had passed the qualifying exam could be registered as midwives.

3-2. Innovations Brought by Modern Midwives

Traditionally women gave birth from a seated posture, and were made to remain seated even after the delivery, but modern midwives instructed them to give a birth lying face up on their bedding. This was so that the midwife could have a better view of the process of the delivery. From this point on, both midwives and obstetricians have always recommended this supine posture for childbirth.

The other innovation of modern midwives involved changing the birthing place. Japanese homes typically had tatami mats² on the floor, and usually a small dark room such as a bedroom or storage room was chosen as the place for birth. One tatami mat would be removed from the floor and a layer of straw spread in its place. The woman would be labor would be propped up against a straw bag and clings to a rope hanging down from the ceiling, to give birth in a

2 Tatami; traditional flooring material of woven rice straw approximately 2m×1m.

sedentary position.

In some regions of Japan, before modern midwives gained ascendancy, birth took place in a separate small structure rather than in the family's ordinary residence. This is because childbirth was considered to be polluting, so it was to take place somewhere apart from the sphere of daily household activity. Additionally, because of the pollution of childbirth, it was customary for the new mother's meals to be prepared on a separate hearth for a period of time after the delivery, so the family would not be eating food touched by the same flames.

Some villages had a communal birthing hut, called *ubuya* (Itabashi 2014). In fishing villages on the Japan Sea, they were typically built on the beach. Village women often stayed there not only when in labor but also during their menstrual periods, remaining several days in the company of other women. While this is clear indication that childbirth was regarded as polluting, it also allowed women to give birth in a relaxed environment free from the burden of their daily chores. It was also a place where new mothers could obtain information from village women and learn about matters of childbirth and child rearing.

Modern midwives, however, regarded such traditional places for childbirth as unhygienic and likely to lead to infection during childbirth and afterwards, and stressed the importance of maintaining a hygienic environment for childbirth.

3-3. The Childbirth Customs and Modern Midwives

Next we will examine a set of materials known as *Nara-ken fūzokushi* (Nara Prefecture Folklore Survey), compiled in Nara prefecture in western Japan, as the main source for an analysis of Japanese rituals and customs of childbirth approximately one hundred years ago.

This survey was planned and carried out by the Nara Educational Society in 1914 as a project commemorating the ascension of Emperor Taishō (Yasui ed. 2011). The Nara survey comprises detailed reports on daily life, with more than 1,200 items of inquiry organized under 39 categories.

Based on the descriptions found in the Nara folklore survey, the author attempts an analysis of what customs and rituals were followed for the postpartum period, and who was concerned with childbirth at home (Yasui ed. 2011).

Who was involved in childbirth besides professional midwives at the time? Let us first look at cases of the involvement of other females. The pregnant woman's mother would send her a cotton sash (called *Iwata obi*) earlier in

the pregnancy, in hopes of assuring a safe delivery, along with some festive rice cakes. She would also pay a visit on the third day after the delivery. The woman's mother-in-law would attend the birth and care for the new mother. The pregnant wife and her husband typically lived with the husband's parents, and the mother-in-law was someone the woman could really count on even if the midwife could not get there in time. Other women, including neighbors, would also help out at the childbirth.

Next, regarding the involvement of males, the husbands, in-laws, and others also each had their own roles in the childbirth. It was the men, for example, who prepared a room in the house for the delivery, who fetched the midwife, and sometimes received the baby if its arrival preceded that of the midwife. Since there was hardly any house with a telephone in those days, the husband of the pregnant woman went to fetch the midwife on bicycle. The midwife sometimes reached the house riding on the back of the husband's bicycle, or she may have followed on her own bicycle to get to the house in time.

If the midwife was too late for the arrival of the baby, there were cases where the husband would help with the childbirth, although whether or not the husband was allowed to be present at birth depended on the region. In modern Nara, a husband was not obliged to be present. In addition, disposal of the afterbirth and the infant's bathwater were tasks of the husband or the father-in-law. But these were different from just disposing of ordinary filth. As I will explain later, it was a very important that such items cast off from the birth, were treated carefully and returned to the 'other realm' from whence they came.

Next, here the author would like to point out some features regarding Japanese childbirth customs in the past.

(1) Postpartum Separation

Childbirth was regarded as tainted with impurity, and the new mother was accordingly separated from her family for up to three weeks after the delivery. Her meals were prepared on a separate hearth and taken to her room, or in some cases to a special structure built for her called *ubuya*, meaning a parturition hut as described above. While this custom was grounded in the view of birth as polluting, at the same time it had the beneficial aspect of allowing her to take a complete rest after the delivery.

(2) A variety of People Were Linked with the Mother

Formerly many people provided cooperation with the mother before, during, and after childbirth. These included her family, women in her relatives'

and neighbors' households, as well as professional midwives and non-specialists performing aspects of that role. Accordingly, we can surmise that even during postpartum separation, a new mother was not totally isolated from other women.

(3) Rituals Celebrating the New Mother

Formerly in Japan, not only were there rituals celebrating the newborn baby, there were also those celebrating the mother. This feature was held in common with the birth rituals of Palau. In similar fashion, such occasions served as a rite of passage for the woman, helping her to become more conscious of, and confident in, her role as mother.

(4) Bathing the Newborn by the Midwife

Midwives would continue to visit the new mother's home daily for five to seven days after the delivery and give the infant a bath. This allowed the mother to consult with the midwife in quick fashion about any problems she had concerning nursing the baby or her own physical condition.

Against the background of these traditional practices, modern midwives licensed by the state played an important role in the medicalization of childbirth by making the place of birth hygienic, and changing the birth posture from a seated to a supine position for the delivery. These modern midwives joined obstetricians in promoting practices based on modern European medicine, so we can rightly say these midwives advanced the globalization of childbirth.

At the same time, however, these pioneering modern midwives conducted deliveries in the home, which they visited and thereby gained the trust of the women and their families. They did not ignore such aspects of traditional childbirth customs but utilized them. Also noteworthy as continuations of traditional practices are aspects of their postpartum program of care such as giving the baby a bath, and joining in celebrations at the new mother's home that were part of her experience of childbirth as a rite of passage. In this sense, there has not been a unidirectional medicalization of childbirth, but an intertwining of modern medical practices with childbirth customs of the local community, which we can regard as the process of glocalization of childbirth in modern Japan.

In the next section some examples will be given of postpartum care by midwives which are well suited to contemporary Japanese society, and the current situation of childbirth glocalization will be discussed.

4. The glocalization of childbirth in contemporary Japan

4-1. Shift from Home Delivery by Midwives to Hospital Delivery by Obstetricians

Delivery in a hospital is now regarded as normal, but nearly all births took place in the home in 1950, just 60 years ago. In that year, home deliveries by midwives accounted for 95.4% of all births, with deliveries in hospitals limited to cases with complications, and amounting to only 4.1% of the total (Mothers' and Children's Health and Welfare Association 2007:47).

Additionally, the formal name for midwives was changed from *samba* to *josampu* (a combination of three characters meaning “help,” “childbirth,” and “woman”) in 1940, and in 1948, the *Hokenfu Josampu Kangofu Hō* (Public Health Nurse, Midwife, and Nurse Act) was issued under the supervision of the American Occupation (Nishikawa 2003: 84) (Obayashi 1989).

Most of the previously described customs and rituals related to the postpartum period were soon lost, however, with this change from giving birth at home to having deliveries in medical institutions in the 1960s. This period has been termed “the second childbirth revolution” by Shin'ichi Fujita (Fujita 1979). In hospitals, obstetricians focused primarily on conducting the delivery without mishap, and little concern was given to how the mother fared in the postpartum period. At the time, unnecessary medical treatments such as episiotomies and vacuum-assisted delivery were commonly performed in hospitals so that the timing of birth was adjusted to fall within daytime hours on weekdays, to suit the obstetrician's convenience.

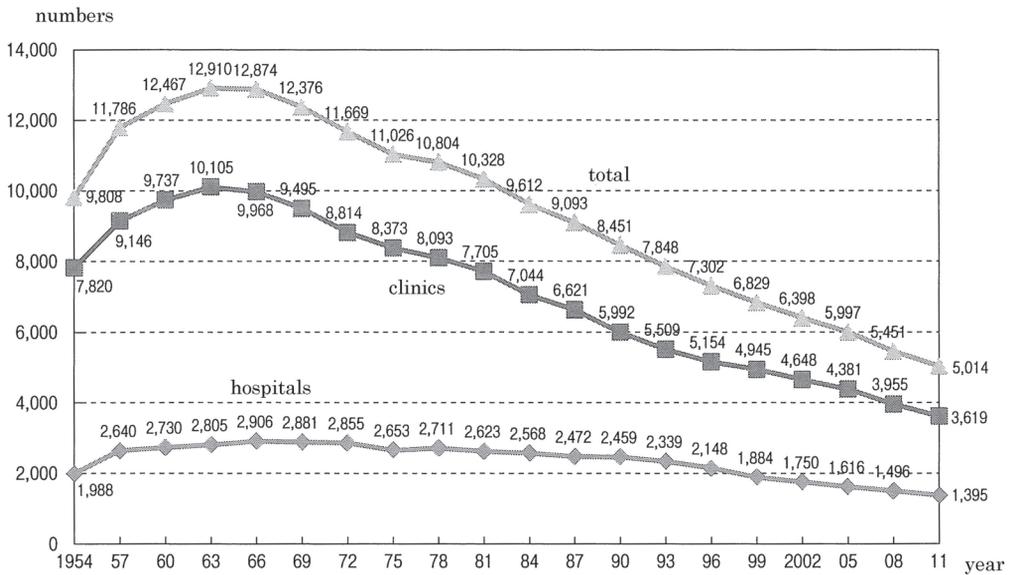
The 1970s was characterized by objections from women against these excessive medical treatments by obstetricians, and as the Lamaze method became accepted in Japan with the influence of the women's liberation movement, women became increasingly aware of the possibility of giving birth themselves, utilizing their own bodies to the utmost extent without unnecessary medical procedures.

But in the 1980s, under the influence of the bubble economy there emerged a preference for a “luxurious childbirth” experience, spent in an attractive hotel-like room in a hospital or maternity clinic where the new mother enjoyed full-course French cuisine and left the care of the infant to nurses or midwives. The author's research has shown, however, that this was not always optimal for the mother's postpartum health, since she received little information on how best to go through the period after childbirth or breastfeed her baby (Yasui 2004;189-190).

As can be seen from the above, however, no new customs for the

postpartum period have arisen subsequent to the change from home deliveries to giving birth in a medical institution. Accordingly, when problems arise after birth, women have no one with whom they can consult, and the increasing trend towards nuclear households has contributed to the condition of isolation of new mothers.

An additional problem is that from the latter half of the 1990s, due to the decline in the number of obstetricians, many medical institutions handling deliveries have closed down in both rural areas and large cities such as Tokyo. According to a survey by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, the number of clinics³ for obstetrics, or obstetrics and gynecology, declined from 4,945 in 1999 to 3,955 in 2008, a decrease of 990 or nearly 1,000 institutions within 10 years (The Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2011) (Fig. 2)⁴.



(Source: Data of Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare in Japan)

Fig 2 The time trend of numbers of medical institutions for Obstetrics & Gynecology in Japan.

3 The difference between clinics and hospitals. According to Medical law 1-5, a hospital is a medical institution that can accommodate 20 or more patients overnight. A clinic, on the other hand is defined as a medical institution that caters for no more than 19 patients overnight, or a facility that has no such capacity. A maternity center would thus be defined as a clinic in medical law.

4 The following chart (figure 2) is compiled from official data published by the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare. The data survey is conducted every 3 years and clearly shows an almost identical downward trend of hospitals and clinics that handle childbirths. The first survey was conducted in 1954.

We thus face a contradiction between the commonly held notion that “hospital delivery is normal” and the difficulty involved in being able to choose a facility freely. The author has accordingly assessed the current era as comprising the “third childbirth revolution,” using the terminology advanced by Fujita as mentioned prior and to be expounded upon later (Yasui 2013). Of course, no revolution of any appreciable scale has yet happened. Rather, the author uses the term as a way to assert the need for a dramatic change that would allow having a baby without excessive medical treatment. The third childbirth revolution is characterized by two related phenomena. The first is a scarcity of hospitals and obstetrics clinics near a woman’s home, meaning that she often has to go far afield to give birth or get regular prenatal checkups. The second is the popularity among pregnant women of receiving care at medical institutions like perinatal centers that can provide advanced medical care, resulting in difficulty in securing care for women who show signs of dystocia (abnormal labor).

The author has focused on the role of midwives today, in face of this situation, as a possible means of reducing the burden on obstetricians and creating at the same time an environment in which a woman and her family can have a satisfying experience of childbirth and the postpartum period. Almost all midwives today are working at obstetric clinics and hospitals where they usually are limited to assisting the obstetrician conducting the delivery. But a small number of midwives have opened their own clinics, known as *josan’in* (a combination of the characters for “help” and “childbirth” plus “institution”), where they aim to help women optimize the power of their own bodies to have babies without relying on medical treatment. Delivering in these midwife clinics is currently undergoing reevaluation, and they are being newly appreciated even though, since they cannot perform various procedures, they are unable to handle abnormal deliveries or take on high risk cases such as first pregnancies in women who are mature in age. Despite such limitations, some of these institutions are meeting the current needs of women in innovative ways that can be characterized as the successful glocalization of childbirth, as the following examples illustrate.

4-2. Reincorporating Care by Midwives: Three Cases in Japan

At the Nara Medical University Hospital, for example, a hospital-based midwife clinic was started under the name of “Medical Birth Center” in 2010 by reconstructing a portion of the sixth floor. At present the hospital’s Department of Obstetrics & Gynecology consists of three parts, the routine obstetrics section, a perinatal medical center, and the Medical Birth Center

midwife clinic. In September of 2016, the Medical Birth Center will be moved to a new building adjacent to the present one.

One background factor to the establishment of the Medical Birth Center is the recent decline in the number of hospitals and clinics in Nara prefecture which handle childbirth, with the result that not only emergency cases but also ordinary deliveries without complications have concentrated at Nara Medical University Hospital. The annual total of deliveries at the hospital increased rapidly from 406 in 2000 to 754 in 2010. Given this situation, the new Medical Birth Center was established in accordance with the policy of Nara prefecture, and a clear division of labor effected between the roles of midwives taking care of ordinary deliveries and obstetricians handling complicated births at this hospital, which like the medical university is a prefectural institution.

When pregnant women first visit the hospital, they are referred either to the regular Obstetrics Department or the Medical Birth Center, based on an examination conducted by an obstetrician. If they are considered to be at high risk, as for example first deliveries at an age of 35 years or greater, or women of very short stature or with extreme weight gains during pregnancy, they will deliver under the care of the regular Obstetrics Department rather than at the Medical Birth Center.

There are several benefits to the mother of delivering at the Medical Birth Center. First, subsequent examinations over the course of the pregnancy are made on the basis of reservations, and waits of one hour or more for a visit, typical at the regular Obstetrics Department, are rare.

Second, the seven midwives currently on staff at the Medical Birth Center work in teams on the care of each patient, which helps promote the establishment of trust between the midwives and the women under their care. Third, a pelvic examination is not considered necessary at every medical treatment, and is not conducted before the 37th week of pregnancy. Fourth, midwives assist with the delivery and protect the perineum, so that unnecessary medical treatments can be avoided.

Also, a pregnant woman has freedom with regard to her posture during the delivery, as she can choose between a delivery room with the latest modern delivery bed or a traditional Japanese room with tatami mats (Fig. 3). In addition, her husband and family are allowed to attend the birth. At the same time, monitoring devices are attached to the mother during the delivery so that the progress of the birth and the heartbeat of the fetus can be observed on a monitor in the Obstetrics Department, on a different floor but within the same building, so that an obstetrician can arrive quickly in case an emergency arises.

After delivery the new mother continues to receive care from the same



Fig 3 The delivery room with the latest modern delivery bed in 2010, at Medical Birth Center at the Nara Medical University Hospital.

midwives she had relied on for prenatal care. While she is hospitalized she can practice nursing her infant, and has the opportunity to consult with midwives about any anxieties she may have about childcare after release from the hospital. This is thought to help mothers make a smooth transition to childrearing after hospitalization and prevent postpartum depression. This is a contemporary example of midwives providing postnatal care, but as members of the professional medical staff at a modern hospital.

The second example is St. Luke's Birth Clinic in the Chūō ward of Tokyo, which is worthy of note as an independent clinic of midwives. It started in June 2010, as a facility where women could deliver in a relaxed environment without unnecessary medical treatment. It is located opposite St. Luke's International Hospital and St. Luke's College of Nursing. The principal characteristic of this birthing clinic is the complete support midwives give, based on the spirit of Christian love, to women as they strive to bring out, to the fullest extent, their natural power of giving birth. At present, 19 midwives divide into

three teams, providing support to each expectant mother as a team. As in the previous example only normal pregnancies and deliveries are handled, and first pregnancies at ages of 41 or older and other cases regarded as high risk are delivered at St. Luke's International Hospital across the street.

A second characteristic consists of measures taken to provide a relaxed atmosphere in which women can have their deliveries. The soft, light orange finish of the building engenders a gentle image, and the chapel of St. Luke's International Hospital is visible from each of the clinic's private rooms. These rooms also have private baths with showers, and the monitoring medical equipment is set back in a compartment out of the mother's view. Women can choose their preference of either a Japanese or Western style delivery room (Fig. 4). The Japanese style delivery room has a white rope dangling from the ceiling, reminiscent of the item which women in traditional birthing rooms could cling to while straining to give birth.

A third feature is a support system maintained on a 24-hour basis 365 days a year, in which a part-time obstetrician is always on call in addition to the



Fig 4 The Japanese style delivery room at St. Luke's Birth Clinic.

midwives. In the event of an emergency, this obstetrician can be summoned to help or the patient can be transported to St. Luke's International Hospital across the street in a matter of three to five minutes.

A fourth characteristic is the sufficient care provided after childbirth. The menu for meals during postnatal stays at the facility features a balance of easily digestible and nutritious meals. Furthermore, exercise classes such as yoga and a baby massage program are provided for mothers after childbirth. In addition to conditioning the body after delivery, these are seen as helping to prevent postpartum depression, and are intended to foster communication among mothers in the midst of childrearing. After release from the facility, an examination of mother and baby is scheduled at one week to measure the infant's weight and provide consultation about nursing.

In addition, the clinic allows extensions of the initial stay, and offers a program of short stays for the mother and infant after the birth, open even to those who delivered at other facilities. In Tokyo, the need for such care often arises for mothers whose own parents live in regions too distant for them to provide assistance, while their husbands may be too busy to be of much help. This system was accordingly started in order to help such women get some rest in relaxed surroundings, under the care of midwives.

In this manner, the Birth Clinic affiliated with St. Luke's International Hospital is a noteworthy model case for the future, in that it provides sufficient care from midwives in a home-like setting, has an emergency support system which can call on obstetricians and pediatricians from the nearby hospital, and offers good support after the delivery.

A third example worthy of note is the Kyushu Birth Center, which opened in June 2009, a facility built in traditional Japanese architectural style in Ashiya-chō, Onga-gun, Fukuoka prefecture, facing onto a stretch of the Japan Sea known as Hibikinada, in the northern part of Kyushu (Fig. 5). At the Birth Center, midwives are in charge of delivering the baby, with an obstetrician in the new clinic opened in 2016, near Kyusyu Birth Center. available for emergencies. The Kyushu Birth Center distances itself from other modern day facilities by defining itself as a new type of birth center operated by obstetricians and midwives in cooperation with the local community. The most notable characteristic of this facility is the existence of a corps of volunteers called "birth supporters," both men and women of various ages, including not only those with experience as nurses or health care workers, but also neighbors who are simply interested in childbirth and childrearing, and willing to do what they can. Some, for example, teach exercises for pregnant women, or take care of older children while a mother is having another baby, or accompany a



Fig 5 The traditional Japanese architectural style of the Kyushu Birth Center.

midwife on home visits to a new mother after leaving the birth center, or even attend the delivery if the mother wants, and so on.

These activities help prevent pregnant women and new mothers from feeling isolated, and furthermore provide birth supporters with chances to be involved in helping out at birth and in child rearing at a variety of levels. This is a good example of community-based childbirth support and postpartum care which has emerged in contemporary Japan, in which local residents can contribute freely according to their own abilities.

Conclusion

Examples of Palau and Japan, where the author has conducted her fieldwork, were described in this paper in order to show some of the variation in the glocalization of childbirth. In Palau, the medicalization of childbirth advanced as part of the colonial policies of the Great Powers. In Japan, medicalization progressed with the modernization promoted by the Meiji government as it adopted Western technology and systems in the latter part of the 19th century, leading to the appearance of medically trained modern midwives. Under the American Occupation following WWII however, midwives were made to become qualified as nurses and thus the separate qualification of midwife was lost. The medicalization of childbirth subsequently advanced as obstetricians took charge of even normal childbirths, but as the number of

obstetricians has decreased, we can now say that this process of medicalization has reached a point of stagnation with regard to childbirth. Regardless of the variation seen in such examples, the globalization of childbirth on a worldwide scale can be regarded both as a process of the medicalization of childbirth (including its institutionalization), and as one of nationalization, in which the nation-state seeks to take control of childbirth.

The above analysis shows a global process of the medicalization of childbirth. In addition, some new aspects can be seen as the ‘glocalization’ of childbirth, which focuses on how local communities adapt to globalization and create their adaptations to the contexts of globalization. For example, looking at the glocalization of childbirth in Palau, it can be said that even with childbirth now taking place mainly in the hospital, traditional childbirth rituals are still being performed, and female members of the matrilineal kinship group who participate are maintaining a rich local culture of actively providing postpartum care for the mother and giving help in childrearing.

In the case of Japan, with the change from home deliveries by midwives to birth in the hospital under obstetricians in the 1960s, customs of postpartum care by midwives, relatives, and neighbors almost disappeared. Only in recent years has the importance of postpartum care been reevaluated and new methods devised, such as the example of a hospital-based midwife clinic supported by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, or the birth center in Kyushu with a corps of voluntary members. The characteristic feature of the glocalization of childbirth in Japan today is the outcome of positive efforts to adopt systems of delivery and postpartum care in which midwives are primarily in charge. This change is seen as a way to help ease obstetricians’ burdens and thus find solutions to the problem brought by the medicalization of childbirth. Regarding such attempts, the author believes it noteworthy that it is not the invention of entirely new systems, but that solutions to these issues of postpartum care are being taken from the past. This is a positive effort to reintroduce the former culture of postpartum care into contemporary society.

Etsuko Matsuoka, a cultural and medical anthropologist, points out that a rich culture of postpartum care has long existed in Asia (Kohama and Matsuoka 2009). In this paper, it has only been possible to shed light on just the tip of a larger anthropological theme, namely, how the “rich Asian culture of postpartum care” was transformed through the process of the medicalization of childbirth, and what kinds of local knowledge people have used in their attempts to avoid the isolation of new mothers. On the basis of the evidence in Japan and Palau, we can see the benefit to reintroducing postpartum care that tends to both the mental and physical needs of new mothers, following midwives in Japan who

are borrowing from customs of the past and are applying them to their work in clinics and hospitals today.

In the United States of America today, doulas, non-medical staff who physically and emotionally assist the mother before, during and after birth, are becoming popular and are being reevaluated. The role of the doula is similar to that of midwives from the modern era in Japan. The re-valuation of the role of midwives is an aspect of the glocalization of childbirth within the context of the global medicalization of childbirth.

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Chapter 5

Glocalization of the Election System and Modernization of Samoa¹

Matori Yamamoto

Introduction

It has been some time since the political idea of democracy was accepted as a global standard. Democratization is a criterion by which either a colonized or conflict-affected area establishes a new government that it hopes will be recognized by international society.

It is known that Western Samoa created a system which combined chieftainship and an election system within the framework of this trend. Western Samoa is a country in the South Pacific which achieved independence for the first time in 1962. It had the hard experience of an anti-colonial resistance movement against New Zealand under a League of Nations trusteeship which started in 1926 and continued for a decade. In the process, some of the Samoan leaders wanted Western Samoa to become independent. What they wanted, however, was the autonomy of Samoa under the leadership of chieftains.

In the process of preparation for its independence, Western Samoa had to show itself to be democratized enough to gain approval from the United Nations. The New Zealand government encouraged Western Samoa to introduce universal suffrage as a proof of democracy. Nevertheless, the Samoan leaders were skeptical about the introduction of universal suffrage, because they thought an election system in which each young person has one vote equal to a chiefly title holder's vote was against their political tradition. Samoan leaders wanted to have *matai*² suffrage, in which only chiefly title holders voted among themselves; they insisted that *matai* suffrage was Samoan democracy.

Contrary to their expectations, as time advanced, *matai* suffrage brought

1 This paper is based on the author's Japanese paper: 'Senkyo Seido no Gurokarizeshon: Samoa no Kindai' (Glocalization of the Election System: Modernization of Samoa), Sudo, K. ed. *Gurokarizeshon to Oseania no Jinruigaku* (Anthropology of Glocalization in Oceania), pp.123-153, 2012, Fukyosha.

2 A chiefly title holder is called *matai*.

serious confusion and difficulty to the society, and especially to the *matai* system - the chiefly system. In the end, Western Samoa decided by referendum to adopt universal suffrage in 1990, just before the 30th anniversary of independence. Nevertheless, the election system of Samoa needs to be reviewed again since the transformation of the society has raised new questions.

This paper aims to examine the transformation of the election system of the Independent State of Samoa,³ including the preparatory stage for its independence, in order to analyze the modernization of Western Samoa, which is described as a negotiated process between the global system and local institutions.

2. Independent State of Samoa (Formerly Western Samoa)

The Samoan Islands are located on the line between the Hawaiian Islands and New Zealand, and are nearer to the latter. The western part of the Islands is composed of two big islands, Upolu and Savaii, and some small islands surrounding these two, to make up the country called the Independent State of Samoa; the main island of the eastern part is Tutuila, which forms American Samoa together with the Manu‘a Islands. The separation of the two Samoas is the result of a struggle among the colonial powers. The focus of this paper is the Independent State of Samoa (called Western Samoa until 1997). It has an area of 2,900 square kilometers with a population of about 179,000 (according to the 2006 government census).

‘*Āiga*, the kinship system of Samoa, affects the people’s lives significantly. An ‘*āiga* is a kin group which communally owns housing lots, agricultural lands, and several chiefly titles within a particular village. An ‘*āiga* is usually composed of several extended households, each of which is administered by a titled head who is called *matai*⁴. The solidarity of an extended household is important, and an ‘*āiga*, or collective of extended households, has power in the political activities of the village as well.

‘*Āiga* members who live outside of its lands have residual rights to its property, although it is mainly maintained and utilized by these members who live on it. When the high title of an ‘*āiga* is open to succession, all the members, including non-resident members, gather for the selection for the title. The majority of Samoan women live with their husbands’ families, while quite

3 It was the Independent State of Western Samoa before 1997.

4 While there is usually more than one title holder in each household, one of them is the actual head of the household.

a few men live uxorilocally. Therefore, although *tama fafine* (descendants of the female side) usually live outside of an *'āiga*, this is not always the case.

The chiefly system is also important in Samoan society. Titles are the property of an *'āiga* and are succeeded to by members of the *'āiga*. A title holder takes leadership as a family head while he⁵ represents his household and the *'āiga* in the *fono* (village council), playing a certain role prescribed by his title name. A chief is either an *ali'i* (chief) or a *tulafale* (orator). An *ali'i* is supposed to present himself as a dignified person, while a *tulafale* takes on the role of speechmaking and dividing presented food among the title holders. Besides the categorized distinction of *ali'i/tulafale* by roles, the ranking of titles is also important. The *ali'i* have lower standing, while there are *tulafale* who are well known all over Samoa. At each level of a village, sub-district, or district, chiefly titles are ranked on the ladder of a pyramidal structure, at the top of which one or more high chief titles are located.

After World War II, Western Samoa exported cash crops such as copra, banana, and cacao, while people maintained a semi-subsistence economy producing staple foods such as taro and banana. After the war, outmigration to New Zealand started and Samoan communities were formed in the urban areas of New Zealand; more and more remittances were sent to the homelands. The remittances have become indispensable to the homeland families and at the same time incorporated into the national economy, which had had a hard time finding a way to earn foreign exchange. Later, in the 1960s, Western Samoans migrated to the United States through American Samoa, and Samoan communities were formed in Honolulu and in cities on the West Coast. The Samoan population in New Zealand is about 115,000 (2001 NZ Census), while the Samoan population in the United States is about 128,000 (2000 US Census). The latter includes half-American Samoans and half-Western Samoans.

Although most employers used to be government offices and schools, employment opportunities have increased in the Independent State of Samoa. The tourism sector has been developed in the last two decades and has begun to earn foreign exchange.

3. Transformation of Samoan Society in the 19th Century

Although Samoan leaders were very much concerned with the framework of the chiefly system at the preparatory stage of its independence, it had been

5 *Matai* are mostly males, although there are quite a few female *matai*. Since there are more male *matai*, here I use the male pronoun.

transformed during the colonization process in the 19th century; there had never been an indigenous stage at all. Here we should begin with the transformation of the society from the contact with the West to independence.

Although Western navigators made contact with the Samoan Islands at the end of the 18th century, the first major contact was made by the missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1830. At that time, one of the paramount chiefs accepted missionaries, and the Christianization of Samoa was accelerated afterwards. By the mid-19th century, the Bible had been translated and printed in the Samoan language and a seminary was opened. During that time, Euro-Americans started to live in Apia, engaged in trade, and developed plantations, forming an influential community of their own. At the end of the 1870s, the three great powers of Britain, the United States, and Germany started to intervene in the Samoan political turmoil (and especially in landownership issues) through the white multinational community of Apia, which was looking for the possibility of colonizing Samoa. In 1899, Germany and the United States divided Samoa into Western and Eastern parts, colonizing the two respective parts.

3.1 Transformation of the Chiefly System

When missionaries first visited the Islands, the continuing struggle for power brought battles here and there. A paramount chief, Malietoa Vaainupo, dominated the situation by collaborating with missionaries, presiding as *tupu* (king) and collecting four famous titles on him. Although peace was maintained during his reign, a struggle for power started right after his death in 1841.

Upolu Island was more densely populated and more developed than Savaii Island. The two prestigious paramount titles of Tuiatua and Tuiaana, who reigned respectively in the chiefdoms of Atua and Aana, were losing actual power in the political structure in Samoa under Malietoa. On the other hand, the relatively new paramount titles of Tupua Tamasese, Mata'afa, and Tuimaleali'ifano gained power; the four titles including these three plus Malietoa were called Tama'aiga (princes of prestigious families) and presided over political affairs in Samoa.

Struggles for power among chiefs became more and more serious after contact with the West, since the ruling chiefs needed to make alliances with foreign powers. By the middle of the 19th century, quite a few Europeans and Americans lived in Apia, conducting trade and developing plantations. They wanted Samoan society to be peaceful in order to keep their businesses successful, while they also wished their respective countries to be influential in Samoa to support their activities. By the 1870s, Britain, the United States, and

Germany had established diplomatic relations with Samoa, seeking to promote their respective interests. Each country maintained special relationships with different paramount chiefs and intervened in Samoan politics, in which the status rivalry among paramount chiefs became stronger, while the local *fono* (council) system developed into a national *fono* which had not existed before.

In 1873, chiefs came to an agreement that they should create a national *fono*, a parliament consisting of two houses: the *Ta'imua* for paramount chiefs and the *Faipule* for representatives from villages and districts; their meetings were held in Mulinu'u. Later in the colonial period, two paramount chiefs were appointed as Fautua (advisors), following the *Ta'imua* system. The *Faipule* continues to be the parliament, the venue in which all the Samoan representatives gather for decision-making.

Between 1878 and 1879, Britain, the United States, and Germany each concluded a friendship treaty with Samoa. These three countries continued discussions and conferences in Europe and the US and sometimes dispatched warships to Samoa trying to solve the so-called "Affairs [i.e., problems] of Samoa." On one occasion Germany captured Malietoa Laupepa and deported him to Africa. The "Affairs of Samoa" were: 1) domestic political instability; 2) land tenure problems; and 3) establishing the political autonomy of the Euro-American community. After several conferences, the three countries concluded the "Final Act" in Berlin in 1889.

As for the problem of political instability, Samoans knew that they needed "a representative of Samoa", but it was very difficult for all Samoans to agree on one person as the representative. And the three intervening countries had different opinions about who should represent Samoa since each country supported a different paramount chief. The *Faipule* council and other leagues of village and district councils made it difficult to reach one conclusion. When a candidate was supported by one party, different factions formed a counter party. Although the "Final Act" approved Samoan sovereignty and the appointment of Malietoa Laupepa as the king, the struggle began again after Laupepa's death.

The second problem, land tenure, arose because the Euro-American settlers bought land to develop in a traditional society which lacked the idea of personal land ownership. While many "ignorant natives" sold land for tobacco and canned food to settlers, many Euro-Americans were also duped by different Samoans who identified themselves as owners again and again and asked for repeated payments. The Final Act concluded that a land commission should be established to inspect the documents of land transactions, and it would decide which land had been sold. The Act decided that the rest of the land should be categorized as traditional lands and should not be transacted afterwards. After

the Commission finished its task, the freehold lands whose ownership had been transferred to Euro-Americans and could be sold afterwards amounted to only 8% of the total land area. The moratorium on land transactions is the one reason that the Samoan chiefly system and kinship system have been preserved.

3.2 The Euro-American Community

The third question was the Euro-American community. When discussing Samoan citizenship concerns, it is important to follow the fate of the strangers who came to Samoa beginning in the 19th century. Many Euro-American settlers who came after Christianization were either married to or lived together with Samoan women and fathered half-caste descendants. Thus a multi-cultural community popped up in Samoa. Many mixed families consisting of Euro-American inhabitants and their Samoan wives – some of them were officially married but mostly the relationship was something more informal – and half-caste children lived in the port town of Apia together with their Samoan relations. “The Final Act” ordered the establishment of the Apia Municipality, an urban area with a defined border, to be an autonomous area for Euro-American inhabitants. The source of revenue for the Municipality was the duties collected at Apia Harbor.

Supervised by the consulates of Britain, the United States, and Germany, the Apia Municipality was a completely autonomous body, electing its own representative, having a judge, postal system, tax system, and a port officer. The municipality had a defined geographical area, and it was extraterritorial from the Samoan government formed by King Malietoa Laupepa and Vice-King Tamasese Titimaea. Those who were able to join in the Municipal activities were owners of businesses in Apia or inhabitants in Apia paying a certain amount of tax. Those who owned plantations outside of Apia were also entitled to join in. This autonomy was abolished when Germany established the colonial government in 1900. But the category of foreigners – actually mostly half-castes later on – was formed and continued to have a different social status from the category of Samoans.

The status rivalry among chiefs never ended completely, and new battles began when Malietoa Laupepa died in 1898. Again Britain, the United States, and Germany intervened in the turmoil and held a meeting at which it was decided to divide the Samoan Islands into two parts: Germany took the Western part and the United States took the Eastern Part, ignoring the conclusion of the “Final Act.”

In the process of contact with West and the colonization in the 19th century, the Samoan Parliament (lower house) was established and functioned as a

government for the Samoans. At the same time, the Apia Municipality was established as an autonomous entity for Euro-American residents. Samoan traditional land tenure became a stable land system recognized even by overseas countries. The Parliament and the land tenure system have both continued until now and are the basic foundation for Samoa today.

4. From Colonial Administration to Independence

The German administration which started in 1900 was taken over in 1914 by the New Zealand Military, which occupied German Samoa. In 1920, New Zealand established a colonial government in Samoa under a Trusteeship set up by the League of Nations. While administered by New Zealand, Samoans saw the rise of the Mau movement, which was a resistance movement against the colonial government. After a decade, the Labor Party took over the New Zealand government from the Conservative Party, and the policy of colonial administration was changed to allow Western Samoa to be independent in the future.

4.1 The Representation of Foreign Residents

Although the Apia Municipality was well organized as an autonomous entity, self-government was abolished when the German administration was established in 1900 following the German annexation in 1899. The residents of Samoa had been categorized into two groups, with Samoans and foreigners put under different administrative orders, under the “Final Act” in the 19th century. The German colonial government also differentiated all residents into the same two categories: whites or foreigners who were under German Consulate law, and natives under Samoan customary law with autonomy for *Taimu‘a* and *Faipule*. The former residents were directly administered by the German government, while the latter were autonomous under government supervision. The control of foreigners was more important to the colonial management since they were the key people in plantation development. Melanesians were introduced as laborers on plantations in the late 19th century. After the German administration started, Chinese indentured laborers were introduced.

The categorical differentiation between Samoans and foreigners under German administration continued under New Zealand administration. When the New Zealand colonial government took over, it created the Samoa Legislative Council composed of four administrators and four citizens – foreign businessmen living in Apia.

Some residents hoped to revive the Apia Municipality, and they formed a citizens’ committee to seek such a possibility. An additional civil member was

added to respond to the committee's wish, although this additional member was cut off after the leader of the citizens' committee, Olaf Nelson, was deported because of the Mau movement. Although Euro-American residents of Apia were powerless before the colonial government, it was important for them that they had representatives in the council.

4.2 The Development of the Samoan Parliament

The German government set up the Land and Titles Court in 1903 soon after they started their administration, in order to put traditional political institutions under their power. The government also supported the village *fono* and created offices for Samoans in villages while it appointed the *Faipule* council as an advisory organ and Mataa'afa Iosefo as the King under the German Emperor. Nevertheless, when the Mau (anti-colonial movement) began in 1908 the government arrested Mata'afa Iosefo and the opposition group including its leader Lauaki Namulauulu Mamoe and deported them to Saipan in 1909.

New Zealand started its administration in 1921. Since this was its first experience at having a colony, the New Zealand government made some mistakes and the Mau movement started again in 1926. The movement developed as a resistance movement. The "foreign population" and the Samoans had no shared political activities until this time, when the half-European businessmen and the Samoan political leaders began to work together for their common interest (Davidson 1967: 118). They worked together because the part-European businessmen sought to rehabilitate the Apia Municipality while the Samoan leaders wanted to gain more autonomy. Their movement sought "Samoa mo Samoa" (Samoa for Samoans) and worked to attain independence. After the Bloody Sunday incident in 1929, when policemen shot Samoans who were marching in a demonstration, the colonial government and the Samoans confronted each other. The government arrested the main leaders of the movement and sought to banish them, but in vain. The Mau finally faded out in 1936 when the New Zealand government sent a "Goodwill Mission" to Samoa after the Labour Party took the majority in the Parliament in 1935. New Zealand decided to allow the Samoans to be independent in the end.

The *Faipule* parliament was approved by the New Zealand government in 1923 and continued to conduct sessions during the Mau movement. The report by the New Zealand Government to the League of Nations Trusteeship Council in 1934 (New Zealand Government 1934: 3) records that the whole of Western Samoa was divided into 33 constituencies and that each constituency held discussions to recommend its representative. In 1939, an election system

was introduced, although the system remained as it was since the Samoans preferred to have a discussion to select their representative and they selected one according to the traditional ranking system within a constituency.

In the 1938 election (the election was for the term beginning in 1939 for three years), the European community participated under universal suffrage for those above the age of 21, while each constituency had an election to decide who should take up a *faipule* (representative) position. Before 1938, the representative was selected through discussion among the local chiefs for recommendation to the government. After 1938, an election in the constituency would select the *faipule*. Nevertheless, Samoans liked unanimous decision making instead of voting. According to the traditional relationship among villages in a constituency: 1) the same person was selected to be a *faipule* again and again when there was a title holder of very high rank whose position was unmistakably respected in a whole constituency, or who was a celebrated political leader; or 2) the high chief of a village took the office of *faipule* in turn among the villages of a constituency. In most cases, one or the other of the two methods was used (Davidson 1967: 226-227).

4.3 Preparation for Independence and *Matai* Suffrage

When preparation for independence was begun in Samoa, the above two different institutions were working together side by side, because of the two different legal statuses for the residents of Western Samoa. The indigenous residents of Western Samoa were under Samoan customary law and had access to the chiefly titles and traditional lands, and were represented by the *Faipule* parliament; however, they were neither permitted to own a company nor to drink alcoholic beverages. The European residents had access to neither chiefly titles nor traditional lands, but they were represented by the legislative council and were permitted to own a company and to drink alcoholic beverages (Table 1). The distinction was also mainly made based on a person's way of life: either living in Apia with a business or maintaining a subsistence livelihood in the villages. The part-Europeans, who were actually a majority of the "European" residents, were able to choose one or the other way but could not choose both. Most of the half-Europeans chose European status, although a few chose Samoan status.

Tab. 1 Racial Policy of New Zealand in Western Samoa

Europeans	Samoans
Permitted to drink alcohol	Not Permitted to drink alcohol
Permitted to own companies	Not Permitted to own companies
No access to chiefly titles nor customary land	Access to chiefly titles and customary land
Represented in the Legislative Council	Represented in the Faipule Council

In the process of preparation for independence, the major task was the transfer of power from the New Zealand colonial government to the Samoans, and the participation of more influential European residents was balanced by the power of the Samoan majority. Some members of the *Faipule* parliament represented Samoans in the Legislative Council, in which no Samoan representation had existed before; and, in the end, the whole *Faipule* parliament was merged into the Legislative Council, while the number of New Zealand officials decreased one by one at the same time. By 1957, the Parliament was composed of the forty-one members of the *Faipule* parliament and five European residents elected by secret ballots. *Faipule* were also elected in each constituency by secret ballots or were unopposed. The parliament of Western Samoa was complex in its structure from the beginning.

The New Zealand government was aware that the United Nations Trusteeship Committee would not allow Western Samoa to become independent if it did not adopt universal suffrage, which was supposed to be an integral component of democracy. So the New Zealand government was planning to introduce universal suffrage to Western Samoa by the time of its independence. Nevertheless, the Samoan leaders believed that universal suffrage did not fit their system (Davidson 1967: 328; Keesing & Keesing 1973: 98-114). Samoans did not understand how a *matai* title holder and an untitled person could have an equal vote. Samoan leaders insisted that, since the *'āiga* members in an extended family selected the *matai* to represent them in the region, the Samoan decision-making system in which *matai* gathered and decided was a democracy in the Samoan way. They thought that, because Samoa should become independent “as Samoa,” Samoans should keep the Samoan traditional system in a dignified manner. Following their own idea, they adopted the system of *matai* suffrage, in which *matai* were elected by themselves by secret ballot in each constituency. Supported by the scholars in the advisory board for independence, Samoans decided to claim the righteousness of this system as Samoan democracy. The UN trusteeship committee admitted the introduction of the system on the condition that the majority of Samoans would agree upon the

matai suffrage in a plebiscite.

On the other hand, theoretically the European residents were not part of the Samoan kinship system and did not have any *matai* to represent them. Since they were outside of the chiefly system (*matai* system), they needed universal suffrage in order to send their representatives to the legislative council.

The distinction between native Samoans and European registered residents led to the question of citizenship. A European resident in Samoa often held some Euro-American nationality of his own, but right after the independence dual citizenship was not allowed. Samoan citizenship after independence gave both Europeans and Samoans rights such as owning a company and drinking alcohol, the right to take chiefly title names, and access to traditional lands. Some European residents were worried that their privileges were being lost. Some of them were of the opinion that the Samoans were not quite mature enough to run an independent state, and some left Samoa for overseas countries. The European residents were to be allocated two representative seats in the election after independence, which was a fair reflection of the population ratio, but the number was decreased compared to the five seats they had held before independence. Nevertheless, most of the so-called European residents were part-Samoans and had relations in Samoan communities. They were keeping their ties to their Samoan relations, and it was probable that they would be conferred with chiefly titles in the future. The electoral regulations ruled that individual voters who received a *matai* title would lose the rights of individual voters, along with their spouses and minor children. Instead, they would obtain a ballot as a *matai*. In this way, European residents were supposed to be integrated into the Samoan majority (Davidson 1967: 378).

5. Inconsistencies of Matai Suffrage and Its Reform

5.1 Ballot *Matai*

Matai did not like secret ballots; the ideal for them was to select their representative by unanimous decision. It was shameful for them if a unanimous decision was impossible, and they often ostracized the minority who disturbed their decision. Even today, those who reject a candidate who was selected by the majority are often punished by the village.

On the other hand, a unanimous decision was becoming more and more difficult, and more constituencies held their elections by secret ballot. It was 1957 when secret ballots were adopted for the first time. In the 1957 election, 10 constituencies out of 41 selected secret ballots; the number increased to 18 in the 1961 election and to 29 constituencies in the 1964 election (Davidson 1967: 425). Twelve candidates ran unopposed in 1973; that number decreased to 6 in

1976 (Western Samoa Parliament 1979: 6). As unanimous decisions became more and more difficult, some candidates started to increase the numbers of *matai* in their respective kin groups in order to mobilize kinsmen to vote for them.

In a title inauguration ceremony, *matai* in neighboring villages were invited for a kava ceremony and distribution of money, fine mats⁶, and food. Thus, a great deal of money was needed for an inauguration ceremony, not only for distribution but to buy food. After the ceremony, the village headman was to report to the Land and Titles Court the fact that the ceremony took place following the custom, in order for the family to register the inaugurated person under his title name. Now the new title holder was ready to be a candidate as well as to cast a ballot.

The problem started when some candidates-to-be started to give out many *matai* titles under their names in order to collect more and more voters by providing necessary money for title inauguration ceremonies. Although titles were names and the number of titles controlled by a kin group was limited, title-splitting – giving the same name to more than two persons – had been allowed since long before the introduction of the *faipule* election system (Yamamoto 1994: 182-183). A case study of the election in the Vaisigano East no.1 constituency was conducted by S. Tiffany, who reported that the number of registered *matai* in this constituency was 125 in 1964, 1,398 in 1967, and 1,363 in 1970. This happened because the two candidates competed against each other to create more voters for themselves (Tiffany 1975: 95). These newly created *matai* were called “ballot *matai*” (*matai palota*) and were differentiated from authentic *matai* in villages. Nevertheless, much attention was attracted to the influence on the whole society of the rapid increase in the number of title holders.

6 Samoan valuable used for ceremonial exchange.

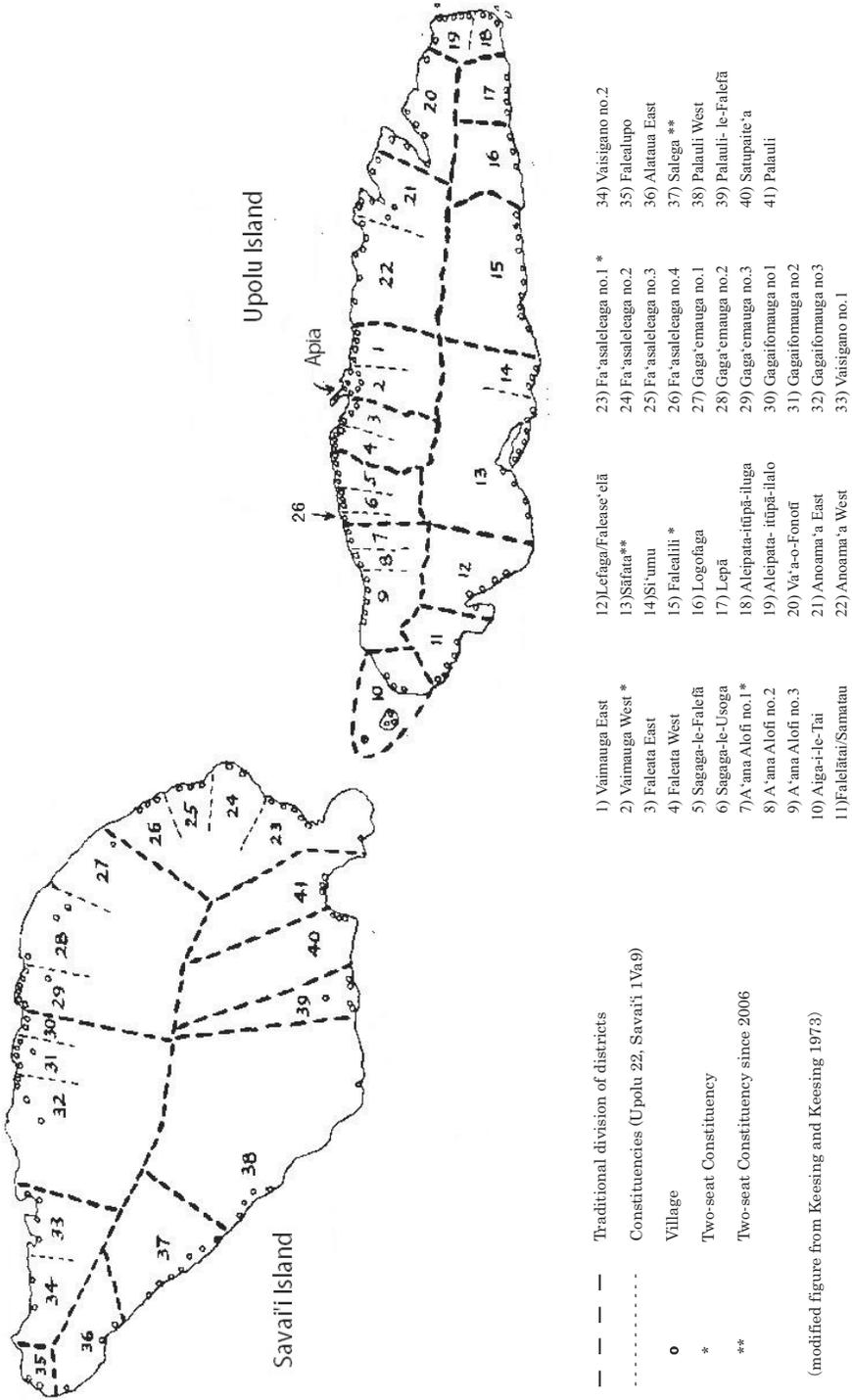


Fig. 1 Independent State of Samoa (formerly Western Samoa) Constituencies

5.2 The Tamasese Report

A 1969 amendment to the Electoral Act gave the Registrar of the Land and Titles Court the authority to remove titles from persons who were titled in an unconventional succession procedure. In this way, almost 1,000 titles were removed out of 1,363 the *matai* inaugurated in 1970 in the Vaisigano East no.1 constituency. Again in 1972, the number of legal title holders was reduced to 244 (Tiffany 1975: 95). But it was too much work for one registrar to remove all the inappropriate titles that were increasing all over the country.

The *Report on Matai Titles, Customary Land and the Land and Titles Court* (Western Samoa Government, Department of Justice 1975) was submitted to the Minister of Justice by the Committee of Nine including Director of Justice Su'a Leituposa Thomsen. The report explained that the increase in the number of *matai* titles was due to the increased number of ballot *matai*; it also discussed basic matters such as the absentee *matai* living overseas, especially in New Zealand, and the land tenure system, which was based on the *matai* system. It also considered all possible measures to resolve the situation, such as the introduction of universal suffrage with candidacy limited only to *matai* in order to replace *matai* suffrage, returning to the old system of depending on election by discussion instead of election by secret ballot, preventing the registration of inappropriate titles in advance, or having a registrar to keep a watchful eye on registration; counterproposals and negative opinions were considered as well.

In contrast to the above report, which merely outlined many possible solutions, the report by the investigation committee of the *Legislative Parliamentary Paper, no.13* (Western Samoa Parliament 1979), the so-called Tamasese Report, clearly recommended the introduction of universal suffrage as a final measure to solve the problem. The committee did not blame the election system alone for the increase in the number of title holders, but it recommended introducing universal suffrage immediately in order to protect the *matai* system which was the foundation of the society. Prior to the recommendation, the committee stated that the increase in the number of ballot *matai* distorted the election as well as the *matai* system, and that it was now difficult to elect *faipule* by unanimous decision (as before) without a secret ballot; it pointed out that it was not possible to return to the olden days. It was a shocking report since the investigation committee was chaired by Tupua Tamasese Lealofi II, the holder of the one of the four titles of Tama-a-aiga, the paramount chiefly titles, who was supposed to be a conservative based on his position in the traditional social system.

5.3 Introduction of Universal Suffrage

The Tamasese Report caused major discussion and debates in and outside of the government and the legislature. In the newspapers, many intellectual Samoans expressed their opinions and counter-opinions, and the debate was joined. People in Apia thought the Parliament would not accept the recommendation of the Tamasese Report, since most of the members (all except two) were *matai* who should have been expected to favor keeping the *matai* in power. Therefore, foreign observers were very surprised at the decision made by the Human Rights Protection Party, thought to be mostly conservatives, to accept the Report and reform the election system. The Euro-American media reported that conservative Samoans had been converted to become progressive, although the main idea of the pro-universal suffrage faction was to keep the *matai* system⁷, which had been “distorted” by the election system.

In the referendum held in October 1990, the votes for universal suffrage numbered 19,392, the votes against universal suffrage numbered 17,464, and invalid votes numbered 2,742 (Lawson 1996: 149). Candidacy was still given only to *matai*. After the referendum, the first election was held in March 1991 and new *faipule* were elected by universal suffrage for five years.⁸

6. More Problems

This chapter will discuss the questions which came up after universal suffrage started. In spite of the introduction of universal suffrage, the election system in Samoa still has minor problems which were created in the process of modernization and globalization.

6.1 Urbanization and Non-resident *Matai*

In the traditional system, *matai* titles were embedded in the ladder of local organization. In the old days, *matai* were able to fulfill their duty only when they lived on their *‘āiga* land. Nevertheless, a *matai* may have held several title names since the old days. For instance, the personal name of the

7 In order to recommend the introduction of universal suffrage, the Tamasese Report said that universal suffrage would be useful to control bribery besides preventing the rapid increase in the number of title holders (Western Samoa Parliament 1979). Because it was a Samoan custom that the seniors often provided small money or goods to the juniors, it was difficult to make a clear distinction between bribery and custom. The point was that there would be several times more voters and it would be difficult to bribe every voter.

8 Under the new electoral law, the term for a member of the parliament was changed from three years to five years.

first prime minister of Western Samoa, Mata‘afa Faumuina Fiaame Mulinu‘ū, was Mulinu‘ū; the other three names were his title names with distinguished identities. In a case where someone had several names, because it was impossible to be fully responsible for all of the multiple title names as a *matai* unless these were from the same village, his absence was ignored. When a person without a title name in the village where he resided had a title in another village, he was allowed to behave as a *matai* when he went through a ritual called *monotaga* in which he gave out money and fine mats to *matai* of the *fono* in the village of his residence. In this sense, the existence of *matai* living in other villages had been recognized somehow. A *matai* is legally obligated to reside in the village where his title is based.⁹ Nevertheless, the legal restriction was not severely applied in Western Samoa. Thus, non-resident *matai* have existed for quite a long time in Western Samoa.

The urbanization process after World War II created new geographical positioning of the people. Many migrated from the rural areas of Samoa to Apia, and from Apia to Pacific-Rim developed countries. The first generation of migrant Samoans maintained ties with the homeland, while sending money from overseas. Since people in the rural areas of Samoa need cash for carrying out ceremonial exchanges in the name of ‘*āiga*, the remittances sent by migrants are highly valued, so the migrants and urban dwellers who send money are often given *matai* titles to recognize their contribution¹⁰. There has not been a rule to prevent *matai* from migrating overseas¹¹. Thus, it is reasonable that the number of *matai* in overseas communities and urban areas increased (Yamamoto 1994: 191-195).

6.2 Running for a Candidacy from Overseas

A Samoan election requires a great deal of money. Under Samoan custom,

9 In the American Samoan court, the legal residential obligation of *matai* has been confirmed and title-splitting is prohibited. An overseas residence or temporary stay might cause a *matai* to lose his title. In American Samoa, the custom of *monotaga*, under which the village of residence recognizes a *matai* title of a different village in Western Samoa, is not respected, and titles from Western Samoa are not recognized at all in American Samoa except in the context of ceremonial exchange rituals.

10 These ‘*āiga* members living overseas or urban area would not likely claim their own share of the ‘*āiga* communal land. *Matai* titles can be split according to the traditional practice. Therefore, people living in rural areas would not mind giving ‘honorary’ *matai* titles to such overseas or urban ‘*āiga* members in order to acknowledge their contributions to rural homeland ‘*āiga*, since such conferment would not mean sharing the ‘*āiga* communal land with such non-resident *matai*.

11 Neither title-splitting nor emigration of *matai* is allowed in the American Samoan court.

seniors give small allowances to juniors in everyday life. Those who give money will obtain predominant positions over those who receive it. People are willing to give. Somebody might pay your bus fare on a bus, or somebody might buy your drink in town. Candidates and candidates-to-be are concerned about the people around them. Although these concerns might be judged as bribery in court if the gifts are too large, bus fares and small gifts of sweets are overlooked as customary. The candidates and potential candidates need a lot of money for these everyday concerns.

Some overseas emigrant *matai* used to run for office and take up the position when they were elected in the 1980s. They collected money from their relations living overseas and ran for election at home.

The legislature of the Independent State of Samoa passed an amendment to the electoral act in 2000 which stated that candidates are required to have three years of residence prior to the election – a move probably designed to keep domestic governance away from the influence of people who live outside of Samoa. Likewise, although some overseas emigrant Samoans claim that they cast their votes at overseas embassies, the government has not approved such measures. The election policy of the Independent State of Samoa is not to reject overseas emigrants who come back to vote, but to prevent the integration of overseas nationals into the political system of Samoa since its political authority covers only domestic residents.

6.3 Residential Registration

Residence does not matter for *matai*, whether in *matai* suffrage or in universal suffrage, since a *matai* should vote in the village to which his name belongs and a *matai* who holds more than one name has to choose the name under which he votes. The universal suffrage system had to introduce a way to determine places to vote for non-*matai* voters. At the time of independence, there was no such problem because most of the non-*matai* voters lived in their *'āiga* in their natal village, but now many Samoans have migrated to the Apia urban area and many Samoans have been born in Apia. And the urban area has expanded beyond the border of the former Apia Municipality.

An amendment to the Electoral Act in 1990 declared that a non-*matai* voter should vote in the constituency where his spouse, or one of his grandparents, parents, and siblings has a *matai* title. If no such relatives have a *matai* title, a non-*matai* voter might choose the constituency of his residence. In actuality, there is a great deal of room for choice since even a *matai* often have more than one title name and most non-*matai* voters have several *matai* relations among their spouses, grandparents, parents, and siblings. Sometimes there are

titles which have nothing to do with the non-*matai* voters. For example, a non-*matai* voter might have a brother *matai* who was given a title by the 'āiga of his wife. This non-*matai* voter may legally choose the constituency of his brother, although he is not related to the 'āiga and the 'āiga has no obligation to look after this voter¹².

The problem is caused by the strategy on the candidates' side to increase the numbers of voters who will support them by changing their constituency registrations. The Vaimauga-East constituency is a perfect example. It had one candidate who was successful in being elected unopposed in the 1991 and 1996 elections, in which the voters numbered 710 and 603 respectively. But in the 2001 election, the voters numbered 2,452. In the Faleata-East constituency, the 1996 election had more than one candidate and counted 3,228 voters, while the 2001 election, in which a candidate ran unopposed, had only 1,643. In the Siumu constituency, the respective voters in the three elections numbered 963, 1,342, and 1,643. Table 2 shows the numbers of voters in the three elections.

Tab. 2 Numbers of Registered Voters in Constituencies in the Elections in 1991, 1996, 2001

constituencies	1991	1996	2001	2006
Vaimauga East	710*	603*	2452	2450
Vaimauga West	2633	3645	5788	4526
Faleata East	1717	3228	1643*	610
Faleata West	1900	3065	2264	2840
Sagaga-le-Falefā	2165	2868	2905	2800
Sagaga-le-Usoga	1712	2371	2693	2775
A'ana Alofi no.1	1923	2501	3192	2501
A'ana Alofi no.2	1267	1682	2028	1317
A'ana Alofi no.3	1916	2728	2614	2407
Aiga-i-le-Tai	1682	2144	2559	2754
Falelātai/Samatau	1452	2165	2820	1294
Lefaga/Fale'ase'elā	1750	2428	3182	2243
Safata	2218	3061	2715	3067
Si'umu	963	1342	2182	1341
Falealili	2472	2967	4652	3663
Lotofaga	837	1201	857	801
Lepā	744	573	740	588
Aleipata-itupā-i-Luga	873	1390	1822	1138

12 After the amendment 2015, this possibility is excluded.

Aleipata-itupā-i-Lalo	1533	2074	2072	1893
Va 'a-o-Fonofī	1112	1669	2296	1661
Anoama'a East	1105	1702	1918	1932
Anoama'a West	1520	2136	2630	2307
Fa'asaleleaga no.1	2171	2524	3197	2808
Fa'asaleleaga no.2	1411	2520	2973	1714
Fa'asaleleaga no.3	1196	1340	1502	1629
Fa'asaleleaga no.4	852	1029	1272	1216
Gagaemauga no.1	1760	2246	2584	1881
Gagaemauga no.2	647	855	1441	1009
Gagaemauga no.3	1113	1475	1728	1434
Gagaifomauga no.1	1012	1052	1212	1024
Gagaifomauga no.2	1380	1343	1530	1396
Gagaifomauga no.3	716	975	892	1028
Vaisigano no.1	812*	1603*	2247	2354
Vaisigano no.2	696	965	1136	1468
Falealupo	1215	1675	1667	652
Alataua West	1130	1247	1463	1200
Salega	1746	2046	2511	2120
Palauli West	1384	1603	2080	1974
Satupaite'a	837	1146	1503	1476
Palauli	1253	1568	1918	1751
Palauli-le-Falefā	1537	1749	2099	1755
Individual voters	1780	1650	2233	2186
total	58,874	74,154	93,213	79283

*unopposed

(Samoa Parliament 2003: 17-18; Samoa Government, Office of the Electoral Commissioner 2006: 19)

The 1991 election caused chaos, because more than one change of constituency was allowed by the 1990 amendment of the Electoral Act. The 1995 amendment made a change of constituency possible only once between the two elections. Nevertheless, on the day of the deadline for the change, the election office was full. An election officer related that in the 2006 election the deadline for a change of constituency was 4:00pm and that several hundred voters rushed to the office just before the deadline, and the processing was only completed at 6:00am the next morning.

The constituencies for two seats, based on the large population, numbered eight in 2006. Nevertheless, the number of voters in each constituency cannot be known before the election. There should be a gap in the numbers of votes gained among the winners, and it is difficult to predict and correct beforehand.

6.4 Registration of Voters and Identification

During the period of *matai* suffrage, almost all the *matai* in a constituency knew each other and the voters could be identified easily. An old *matai* was chosen as a witness, and there would not be any problems. Those *matai* living in Apia and overseas communities were known although they were most unlikely to have ever attended any event in the village. (At least, they had their inauguration ceremony in the constituency.) Nevertheless, with the introduction of universal suffrage, the drastic increase in the number of voters, and especially of young voters, made such a system of identification impossible.

At the time of the referendum in 1990, the election returning office made a laminated electoral ID card for each voter, and the same cards were used for registration in the 1991 election. The commission of enquiry of the parliament reported: “The 2001 Election again proved that not only were many instances found where an individual possessed up to 5 ID cards, but this ‘merchantable item’ was exploited unashamedly by both candidate and elector alike” (Samoa Parliament 2001: 44).

In the 2006 election, instead of the electoral ID card, the voters were registered electronically. On the day of election, at a polling site, an officer identified each voter with a photo on the terminal after the voter stated his name. In order to confirm and to avoid double voting, the voter was marked on the right thumb with ink that was indelible for a while. This is the same procedure adopted in elections in Africa. This procedure of identification took much more time than expected, and the lines became very long at crowded polling sites. In the chaotic situation, some voters were not inked and some of them went to another polling site. Nevertheless, right after the 2006 election, while being interviewed, the chief returning officer answered that the returning office would take the same procedure in the next election.

6.5 Urbanization and Elections

Thus we realize that the introduction of universal suffrage brought new problems. Globalization brought universal suffrage, and urbanization was the main factor in the overthrow of the *matai* suffrage system.

The population movement from rural areas to Apia, and from Apia to overseas, brought a change in the way of life among the people. At the time of the census of 2001, the population of the Apia Urban Area¹³ was about 35

13 The present Apia Urban Area is larger than the former Apia Municipality. The population of the Apia Urban Area in the 2006 census was less than the combined population of Anoaama‘a West and Faleata

percent of the whole of Samoa (Jones and Cocks 2003: 31). The *matai* system was established based on a subsistence agricultural economy. Subsistence economy is still important in village life, and in order to manage cash crop farming in villages, the *matai* system is valuable. But for those people who live a way of life without land, and especially for those who live in Apia or overseas, is it important to trace to one's original land and to vote for one's own representative from there? For a *matai*, even for a non-resident *matai*, contribution to the home village is one's obligation. But how about a person without a title? It is natural that one feels closest identity to the place where one lives and tries to solve the problems there.

While a *matai* is required to register his name in the constituency where he has been conferred with the title, a non-*matai* tends to register in the constituency where he lives. Since the amendment in 2005, in the case of non-*matai*, the registration priority is first put on the constituency where the individual lives, then on the constituency where the person's parents, children, or siblings were conferred with titles (Samoa Parliament 2006: 26-27). The tendency is to focus on locality rather than on consanguinity, and the state is ready to accept this tendency. Nevertheless, it is clear that the principle of consanguinity of *matai* succession continues.

Under *matai* suffrage, the voting sites were located in each constituency, and many urban *matai* voters had to travel to vote in their constituencies. After the 1991 election, in order to avoid the turmoil in which many voters traveled around in the country on election day, the returning office provided several voting sites for the rural constituencies in the Apia Urban Area. The new policy was convenient for urban dwellers, but it was criticized because it made it easier for voters to change their constituencies.

The abuse of the practice of changing constituencies was discussed in the Parliament as well. An investigation committee was set up to give an official report (Samoa Parliament 2000, 2001), from which only two policies were implemented.

6.6 Individual Voters

The European residents gained universal suffrage in 1938. After independence, their voting rights should have been theoretically maintained, since European residents were not incorporated into the Samoan kinship system or have their own *matai* who would vote for them as family members. For

East constituencies and includes about 20% of the whole population of Samoa.

Samoan residents *matai* suffrage was applied, while for European residents universal suffrage was used. Samoan *matai* elected 42 Samoan members of the parliament while European residents elected 2 members, which was an appropriate ratio to the residential population. Nevertheless, there were some people who noticed that this election system would produce different categories of citizenship even at the time of the independence. The European residents would lose their individual voter's rights if they or their spouses were conferred with a *matai* title, and their minor children would lose the rights at the same time. The people who designed the new society at the time of independence thought individual voters should be absorbed into the whole Samoan society in the future (Davidson 1967: 178).

Most of the former European residents were conferred with *matai* titles and have become well fit into the Samoan society. Because the five seats for individual voters before independence were reduced to two in the first election after independence, some former individual voters' candidates asked their Samoan relatives to confer *matai* titles on them so that they could run for office in rural constituencies (Alailima & Alailima 1966: 244-245). There were several former individual voters/candidates who gained *matai* titles and were elected as *matai*. In a sense, European-Samoan residents are now quite incorporated into Samoan society. Nevertheless, the number of individual voters has not decreased, nor do individual voters seem likely to disappear soon (see Table 3).

Some people are of the opinion that the individual voter category lost its reason for existence when universal suffrage was adopted, and individual voters are now able to vote in the constituency where they live, the same as other non-*matai* voters. The 2000/2001 investigation committee of the Parliament determined that the present individual voters' seats can be distributed to the urban constituencies and the individual voters system should be abolished (Samoa Parliament 2000: 12-13; 2001: 64-69). The process may take time, because the problem is the practice of non-*matai* candidacy rather than the existence of individual voters themselves. In 2009, a new amendment was adopted under which and all candidates should have *matai* titles, even candidates for individual voters' seats.

Tab. 3 Numbers of Registered Individual Voters and Votes Casted

Year	1991	1996	2001	2006
Registered	1780	1650	2233	2186
Votes Casted	1488	914	1473	1851

(Samoa Parliament 2003: 17-18)

Conclusion

We have examined the problems which came up with the Samoan election system. We found that the Samoan traditional local system of chieftainship had been profoundly transformed under the colonial powers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It may be said that the *matai* system, which has been a local institution and the anchor for most Samoans, has transformed despotic chiefs into leaders willing to take care of their followers. In a way, the *matai* system was a product of compromise between Samoan localism and globalization. *Matai* suffrage was also a product of negotiation between the colonial powers and Samoan indigenous theory of leadership. The Samoan leaders had to accept democracy as a global value, while at the same time they justified the local *matai* system as the Samoan way of democracy in the global discourse at the time of independence and thereafter.

Nevertheless, Western Samoa after independence was more than ever exposed to the global influences. Independence itself was not necessarily the reason for the exposure to globalization; rather it was the time when more and more Samoans sojourned and migrated, seeking work opportunities, to New Zealand and the United States. Within Western Samoa, the urbanization of Apia was conspicuous. Although the core of the *matai* system was its land tenure, fewer and fewer people led the typical way of living in the *matai* system in which they live together in large households cultivating 'āiga communal land allotments for subsistence. In such a process of modernization, new and unexpected situations were created and the number of ballot *matai* rapidly increased. The elections transformed the *matai* system, while the *matai* system has been transformed under the global modernization.

Matai suffrage was replaced by universal suffrage in 1990, but the Samoan election system still maintains a link to the *matai* system because every candidate should be *matai* title holders. It is a pity that not all the problems of Samoan elections were solved by the introduction of universal suffrage. The recent problems with Samoan elections were caused because the newly established institution is not yet thoroughly developed or keeping pace with the development and transformation of the society. Nevertheless, Samoans themselves do not consider abolishing the *matai* system, and they will continue to pursue glocal institutional planning while maintaining the *matai* system under global influences.

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Postscript

There was a lot of change in the 2015 Amendment to the Electoral Law. The individual voters become urban voters and individual voters based in a certain constituency can register oneself in the constituency while a voter in Apia Urban Area who lives in non-traditional land, so to say, who does not have traditional link to the constituency, can register oneself as an urban voter. Another important change is the introduction of the subdivisions of two seats constituencies. Now including Urban East and Urban West constituencies, 50 seats are based on respective constituencies or sub-constituencies. (March 28, 2016)

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Chapter 6

Glocalization of Lifestyle Sports: Californian Dreams of Japanese Skaters*

Silke Werth

Introduction

Woooooohooooooooooooo!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! finally I bought [*sic*] skateboard
!!!! yaaaaahooooooooo ♡♡♡ good to see u [*sic*] my buddy♡.
(Facebook post May 27, 2012)¹

This is how Yumi,² a Japanese woman in her late teens, excitedly shared her newest purchase on Facebook along with a picture of a skateboard deck in a neon-colored skull design about three weeks after her arrival in Santa Barbara, California. Yumi describes herself as a “skater girl” and displays her identification primarily through her choice of clothing and style in general, and also by occasionally working on her skateboarding skills. For Yumi and the other young Japanese skaters whom I encountered in California, the skateboard takes on a variety of roles. It can be a means of transportation, gear for leisure activities, a “trusty companion,” a symbol of their chosen identification, or simply a fashion statement. The skateboard also embodies the hope of building a global network of friends and a sense of longing for California, the place where skateboarding³ is thought to have originated from the surfer culture of the late 1950s.

* This is an early evaluation of ethnographic data collected in the course of a long-term research project that focuses on the nexus of maturation and migration of young Japanese adults from a global perspective. This chapter centers on the subgroup of self-identified skateboarders, which only constitute one of the many different types of young Japanese who migrate or circulate in the search of a place to call home. For a more complete analysis of this topic please refer to forthcoming articles of the author.

- 1 If not stated otherwise or marked as translated, direct quotes are left in their original language and form and are not corrected or altered in any way.
- 2 All the names used for respondents are pseudonyms.
- 3 The origin of the skateboard is somewhat unclear as many people claim the invention. While some



Fig. 1 Harumi practicing his jumps at the local skate park in Santa Barbara, California

In the following, I describe the migration experiences of Harumi, Ryu, and Akari, based on personal and virtual conversations with each of them in Santa Barbara and after their return to Japan. Their stay in California ranged from a little less than two years (Harumi), thirteen months (Akari), and eleven months (Ryu). I also discuss Yumi's ongoing Californian adventure, which has lasted for over two years. I examine how skateboarding as a subculture is an example of the "glocalization" of worldwide street, youth, pop, and consumer cultures. I adopt the term "glocalization" which originated in the Japanese term *dochaku-ka*, literally "process of taking root," as if explains the necessity of adapting techniques, concepts, or products to local needs. Sociologist Roland Robertson (1992; 1995) popularized the term, emphasizing the interdependence of the global and local and pointing at the process of cultural diversification through local actors. In the case of subcultures like skateboarding these actors are committed individuals who actively participate and create related social networks.

This emphasis on active participation complicates the discussion of glocalization that originated in the global marketplace and referred to the

groups, such as the All Japan Skateboard Association, set its origins as early as the 1940s, most histories link it to 1950s California, where kick-scooters without handles or boxes with roller-skate wheels first appeared. The local surfer scene used these skateboard prototypes to try techniques on the ground similar to those they did in water, giving this the term "sidewalk surfing" (Borden 2001; Weyland 2002; AJSA 2014).

local interpretation of a product or service. For the phenomenon of Japanese skateboarders abroad, I extend the concept of “*genba* globalization,” coined by cultural anthropologist Ian Condry (2006). In his study of hip hop musicians in Japan, Condry highlights the “actualization or performativity, rather than subjectivity, of intersections of foreign and indigenous ideas” (2006:90). “*Genba*” stands for the actual sites of cultural production, the places where the global intersects with the local and both local and global are actualized or performed. In this essay, I propose that similarly to how hip hop and other music styles “develop distinctive networks around and through sites of live performance” and depend on populist features (ibid 218-219), skateboarding in Japan has been developed and popularized primarily by individuals, their local networks and performances, and only secondarily more broadly by media and the market.

The focus on performativity in the concept of *genba* globalization helps to illustrate the fact that Japanese skateboarding goes beyond mimicking American skater culture. Rather, skateboarding is actualized and interpreted through the participation of individual skaters and their local communities. Hence, the social and cultural aspects of each skateboarding community remain distinctive both within Japan itself and worldwide, even though all skaters rely on similar tricks and techniques, and may share brand consciousness, fashion sense, or taste in music.

1. The Beginnings



Fig. 2 Artist and Illustrator Naga uses his creativity to visualize a mix of skateboarding culture and Japanese culture. This work titled “One hundred skate views: Fuji View in Owari Province” is modeled after the ninth *ukiyo-e* print of the famous series “Thirty-six views of mount Fuji” by Hokusai Katsushika (1760-1846) (<http://naga-uraedo.com/>).

Skateboarding took root in Japan sometime in the second half of the twentieth century, with the details of the initial introduction remaining unclear. The All Japan Skateboard Association places the first skateboarding boom in the mid 1960s when, just like in California, skateboards became popular within the already existing surfer communities. In the 1970s, the number of active skaters in Japan increased and teenagers trying their skills on skateboards became a more common sight in parking lots, on nighttime sidewalks, and in public parks. The 1976 launch of *Popeye*,⁴ one of the most influential youth culture magazines in postwar Japan, triggered the second skateboarding boom as part of the larger “Californian lifestyle craze.” The magazine’s popularity can be explained by the social conditions in Japan at the time. After the

4 *Popeye* was published by Heipan Publishers (now Magazinehouse).

student movement of the 1960s had tapered out, Japanese youth shared vague anti-establishment sentiments that increasingly gave way to apathy. Many searched for new trends to identify with. Publishers saw untapped markets and began to publish youth culture magazines starting with *Popeye*, the self-declared “magazine for city boys.” The first edition, which was particularly well received by young adults studying in private universities in Tokyo, focused on the “Californian lifestyle,” namely skateboarding, fashion, jogging, and student life at the University of California, Los Angeles. The popularity of the first issue of the magazine paved the way for establishing skateboarding as a desirable asset for all those who wanted to be cool (Shiine 2008; Magazinehouse Digital Gallery 2011a; 2011b). Around this time, youth all over Japan pushed for skate parks to be opened. Subsequently, in the summer of 1979, a skate park opened on top of the Tōkyū Culture Center (*Tōkyū bunka kaikan*) in the Shibuya district of Tokyo. By virtue of its name, California Skate Park, this new hot spot again underlined the connection between skateboarding and California.

While skateboarding had been welcomed by some Japanese youth by the last quarter of the decade, the introduction of a new “street style” led to a further boost in popularity. Gaining foot in the 1990s in the US, “street style” skateboarding made participation easier compared to the previous “vertical style” which was dependent upon the accessibility of skate ramps. This paved the way for skateboarding to become a more consumption driven street culture, a more “democratized” activity, which attracted a diverse interest group reflecting a “heterogeneous social makeup” (Weyland 2004: 122; Dinces 2011). Sociologist Namba Koji (2008) sees this as the first moment skateboarding “slotted into” Japanese society. In contrast to the All Japan Skateboard Association, he argues that Japanese never fully embraced skateboarding in the 1970s because of the lack of physical locations to skate. He pointed out, for instance, how skaters in the US turned backyard pools into skate-ramps to perform tricks, a resource not available for young Japanese. Removing the limitation of performing only on ramps thus increased the number of participants in Japan and led to a third skateboarding boom in the mid 1990s. The third boom was welcomed by youths left in a state of insecurity and precariousness after the burst of the economic bubble in 1991, and encouraged by more frequent TV appearances of alternative sports events like the X-Games.⁵ Skateboarding took hold in youth cultures worldwide and by the turn

5 The X-Games is a sports event held annually by the American sport broadcaster ESPN since 1995 focusing on “extreme” winter or summer sports such as skateboarding, motocross, BMX, snowboarding or snow mobile riding. The X-Games soon gained global attention and since 1998

of the century it reached a level of worldwide popularity comparable to other mainstream sports. Estimated participation figures as well as skateboard sales even suggest that the surge of skateboarding outpaced the spread of traditional “big league” sports like soccer or baseball (Beal and Wilson 2004). In Japan the downward trend in the popularity of organized sport activities in favor of “street sports” mirrors the mainstream blaming of youth as the reason for the nations economic and social downturn. Skateboarding is thought to offer what anthropologists call an “*ibasho*: a space where one feels comfortable and at home” (Allison 2013: 174). But in contrast to what was traditionally considered to be such a place of belonging, for instance a stable job, middle-class lifestyle, family or even traditional sport clubs, skateboarding is an activity youth feel in control of while being outside of the pressure by older generations or unrelated others (Tanaka 2003, 2004, 2007; Takahashi 2005).

Today, the Japanese skateboard scene still cherishes its ties to California and still looks up to the place where skateboarding is thought to have originated. Yet, at the same time, skaters pursue their own styles. The All Japan Skateboard Association founded in 1982 clarified:

We believe it is important to maintain Japan’s own culture and develop each skateboarder’s own individuality to finally get them to the level of those in leading countries, by raising the skills of individual skateboarders, making the market mature, and increasing the cultural level of skateboarding both as a sport and as a [*sic*] leisure. (JSA 2013)

Although this statement does not explain how the Association defines Japan’s “own culture,” it is likely that their definition is based on the classical affirmation of Japan’s uniqueness as found in countless discussions of “theories of the Japanese” (*nihonjinron*). These describe Japan as a classless, culturally superior, and homogeneous society that is both, different from all others in the world, and preserved by its status as an island nation. Beyond highlighting skateboarding in Japan as distinctive, this appeal also sheds light on the debate among scholars, authorities, and active skaters regarding whether skateboarding constitutes a sport or a lifestyle. Since appointing Mike T. Miyazawa, an American-educated avid surfer, skateboarder, and long-time owner of a leading board store as its new president in 2013, the All Japan Skateboard Association

X-Games are held Asia as well. X-Games have popularized many new tricks debuted during the event, such as the “900” in skateboarding, a 2,5 revolution aerial spin performed on a ramp first landed by Tony Hawk in 1999 (O’Neil 2014).

has been presenting skateboarding as sport instead of “as a sport and leisure.”⁶ Many skateboarders, however, continue to emphasize their choice of skateboarding as a lifestyle. Jocko Weyland, a journalist and active skateboarder, describes skateboarding as “a true subculture that has resisted attempts to go mainstream [...] a physical activity that isn’t really a sport but is definitely a way of life” (2002: 7). The perception of skateboarding as either sport or lifestyle might thus depend on the way one approaches this activity, yet the increasing presence of skateboarding in the media, especially on sports channels, pushes the aspects of physical skill and competitiveness, features it has in common with mainstream sports. Sport sociologist Robert Rinehart, for instance, points out how the recent alignment of skateboarders “with *sport* in addition to *lifestyle* has opened up a whole new market for business ventures and entrepreneurs,” which led to a commercialization and thus commodification of skateboarding (2005: 239).

This issue was also addressed by Arakawa Yusuke, a former professional skater and a father figure in the Kyoto skater scene whose initiative led to the construction of a skate-park.⁷ In an interview in May 2014 conducted in his skateboard store located right next to the former imperial palace, Arakawa explained that he sees skateboarding in Japan not as a subculture, but a combination of fashion and sport. According to him, a subculture is characterized by the long-term dedication of its members, yet in Japan skaters tend to “graduate” from their skateboarding cliques once they enter the workforce.⁸ Arakawa also thinks that the recent trend for men in their forties to rediscover skateboarding and begin to practice with their children underlines the aspects of sport and fashion, since the broad age range and the focus on skateboarding as leisure activity contradict his ideas of what constitutes a subculture. Arakawa seconds

6 Mike T. Miyazawa had the welcome message on the homepage of the All Japan Skateboard Association changed to put more emphasis on skateboarding as a sport: “During the past ten years some of the member associates had visions and adopted an active role to increase the number of young [*sic*] skaters by introducing the American brand skateboards at very affordable prices as they believe skateboarding is a very effective sport for developing both physical and mental health. The AJSA will continue to support skateboarding as a sport, as well as all the skateboarders and the would be skateboarders in Japan” (AJSA 2014) (Grammar altered by the author).

7 Takahashi Hidesato (2005) and Naruo Maki (2008) give examples of skaters who used their energy and instincts to create skate structures for the benefit of people with similar interests, like Arakawa did in Kyoto. They argue that the effort to build skate-parks open to everyone justifies calling the act of skateboarding a potentially communal activity rather than purely individual one.

8 A similar link between subculture and age in Japan is found in studies of motorcycle gangs (*bōsōzoku*), for instance by Sato Ikuya (1991) or Karl Greenfeld (1994).

the earlier credo of the All Japan Skateboard Association not only in his perception of skateboarding as both sport and lifestyle or in his word fashion, but also by stressing that he does not want Japan to recreate American skate culture but rather to create a Japanese counterpart. He has considered this goal his mission since the mid-1990s, when he produced VHS tapes featuring him and his friends on skateboards and selling them door-to-door. On the videos, which are now accessible online, he attempted to place skateboarding in a Japanese context with a focus on Kyoto, for instance by inserting images of temples or imitating samurai movies (*chanbara*)⁹ while doing skateboard tricks. Although these images of Kyoto, the cultural capital of Japan, make use of clichés, Arakawa did not direct these tapes at a foreign audience, but hoped to appeal to the “Japanese spirit” inside the local scene. He hoped that these images would get young skateboarders to strive less toward what could be called “Californization” or the emulation of West Coast dreams attached to skateboarding, but toward combining their cultural heritage with skateboarding. In his own way, he tried to re-direct the appeal of skateboarding as an *ibasho* away from the longing for a “Californian lifestyle” and toward elements like tricks, risk, freedom of action, and fun; all elements that could be found in Japan and are compatible with pride of one’s own hometown.

2. Harumi’s Love of Risk

These elements all play a part in the narrations of the young Japanese whose stories I tell in this paper – Harumi, Ryu, Akari, and Yumi – yet their approaches to skateboarding vary. Harumi, a young man in his twenties from one of the larger cities in southwestern Japan, linked the appeal of skateboarding most clearly to danger, namely the potential risks of injury and trouble with authorities when practicing outside of designated areas. For him these risks were what distinguished skateboarding from common team sports. All sports require physical strength, agility, balance, bravery, and strategic planning, yet Harumi believed that traditional sports were less dangerous and thus could not offer the same dose of adrenaline as skateboarding. In a Facebook conversation he wrote:

Even if I played tennis and exercised a lot, I would still feel the urge to skate. For me skateboarding means doing something dangerous that I

9 The term *chanbara* is etymologically derived from the sound of swords hitting each other and stands for the genre of samurai or “sword-fighting” movies, a sub-category of period dramas (Sato and Yoshida 1972).

couldn't even imagine doing under other circumstances. These are the things I want to do. These are the reasons why I skate. When my friend let me try his skateboard the first time, I realized that this was what I really wanted to do since I was born. It became part of me and it is why I describe my character as skater.

(Facebook conversation with author, June 8, 2012. Translated from Japanese)



Fig. 3 Harumi practicing an Ollie on the campus of his College in California

Harumi's identity as a skater rested on his desire to engage in dangerous activities. His quest to find a place to practice freely influenced his decision to go abroad, as he dreamed of skateboarding somewhere where he would not be restricted by the "narrow sidewalks and too many rules" he felt were making skateboarding difficult in Japan (Interview; July 13, 2012). He also mentioned that he wanted to improve his English, the reason most commonly cited by young Japanese for leaving their home country, and that he did not want to commit to a particular school department before enrolling as required by most Japanese universities. His urge to search for thrills and to engage in dangerous

activities was not limited to skateboarding. For him, going to America also meant being a person able to move around the world without fear (Interview: December 1, 2013). Attributing risk to skateboarding is common among skaters elsewhere as well. One example is Jocko Weyland, who perceives skateboarding as combination of “skill with voluntarily induced danger” (2002: 5). Harumi’s narrations further illustrate the image of what scholars call an “urban identity that invokes freedom, non-conformity and engagement with risk” (Atencio et. al. 2009: 6; Rose and Strike 2004) – an image perceived positively by skateboarders themselves and more negatively by others.

Harumi had not always appreciated danger. Until he started to skate in his late adolescence Harumi considered himself an “otaku,” a young man entirely immersed in a world consisting of computer games, manga, and animation.¹⁰ After being introduced to skateboarding he began to practice, connected with other young skaters, and lost interest in the world of animation and electronics. Instead, he began to embrace all elements of skateboarding with an otakuesque dedication. His joy of risk taking, preference for punk rock and hip-hop, and affinity for baggy clothes and certain brands were all aligned with mainstream skate culture elsewhere. Sociologists Deidre Kelly, Shauna Pomerantz and Dawn Currie (2008) have shown that these characteristics do not only tie skateboarders together worldwide, but many have remained the same since the origins of skate culture in late 1950s California. Harumi underlined yet another element he saw as central to skater culture: cliques and close human ties based on shared interests. Skateboarding offered a sense of belonging, an *ibasho*. For him, his skater friends were part of his identification, and the lack of similar friendships abroad made his time in California difficult. At first he excelled and entered community college earlier than any of the young Japanese from his language school. Yet his enthusiasm for liberal arts studies did not last because his social life did not develop as he had hoped. After less than two years abroad he decided to drop out and return to Japan.

Harumi’s rather sudden decision to return came as a surprise to his family and many of his friends, but for him there was no other choice since

10 Otaku is a Japanese term to describe people with obsessive interest most often in the fields of manga and animation, which leads to a tendency to translate otaku with “nerd” or “geek.” Azuma Hiroki (2009) for instance defines otaku as “usually males and generally between the ages of 18 and 40, who fanatically consume, produce and collect comic books (manga), animated films (anime), and other products related to these forms of popular visual culture and who participate in the production and sales of derivative fan merchandise” (xv).

his experience did not match his expectations. He found California to be very safe and peaceful and not at all dangerous. College was not as interactive and challenging as he had hoped. His social life was nowhere close to his days in Japan. Besides, the failure to integrate in the local skateboarding community robbed him of his enthusiasm to perfect tricks and led to a loss of interest in skateboarding. Therefore, for Harumi, coming to California did not enhance his identity as skateboarder as he had envisioned. He realized that it was not skateboarding itself that had been key to his self-identification, but the people and social dynamics surrounding him and supporting his “skateboarder self.” Leaving this community increased his feeling of displacement and triggered a sense of insecurity that also affected the way he positioned himself in the world. Feeling like an outsider in California increased his longing for Japan and he began to focus on what he considered to be Japanese characteristics in himself and his friends. In other words, his sojourn triggered what he described as a “feeling of Japaneseness.” What Harumi experienced is not uncommon and the discourse around discovering one’s feeling of national belonging upon moving abroad is firmly grounded in migration theory for all kinds of individuals, even those who had left their home country out of disillusion (Appadurai 1996; Befu 1996; Ong 1999; Vertovec 2001).

Harumi’s views of Japan developed out of his own experience and by observing other young Japanese abroad, yet they are based on the clichéd images of Japanese identity he was exposed to growing up. Shyness, the tendency to remain silent in class, respect towards others according to their age, and a strong longing for certain foods are some of the characteristics Harumi considered as “typically Japanese.”¹¹ Since realizing that these very characteristics shaped him, he began to long for Japan in the hope he would readapt and become happier again. Harumi himself clearly expressed his connection of happiness with Japan in an online conversation in early December of 2013, when he described how much happier he felt when speaking Japanese rather than English.

Harumi began to establish a direct correlation between the length of his sojourn abroad and an increase of what he interpreted to be pessimism. He began to critically observe the dynamics of social interactions around him, and

11 Harumi’s approach to “Japaneseness” mirrors that of cultural anthropologist Harumi Befu, which describes Japaneseness as “cultural nationalism transcending the borders of Japan” (1996: 116). What constitutes “cultural nationalism” is somewhat contested. Sociologist Yoshino Kosaku offers a possible definition, describing it as a concern “with the distinctiveness of the cultural community as the essence of a nation” (1992: 1).

struggling to understand why some people appeared to look down on others he became interested in the discourse of race. In a personal interview conducted prior to his return to Japan, Harumi narrated a series of incidents in which he felt he was judged according to his skin color, for instance during interactions with cashiers at supermarkets or when a passerby yelled Chinese greetings to him in a provocative way. Since Harumi only attended Japanese schools until migrating, and Japanese schools do not emphasise discussions of race as common in the United States, he lacked a foundation in racial concepts, which left him with more questions than answers. This did not stop him from ascribing his inability to integrate into the local Californian network to racial discrimination, however. Almost as if he was looking for a new source of comfort to replace his now-broken relationship with skateboard culture, he began to idealize Japanese society and its myth of homogeneity, even though he had felt it constraining before. He brought this self-orientalization to a personal level, planning to learn traditional skills upon return, such as Japanese cuisine, ceremonies, and especially martial arts. Harumi believed that mastering such traditions would help him find his inner Japanese spirit which would make him immune to criticism by others. In his tendency to fully immerse in newfound interests he even began to play with the idea of changing his look from skateboarder to “samurai,” by wearing traditional clothing (kimono) and letting his hair grow long so that he could tie it into a topknot as he had seen in Japanese historical pictures or period dramas (*jidai-geki*). In an interview he explained:

Before coming to America I liked American music, films, and fashion. I always thought that historic Japan during the time of the samurai was cool, but current Japan is a mess (*gocha gocha*) and seems like no one knows what they are supposed to do. This is why I came here. But that in turn made me think that I must return to be like a samurai. You know, I am Japanese and the coolest possible when being Japanese is to become a samurai, right? I think everyone wants to return to samurai times. (Interview, December 1, 2014. Translated from Japanese)

Being away from his former skateboard clique that had supported his identification as skateboarder and thus served as an *ibasho* left a void that Harumi temporarily filled with a longing for Japan based on an image tailored to fit his ideals. His “idea” of Japan offered a sense of comfort—a new *ibasho*.

As Harumi’s experience illustrates for the case of skateboarding, many subcultures are “locally bound,” and breaking away from these local bounds changes the dynamics and thus requires re-identification. Social science scholar

and active surfer David Lanagan (2003) gives another example, showing that connection and recognition as surfers is dependent on a particular space and time outside of which this identity gets blurred. In the case of Harumi, his identity as a skateboarder was tied to social interaction with his skateboarding peers, the occupation of public spaces in Japan, risk of getting in trouble with authorities when hanging out, insider terminology, and choice of fashion. Although Harumi extended his wardrobe and gear abroad, enjoying more affordable prices for his favorite brands, all the other features once key to his identification disappeared. The contrast between the practical use of skateboards as a means of transportation in California and the spatially constrained skateboard culture in Japan further contributed to the blurring of his identification. In short, all these experiences made it impossible for him to return to his skateboarding self even after returning home. Instead, he did try some of the ideas he developed abroad in the hope to revive historical Japanese traits, for instance by taking up martial arts. Most of Harumi's other ideas turned out to be much harder to put into action, however, which made him look for other potential identifications, such as buying a bass in order to join an amateur punk-rock band even though he had never played an instrument before.

3. Ryu's Life as Floater

While the story of Harumi provides an example of a young Japanese who embodies risk-taking and the importance of social interaction as core value attributed to skateboarders, Ryu, a young man from a rural district in Shizuoka Prefecture, sees skateboarding and surfing as symbols of freedom. For Ryu, this freedom reflects what he perceives as the quintessential American lifestyle: surfing, skateboarding, and movies.

His decision to come to the US in his mid twenties was firmly grounded in his love (*akogare*) for American subcultures and lifestyle and the hope to "catch a perfect wave" (Online survey; May 23, 2012). Ryu can be described as a "floater," a person always on the move, enjoying a perceived sense of freedom and unable to settle. His lifestyle as "floater" is expressed in two ways: one is the frequency with which he has changed jobs and locations of short term employment, and the other is more symbolic, showing his love for "floating" over waves, snow, sidewalks, or ramps with help of the respective gear. For Ryu being a surfer and skater is more than a hobby, it is part of his identification, which he perceived as transcending national borders. For him, finding a place where he could practice without restrictions is what mattered most. In his words:

I love all [board sports]! Sometimes they help me make friends-but not

always. Skateboarding is a hobby and it is fun to compete playfully with friends. When I surf and ride on a good wave, it feels just awesome! And, it helps me improve myself as a person. When entering a big wave or rough sea then one realizes how small people are. When I skate, crashing really hurts! I can't bear how long abrasions hurt. But it feels really amazing when I manage to do a trick! When I skate in Japan sometimes I get evil looks, some people look like they will call the police on me. That is because there are only a few proper skate-parks. When I skate in America, you know, it seems that other people look at me differently. It feels as if they understand. And I am jealous that in America there are so many free skate parks.

(Facebook message, February 5, 2014. Translated from Japanese)



Fig. 4 Ryu enjoying a wave in one of his favorite surf spots by Santa Barbara, California

Ryu and Harumi share a number of similarities beyond their interpretations of skateboarding, which for both includes reference to friends, risk of injury, and the longing to find a place to practice without encountering hostility from the surrounding society. Their lives have some parallels too: both were raised by a single mother, which is less common in Japan than in other industrialized

countries,¹² and they did not follow the standardized academic life course considered most desirable in Japan. Harumi switched schools frequently and then went abroad for college while Ryu attended a commercial high school, then bypassed college and got a chef's license instead. Ryu did not use this professional license right away. Instead, he chose to work as a *freeter* in various fields including construction, appliance delivery, and gardening "for no special reason" (Interview; June 6, 2012).¹³ After three years he eventually started to work at a French restaurant but soon shifted to a casual Italian diner as he realized that his "feelings and French food are different" and he prefers it "more simple" (Interview; June 6, 2012). He worked as a main chef for about two years until he decided to change course again, and used his savings to set off for California, where he enrolled in a major language school in the hope that this would open the doors for a life abroad.

For Ryu, skateboarding and surfing constituted a continuum in his frequently changing life path since his early teens. Fulfilling his dream of living in California, even if temporarily, increased Ryu's identification with skateboarding and surfing as both activities helped him to feel "at home" while abroad (*ibasho*). Yet, experiencing life in the diverse community of his language school, local skate parks, and beaches triggered an unprecedented feeling of Japaneseness in him. While in the case of Harumi Japaneseness was tied to an idealization of history and culture, for Ryu it was more a sense of curiosity and the urge to get to know his home country better in order to share this information with international acquaintances. This urge triggered the wish to experience Japan first hand – which he did by embarking on a three-month-long journey through mainland Japan with little more than a backpack, some cash, and his skateboard, which he credited for helping him make connections with locals. He talked about acts of kindness by strangers who offered him rides in their cars and food, and about the warm welcome he received from local skateboard communities. In Kyoto, for example, a rather large group came together to meet him and do tricks along the banks of Kamogawa river (May 24, 2014). In Ryu's case the sojourn abroad thus intensified both his love for what he considers

12 Only 7.6 percent of households in Japan are headed by a single mother (Statistics Bureau, 2010). While the number has risen by 25 percent in ten years, it is still lower than the average of most other industrialized countries which lies between ten and twenty-five percent (See for instance Ishida and Slater 2010; Oishi 2012).

13 The word *freeter* was first mentioned in 1988 and is a combination between the words "free" and the German word for "worker" (*arbeiter*). The term is used for those in unstable employment like contract or part time workers.

American lifestyle and his love for his home country. For him his identification as skater and surfer was crucial and his quest to foster his perceived sense of freedom through skateboarding and surfing remains central to his life choices. This is why he currently works as a kitchen helper on a US Marine base about an hour drive away from his home. Despite the commute and his low position in the kitchen, this job fulfills his self-chosen requirements: the shift work leaves him enough time to surf and skate on a regular basis, and having to use English at his workplace helps to keep his dreams of returning to California alive.

On the surface Ryu thus seems to defy the theory of local bounding of subcultures and instead provides evidence of their globalization. According to Ryu himself, surfing is indeed rather globalized and surfers worldwide follow the same unwritten code of behavior when in the water, but he too realized that his “skater-self” was harder to maintain when outside his usual surroundings. Like Harumi, he failed to connect to the local skater scene in California, a fact he ascribed to differences in skills and age, language difficulties, and a higher sense of individuality and competition than he had experienced in Japanese parks and ramp houses. In contrast to Japan where he always found ways to connect to similar-minded peers, in California this was more difficult. He did not get lonely like Harumi however, because of his social network of people he met through school, volunteer activities or his host-family, and because of his equal identification as surfer. He considered surfing not only more globalized, but also more individualistic requiring little to no interaction with others, while skateboarding fosters conversations and brings people together to take turns to do tricks using the same obstacles.

Looking at Ryu’s narrations, it also seems that local bounding does not only happen through the interaction of skaters themselves, but is influenced by the image mainstream society has of them in different locations. He found that the US fosters a skateboarding culture, as most people seem sympathetic and happily share sidewalks and public spaces, while in Japan the opposite is the case. Ryu feels that Japanese mainstream society sees skateboarders as slackers, almost criminals, whose activities need to be limited to certain areas in order to not disturb the public peace. This label as nonconformist brings skateboarders in Japan closer together, adds a certain appeal for some and fosters clique building. In other words, Ryu’s narration shows that the glocalization of skateboarding is actualized by both the skaters themselves through *genba* globalization but it is also influenced by mainstream society.

People can build their identification as skater on a variety of approaches, which can roughly be distinguished as either active participation, or as the passive use of related fashion, style or membership in cliques. Harumi and Ryu

identified with skateboarding primarily through active participation, while in the case of Yumi and Akari, two young women, the visual aspects were key.

4. Skateboarding in Style: Akari and Yumi

Akari, a recent college graduate from a rural town located in the greater Tokyo area, came to California hoping to learn English and find a job as a sales clerk in a local clothing store and, as she honestly admitted, because she did not want to settle into long term employment in Japan just yet. Akari's fascination with the US was mainly based on fashion, especially "skater style" fashion, which she related to California. Skater fashion became mainstream in many industrialized countries in the second half of the 1990s, when brands originally serving skateboarders began to push their shoe and clothing lines to a broader public. Since Japan is said to be one of the most-if not the most-advanced consumer culture in the world, skater fashion companies found an easy target audience. Akari embraced such brands almost as an actualization of her dream of living in California, and because they allowed her to signal membership in the skateboarding subculture despite being somewhat embarrassed about her lower skills.

The fact that the "active participants" Harumi and Ryu are young men, and Akari and Yumi, who focus on the fashion and "visual" aspects of skateboarding, are women mirrors a common finding in skateboarding scholarship, for example, by sport sociologist Becky Beal (1996), historian and urban commentator Lain Borden (2001), and sociologist Michele Donnelly (2008). These scholars all agree that skateboarding is used as a marker of masculinity because of the focus on physical aspects and elements of risk. Analyzing the marginalization and objectification of women in popular skateboard magazines worldwide further underlines the gendered nature of skateboarding (Beal and Weidman 2003; Porter 2003; Wheaton and Beal 2003; Rinehart 2005). There are of course some women in Japan and elsewhere who use the skateboard to break out of the conventional rules of girlhood, identifying with the very elements of risk, pain, and physical ability deemed characteristically masculine (Kelly, Pomerantz et.al. 2008). And although there are girls who have mastered some of the hardest tricks, frequent skate-parks, or compete in the X-Games, the fact that those identifying with the skateboard lifestyle primarily through a consumer culture approach tend to be female fuels the division by gender – especially in Japan where the post-war divide between male producers and female consumers is still present. As anthropologist Gabriella Lukács points out, even though a "consumption-led definition of selfhood defined by personal style has become more characteristic" since the 1980s, involvement with consumerism is still

coded as effeminate (2010: 172).

Other than showing an allegedly more “feminine” approach to skateboard culture, the narrations of Yumi and Akari highlight that identification as skateboarder based on fashion is also locally bound and subject to *genba* globalization. While consumer culture is often seen as a basis for the homogenization of global culture, it allows individualization through differential consumption. Having access to the same goods, does not mean that they are combined or styled in the same way. In other words, dressing in skater style is based on personal choice, and skater girls create diversity by their differential consumption within Japan or in any other place in this world. Yumi and Akari both realized that what they had previously interpreted as “Californian fashion” or “skater style” did not reflect what they found during their sojourn in California. On the contrary, once abroad some elements they had considered markers of their Californian dreams were actually interpreted as “typically Japanese.” Akari recognized that the version of skater style she had developed with her girl-clique in their hometown – a mix of bleached hair, dark fishnet tights, plaid shirts, skateboard-brand baseball hats, and sneakers – was considerably different from what she saw on the streets in Santa Barbara. This realization triggered her decision to drop her self-chosen label of “skater-girl” while abroad and to decrease the number of times she carried her skateboard around, even though she had hoped it would serve as an icebreaker. Once back in Japan she ventured to ramp-houses again, but not regularly, and she saw her relationship to skateboarding as being at the level of a hobby. Akari still preferred some brands that would connect her to the skateboarding subculture, yet she did not try to convey the message of being a skater-girl through her fashion anymore.

Akari’s identification as a skater-girl could be seen as a phase in her search for a more permanent identification, and the same can be said for Harumi. The narrations of all four of these young Japanese suggest a definition of skateboarding as a lifestyle rather than sport. While this discourse is ongoing and impossible to settle, I feel that the following quote by sport sociologist Robert Rinehart (2008:77) can be adopted as a description of the dynamics of skateboarding for young Japanese. Speaking of the roots of “alternative sports” Rinehart writes:

[Skateboarding and wakeboarding] were self-expression; they were artistic, and non-conformist, and decidedly a way for (usually) teenage kids to be active, to transport themselves, to recreate, to hang out with other kids and to grow up, independent of (for a short time) adult supervision and guidance.

The reference to a temporality and to the importance of strong interpersonal ties, especially with people who share the same interest, is what makes this definition malleable and adaptable to my case study of Japan. The narrations of Yumi, Harumi, Ryu, and Akari all highlight how social connections are what kept their identification as skateboarders alive. Migrating meant leaving said connections, which caused a certain degree of erosion of their identification as skateboarders, depending on the approaches they took and the meanings they ascribed to this activity. For the young women Yumi and Akari, skateboarding embodied the “Californian dream”: it was a mixture of lifestyle, fashion statement, and the urge to at least temporarily belong to a clique of similar-minded girls considered “cool” by their own age group and “aberrant” by older generations. Their experience abroad caused them to downgrade their interest in skater fashion from seeing it as a lifestyle and self-identification to seeing it as merely style. Ryu and Harumi focused on active participation and were drawn to skateboarding primarily by the perceived elements of risk of injury and sense of freedom. Over the course of my research they suffered sprains and abrasions on arms and legs caused by falls related to tricks like ollies (jumps), kickflips, grinding, or simple crashes on uneven roads. These injuries underlined their status as skaters and sometimes were displayed with pictures on Facebook. For Harumi, the skateboard was a vehicle to get his daily dose of adrenaline and a symbol of belonging to a tight-knit local cliqued losing this clique. Losing his identification as skater. For Ryu, who still considers himself as a skater and surfer even after his return to Japan, skateboarding is almost symbolic of his lifestyle: he is a “floater,” always in motion as though perpetually cruising along, resistant to settling into a predictable routine.

Concluding Remarks

The stories told in this chapter embody the ongoing glocalization, or better *genba*-globalization, of skateboard culture. On the one hand, the actualization of such *genba*-globalized identification on individuals appears too fragile to move outside of the local context from which it arose. On the other, professional Japanese skaters display *genba*-globalization. Their televised performances question the dominance of the US as the original place (*honba*) of skateboarding. This said, my research shows that skateboarding in Japan appears to thrive partially because of its lingering image as an American, more precisely Californian, subculture, especially for those who are drawn to skateboarding as a fashion style. Yet, Japanese individuals’ actualization of the skateboarding lifestyle preserved what people outside of Japan interpreted as a

“Japanese touch.” The increasing trend of skateboarding in Japan is, thus, not a sign of cultural homogenization. Japan’s youth is not just copying foreign street culture. Instead, they localize this culture and adapt it as a means of self-identification.

The actualization of skateboarding as a lifestyle remains locally bound, even individual. The skateboard becomes a vehicle of different goals, ranging from embodying the dream of a life abroad, a tool to get a daily dose of adrenaline, or a symbol of freedom and resistance to accepting long-term commitments. The different interpretations, inter-clique socializations, and choices of fashion all illustrate glocalization – or, rather, *genba* globalization-of subcultures rather than a worldwide homogenization of youth and street culture.

Through a case study of the global movement of young Japanese skaters, this paper thus underlines that hybridization and glocalization does not only happen through the strategic moves of corporations or marketing machines, but is actualized on a grassroots level through people who adopt global trends by filtering them through their own cultural lens to better fit their expectations and purpose and allow self-identification-even if only temporarily.

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Chapter 7

The Glocalization of ‘Eastern Spiritualities’ in Cuba: Some Considerations on Religious Change in the Age of Globalization

Girardo Rodriguez Plasencia

Introduction

Asian religions and related spiritual elements spread increasingly beyond their traditional enclaves. Their impact in Europe and North America is such that some see it as an “Easternization of the West”, while others announce a predominance of this trend in the overall globalization process. Whereas this view questions notions of the hegemony of Westernization/Americanization, it still stresses the idea of globalization as homogenization, thereby neglecting the symmetrical interactions involved in glocalization.

The glocalization perspective is especially necessary to understand social contexts like Latin America (and elsewhere) where cultural mixing is largely normative and where Asian religions have also been introduced recently. Latin American anthropologies have long benefited from theoretical perspectives which acknowledge the interactive nature of issues of syncretism and cultural mixing—such as the notion of “transculturation”, proposed by Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz since the first half of the 20th century (Ortiz, 1995). Yet, the current pace of global interconnections requires new lenses to properly account for the interactions between the global and the local.

This paper focuses on some instances of ‘Eastern spiritualities’ in Cuba, which have developed in the Caribbean island since the 1990s. Some instances are provided from previous field research on Reiki (Blanco, 2008; Jiménez et al., 2005; Perera & Jiménez, 2006) and from the author’s own fieldwork on Soka Gakkai in Havana in 2011. While acknowledging that these global flows bring unprecedented changes into the local religious field, it also shows that far from occurring in a unidirectional relation, these (globalized) Asian religious elements take new forms and functions among Cuban adherents. Symmetrical interactions are evident in hybridizations with the local religious culture and with new meanings attached to these spiritualities that allow for interpretations of social reality and the creation of new glocal identities.

1. Asian Religions and Globalization

Asian religions and elements inspired in the spiritual traditions of Asian societies are actively participating in the globalization process (see Nakamaki & Smith, 2012). Several expressions of Buddhism like Zen, SGI, Theravada and Tibetan schools bear witness to the globalization of this religion (Baumann 2001; Learman 2005; Liogier 2004; Obadia 2004; Prebish 2002). Besides Zen Buddhism, other Japanese religions have to varied degrees established overseas missions. Although they were initially linked to Japanese migrant communities, several of these religions have managed to spread in the new settings beyond the ethnic Japanese enclaves, especially Sekai Kyūseikyō 世界救世教, Sōka Gakkai 創価学会, Sūkyō Mahikari 崇教真光, Reiyūkai 霊友会, Shinnyōen 真如苑 and PL Kyōdan PL教団 (see, for example, Clarke, 2000; Inoue, 1985; Nakamaki, 1986, 1990, 2003; Shimazono, 1991). For some observers, Japanese religions overseas can be regarded as an instance of “reverse” globalization (Clarke, 2000a).

Likewise, ‘Oriental’ philosophies and rituals were an important source of spiritual inspiration for the American Counterculture of the 1960s, where a diversity of religious expressions was popularized under the label of “New Age”. This heterogeneous phenomenon of contemporary spirituality has become global, disseminating a syncretism of various secular and religious sources, both traditional and modern, Western and ‘Oriental’ (Frisk, 2009; Inoue, 1997; Rothstein, 2001; Shimazono, 2004).

The impact of Asian religions in Europe and North America is such that some see it as part of the “Easternization of the West” (Campbell, 2007). This challenges assumptions of globalization as a unidirectional process of Westernization/Americanization or McDonaldization (cf. Ritzer, 2000; Wallerstein, 1974), while others even announce a predominance of this trend in the overall globalization process. As Ritzer points out, “If the twentieth century marked the pick of Westernization, it may be that the twenty-first century will come to be seen as a post-Western era, as the era of Easternization” (Ritzer, 2009, p. 80). Indeed, several authors maintain that, rather than Westernization, the overall process is one of Oriental globalization, given the contribution of Asian cultures to global flows (Frank, 1998; Hobson, 2012; Nederveen Pieterse, 2006).

Whereas the notion of the “Easternization of the West” challenges notions of the hegemony of Westernization/Americanization, it still stresses the idea of globalization as homogenization, thereby neglecting the simultaneity of homogenizing and heterogenizing tendencies (Robertson, 1995), as well as

the multidirectional interactions involved in the current age of accelerated flows of media, people, finance, technology and ideas (Appadurai, 1990). Globalization—which Robertson (1992, p. 8) defines as “the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole”—gives place to new interpretations and adaptations. The compression of time-space and the simultaneity of sameness and difference in this global situation is related to processes referred to as “creolization” (Hannerz, 1987), “hybridization” (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995), or “glocalization” (Robertson, 1995).

By combining the terms *globalization* and *localization*, Robertson (1995) derives the term *glocalization* from the Japanese word *dochakuka*, used in Japanese business practices to refer to adaptations of products and strategies at the local level.¹ Universalisms are not simply imposed on local cultures; they also undergo transformations when dealing with particularisms in a dialectical relation between the global and the local (Robertson, 1995). The new hybrid cultures (García Canclini, 1995) that are formed in this process contribute back to the heterogenization of global culture. Glocalization involves thus the interpenetration of two related processes: the universalization of particularism, and the particularization of universalism.

A perspective that addresses the multidirectional nature of cultural exchange is especially necessary when studying the Cuban context, where cultural mixing has long been normative. To be sure, Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz (1881-1969) had already proposed the concept of “transculturation”, which acknowledges the interactive process of formation of new cultural elements resulting from the modifications and mutual influences between two or several cultures. Transcending the limitations of other concepts such as inculturation and acculturation, Ortiz’ neologism has enjoyed large acceptance among Latin American anthropologists.²

Revolving around the notion of “transculturation”, the local stream of anthropology and cultural studies has a long tradition of studying issues of *mestizaje* and syncretism, which characterize the creole cultures that have

1 The term *dochaku* 土着 had been already used by Japanese scholars referring to the “indigenization” or “nativization” of foreign religions in Japan, as well as Japanese religions abroad (see, for instance, Nakamaki, 1982, 1989; cf. Dessi, 2013, p. 150, n. 2).

2 In writing the introduction to the English version of Ortiz’s main work, Cuban counterpoint. Tobacco and Sugar (1995 [1947]), Bronislaw Malinowski celebrates the new theoretical perspective and recommends the notion of transculturation over existing concepts used to describe cultural dynamics.

emerged out of mixing processes between the three main sources that have conformed Latin American societies, namely, indigenous peoples of the Americas, African slaves and their descendants, and European colonizers. In addition to these three main ethnic constituents, there is some recognition of the contribution of migrants from diverse origins—Chinese, Jews, Middle-Easterners and South Asians. Ortiz imagined Cuban culture as an *ajiaco*, a local stew made from diverse ingredients, which are slowly cooked until they dilute and fuse (Ortiz, 1991).

However, like related traditional notions of cultural hybridity (see Nederveen Pieterse, 2004), the concept of transculturation tends to focus on intercultural contact in the long term (see Trigo, 2000). In the current condition of increasing circulation and permeation of global flows, we need to take into consideration the unprecedented pace, diversity and intensity of cultural interactions. The image of a pot in which the *ajiaco* stew is prepared by using roughly the usual traditional cultural ingredients, which are cooked slowly in (colonial) fire, might no longer fully represent the complex dynamics of contemporary globalization. In contrast, the notion of glocalization addresses time-space compression by accounting for the multiple interactions that occur among the different components of the global field (Robertson, 1992).

2. Overview of Asian Religions in Cuba

Asian religions were introduced in Cuba in the Spanish colonial period along with Asian laborers brought to work in the plantations, particularly the Chinese and the Hindus.³ In the early 20th century, Japanese immigrants also brought their religious customs (Alvarez & Guzmán, 2002; Yokota, 2008). However, these religious traditions most generally remained inside the ethnic minorities. From the early 1990s, diverse ideas and practices of Asian religions have become more visible in Cuban society, and new groups have started practicing (Japanese) Zen Buddhism, different yoga schools, the Hare Krishna movement, Soka Gakkai, Reiki, Vipassana meditation and Tibetan Buddhism. Sometimes, such expressions of Asian religions are associated to groups and individuals engaged in martial arts, especially *karate* and *aikido*. They also appear in medical and therapy milieus. Yet, very often, elements of Asian

3 I have previously presented the contents of this section in meetings of the following associations: East Asian Anthropological Association (Chinese University of Hong Kong, July 2012), Anthropology of Japan in Japan (Doshisha University, December 2012) and the International Association for Japan Studies (Ritsumeikan University, November 2012).

religions are consumed in non-organized, non-systematic ways, recombined with other religious and secular sources in the form of New Age.

It is increasingly common today in Cuba, especially in urban areas, to hear people talking about energy, aromatherapy, meditation, holistic medicine, yoga, *qigong*, auras, *chakras*, incense, macrobiotics, Reiki and a wide range of alternative therapies. Most of these practices are based on or include elements from Asian religions like Hinduism, Buddhism and Taoism, very often mixed and interpreted from supposedly scientific perspectives. These topics are the subject of small groups, seminars, lectures and medical treatments offered by the Ministry of Public Health. But very often it is just a phenomenon that occurs at the individual level, when people explore these spiritual paths on their own, by reading books or consuming audiovisual materials (Fabelo, 2009; Jiménez, 2006; Jiménez et al., 2005).

In addition to these rather amorphous New Age expressions, in the last 20 years some Buddhist groups have been established in Cuba, following the Tibetan, Vipassana (Theravada) schools. Some of these groups run under the supervision of foreign monks and masters. Thus, the Soto Zen groups in Cuba (Havana and Artemisa) are connected to the International Sangha of the French monk Kosen Thibaud, followers of the Japanese Master Deshimaru (Rodríguez Plasencia, 2013). Likewise, the Tibetan Buddhist *sangha* in Havana is associated with the Diamond Way, a lay organization lead by the Lama Ole. A very small group of Krishna devotees in the capital city has some connections with the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON). The Japan-based new religious movement Soka Gakkai International (SGI) is the most organized expression of Asian religions in Cuba, with a national membership of 500 members and other sympathizers organized throughout most provinces of the country.

Some people engage in yoga and Reiki for therapeutic purposes, without any explicit religious motivation. At the same time, there are individuals who practice these religions in a rather isolated, non regular fashion. In any case, it is difficult to know the figures and the demographics, as well as the degree of interiorization of these philosophies. It is not uncommon that some individuals combine their religious interests with martial arts. Some introduce Zen meditation in *karate* training, while others mix Chinese *kungfu* with Taoism (Rodríguez Plasencia, 2011). Still, others combine *aikido* with Zen, *taijiquan* and the Fourth Way of Gurdjieff.

3. Glocal Forms of 'Eastern Spiritualities' in Cuba

Reiki appears to be one of the expressions of 'Eastern spiritualities' that

enjoys wide acceptance in Cuba, with perhaps thousands of people practicing it in groups or individually, especially in urban areas (Blanco, 2008). It is commonly combined with other ‘spiritual’ healing practices such as universal energy, *taijiquan*, aromatherapy, flower therapy, yoga, meditation, music therapy (especially using New Age music), massage, the so-called five Tibetan rites, *qigong*, Buddhism, and the like. For some authors, all this allows seeing Reiki in Cuba as part of the larger spread of ‘New Age’ spirituality that has been evident in the country since the 1990s (Blanco, 2004; Jiménez et al., 2005).

In addition, elements of Reiki are often combined with practices and concepts of Cuban religious culture. Religious objects like crucifixes, images of Christ, saints and angels are often placed in the spaces devoted to the practice of Reiki (Blanco, 2008). Popular religious practices like using Catholic “blessed water” or forest woods according to Afro-Cuban religions (especially *Palo Monte*) are also appropriated in Reiki circles to assist the healing of patients. During the Reiki sessions, alongside the invocation of Reiki masters, prayers are also addressed to Catholic saints, guardian angels, spirits of the deceased and Afro-Cuban deities (*orishas*) (Blanco, 2008; Perera & Jiménez, 2006). An example of this issue is provided by Blanco (2008, p.35) in his study of Reiki in the Old City of Havana, in which a practitioner stated, “I entrust myself to the spirit of my mom, then to the energy of my spirits, the blessed Saint Barbara, the high beings of the planet, the guides and initiators of Tibetan Reiki and finally, to my guide and Reiki teacher” [my translation].

Moreover, elements of Cuban religious culture not only stand alongside Reiki practices; they can also be synthesized to shape new hybrid forms and practices. In this manner, the *bodhisattva* Kuan Yin (*Kannon bosatsu* 觀音菩薩, in Japan) is believed to be the Virgin Mary, while Reiki energy is thought to be essentially identical to the power of Orula, the deity of divination in *Santería*. Practitioners of both Reiki and Afro-Cuban religions integrate these different resources by virtue of parallels they find in the ritual use of colors, or by conflating the energy that emanates from *chakras* with *aché*, the power of *orishas*. In this logic, some Reiki practitioners have visited the national sanctuary of the Virgin of the Charity of El Cobre, in Santiago de Cuba, in order to receive the vibrations of the Virgin, while religious specialists of Afro-Cuban religions and Spiritism increasingly manifest an interest in learning and integrating Reiki elements to their traditions (Blanco, 2008; Perera & Jiménez, 2006).

In my own study on Soka Gakkai in Havana (Rodriguez Plasencia, 2014), I have noted that it is not uncommon for some Cuban adherents to mix this Japanese religion with elements of other ‘Eastern spiritualities’, especially

Reiki. Such hybridizations are based on an Orientalist frame by which resources from diverse Asian cultures are conflated and regarded as essentially similar or even identical (see Said, 1979). However, a different type of hybridization that still needs to be explored is the potential syncretism between Soka Gakkai and Cuban religious culture.

4. Glocal Functions of 'Eastern Spiritualities' in Cuba

'New Age' religion and contemporary spiritualities in general have been deemed to foster individualism and consequently prevent the formation and maintenance of religious collectivities (see, for instance, Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Campbell, 1987). In this view, their emphasis on the individual as the ultimate source of sacred authority and their critical stance towards religious institutions would presumably be in contraposition to social solidarity and could even lead to a kind of spiritual hedonism.⁴ However, studies conducted by Cuban scholars on Reiki in Havana (Jiménez et al., 2005; Perera & Jiménez, 2006) suggest that, even though Reiki discourses stress the individual, Cuban practitioners tend to privilege the cultivation of this 'healing art' in groups. In this respect, Reiki groups are not merely loci in which Reiki is practiced and reproduced, but also social spaces that facilitate relations and the identity construction for its members.

In these groups, at the same time that they learn the beliefs and rituals of Reiki, Cuban practitioners also reflect on their social reality and attempt to make sense of it. References to the difficulties and problems of contemporary Cuban society seem to be common in these settings, which are partially interpreted through the new views provided by Reiki. They elaborate collective ways to establish a fruitful communication in a social environment in which State institutions have been considerably weakened (Perera & Jiménez, 2006).

Although transnational comparative studies are necessary to argue that this group orientation is a feature of Cuban Reiki, it is clear that the local context is a key factor in the specific configuration that global flows of Reiki take in the Caribbean island. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist block in Eastern Europe, Cuba has faced a severe socioeconomic crisis, impacting all aspects of social life. In the midst of economic deprivation, moral value crisis, emerging social inequalities and the declining role of State

4 In their research on "holistic spirituality" in the UK, Paul Heelas and his team of collaborators argue that these spiritualities are characterized rather by "relational individualism", a concept that grants more importance to the place of social relations in spirituality (Heelas & Woodhead, 2005).

institutions, the sense of community has significantly weakened (Alonso, 2006). The national religious revival that started in the early 1990s is one of the responses to community crisis, providing diverse social spaces and networks to many individuals through both traditional religions (Roman Catholicism, Protestantism and Afro Cuban religions) and new religious modalities which have been introduced as the country becomes increasingly exposed to global influences (Perera & Pérez, 2009). In this context, religious institutions, groups and individuals often articulate their message and views with reference to the local social crisis.

Indeed, community crisis and the “loss of moral values” are often a main theme among Cuban adherents of Soka Gakkai. They perceive this situation as an issue to which their religion can make significant contributions. To them, Soka Gakkai—the “value-creating society”—would help people to transform the negative *karma* of the low realms of existence into higher states, thereby creating new values that express compassion, confidence, vital force, wisdom and peace-building. Moreover, like the case of Reiki, Soka Gakkai provides new symbolic spaces in which Cubans can reconstruct their sense of belonging in a social setting characterized by community fragmentation and dysfunctional social institutions.

Certainly, Soka Gakkai displays an active involvement in global issues like interfaith dialogue, support to war refugees, promotion of world peace, as well as several projects in Brazil dealing with environmental conservation, education and human rights awareness (Pereira, 2008). It clearly exemplifies the way Japanese religions reassert their performance in global society by addressing key issues that have been created or left unresolved by the dominant social systems (Dessi, 2013)—issues that Peter Beyer calls “residual problems” (Beyer, 1994). SGI’s global involvement in addressing this kind of issue takes specific functions in the Cuban context. Its teachings provide new symbolic resources for Cuban adherents to shape glocal identities and generate new interpretations of their local social reality.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has discussed some aspects of the glocalization of ‘Eastern spiritualities’ in Cuba, taking the cases of Reiki and Soka Gakkai. Part of the global spread of Asian religions, these new religious options are introducing new influences into the national sacred landscape. Whereas this phenomenon could presumably be taken as evidence of the “Easternization of the West”, we should not understand it as a one-way process. Certainly, this questions the view of the hegemony of Westernization/Americanization, but it still may stress

the idea of globalization as homogenization, thereby neglecting the symmetrical interactions involved in glocalization.

While acknowledging that these global flows bring unprecedented changes into the local religious field, our discussion shows that far from occurring in a unidirectional relation, these (globalized) Asian religious elements take new forms and functions among Cuban adherents. Symmetrical interactions are evident in hybridizations with the local religious culture and with new meanings attached to these spiritualities that allow for interpretations of social reality and the creation of new glocal identities. Future studies should focus on identifying and discussing other types of glocal forms and functions.

The glocalization perspective is especially necessary to understand social contexts like Latin America (and elsewhere) where cultural mixing is largely normative and where Asian religions have also been introduced recently. Here, the cultural imperialism thesis fails to properly address both the local configurations of global influences and the contributions of local cultures to globalization. On the other hand, local anthropologies need to acknowledge the limits of traditional theoretical notions which used to make sense of long-term intercultural contact in colonial contexts, but do not appear to do so well in the contemporary phase of accelerated globalization.

To argue that 'Eastern spiritualities' become 'Cubanized' or take distinctive local features would require carrying out transnational comparative studies, since features that are deemed to be local can only appear evident when contrasted with other settings. Here, the glocalization perspective is useful not simply because it acknowledges that foreign resources acquire a local flavor, but also because it equally takes into account that these resources emerge through interactions in the global field.

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Chapter 8

Thai Diaspora Studies: Future Directions*

Ratana Tosakul

Introduction

My paper reviews and analyzes approaches in diaspora studies of contemporary Thai anthropology beginning in the 1990s. The paper discusses the historical development of conceptual approaches and issues raised in Thai diaspora studies. Ethnographies that are done by Thai anthropologists and other Thai scholars who have employed anthropological ethnographic research methodology will be examined.

The content of the paper is divided into three main parts. I shall first clarify briefly diaspora definition and key conceptualizations to understand western theoretical models that have influenced contemporary Thai diaspora studies. I shall, then, consider relevant ethnographic accounts. Due to time and space limitation, I am not able to do a systematic literary survey to cover all relevant ethnographies. Rather, I shall select some sample cases for interpretation and analysis. I shall outline the development of ethnographic accounts pertaining to Thai diaspora studies with reference to theoretical approaches / perspectives brought to the field by the anthropologist, and to the different issues/aspects of diaspora studies that have been given ethnographic attention. Finally, I shall outline what I think should be the future of Thai diaspora studies.

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1. Sketching the Historicity of Diaspora Conceptualizations: From Global to Local

As many contemporary Thai anthropologists received their higher education in anthropology overseas, notably in the USA, UK, and Australia, they have been informed by western theoretical models of anthropology to explain contemporary cultural phenomena. Diaspora is one of those contemporary cultural phenomena. In the following, I shall outline a brief historical connection of western theoretical models that have influenced Thai diaspora studies reflected in many ethnographic accounts conducted by Thai anthropologists.

Paul Gilroy (1994) and Robin Cohen (2008) have clarified the western models of the anthropology of global diaspora and its development historically. Diaspora is a Greek word, meaning dispersion. In other words, diaspora refers to the dispersion or spread of any people from their original homeland, such as the diaspora of boat people from Asia, Jews living outside Israel, African diaspora to the New World, Chinese diaspora to Asia and elsewhere in the world, and the like. The term was initially used to describe Jewish, Greek and Armenian dispersions of which some scholars referred to as ‘classic’ diaspora (Gilroy 1994:207). Diaspora is generally used to describe the movement of peoples often unwillingly from a center or a homeland to multiple places, and the establishment of post-migration communities and identities based on histories and consequences of dispersal in relation to homeland and host societies.

Gilroy (1994) also notes that diaspora has obtained popularity as both conceptual and analytical tool to explain various practices of global movement and post-migration community and identities formation. The use of diaspora emerged in the second half of the 20th century both in conjunction with and as an alternative to other terms expressing global shifts in movement and identity construction, sharing meaning with contemporary broader terms such as transnationalism and globalization. Gilroy (1994) and Cohen (2008) further note that diaspora entered anthropological scholarship through the early ethnographic and theoretical work on the communities of African descent in the New World and has ever since attained new epistemological and political significance. The term has been deployed within anthropology to cover a wide range of collectivities and experiences, representing multiple forms of movements and dislocations, and countless forms of cultural difference, heterogeneity and hybridity.

Welz (2004) argues that much of recent anthropological knowledge is concerned with the concepts of cultural hybridity, syncretism, and cultural

politics, owing largely to this early African diaspora anthropology scholarship. Diaspora provides a sharp critique to conventional perspectives in anthropology of culture emphasizing that culture relates to territory of a cultural grouping. As a consequence, whole new ethnographic accounts have been formulated by conceptualizations of diaspora. Although those conceptualizations have been used in a variety of ways and also received diverse critiques, diaspora studies continue to be denoted by customary theoretical concerns of dynamic relations of homeland to diaspora; the relationship of the nation-state to diaspora; and the contemporary forms (often unwillingly) of movement, marking a sign of politics of global movement – particularly of exiles, refugees and immigrants.

Similar to the global trend, the term diaspora has been adopted by professionally trained Thai anthropologists approximately since the late 1990s. Occasionally, diaspora has been used as a shared meaning with broader terms including globalization and transnationalism. During the past decade, cultural processes generally understood as globalization became the focal point in cultural anthropology of Thailand. Diaspora, mobility, migration/ transmigration, rural-urban relations or all types and processes of transnationalism as well as the global diffusion of scientific knowledge, technologies, image media, political ideas and practices, flows of commodities and financial transactions are on the contemporary research agenda of anthropology at the global (Welz 2004) as well as at the local level as in the case of Thailand. Within the context of global shifts in the movement of peoples and production, a classical paradigm of cultural and ethnic identities bounded by a village community or a nation-state has come into question. Anthropology's perceived conventional ideas about the ways in which culture relates to specific territory (such as a village or a nation) have been questioned or abandoned.

In agreement with Hannerz (1997), diaspora concept used in this paper also denotes transnational processes, which are referred to as economic, political, or cultural; they can operate at different levels and in a variety of institutional settings, such as countries, cities, neighborhoods, or system of meaning. These processes operate or involve more than one country. In other words, the processes extend or go beyond national boundaries. Transnational study can focus on a range of aspects: among these are flows of ideas and practices, cross-border transactions and flows, the social and cultural constitution of such cross-border dynamics, their localization in specific institutional settings and places, the constitution of meanings and subjectivities in transnational context.

Since the 2000s, many Thai anthropologists, particularly those trained in American cultural anthropology tradition, returned home to teach at various

universities in Thailand. They have been influenced by western models of critical postmodernism, post-structuralism, feminism, cross-border culture, global/local synergy, politics of identity formation and the like. They have redeveloped and redefined the western models with local knowledge, perspectives and experiences through anthropological field studies.

2. Ethnographies of Thai Diaspora and Transnational Studies

2-1. Tai Studies outside Thailand

Diaspora studies as part of a broader Thai transnational anthropology began with studies of Tai/Thai outside Thailand with significant aims of searching for common cultural roots of Tai/Thai peoples and development of Tai culture and societies in Asia.

Prior to 1990's (approximately from the 1950s to the 1980s), there were some travel accounts by Banchob Bandhumedha¹, an etymologist who went to do her field work with different Tai groups in Asia for her comparative language studies of Tai in different countries. Likewise, Bunchai Srisawadi, a local politician of Chiang Rai province in northern Thailand who had a great interest in studying hill tribes of northern Thailand and Tai outside Thailand conducted his field research with ethnic Tai Lue in northern Thailand and China to understand common cultural roots of Tai/Dai outside Thailand in relation with Thai in Thailand.

In studying Tai outside Thailand, it is obvious that most ethnographic accounts from the 1950s to 1990s have searched for shared common cultural roots of Tai/Thai culture and attempted to find some similarities and differences between cultures of Tai outside Thailand and of Thai in Thailand.

1950s -1980s

Banchob Bandhumedha (1920-1992), was considered to be the pioneering Thai scholar studying language and culture of Tai ethnic groups outside Thailand. Banchob was a trained etymologist at the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, Thailand where she graduated in 1944 with an MA thesis entitled *Pali and Sansakrit in Thai Language* and subsequently Banchob received her PhD from Banaras Hindu University of

1 Professor Dr. Banchob Bandhumedha and Mr. Bunchai Srisawadi do not have educational training in anthropology. Even so, both employed ethnographic field work to collect field data for analyses. Their travel accounts and ethnographies are considered to be pioneering ethnographic records of Tai studies conducted by local Thai scholars, which have inspired many subsequent professionally trained Thai anthropologists to carry out their studies with those Tai groups in Asia in the years to come.

India in 1952 where she conducted a doctoral thesis entitled *Observations on Indo-Siamese Glossary: The Indo-Aryan Element in the Siamese Language, A Linguistic and Cultural Study* under the direction of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, a renowned etymologist of India. He helped Banchob to conduct her field work with Tai Ahom in Assam of India. This laid a significant foundation for her to conduct a comparative study of language spoken by Thai Ahom in Assam of India and by Thai people in Thailand.

Banchob traveled to a faraway land alone to conduct her fieldwork in Assam of India and upper Shan and Kachin States of Myanmar (Suddan Wisudthiluck 2002)², reflecting her pioneering work in transnational anthropology. Banchob was famous for her life-long interest in Mon-Khmer and Tai language studies. From 1955 to 1985, Banchob continually conducted her studies on Tai ethnic languages by making several journeys to collect primary field data from Tai peoples in Assam of India, Kachin, Shan and Mon States of Myanmar, and from various sources in Vietnam, Laos and Yunnan in Southern China. Her interests in language studies also emerged within the context of knowledge construction of the origin of Tai/Thai ethnic group.

Banchob was not only interested in Tai-Thai language, but also Mon-Khmer, Malayu, Chinese, Hindi and Tibetan languages (Suddan Wisudthiluck 2002: 95-96). Although she focused on language studies, different aspects of social life of the Tai ethnic groups found during her travel from place to place in India as well as Shan and Kachin States of Myanmar were collected, some of which were subsequently published. One of her most distinguished travel accounts is *การเดินทางไตในรัฐฉาน (Kaa lee Maan Tai Nai Rat Shan)*. (A Journey with the Tai in Shan State)³ (1983). Although this travel account does not employ any sophisticated modern anthropological theory, it has certainly aid a foundation for contemporary multi-disciplinary orientation for Tai studies by Thai scholars including linguistic anthropology, history, political economy, archaeology and etymology.

In addition to the publication by Banchob, there were two volumes of

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- 2 Suddan Wisudthiluck (2002) wrote a book titled *Chiiwit, Khwaam Kit and Kaan Doenthaang Khong Khun Banchob Bandhmedha (Life, Thinking, and Journey of Professor Dr. Khun Banchob Bandhmedha)* in Thai. So far, this manuscript has provided the most comprehensive reference of Banchob's publications. Other work pertaining to Banchob's journeys with the Tai can be found in Kanya Leelalai's book titled *Prawatsat Chon Chat Tai (The History of Tai)* (2001).
 - 3 This is the most distinctive travel account by Banchob Bandhmedha conducted during 1956 with her journey to the Tai in Shan State of Myanmar. Her account was published as a series during 1958-1959 in the Thai women's magazine titled *Satrisan (สตรีสาร)*. It was later published as a book by the Thai National Identity Commission, Office of the Prime Minister in 1983.

ethnographic accounts of Tai Lue in Sip Song Panna of Mainland China published in 1954 and 1955 by Bunchuai Srisawadi (orig 1954) (2004). He graduated in business at the Commercial College, Si Phya in Bangkok and went to further his study about textile printing at Hamamitsu School in Japan. He was elected to be the MP of Chiangrai province four times. Like Banchob, he did not receive any training in anthropology, but was very much interested in studying life, society and culture of Tai outside Thailand as well as of hill peoples in northern Thailand and elsewhere. He was a gifted and prolific writer⁴. He wrote numerous ethnographic accounts. For example, the 3rd edition of his two-volume ethnographic account entitled *Tai Xishuangbanna* (ไทสิบสองปันนา) was reprinted in 2004 by Siam Publishing House. In addition to this publication, Bunchuai wrote numerous books of Thai/Tai in Myanmar and Thai/Tai in China.

Both Banchob and Bunchuai's travel and ethnographic accounts contain a strong sentiment of pan-Tai/Thaism which received high social recognition from the then Thai government administration led by General Plaek Phibunsongkram, the Thai army commander in chief, General Thanom Kittikachon as well as Phya Anumarn Rajadhon, the kuru Thai traditional culture. Moreover, in 1966, Bunchuai received an award from His Majesty King Bhumiphol for best writing of hill peoples in Thailand. Nonetheless, in 2011, his analysis of the Akha sexuality in a northern province of Thailand was fiercely criticized by the Akha Society in Thailand as misrepresentation and misinterpretation⁵; thereby creating an alleged image of uncivilized Akha hill

4 A list of his well-known publications in Thailand is shown in the following:

1. 30 Ethnic Groups in Chiangrai Province (30 ชาติในเชียงราย),
2. Tai in Xishuangbanna (ไทสิบสองปันนา)
3. The Royal Kingdom of Laos (ราชอาณาจักรลาว)
4. Hilltribes in Thailand [ชาวเขาในไทย (ได้รับรางวัลจากสหประชาชาติ)] (received an award from the United Nations)

5 Source:www.oknation.net (accessed on April 19, 2014).

The following is a Thai excerpt published on www.oknation.net, dated on March 13, 2011. The story was summarized into English by the author as follows. On January 21, 2011, the Akha Society of Thailand in collaboration with the Museum of the Mekong Civilization affiliated with Mae Fa Luang University in Chiang Rai, a northern province of Thailand held a dialogue to de-construct the myth held about Akha hill people as having sexual promiscuity through a popular folk song entitled 'Mida' sung by Charan Manopetch who once mentioned that he was informed by Bunchuai Srisawadi's ethnographic account.

people who have loose and immoral sexual behaviors.

1990s

Studies of Tai/Dai culture continued thriving during the 1990s by trained Thai anthropologists and historians. Their studies were primarily focused on Tai/Thai outside Thailand. Three major research projects of Tai studies were carried out between the late 1980s and the 1990s by Shalardchai Ramitanondh (Chiangmai University), Chattip Nartsupha (Chulalongkorn University) and Sumitr Pitiphat (Thammasat University).

Sharardchai headed a long-term (from 1986 to 1992) anthropological research project entitled “*Cross-Countries Comparative Studies on Societies and Cultures of the Tai-Speaking Peoples in Northern Thailand, the Shan in Burma, and Assam in India,*” which resulted in a voluminous publication entitled *Tai* (1998) of which 500 copies were printed. The project was designed, conceived and initiated in the early 1980 by anthropologist and feminist scholars from Chiangmai University including Shalardchai Ramitanondh, Anan Ganjanapan and Virada Somsavadi. They all were once graduate students at Cornell University. The project was a joint effort of cross-country anthropological research with scholars from Thailand and academic fellows from the three countries (Thailand, Burma and India) under study who had interests in Tai studies. The project attempted to discover a common culture of Tai/Thai peoples in relation to Thai culture in Thailand. In other words, it aimed at producing a cross-country comparative study on the culture and societies of Tai-speaking peoples in northern Thailand, Shan state of Burma and Assam state of India (Shalardchai et al 1998:4). In addition, it aimed to understand processes of adaptation by diverse Tai ethnic groups for peaceful co-existence with other ethnic groups for centuries. Hopefully, this would help to identify a significant alternative to deal with ethnic conflicts in the Southeast Asia region. The project has discovered the core of Tai culture as peasant-based societies with Buddhist and animistic beliefs and therefore inherently anti-states. Paradoxically, instead of finding common cultural roots of Tai and Thainess, the project’s main contribution was to undermine the idealist Thainess and Thai nationalism through cultural and linguistic diversity of different Tai groups in Asia.

Tai studies continued to flourish at Thammasat University, especially from 1993 to 1999 under the leadership of Professor Sumitr Pitiphat who by then was the Dean of the Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasat University (1988-1991) and the Director of the Institute of Thai Studies at Thammasat University (1993-1999). Sumitr received his BA in mathematics from Ohio

State University in 1961. Subsequently, he became interested in social science and therefore continued his higher education at Michigan State University and studied cultural anthropology a short while at Harvard University.

While Sumitr was the Director at the institute of Thai Studies, he showed his great interest in Tai studies outside Thailand⁶. Sumitr was very interested in the origin and social/cultural evolution of ethnic Tai outside Thailand in relation to Thai peoples in Thailand. Through his long-term research project, he brought together graduate students, researchers and faculty members to do anthropological field work in Laos, Vietnam, China and India. Sumitr put a high priority on constructing social reality through anthropological field data collection analysis and theorization. He noted that conducting field work helped anthropologists update with social facts and reality of the society under study. Most accounts produced by the project during this period can be classified as a general surveys of Tai peoples outside Thailand. They have reflected the nature of essentialism of Tai ethnicity, narrating a set of cultural attributes that are essential to form Tai ethnic identity.

In 1995, a research project entitled *Social and Cultural History of Tai Peoples* led by Professor Dr. Chattip Nartsupha, a renowned political economist and a former Dean of Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University. He graduated in economics from Tuft University in the States. He has been a major patron of the community culture concept and believed it to be a foundation for social development of modern Thai society. The project aimed to assist in discovering common roots of Tai/Thai culture and in documenting diverse cultural histories of Tai peoples in Asia. The project was a multi-disciplinary orientation including history, anthropology, history, linguistics, archaeology, and economics. The project published numerous papers as a consequence of various studies of the project.

One of the most fascinating ethnographic records produced in the project is *Lak Chaang* by Yos Santasombat (2000). Yos is a renowned Thai anthropologist, currently affiliated with Chiangmai University. He conducted his field work with the Tai/Dai ethnic group in Daikong, located in rural southwestern China between 1997 and 1998. He also spent another two-year

6 Pertaining to Tai studies by Sumitr Pitiphat and his research associates, please check relevant abstracts of their projects from the Thai Khadi Research database at <http://tkri.tu.ac.th/>. Also, one can find another useful source of reference relating to studies conducted by Sumitr Pitiphat, et al at Princess Maha Chakkri Sirindhorn Anthropology Center <www.sac.or.th> , which I accessed on April 24, 2014 I found within a detailed list of Sumitr Pitiphat's publications pertinent to Tai ethnicity, community studies, and archaeology.

term doing library and archival research as well as writing the ethnography. Finally, the Thai version of the ethnography appeared in 2000. The English version entitled *Lak Chaang: a Reconstruction of Tai Identity in Daikong* was published subsequently under the Thai-Yunnan Project of Australian National University in 2001.

In my opinion, *the Lak Chaang* ethnographic record has contributed greatly to understanding of the dynamics of social change via interface of the Chinese state (after the country's revolution) and the Tai ethnic minority at the village level in the rural countryside of China. Yos has noted dynamic processes of ethnic Tai identity construction under the political and economic structural constraints of the Chinese society. Despite this, those ethnic Tai minorities attempted to find a niche where they could negotiate and defend their interests. These processes are rather fluid and flexible. Chattip Nartsupha (2000) regards this record as the first ethnography of Tai outside Thailand conducted by a Thai anthropologist. According to Walker (2001: ix), this ethnographic record provides "a significant intersection between 'local' and 'academic' imaginings in the construction and reconstruction of ethnic identity in the Tai- and Thai-worlds".

Those ethnographic materials of Tai studies from 1950s to 1990s have been criticized as primarily reflecting a nostalgia of Tai/Thai-ness from a distant past in a geographical distance. It also somehow reflects a sentiment of Pan-Tai/Thaism (Charnvit Kasetsiri 1999, Nidhi Eawsiwong in Kanya Leelalai 2001: 18-26). Nonetheless, recent studies of linguistics and culture of Tai groups by Thai anthropologists during the 2000s have departed drastically from the idea of positivism and essentialism of interpreting Tai cultures, societies, and histories.

2-2. New Agenda for Studying Tai/Thai outside Thailand: 2000s Onwards

Since the 2000s, Tai studies by Thai anthropologists tend to discard the nostalgic sentiment and chauvinism of Tai/Thainess. Newer studies of transnational anthropology by Thai scholars tend to include non-Tai ethnic groups Prasert Raengla (2013) did his anthropological field work with the Karen peoples along the Thai-Burma Borders and inside Burma. Ratana Boonmathya (2002) conducted her field work with the Kachin in Myanmar between 2000 and 2001, whereas Silapakit Tikantikul did his field work about the water puppet performing arts with Vietnamese in 2002. Likewise, many new research agendas are on the rise to capture cultural phenomena of peoples whose lives are in transition in the globalized contexts, such as cross-border/border studies, glocalization, cosmopolitanism, transnationalism, transmigration and contemporary forms of movement -- diaspora, displacement and dislocation

ranging from travel to political exile.

Many Thai anthropologists began to ponder various questions relating to diaspora studies. For instance, what do we mean by diaspora? How does it connect with ideas of nationalism and transnationalism? In thinking through the category of diaspora and its link to geopolitical entities such as nation-states, how would we understand the concept of nationhood and national identity via diasporic people and communities?

Since the 1990s, anthropology at Thammasat University and Chiangmai Universities has contributed significantly to diaspora and transnational studies with the use of modern anthropological approaches. As already mentioned earlier, at Thammasat University, the Tai studies project led by Sumitr Pitiphat has contributed a great deal to preparing and re-orienting young graduate students in anthropology for conducting transnational studies in Southeast Asia in the years to come. For example, Pichet Saiphan, currently a faculty member affiliated with the Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasat University. Pichet received his PhD in cultural anthropology from the University of Social Sciences & Humanities, Hanoi (Vietnam National University). While he was a graduate student in anthropology at Thammasat University, he became a research assistant to Sumitr's Tai studies project, which drew him to conduct various studies with Tai ethnic groups in Vietnam. Pichet has been influenced by approaches of ethnic studies/ ethnicity as originated in the western world. In one of his writings about trans-ethnic identities in northwestern Vietnam (2004), he has adopted a concept of transnational movements proposed by Stanley Tambiah⁷. This paper reminds me of Leach's *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure* (1967), which he narrates about the dynamic relationship and flexible ethnicity of the Kachin and Shan population in upper Burma, respectively highland and valley-based rice cultivators. Leach argues against Radcliff-Brown's static social structure model influenced by Durkheimian tradition.

Likewise, Samerchai Poolsuwan, a faculty member at Thammasat University participated in the studies of Tai culture in China and Myanmar led by Sumitr Pitiphat during the 1990s and 2000s. Samerchai completed his first degree in natural science majoring in agriculture from Kasetsart University in Bangkok, Thailand. He subsequently pursued his higher education at the University of Michigan where he obtained his M.A. and PhD in physical

7 Tambiah, Stanley J. "Transnational Movements, Diaspora and Multiple Modernities," *DAEDALUS*, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences vol. 129, no. 1 (2000): 163-194.

anthropology. He has published numerous studies, reflecting his research interests in transnational anthropology in the following areas: Tai studies in China and Myanmar and comparative symbolic interpretations of Buddhist mural paintings at different Buddhist temples in Thailand and in Bagan of Myanmar. One of his publications entitled *Symbols in Thai Fine Arts from 19 to 24 B.E.* (Samerchai 1996) received the Toyota Thailand Foundation, TIF award in 1995.

For Tai studies, Samerchai has produced numerous ethnographic texts of which the publication entitled *Sciences and Truth in Thai Culture* (2001)⁸ highlights his analysis of how we come to a conclusion in cultural studies. Thinking along the line of binary opposition between scientific methods and cultural interpretations does not create any deep understanding of a particular cultural phenomenon. Rather they can be combined nicely to make sense of contemporary cultural phenomena.

By the 2000s, many new Thai anthropologists completed their higher education overseas, notably from various famous universities in the USA, UK and Australia. The majority returned home to teach at various universities and colleges in Thailand. I regard this group of Thai anthropologists as new waves in modern cultural anthropology of Thailand. The majority are affiliated with Thammasat and Chiang Mai Universities. Among them is Yukti Mukdawijitra, graduated from Wisconsin-Madison University in 2007, currently a linguistic anthropologist at Thammasat University. He has a great interest in linguistic anthropology, ethnicity of Southeast Asia and critical postmodernism. He has produced numerous essays both in Thai and English adopting critical theories for analysis and theorization. I have relied on two of his numerous essays

8 In this book, Samerchai has responded to a query -- where did the ancestors of Thai (in Thailand) come from? Based on the comparative genetic examination, he argues that the ancestors of Thai today were natives of Southeast Asia and they were not moved southward by Mongols or Chinese expansion as proposed by the earlier theoretical assumption. In contrast, the genetic examination confirms that those Thai ancestors were found to have been genetically related with the Mon-Khmer group of the Southeast Asian region rather than with those Tai groups scattered all over in the southern and southwestern parts of mainland China (2001:9-10). Nonetheless, there is another related important question. How was it possible and why was Tai language diffused widely among Tai ethnic groups from China to Southeast Asia, especially after the mid-13th century? His response is that following the fall of the Khmer empire by the mid 13th century, many small Tai kingdoms became independent and were able to spread common Tai language based on Mon-Khmer language with diverse Tai groups from China to Southeast Asia (2001: 12). Also, his research with the Tai in Yunnan of China confirms that the origin of linguistics and culture is believed to begin in Central and South of mainland China and then moved south to Southeast Asia.

pertaining to transnationalism. The first essay is entitled “Language Ideologies of Ethnic Orthography in a Multilingual State: The Case of Ethnic Thai Orthographies in Vietnam” (2011). The essay provides a critical analysis of a common view of language homogenization for nation state building. Yukti has noted that multilingualism is essential for the state formation (as demonstrated in the case of Vietnam). The essay analyzes the constant politics of different Thai (Tai- the author) dialects and orthographies. Such political contradiction presents a dilemma for the Vietnamese state regarding ethnic policies. On the one hand, the Vietnamese state aims to promote traditional ethnic cultural and linguistic diversity; on the other hand, the state supports cultural unification, (2011:92-93).

The second essay is entitled “Contesting Imagined Communities: Politics of Script and Tai Cosmopolitanism in Upland Vietnam” (2012). This essays “seeks to understand how the Vietnamese state and its Tai minority negotiate policies toward writing systems” (2012: 207). The essay contends that the politics of Tai script can be an exemplar of cosmopolitanism. Yukti argues that “in the processual politics of orthography and spatio-political formation, the case of the Tai in Vietnam demonstrates that the hinterland of Southeast Asia is also an area where cosmopolitanism plays a significant role” (2012:207).

Both essays have demonstrated how Yukti has adopted the critical approach of western models for field data analysis and theorization. In the first essay, he analyzes the politics of multilingualism in the process of nation-state building, which contains a dilemma in terms of ethnic policies. He has deconstructed the standard notion of linguistic homogenization as being necessary for nation formation. In the second essay, Yukti has adopted the concept of cosmopolitanism to understand the proto-imagined community among diverse groups of Tai in the hinterland of Southeast Asia based on his field data and archival research.

Another example is drawn from ethnographic accounts by Wasan Panyagaew during the 2000s. He is currently a sociocultural anthropologist at Chiang Mai University. He received his MA in sociology from Thammasat University in 1998. Then, received his PhD in anthropology at The Australian National University in 2006 with an award for his doctoral thesis entitled “Moving Dai: An Anthropology of People’s Living in Place in the Borderlands of the Upper Mekong.”⁹ He has adopted the cross-border culture approach to

9 Wasan Panyagaew’s Ph.D. Thesis won Best Thesis 2006, Australian Anthropological Association and The 2007 Asian Studies Association of Australia Presidents’ Prize” 2006 – 2007. Since 2005, he has

examine the transnational migration and movements of Dai/Tai, especially of Tai Lue peoples in the upper Mekong including Lampun of northern Thailand, Muang Yong in Shan State of Burma and Xishuangbanna, Yunnan Province in the People's Republic of China. He has published numerous books and journals pertaining cross-border cultural phenomena of Dai/Tai peoples and communities in contemporary sociocultural, political and economic contexts.

The trend for Tai/Thai studies has drastically departed from earlier research topics in the 1990s and beyond. Newer studies are very much engaged with more postmodern conditions of the changing world and shifting cultures in the context of globalization where peoples increasingly encounter dynamism, fluidity and blurred genres of social and political life in their everyday interactions and practices.

3. Diaspora/ Transnationalism /Migration / Transmigration/ Cross-Border Studies

Since the 1970s, Thai society has witnessed a huge movement of dislocated/ displaced peoples locally and internationally. In Thailand, we have observed migration/ transmigration of poor villagers from rural to urban cosmopolitan areas, particularly the Bangkok metropolis, and overseas to seek better employment locally and internationally as well as to become modern via experiencing urban lifestyle (Mills 1997). Also, between the 1950s and 1970s when the Indochinese war in Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia was intense, especially during the 1970s, many refugees from neighboring countries flocked over the Thai national border and sought refuge in several refugee camps along the Thailand-Laos-Cambodia borders. In responses to phenomena pertaining to dislocated peoples locally and internationally, two significant academic institutions affiliated with universities in Thailand were established to conduct research¹⁰.

published numerous books and articles. Please see a list of some of his publication in the reference at the end of the paper.

10 Asian institution (IAS) at Chulalongkorn University was established initially under the Faculty of Political Science in 1967 and the Institute for Population Studies and Social Research at Mahidol University was established in 1971. These two institutes have produced numerous surveys and reports of internal migration of rural to urban areas locally and internationally and studies of foreign migrants and refugees in Thai society. Most studies have been influenced by sociological and demographic approaches with predominant statistical analyses. Surprisingly, there are almost no ethnographic accounts of migrant peoples produced by these two institutes. Issues pertinent to migration/ transmigration and all forms of movement from travel to exiles, and relevant social policies have

Over the past decade, Chiang Mai and Thammasat Universities have been quite prominent in promoting transnational studies. At Chiang Mai University, the Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD) was established in 1998 at the Faculty of Social Sciences, Chiang Mai University. Dr. Chayan Vaddanabhuti has been a key figure for mobilizing RCSD. The establishment of RCSD was in response to the need for the integration of natural and social sciences to gain better understanding of sustainable development issues in mainland Southeast Asia. RCSD has launched both degree and non-degree programs for graduate students from Asia. Mekong turbulences from tremendous political, economic, social and cultural changes over the past years have become a new challenge for RCSD to look at the region in more dynamic and multiple perspectives. At the Faculty of Social Science, there are many leading anthropologists who have produce ethnographies pertinent to contemporary transnational anthropology of Thailand, namely Yos Santasombat, Anan Ganjanapan, Pinkaew Luangaramsri and Wasan Panyagaew. Also, many MA theses and PhD dissertations conducted by graduate students in anthropology at Chiang Mai University are organized around issues pertaining to diaspora and transnational studies.

At Thammasat University, a large number of current faculty members in anthropology and sociology have conducted their fieldwork outside Thailand, primarily in Southeast and East Asia (with the exception of Saipin Suputthamongkol (2007) who conducted her field work in southern Italy). Their studies have covered a wide range of contemporary research agenda, such as marriage migration (Ratana Boonmathya 2005, Panitee Suksomboon 2008, 2009 and Chantanee Charoensri 2014), Mekong cross-border cultures (Ratana Tosakul 2010, Pichet Saiphan and Khampheng Thipmountaly 2011), Thai diaspora in Japan (Ratana Tosakul 2013), displacing Karen refugees (Prasert Raengkla 2013), Tai cosmopolitanism (Yukti Mukdawijitra 2012), and the like. Their theoretical approaches have been influenced by postmodernist thinking in combination with others including class-based concepts, gender studies, cross-border marriages, village cosmopolitanism, ethnic studies, Thai diaspora identity construction and the role of religious institutions in relation to migration.

Likewise, two research centers were established in northeastern Thailand to do cross-border cultural studies of peoples in the Mekong countries. One is the Center for Research on Plurality in the Mekong (CERP), established in

2003 and affiliated with Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences, Khon Kaen University. The Center has issued the *Journal of Mekong Societies* which has published various contemporary ethnographies of scholars who are interested in cultural pluralism in the Mekong countries. Exemplars can be inferred from ethnographic accounts of transnational marriages of *Isan* (the northeast of Thailand) women and Western men by Patcharin Lapanun, an anthropologist affiliated with the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Khon Kaen University. Patcharin completed her doctoral studies at Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam in 2013. She wrote the PhD dissertation entitled “Logics of Desire and Transnational Marriage Practices in a Northeastern Thai Village” (2013) under the direction of Professor Oscar Salemink, formerly of the Free University in the Netherlands and now Professor of the Anthropology of Asia at Copenhagen University.

In her dissertation Patcharin seeks to explain how the contemporary cultural phenomenon of transnational marriages between rural women in Isan Thailand and Western (*farang*) men has redefined the character of rural Isan families and communities. In the village in Udorn province of Nadokmai – as she calls the village in which she worked – 159 village women have become *mia farang*, wives for Westerners. While this number is exceptional, *mia farang* are found throughout rural Isan. Her dissertation combines detailed ethnography based on fieldwork in Nadokmai, with theoretical and methodological insights derived from a wide reading of relevant works on globalization, migration, cross-cultural marriages, and gender.

While Isan women always have had considerable freedom in deciding whom to marry, once a marriage has been contracted, Isan women accept they owe a debt of gratitude (*bunkhun*) to their parents. Because of the value attached to *bunkhun*, even (as is the usual case) when *mia farang* live with their husbands in their home (mainly European) countries, most maintain close relations with their parents through remittances and regular visits. The large number of *mia farang* in Isan villages, like the rural Isan men who work abroad in large numbers, have transformed rural life in northeastern Thailand. As Patcharin herself concludes that marriages serve as a channel for women’s natal families and rural residents to interact with global processes. Similar to Keyes (2010), Patcharin notes the contemporary prominent characteristics of ‘cosmopolitan villagers’ of northeastern Thailand.

There are two additional articles by Patcharin that I have reviewed in this survey. One is titled “It’s Not Just About Money: Transnational Marriages of Isan Women” (Patcharin 2012). In this paper, she de-constructs the classical

binary opposition notion between romantic love and material incentives. She notes that the ‘logics of desire’ compelling two people to get married comprise a complex set of multiple motivations that cannot be attributed to either material incentives or emotional ties. Rather, the motivations combine in numerous manners and influence ways in which marriage choices are made (2012:3). In another article, Patcharin (2014) considers *mia farang* as constituting a distinct social category. It is a ‘class’ of its own, and it affects villagers, especially those in the privileged positions of the existing hierarchy. Patcharin has employed Bourdieu’s notion of class distinction to make sense of *mia farang* as a distinct social category in the village. She notes how tastes and consumption habits of *mia farang* under study are mutually convertible to a cultural and symbolic marker for class distinction.

In addition, the Mekong Sub-Region Social Research Centre (MSSRC) was established in 2000, affiliated with Faculty of Liberal Arts, Ubon Ratchathani University. MSSRC has supported studies and seminars pertaining to contemporary changing sociocultural phenomena in the Mekong region. An example of ethnographic accounts can be drawn from the work of Suchada Thaweessit, a sociocultural anthropologist, graduated from the University of Washington, Seattle. She was also the former Dean of Faculty of Liberal Arts and former Director of MSSRC. She is currently affiliated with Institute for Population and Social Science Research, Mahidol University.

A paper entitled “Integration of Contemporary Displaced Laotians in Northeastern Thailand” (2013) by Suchada notes how policies and practices of inclusion and exclusion of the Thai state towards ethnic minorities along the Thailand-Lao border have impacted their lives. In particular, the paper focuses on the situation of displaced Laotians and their children living in the Northeast of Thailand along the Thailand and Lao borders. This particular group of Laotians is classified as one among many groups of immigrants and minorities who are having personal legal status problems. Although this Laotian group has lived in Thailand continuously for over the past thirty years, they have not been granted Thai nationality. Many of them also lack any proof or documents to establish their nationality with the Lao state. This problematic legal status puts them at risk of living in a cycle of poverty and being discriminated by others. The lack of recognition of nationality by both Lao and Thai states has limited their rights to legal employment, education, and other state welfare.

Both CERP and MSSRC centers have supported anthropological research projects, publications, seminars and conferences, particularly those done by regional scholars of the Mekong countries. In addition, the inception of the

Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Center (SAC)¹¹ was become the hallmark of Thai anthropology to the public, locally and internationally, especially during the leadership of Dr. Paritta Chaloeppaw Koanantakool as the director from to 2002 from 2010.

By contrast, diaspora studies by Thai anthropologists who reside and work overseas are quite minimal. Pattana Kitiarsa, the late Thai anthropologist affiliated with The National University of Singapore (NUS), who passed away in an untimely manner in January 2013, was one of them. He was a prolific writer. He published numerous fascinating ethnographic accounts of rural village migrants from northeastern Thailand to Singapore and of many other contemporary issues of Thailand in the context of Southeast Asia. Pattana received his PhD in sociocultural anthropology at the University of Washington, Seattle in 1999.

One of his numerous ethnographic writings entitled “Village Transnationalism: Transborder Identities among Thai-Isan Migrant Workers in Singapore” (2006) was subsequently modified, developed and expanded into a book entitled *The ‘Bare Life’ of Thai Migrants in Singapore* published in 2014. In this ethnographic account, he has employed the concept of local/global synergy to understand the dynamism of social life and identity construction of village male migrants from northeastern Thailand in Singapore. Pattana notes that transnational labor migration often starts with the desire to acquire a more safe and prosperous future, a chance to survive. The temptation of “global cities” as a place to attain that desire looms large within the context of rural-urban migration flows. His book reveals some of the complex phenomena and processes that strip bare the lives and desires of migrant workers living abroad, whose life experiences are overwhelmingly dominated by stress and suffering and diminished gendered roles. The book also elucidates the intimate aspects of how Thai male migrants have transcended their harsh reality while living under Singapore’s strict regulations governing foreign workers. Stripped bare of the powerful sociocultural, economic, and legal processes that govern their

11 SAC was established in 1992 to be a public academic institution focused on systematic gathering, processing and servicing of anthropological data scattered throughout the country. It was first initiated by Silapakorn University in 1989 and subsequently became an autonomous institution in 2000. SAC plays a significant role in to promoting the work of anthropology, archaeology, history, linguistics, local museum management as well as in managing archival databases & libraries. One of its contributions to transnational anthropology is to financially support the anthropological research project “Mekong Ethnography of Cross-Border Cultures” headed by the author. This is a collaborative anthropological research project with scholars from Thailand and the Mekong countries.

existence at home, these men must revise their gendered selfhoods, identities, and sensibilities.

Using personal and interpretive ethnography, the book explores how popular music, sports, religious beliefs, cultural traditions, sexual desire, and intimacy are refashioned by appropriating cultural and symbolic capital into new cultural experiences. It also provides an extensive look at the sudden unexplained nocturnal death syndrome (SUNDS) among young healthy Thai construction workers in Singapore. The author's in-depth analyses of migrant social life and male migrant gendered identity negotiating processes provide an invaluable contribution to our understanding of labor transnationalism in the Southeast Asian context.

4. Summary of Contributions

To summarize, modern anthropology of Thai diaspora and transnational studies conducted by professionally trained Thai anthropologists began approximately between the late 1990s and the early 2000s. Prior to that period, some Thai scholars were preoccupied with Tai or Dai/Thai studies outside Thailand with a perspective of searching for common cultural roots of Tai/Thainess. Although anthropology in the West, since its inception, has a historical orientation toward studying others, especially non-European societies, most Thai anthropologists have an inclination to study their own people at home. Even when they study a society outside Thailand, they tend to focus on the Tai/Thai ethnic group residing in various countries of Asia.

During the 1950s-1990s, perspectives of ethnic studies with an essentialist view were employed to collect field data and theorization. Thai scholars during the specified period tend to look at cultural attributes as fixed and passed on from one generation to the next. Tai studies outside Thailand gained popularity during the period from the 1950s to the 1990s among Thai anthropologists, linguists and historians in a search for ways to interpret the past of Tai/Thai peoples. Those projects were highly recognized by formal institutions in Thailand. During the 1990s, most Thai studies projects received financial support from major government institutions including Thai Khadi Studies of Thammasat University and Thailand Research Fund.

By the 2000s, newer diaspora and transnational studies have proliferated. There are diverse contemporary issues reflecting various forms of contemporary movement and dislocation ranging from travel to involuntarily mobility – exiles, refugees and immigrants. Among these, social, cultural and political aspects of marriage migration of Thai women relocating to reside with their husbands overseas have gained high popularity, which are observed in various

ethnographies conducted by Ratana Boonmathya (2005), Ratana Tosakul (2010, 2012); Panitee Suksomboon (2009); Chantanee Charoensri (2014), Sirijit Sunanta (2013) and Patcharin Lapanun (2012, 2013). Different social aspects of marriage migrants have been raised including cross-border marriage, dutiful daughters, social remittances, local/global synergy, structure versus agency of the subject, village cosmopolitanism, and the like.

Within this period, studies of Tai and non-Tai groups in Asia have been taken up. For example, Yukti has employed the concept of cosmopolitanism to interpret the proto-imagined community of Tai ethnic groups residing in the hinterland of Southeast Asia. Ratana (2014) has conducted a study of Thai diaspora in Japan, primarily in Tokyo and Ibaraki beginning in 2013. In this study, Ratana has noted that what is transnational is actually embedded in the local. Based on her fieldwork with Thai peoples in Japan, Ratana finds the persistence of local culture, especially pertaining to Buddhist beliefs and practices in the process of post-migration community and identity formation by Thai diasporic subjects in the host society.

Nonetheless, in some ethnographic accounts conducted by Thai scholars, the term diaspora has occasionally been employed to include transnational studies in general without historical and political specificity. It is necessary to interrogate what precipitates the massive movements of people from their homeland to host societies. Those who have advocated a postmodernist approach have an inclination to look at diaspora in a more challenging way as series of differences, multiplicity and fluidity of cartographies of power relations. There is a close connection between nationalism and transnationalism. In thinking through the category of Thai diaspora and its link to historical and political specificity, the role of nation-states is crucial to the formation and constitution the massive movement of rural populations in Thailand to urban zones locally and internationally since the 1970s.

One other significant characteristic of Thailand is that the country is both sending and receiving labor migrants. Among foreign labor migrants from Thailand's neighboring countries (Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar), migrant laborers from Myanmar comprise the largest number, about 10% of the total labor force in Thailand (about 38 millions)¹². Nonetheless, we have limited ethnographies¹³ conducted by young Thai anthropologists and sociologists,

12 Source: from I ASEAN Program, Voice TV on Saturday, May 3, 2014.

13 So far, I have discovered three ethnographies of foreign migrant laborers conducted by Thai scholars. Two Thai anthropologists are Adisorn Kerdmongkol (2011) who conducted an ethnography about lived experiences of Pa-O migrant workers from Myanmar in Bangkok Thailand for his MA thesis

reflecting lived experiences of those labor migrants who flocked to Thailand, which characterizes transnationalism and post-colonialism in the global economy. This topic deserves further attention to provide researchers with an understanding of socio-cultural and political aspects of foreign labor migrants in Thailand.

Newer ethnographies of Thai diaspora have been conducted not only by Thai anthropologists but also by graduate students of anthropology and sociology in various universities of Thailand. By the 2000s, Thai faculties and graduate students alike have increasingly worked on issues pertinent to diaspora and transnational studies of Thailand when compared to the prior decades. Those Thai anthropologists have adopted postmodernism in combination with other western critical social theories for data collection and theorization. They have also redefined and reformulated those western models with their research discoveries of local knowledge, perspectives and practices.

5. Future Directions

By the 2000s, Thai anthropology had developed its diaspora and transnational scholarship to be in line with contemporary global anthropology of transnational studies. As Eric Thompson, in his own words, has noted, “the shifting center of gravity within the anthropology of Southeast Asia from European and American centres toward the region is increasingly perceptible across Southeast Asia” (2012:664). Certainly, I believe the shift remains fragile in many respects. Nevertheless, beginning from the 1960s onward, three to four generations of Thai anthropologists have been trained in modern anthropology and related social science disciplines. Thai anthropologists have been (though by no means exclusively) largely influenced by modern American anthropology tradition. The earliest generation of western-trained anthropologists, such as Suthep Soonthornpesat attended universities in the UK in the 1960s and the

entitled “แรงงานข้ามชาติชาวปะโอจากพม่าในกรุงเทพฯ: ชีวิตข้ามพรมแดนบนพื้นที่ของอำนาจและการต่อรอง,” and Worachet Khiewchan (2011) who did his field work with school students from Myanmar for his M.A. thesis entitled “โรงเรียนชายแดน: ปฏิบัติการของอำนาจอธิปไตยในสภาวะยกเว้น.” Those young students commute cross-border daily to attend school on the Thai territory. In addition, Raya Muttarak (2004), a Thai sociologist, published an article entitled “Domestic Service in Thailand: Reflection of Conflicts in Gender, Class and Ethnicity” (*Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 35, Issue 03). Raya provides an abstract of the published article as follows. The study focuses on paid domestic service employment in Thailand. Problems of unequal income distribution in the country and elsewhere in Southeast Asia provide a supply of domestic workers. Despite being commonly known as an exporter of domestic workers, Thailand is in fact a primary importing country as well. Domestic service is an arena in which gender, class and ethnicity collide.

USA in the 1970s.

Similar to other Southeast Asian anthropologists, Thai anthropologists have sought to develop autonomous /local anthropology (Thompson 2012). Two major forces in the process of transforming studies of Thai diaspora transnational studies in particular and of Thai anthropology as a whole include postmodernism (and its condition) as well as globalization.

Postmodernist theorists, such as Fisher (1986) and Clifford (1986) have noted the crisis of representations in western-modernist ethnographic accounts, as many scholars from the Third World begin to question the validity of such 'representations' based on western perceptions and models of looking at the Third World. They started to disagree with western ethnographic representations of their societies and cultures. Ethnography, thus, is no longer monopolized by western scholars who went to the 'exotic others' to collect field data and write about 'the Others.' In contrast with this epistemology and methodology, many native scholars are learning to study their own societies and cultures in the postmodern world. Postmodernism re-arranges power away from individuals, classes, and state bureaucracies, embedding it in the frame of discourse and knowledge.

In agreement with Scupin (1996), I have noted that a more reciprocal form of data and knowledge exchange is occurring in the emerging postmodern political and economic world. The new globally-trained anthropologists of the previous so-called peripheries in the Third World are transforming speedily to become cultural brokers who redefine the western models of social science by drawing on relevant indigenous knowledge and practices.

Globalization, the second major influence, has provided a critical counterpoint to the conventional concept of culture, which is a core of sociocultural anthropology. One distinctive thesis is to redefine the relationship between culture, power, and place as demonstrated extensively in the book edited by Gupta & Ferguson (1997). The major concern is to raise a question about the way anthropology internationally and locally perceives the world as 'a series of discrete, territorialized cultures' (1997:3). Gupta and Ferguson (1997:3) further note that the idea that culture is naturally a property of a locally specialized people and that the way to study culture is to go 'there' has long been an assumption of common practice of anthropology all over the world. When questioned, this conventional approach in anthropology dissolves into a series of challenges and issues about the contested relations between difference, identity and place.

Welz (2004) further notes that globalization and transnationalism capture cultural processes that go beyond national borders of nation states.

Anthropology is required to review and abandon a culture concept of the homogenizing community/ world and turn to complexity of cultural diversity and politics of identity to capture these cultural processes. New cultural forms grow out of historically situated synergy of the local and the global. Rather than residual vestiges of traditional orders, these are distinctly modern, yet far from homogeneous, representing the pluralization of modernities. Emerging transnational/ diasporic movements and communities certainly have the potential for investigating and conceptualizing a range of new cultural and ethnic identities. Recent key theoretical strands contributed by anthropology relating to newer studies of transnational processes, diaspora and ethnic identities tend to emphasize the dynamic and complex acts of cultural construction involved in the cultural processes, and consequently the necessary multiple, fluid and often over-determined nature of transnational/ diasporic conditions.

In Thai anthropology, postmodernism and its condition, as well as globalization, have contributed to transforming both epistemology and methodology of diaspora transnational studies in particular, and others studies by Thai anthropologists in general. These two major theoretical forces have laid a significant foundation for current and future directions of Thai diaspora and transnational studies.

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