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Minpaku and Anthropology in Practice

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National Museum of Ethnology

I have studied sexuality among an ethnic group called Gusii in western Kenya. It is very important to understand sexual behavior and concepts of sexuality among the Gusii in order to identify obstacles to family planning within their society. I think that we, Japanese anthropologists, should utilize anthropological knowledge and perspectives to solve social problems and to facilitate development aid.

Minpaku is the national center of cultural anthropology in Japan, and one of its major missions is to develop and promote new research fields within anthropology. Although many Japanese anthropologists have carried out field research in various places in the world, on a variety of topics, they have done so primarily for academic purposes, without attempting to apply their research results to solving practical problems. When I was appointed Director-General of Minpaku in April, 2003, my first thought was to help develop applied anthropology or action anthropology in Japan, with Minpaku as a key center.

Currently, four core research projects are under way at Minpaku. These projects are 'Socio-Cultural Plurality', 'History in Anthropological Perspective', 'Cultural Anthropology in Social Practice', and 'New Directions in Human Sciences'. Within 'Cultural Anthropology in Social Practice', two major projects are being carried out: 'Anthropological Studies of Disaster Response and Management' coordinated by Isao Hayashi, and 'A Basic Study for Developing Applied Anthropology in Japan' coordinated by Nobuhiro Kishigami. The following four essays deal with the latter project.

The applied anthropology project is made up of several sub-projects. The first sub-project is to hold a series of annual workshops or symposia on development aid, with development researchers and practitioners invited from Japan, USA, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries. Over the last few years, we have discussed the roles of anthropologists/sociologists in development aid. This year, we examined development aid provided by Norway, and held a workshop on Guatemalan ethnocide. Many professors, researchers, staff of development agencies and NGOs, graduate students, and others participated in these workshops.

A second sub-project consists of joint research organized and carried out by our researchers and

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colleagues. For example, Motoi Suzuki, a visiting professor, is leading a joint research on anthropological evaluation methods for development aid. Kishigami is leading a joint research on the current situation of development aid for indigenous peoples in various parts of the world. He has organized a series of research meetings over the past years, to discuss development in Africa and North America, human rights, and the roles of NGOs in development.

A third sub-project involves field research supported by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B) from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS). The research is being organized by Katsumi Tamura, and includes the examination of basic policies and activities of development agencies in major donor countries, and investigation of development aid in Asia, Africa and America.

In addition to the projects mentioned above, our staff and visiting researchers are engaged in studies of environmental problems in China and Mongolia, and the indigenous use and management of marine resources.

In order to encourage interest in applied anthropology among Japanese academic organizations, we have also started discussing cooperative projects with the Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology and in October, 2006, we co-organized a symposium entitled 'Is Cultural Anthropology Useful to Health/Medical Cooperation?' with the Japanese Society of Tropical Medicine



Woman grinding millet for porridge, Kenya, 2006

and the Japan Association for International Health. In addition, we are holding a series of public lectures about the social use of cultural anthropology in Tokyo and Osaka, and have held forums on regional development in the world in Hiroshima and other cities.

We will present four research projects below to illustrate some of the results from our 'A Basic Study for Developing Applied Anthropology in Japan'. Kishigami introduces an example of research used to support social development and community formation of the Inuit in Montreal. Chihiro Shirakawa describes his work for a medical aid project in Myanmar, and Suzuki discusses the anthropological evaluation of development projects. Finally, Masami Iwasaki-Goodman discusses problems created by dam construction in Hokkaido, in relation to the life of Ainu people and environmental issues.

We have just started anthropology in practice in Japan. I hope that anthropological research and practice will be further developed in this country and that cultural anthropology will be used by Japanese experts in development cooperation to address many social and economic problems in the world.

Participants of the Fourth International Workshop on Development Aid, Minpaku, January 10-11, 2005



Anthropological Research and Inuit Community Development in Montreal, Canada

Nobuhiro Kishigami

National Museum of Ethnology

In the summer of 1996, I began my research on the life of Inuit living in Montreal, Quebec, Canada as part of a project sponsored by the National Museum of Ethnology and the Japan Society for Promotion of Science ('A Study of Indigenous Societies in Cities'). After further research in Montreal during the summer of 1997, copies of the resulting research report were submitted to several Inuit organizations and the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal. The report included suggestions for improving urban Inuit life.

Victor Mesher of the Makivik Corporation (the former Association of Northern Quebec Inuit) and several other Inuit who read the report became concerned about the situation of the urban Inuit and as a result started an arctic-style monthly feast in November, 1999. They also established the Association of Montreal Inuit in March, 2000. Since then, social networks have been gradually forming and expanding among the Inuit of Montreal. During my subsequent research in Montreal, I have helped the activities of the association as both a researcher and a volunteer.

In this essay, I would like to describe my latest research on homeless Inuit in Montreal, to show that anthropological research can help to improve the quality of their lives.

According to the 2001 Census of Canada, the total Inuit population in Canada is approximately 45,000. While the majority live in the Arctic, approximately 8,000 live in southern Canada. In Montreal, several Inuit are working for Inuit and governmental organizations. However, many Inuit in Montreal are dependent on welfare and unemployment insurance, while others are there temporarily for higher education or medical reasons. And finally, there are those who are homeless. While the 2001 Census indicates that there are 435 Inuit in the Montreal area, if patients, students, and homeless Inuit are taken into account, their number would be closer to 800.

When immigration of Inuit into southern Canadian cities increased substantially during the 1980s, the phenomenon did not attract any serious attention from federal or municipal officials. Only social workers at several Native Friendship Centres across Canada noticed the increasing number of Inuit in the cities. However, over the past few years, the rapid increase of homeless Inuit in major cities has begun to be recognized as a social problem by social workers and municipal officials. According to a social worker at the Native Friendship Centre in Montreal, there are at least ninety homeless Inuit in Montreal.

Very little is known about the life of the urban Inuit, especially those who are homeless. During my 2004 research, I was able to contact and interview twelve homeless Inuit in Montreal.

In general, the homeless Inuit spend their time along a main street, in three parks and at the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal, which is located in the downtown area. At night, they tend to stay in parks or shelters. They manage to live in Montreal by combining resources provided by the

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An Inuk cutting mattaq (blubber of the beluga whale), arctic char and caribou meat from Iqaluit, at the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal, August 2004



Native Friendship Centre, charitable organizations and shelters. Their resources include free food and meals, clothing, services, cash from panhandling and/or welfare. They have preferred places for sleeping and panhandling. The majority of homeless Inuit avoid using several of the shelters and charitable organizations because they are discriminated against by non-Inuit workers and homeless persons. The non-Inuit workers and homeless persons often say: "the Inuit smell", "the Inuit are noisy", "the Inuit have fleas and lice", "the Inuit are always begging" or "the Inuit are always drinking".

Many homeless Inuit have been given a chance to obtain an apartment with the assistance of the Native Friendship Centre. However, because almost all of them fail to pay their rent, or are rowdy at their apartment, they are often evicted after only three months. Because they do not participate in education and job training programs, and do not speak French, finding employment is extremely difficult. They generally cannot escape from their situation except by returning to their home village. Also, many of them suffer from serious drug and alcohol problems. It appears that the majority of the homeless Inuit have purposely chosen a homeless lifestyle to enjoy the freedom such a lifestyle offers.

Progress in economic globalization has accelerated population movement in the world. As noted previously, it was in the 1980s that Inuit migration into southern cities became more pronounced, and this immigration continues to increase.

The increasing population of Inuit in urban areas is probably an aspect of the globalizing society of Canada because mobility is significantly correlated with increase in the development of transportation and communication systems in the arctic Canada. While many Inuit successfully adapt to southern cities, the majority do not. Inuit society in the Arctic is being stratified under the influence of a cash economy, but food sharing practices provide an economic leveling

mechanism within each extended-family and across households within each arctic community. Inuit in the cities usually do not have extended-family or community support, so are seldom sharing food. Urban Inuit lack the mutual help systems that typically exist in Arctic Inuit communities. Thus, many homeless Inuit constantly suffer from severe poverty and a lack of food in the cities.

Based on my research in Arctic areas and in Montreal, I have argued that solving food security problems in the city, will require creation of a social community that is able to help individuals personally and economically, exchange information, and maintain Inuit identity. An Inuit community center is therefore needed.

The socio-economic problems in southern Canada are closely connected with those in northern Canada. There are many socio-economic problems in the Arctic area: rapid population growth, shortage of jobs, substance abuse, domestic violence, and sexual violence, among others. So long as these remain unresolved, many Arctic Inuit, especially women, will continue moving into the southern cities from their native villages. As a result, the poverty and homelessness of many Inuit will also continue in the southern cities. Thus, I also argue that a new socio-economic policy is needed to address the southern and Arctic situations of the Inuit at the same time.

After my research in 2004, I again submitted several copies of the research report to the Association of Montreal Inuit and the Inuit Relations Secretariat of Department of the Indian and Northern Affairs, Canada. Representatives of these organizations are now working closely on the development of adequate policies for the urban Inuit, partly on the basis of my research results. In Canada, anthropological research can contribute to not only understanding the current situations of urban Inuit but also the development of policies concerning them. Following John Bennett and from my own experience, I believe that basic research makes good applied research.

A Malaria Control Project and Anthropology in Myanmar

Chihiro Shirakawa

National Museum of Ethnology

Since 2004, I have visited Myanmar three times to work for a malaria control project as a short term expert dispatched by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). The project was part of the JICA Major Infectious Diseases Control (MIDC) Project that aims to control HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis. These infectious diseases were identified as the top three major public health problems by Myanmar's Ministry of Health, and malaria was considered to be the most important one.

Seventy to eighty percent of the estimated total population of 52 million live in areas where malaria transmission occurs. On average, the reported annual malaria cases from 1995 to 2004 were about 632,000 and eighty percent of them were caused by the fatal malaria parasite, *Plasmodium falciparum*. However, the number of actual malaria cases is expected to be much higher, since self-treated cases and those treated by private health clinics and traditional medicine were not included in reports. About 3,000 deaths due to malaria have been reported each year on average. This represents fifty-five to

sixty percent of all reported malaria deaths in all of Southeast Asia, so the malaria situation in Myanmar is clearly the worst in the region.

After several years of preparation, the JICA MIDC Project was officially launched in 2005 for a duration of five years. For the malaria control project, most field activities have been in Oakpho Township in Bago Division, between the country's two main cities, Yangon and Mandalay. Bago Division is topographically divided into two areas, East Bago and West Bago, by the Bago mountain range, or *Bago Yoma* in Burmese. Oakpho is in West Bago, on the western side of *Bago Yoma*.

The mosquito species that transmit malaria in Bago Division are *Anopheles minimus* and *Anopheles dirus*. These two vectors breed in streams and rivers with clean water running through mountain forests. The mountain forest area in Oakpho Township is known have endemic malaria, and malaria transmission is frequent. Because the vectors are nocturnal, people who stay a night in the area are at risk of malaria.

My main activity in Oakpho was

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Bullock-carts carrying bamboo from forest, Oakpho Township, January 2006

conducting anthropological surveys. One of the surveys concerned the forest-related activities of people living in various villages of the township. The village environments can be roughly classified into three types: (i) the *Bago Yoma* forest, (ii) foothill, and (iii) plain.

The forest villages have few paddy fields. Villagers earn their living by cultivating upland cash crops such as cotton, peanut, and sesame, and by collecting firewood and housing materials such as bamboo. Their fields are shifted annually, and when the fields are far away from a village, they build temporary huts near the fields, for during the crop growing period. Since the villages and fields are all located within the area with malaria vectors, the people are considered to be at high risk of malaria.

The foothill villages also have few paddy fields. Villagers frequently visit the forest area to cultivate cash crops, and/or to collect firewood and housing material, to make charcoal, and for logging. While their villages are identified as malaria free, the people spend considerable time in forest and are therefore still at risk of getting malaria.

The plain villages have many paddy fields. Villagers spend most of their time in the villages and near-by paddy fields, cultivating rice and other crops. Nevertheless, some people, mainly adult males, also visit the forest area to collect firewood and housing materials for domestic use. They visit most often during the dry season, when roads are not muddy and bullock-carts or trucks can be used. Their visits last from several days to weeks. They may also take their family if the visits last longer. The villages are located in a malaria-free area, and most villagers face little risk of malaria, but those who visit the forest area are at risk of getting malaria.

Thus, even the inhabitants of malaria-free villages have become a target population for the malaria control project. Before implementing any particular response, aid providers must understand how local people regard malaria and what kinds of malaria prevention are already used.

According to my survey, a considerable number of people own bed nets. The villagers living in the forest

villages and those staying in the forest area for longer periods, for instance several weeks, tend to use or bring their nets. Most of the villagers who bring nets are cash crop cultivators who build temporary huts around their cultivation fields. Bed nets are used inside the huts. However, those staying in the forest area for a shorter period, for instance several days, generally do not bring nets. They are mainly adult males from malaria-free villages and visit the area for firewood and housing material collection. Because they usually live in a malaria-free area, they are less immunized against the disease and have a relatively high risk of getting severe malaria. These temporary visitors are therefore a particularly important target population.

Obviously, no malaria control project can depend only on 'top-down' measures such as mass vaccination and insecticide spraying. A clinically effective malaria vaccine still does not exist. Meanwhile, insecticide spraying operations, especially those using DDT, have declined because of the environmental problems they have caused and the emergence of drug resistant mosquitoes. In the absence of effective 'top-down' measures, it is vital to understand cultural and social aspects of people living with malaria, in order to develop 'bottom-up' approaches. Cultural and social anthropological surveys, such as those I have conducted in Oakpho, may play a crucial role in malaria control projects.

Unfortunately, few international projects implemented by Japanese organizations incorporate anthropological surveys as an essential methodology. In addition, the potential benefits of anthropological surveys in malaria control projects are not fully understood among Japanese officers and experts working for the JICA MIDC Project. Faced with their resistance to such surveys, I came to realize the importance of gaining consent and of changing institutional attitudes towards cultural and social anthropology. Perhaps I should conduct my next survey on this issue, rather than investigating the villagers living with malaria in Myanmar.

How to Improve Project Cycle Management: an Anthropological Approach

Motoi Suzuki

Chiba University

Project Cycle Management (PCM) has become popular in international development institutions; now used by nearly all aid funding agencies. PCM perceives a development project as consisting of a sequence of stages such as needs identification, planning, implementation, evaluation, and drawing lessons. These stages form a cycle that development agencies can perform for consistent operation of a project and gain useful insights from one project to the next. Since its adoption in 1994, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has used PCM for most of its technical cooperation projects, in order to rationalize operations and to ensure accountability to the public.

As PCM becomes a standard tool, it is undergoing academic scrutiny. Earlier criticism was mainly directed to misuses of PCM as a management tool. As agency personnels get accustomed to PCM, the practical problems can be overcome. However, a more difficult challenge is the underutilization of PCM as a learning tool. In principle, lessons are drawn from the project evaluation stage, and the evaluation is based on a logical framework, a core element of PCM. Critical appraisal of the logical framework is indispensable to improve the contribution of PCM to learning.

The logical framework is basically a 4×4 matrix, which helps planners to visualize project components and the relationships between them. The vertical axis, from bottom to top, links different levels of project performance, namely input with output, output with project purpose, and project purpose with overall goal. The horizontal axis, from left to right, shows narrative summary, indicators for evaluation, and ways of establishing indicators, and important assumptions about how the narrative summary at one level can contribute to assessment at a higher level.

Although it is an excellent tool for objective evaluation, the logical framework has a serious shortcoming: It hardly illuminates the processes of

development projects. Although evaluators may learn to what extent a project is successful by examining the indicators, they can not be certain how and why the observed results have attained. The logical framework by itself has little power to extract good lessons from project experience.

I argue that anthropology is useful for overcoming this shortcoming. The core meaning of 'the anthropological' lies in so-called 'holism', a rather abstract concept that needs clarification. The holistic perspective is implicitly a belief in multiple causality, and this enables us to imagine how a change can have a variety of causes. This is crucial especially when anthropologists try to communicate with non-anthropologists, such as development experts in engineering and the managerial staff of development agencies who do not share our academic jargon.

Currently I am engaged in an after-the-fact evaluation of PAPROSOC (an acronym of the Spanish title *Proyecto de Asistencia para Pequeños Productores del Soconusco*), a rural development project that was implemented by JICA from March 2003 to February 2006. The aim of this project was to promote sustainable rural development through participatory methods in the Soconusco region of Chiapas State, Mexico. Over three years, a total of eight Japanese experts and seven Japanese volunteers worked with Mexican counterparts, and workshops and technical assistance were provided to five pilot communities in four municipalities. Interesting features of the project are:

- (i) women's groups were organized for development activities. This is very important since organizing people is a fundamental step to realize participatory development.
- (ii) a 'three layers approach' was used to stimulate development initiatives, i.e., not only rural communities but municipal governments and Chiapas state government were targets of the

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Group discussion with female participants in PAPROSOC at the Municipality of Unión Juárez, the State of Chiapas, Mexico

project, so that the latter two could learn how to deal with local development initiatives. The intention of this approach to change the attitudes of public officials is significant. Such officials are usually accustomed to top-down operations, and need to cultivate a 'putting the last first, and first last' attitude.

(iii) the strategic use of a Japanese concept, *Seikatsu Kaizen* (improvement of living standard) which is especially interesting for Japanese cultural anthropologists, since it was a slogan launched by the Japanese government immediately after the Second World War, in order to modernize rural living conditions in Japan.

Valuable results can be expected from studying how Mexicans, with a different culture and living in a different historical setting, interpret the concept. I am giving close attention to PAPROSOC, because of these three aspects, and because the project attained a certain level of success according to the evaluation reported by JICA.

In August 2006, I visited the sites of PAPROSOC to evaluate the project. I collected documents written by Japanese experts and conducted interviews with Mexican rural development officials. I also organized discussions with women's groups. Later, I checked JICA's evaluation against my own data and found no remarkable discrepancy.

The JICA evaluation offers several lessons for future rural development projects, but, as I expected, it lacks a detailed analysis of how PAPROSOC

achieved its purpose. I have therefore posed three research questions:

(i) What made rural women participate in the project?

(ii) How did Mexican public officials react to PAPROSOC's participatory approach?

(iii) How did Mexicans understand the *Seikatsu Kaizen* concept?

Consistent with the holistic perspective defined above, I am considering a range of possible causal factors, such as personal motivation, community history, the organizational culture of governmental institutions, the transformation of Mexican development policies, and the dynamics of the world system (as expressed in the fluctuation of prices for coffee beans and cacao beans), among others.

At the present stage of investigation, my answers to these questions are all tentative. The initiatives of women benefiting from the project seem to be related to the women's past experience of rural development projects. Women without past experience of development assistance definitely welcomed PAPROSOC. For those who had already received external support, the new project offered the fun of working in a group, and this may have been more important than material benefits of the work. Mexican officials' attitudes to PAPROSOC depend on their individual career experience. Junior officials tend to appreciate the experience of PAPROSOC as an opportunity to build up their professional career, while senior officials have mixed feelings. As for the *Seikatsu Kaizen* concept, most of the Mexican counterparts and beneficiaries remember it simply as 'slow but steady development'. It also means a hope, enabling them to imagine that Mexico might overcome poverty as Japan did with the *Seikatsu Kaizen* movement half a century ago. Although they are enthusiastic about the concept, I did not find anyone giving serious theoretical consideration to its applicability in contemporary Mexico.

In 2007 I will return to Mexico for more in-depth interviews with project beneficiaries. Until then, in order to reconstruct the process of Japanese assistance, I will continue reviewing project documents and will interview Japanese experts who participated in PAPROSOC. I look forward to exchanging views with JICA staff, at anytime, so that we can improve the quality of project evaluation and the performance of PCM.

Dam Construction and its Effects on Ainu Culture

Masami Iwasaki-Goodman

Hokkai Gakuen University

Large-scale development projects affect the lives of socially marginalized people more seriously than other groups. In many cases, they are indigenous people who strive to preserve their cultural traditions while maintaining their livelihoods in the changing modern society. The Ainu people in the Saru River region in Biratori, Hokkaido, have been facing the same fate as other indigenous peoples in the world. After experiencing the impact of the first dam construction on their traditional land, they have recently taken a leading role in assessing the impact that the second dam might have on their culture.

In 1982, the Hokkaido Development Agency of the Government of Japan proposed the 'Saru River Region Improvement Plan' in order to supply water for a planned industrial complex. The industrial complex was not built as it failed to attract enough industries. Later, the purpose of the plan was changed and the concerned government agency stated that it was mainly for flood control. The original River Improvement Plan included construction of two dams, the Nibutani Dam in the Saru River and the Biratori Dam in the Nukabira River, a tributary of the Saru River.

Two Ainu landowners refused to acquiesce to the expropriation of their land for the construction of the Nibutani Dam and initiated legal proceedings in the Sapporo District court in the early 1980s. In 1997, the Court handed down a decision, stating that the government had failed to assess the possible impact of the construction of the Nibutani Dam on the local Ainu culture, and had ignored the rights of Ainu people to enjoy their culture. Despite the court ruling, the Nibutani Dam was completed in 1998 and began operation.

Between December of 1999 and April of 2001, the Basin Committee responsible for reviewing the Saru River Improvement Plan held nine meetings. The Committee considered the various issues surrounding construction of the proposed Biratori Dam. Community hearings and community meetings were

also held in order to re-evaluate the river improvement plan. The River Act, which is national legislation concerning the management of rivers, had recently been revised to include a requirement for community participation in the planning and implementation of development projects.

The Basin Committee decided that construction of the Biratori Dam would begin in the year 2006. Before construction of this second dam, the local Ainu people demanded an additional assessment of the impact that the dam would have on local Ainu culture, as stipulated in Nibutani Dam Court ruling.

The Hokkaido Development Agency commissioned Biratori Town to conduct a three-year research project to assess the impact of the Biratori Dam. Biratori Town then established a 'Committee for Ainu Culture Preservation Research' on May 12, 2003. In response to the new requirement of the River Act to involve the affected people, local Ainu elders were asked to be members of this committee, along with government officials and experts in related areas such as law, landscaping, and anthropology. This Committee of fifteen members was responsible for

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Nibutani Dam filled with driftwood after a powerful typhoon on August 9, 2003



supervising the impact assessment research and making recommendations to the Mayor of Biratori Town based on the research findings.

The local people were fully involved in the impact assessment research and took a central role in conducting fieldwork, reviewing documents, and submitting data. With assistance from the committee, about twenty local people, about half of them Ainu descendents, used their local knowledge to assess possible impacts on their efforts to preserve Ainu culture. Assistance was extended by the members. This research group spent substantial time experimenting with the cultivation of wild plants and trees, since mitigation of possible negative impact would necessarily involve finding alternative sources for the natural materials needed for making traditional clothes, tools, and food.

Extensive effort was made by the research group leader and an anthropologist (a member of committee) to report their work to the domestic as well as international academic community. In April 2004, the group presented a paper at the annual conference of the International Association for Impact Assessment in Vancouver, Canada. This conference was attended by practitioners and academic researchers of social impact assessment. The Ainu research group was also active at the meeting of the Japanese Association for Environmental Sociology, where views were exchanged with others who shared similar concerns. These exchanges with experts, at conferences, significantly enhanced the research of the Ainu group. The research group also made an important contribution to the growing use of community-based research for assessing the impact of development projects.

The three-year research project ended in the spring of 2006, and the final report was released in fall. The report explained how the dam area was an important traditional hunting and gathering ground for Ainu people, and how it continues to be used for hunting and gathering by the local people. The dam area has a continuing spiritual significance for Ainu living in the Saru River region. It is one of the very few places left that has a rich natural environment with the various kinds of wild plants and animals that are

essential to the preservation of Ainu culture. The Government's response to the report is not yet clear. The local people are anxiously waiting to hear the outcome of their research efforts.

The Ainu cultural preservation research had numerous unique features. It was one of the few cases of social impact assessment that have been conducted in Japan, and it was the very first assessment of impact on an aboriginal culture in Japan. Furthermore, the research was planned and conducted with the full participation of a local community, a process that is now standard among aboriginal communities in Canada.

This research has also posed serious questions to the anthropology community in Japan about how to conduct fieldwork that is ethically acceptable to local people. At the beginning of the research, the Ainu research leader drafted a code of field ethics for carrying out interviews in the community. Many of the local researchers had themselves previously been informants and the subject of anthropological research and were aware of the need for such a code. According to the code developed, the research group had to explain the purpose of the research and obtain written consent from the informants, before interviews. After the interviews, the content of the interviews is checked with informants in order to ensure the accuracy of information obtained. Permission was also required for later use of the information in specific contexts. The code of ethics also gave guidelines for the use of photos and films.

Anthropologists who work with aboriginal peoples in Canada and the USA know that intellectual property rights are better respected in those countries than in Japan, and can appreciate the intent of the code of ethics developed by the Ainu cultural preservation research group. The cultural knowledge that aboriginal peoples possess is their precious intellectual property and its ownership should be recognized and respected. Ainu people in Biratori, through their impact assessment research, have reminded anthropologists in Japan of these basic facts, which should lead to new kinds of relationship between researchers and their informants.

Belonging to Lebanon: Arab Christians in Israel and the Hizbullah

Akiko Sugase

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"I'm a Lebanese." said old Umm Zakī. It was early January in 2001 and I was staying in an Arab (Melkite Catholic) Christian village called Fassūta, at the northern end of Israel facing the Lebanese border.

Umm Zakī is not originally from Fassūta. About sixty years ago, as a tall, beautiful bride, she came from a neighbouring village Mansūra, several km closer to Lebanon than Fassūta. Actually, Mansūra does not exist any more, as it was destroyed by the Israeli Defence Army in November 1948 along with other small Arab villages all around the Galilee. Both those who lost their home and birthplace and those who could fortunately keep living in their village were given Israeli citizenship. It did not mean that they were treated fairly in comparison to Jewish citizens who immigrated from Europe.

At first, I could not understand what Umm Zakī meant. Although Mansūra was facing the Lebanese border, it belonged to the area which has become Israel. However, Umm Zakī contradicted my impressions. "You know, being in Mansūra is like belonging to Lebanon — and my ancestors came from there, crossing hills and valleys. That's why I feel myself as a Lebanese." She never said that she is an 'Israeli'.

Indeed, not only Umm Zakī, but the villagers of Fassūta have many words of self-definition, all except 'Israeli' and 'Israeli citizen'. They are Melkite Catholic Christians, Arabs, natives of Galilee and sometimes 'Palestinians'. Interestingly, an old lady once said she is 'half Turkish, half English'. It means that she was born in the last days of the Ottoman Domination and the beginning of the British Mandate in Palestine. Collecting their life histories, I often heard them speak of their sense of belonging to Lebanon and Syria, especially the former, from which their ancestors had immigrated to Fassūta. As long as they are Israeli citizens, they cannot enter either Lebanon or Syria unless there are exceptional circumstances. Yet, when they utter the name of these two countries, a sense of sympathy and empathetic attachment shines brilliantly in their eyes. After

having been separated from their ancestors' place for a long time, they can now get in touch with Lebanon through satellite broadcasting and enjoy the mass service or prayer of Rosary in the early morning and the entertainment programs in the evening. Their affection towards Lebanon seems to be based on two facts. First, some of their family roots lie in Lebanon. Second, Lebanon is the only Arab country in which Christians account for over thirty percent of the population.

The Arab Christians are very attached to their identity as Christian. For this reason, I was surprised that they often watch the programs of 'al-Manār', a TV station run by the Hizbullah in Lebanon.

Since Fassūta has frontiers with Lebanon, the villagers are sometimes exposed to the Hizbullah's 'Katyusha Attacks' against Israel. During the 'Second Lebanese War' from July 12 to August 14, 2006, the village was under martial law. The inhabitants have been in fear for their life under Hizbullah's attacks against Israel. Although they generally have negative feelings towards Muslims, they never hate the Hizbullah. Although their personal feelings may vary, Israeli-Arabs — not just the Christians in villages such as Fassūta — do not criticize the Hizbullah in public.

Forty-three Israeli citizens were injured or killed during the summer of 2006, and eighteen of them were Israeli-Arabs. Tragically in Nazareth, two children were killed by the rocket bombing. Nevertheless, the silent endorsement of Hizbullah among Israeli-Arabs is getting

The author received her PhD from the Graduate University for Advanced Studies in March 2006, and is now a Research Fellow at the Hayama Center for Advanced Studies, and a lecturer at the Japan Women's University. She has been focusing on the complex identity of Arab Christians in northern Israel, especially the Melkite Catholic Christians.

A mother and her daughter, Fassūta.



firmer and is not only a recent tendency. In late 2000, 'Azmi Bishara, an Israeli-Arab Christian MK (Member of Knesset, the Parliament of Israel) was impeached and faced possible banishment from Knesset for encouraging Hizbullah's resistance against Israel during his visit to Lebanon and Syria. Israeli-Arabs all supported Bishara, and placed their hopes in him, and they embrace Hizbullah because of bonds that surpass religion and the present border.

Israeli-Arabs constantly affirm that they are surely citizens of Israel and that they are different from the 'Palestinians' in the West Bank or Gaza. Christians in particular have been disappointed by the Palestinian Authority and other Arab countries like Egypt or Saudi Arabia, since their Muslim leaders tend to ignore the interests of Arab Christians. Their sympathy towards Lebanon is therefore

greater than that towards other Arab countries. Even if they are not from a border-village, like Umm Zakī, and despite various degrees of identification, they do generally share a certain sense of belonging to Lebanon. Now their ancestors' land is ravaged by Israel, to which they belong as citizens, and they sympathise with Hizbullah not as Christians but as people who have a sense of belonging to Lebanon. They may identify scenes in their own memories from the late 1940s — the scenes of destruction created by Israel around Galilee — with the Lebanon of today.

I do not know yet what Umm Zakī thought or felt during this summer's War. However, I would like to add that her relatives never complained about their severe situation when I spoke with them on the phone. They only said, with a deep sigh, "Allah kabir (Allah is great)."

Exhibition

Taiwan Aboriginal Peoples and Their Languages in the 1930s: Text, Sound and Images from the Ogawa-Asai Collection

*Thematic Exhibition
September 2 – December
12, 2006*

Minpaku is an Inter-University Research Institute with a mandate to offer facilities to university researchers in Japan and abroad. One way we can do this is by letting outside researchers use our exhibition facilities to disseminate information and research results to the public as well as to researchers. For the present exhibition, Minpaku offered such an opportunity to a university for the first time.

The Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (ILCAA) is a world-leading institute in its fields, and owns precious collections of materials representing many languages and cultures in Asia and Africa. The Ogawa-Asai

collection was first displayed in the exhibition hall of ILCAA from March 3-30, and April 15-28, 2005, and then traveled to Minpaku for further display.

Naoyoshi Ogawa (1869-1947) and Erin Asai (1895-1969) are both renowned scholars of Austronesian studies. Their collection was donated to ILCAA in 1970 by the bereaved family of Asai. It consists of approximately 870 books, 400 volumes of field notes, 22,000 photos, forty

films, and forty sound recordings. In this exhibition, visitors can see just the part that concerns the languages and cultures of Taiwan aboriginal peoples.

The ancestors of Taiwan aboriginal peoples are believed to have been living on the main island of Taiwan and its surrounding small islands long before major Han immigration began in the 17th century. The aboriginal peoples are closely related to the Austronesian



Asai was enterprising and used a variety of techniques in his research. He filmed Taiwan peoples during the Japanese colonial years, using 8 mm and 16 mm movie cameras.

peoples of the Philippines, Malaysia, South Pacific islands, and part of Madagascar. According to many linguists, their languages have the most archaic forms of the Austronesian language family. The total population of aboriginal peoples was about 450,000 in 2004, approximately two percent of Taiwan's population.

The exhibition began with displays of field notes, papers, books, photographs, and films made or collected by Ogawa and Asai in Taiwan. In this part of the exhibition, we wanted visitors to learn about studies of Taiwan aboriginal peoples by Japanese linguists in the 1930s, and various aspects of aboriginal society in those days. The materials exhibited are especially valuable because they include firsthand information on languages and cultures that have already disappeared or may be disappearing.

The exhibition continued with materials and photographs that concerned recent movements in culture among Taiwan aboriginal peoples. Here, we wanted to stimulate thinking about how the era of Japanese rule affected Taiwan aboriginal peoples. Before, during and after that era, the aboriginal peoples have experienced economic disadvantage and social discrimination, but since the early 1990s, Taiwan's economic development and social democratization have facilitated social movements to revive languages and traditional cultural practices. The exhibits included remarkable examples of such movements: photographs of a rite that has been revived with the help of photographs taken by Asai in the 1930s, folk-style costumes remade by a present-day Taiwan aboriginal artist using photographs taken under Japanese rule, and the CDs of commercially successful pop music that incorporates folk elements from Taiwan aboriginal culture.

The exhibition will continue its journey in Taiwan next year, and we hope that Taiwan aboriginal peoples will enjoy

seeing it then, in their country.

Kyonosuke Hirai
Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Conferences

Universal Museums: Efforts to Create and Passions for Opening

*International Symposium
September 23 – 24, 2006*

This international symposium presented results from a research project 'Creating Space for Pluralistic Coexistence (of the physically challenged and unchallenged)'. This theme was advocated in a previous symposium on 'The Future of Universal Society Explored through Fieldwork' (2005) and a dance workshop 'Meet via Dance, Connect via Dance', both held in 2005. The goal of the present symposium was to explore ways to realize coexistence at museums. A thematic exhibition, "Touch and Grow Rich: You Can Touch Our Museum" was held in conjunction with this international symposium at the National Museum of Ethnology.

Our first task was to define the concept of the 'Universal Museum' by looking at examples of making museums accessible to the physically-challenged. The physically-challenged have long been alienated from public facilities like museums. We discussed how to create new exhibits with barrier-free facilities.

On the second day, we looked at the 'Universal as Cultivating Our Five Senses'. We exchanged software and information on

relevant museum-sponsored programs. Exhibitions are still thought of, conservatively, as consisting of solely articles in the showcase. Museums continue to place little emphasis on the touching of objects, and have almost forgotten the meaning of touching in culture. During the symposium, we focused particularly on the tactile perception that is important to our creativity and imagination. We developed a picture of workshops in which each of our unique five senses can be awakened.

To conclude our discussion, we examined the role of cultural anthropology in establishing universal museums. Museums should provide places where we can put a notion of 'pluralistic coexistence' into practice. We viewed museums from various angles in our efforts to 'imagine' and 'open' such museums!

A report of this symposium will be published by Dokusho-Kobo, Tokyo.

Kojiro Hirose
Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology



Print and braille combined in a book discussed at the symposium

**Development
Cooperation of Norway:
University of Bergen,
Chr. Michelsen Institute,
and NGOs**

*International Symposium
November 23 – 24, 2006*

In Norway, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) give financial support to development programs and projects organized by universities, research institutes and NGOs. Norwegian universities and research institutions are active participants in international cooperation projects, and Norwegian NGOs such as the Red Cross play significant roles in international development cooperation. NORAD and several research institutes employ anthropologists as program directors or advisors because they can coordinate or provide advice on development plans with holistic views.

In this symposium, six speakers from Norway and Japan were invited to discuss relationships between international development projects, government agencies, universities, research

institutes, NGOs, and social anthropologists, with case examples from Norway and Japan.

Edvard Hviding and Leif Manger from Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen illustrated development research, education and projects at the Department and at Centre for Development Studies, at their university. While arguing that basic anthropological research is applicable to development projects, they showed that Bergen anthropologists have also contributed to development education and projects since the 1960s. Alf Jerve from the Chr. Michelsen Institute examined the role of research in international development cooperation. He argued that high quality research on development is needed for effective political decision making and the public discourse on international development.

Hiroshi Nawata from Tottori University showed how inappropriate technologies and shallow scientific understanding in a Sudanese development project have degraded livelihoods in many local communities. He argued that indigenous knowledge should be utilized in environmental development.

Kan Hiroshi Sato from the Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization, expressed the view that Europeans share ideas about charity that originate in Christianity and serve as guiding principles for aid, while Japanese lack such ideas. He argued that the Japanese have a unique aid culture that remains to be explored. He also noted the weak relationships between government supported Overseas Development Aid (ODA) and NGOs in Japan. Toyokazu Nakata, a NGO activist, linked the difficult situations of Japanese NGOs working in developing countries to difficulties in fund-raising.

Compared to Norway, we found that there have been much weaker interactions between government-sponsored ODA, universities/research institutes, and NGOs in Japan. We therefore proposed the creation of an arena for these actors to discuss development issues in Japan. The symposium gave us good leads for reconsidering the roles of social anthropologists in Japanese development cooperation.

Nobuhiro Kishigami
Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology



Symposium participants from Bergen, Norway

Information

Awards

Five Minpaku researchers have recently been given prestigious awards for their exceptional academic and social contributions:

Misa Nomoto (The International University of Kagoshima; PhD from Graduate University for Advanced Studies, 2002) received two awards for her article, 'The meanings of money in Tontines (ROSCAs): the case of the Bamiléké of Cameroon' (Japanese Journal of Cultural Anthropology 69, 2004): the African Studies Promotion Awards by Japan Association for African Studies (May 27,

2006), and JASCA (Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology) Promotion Award (June 4, 2006).

Kazuyo Minamide

(Department of Comparative Studies, Graduate University for Advanced Studies) was awarded the Prize for Best Scientific Documentary at the 20th Pärnu International Documentary and Anthropology Film Festival for her film, *Circumcision in Transition* (July 15, 2006).

Michiko Intoh (Department of Social Research) received the Daido Life Foundation Incentive Award for Area Studies for her contributions to archaeology and anthropology in Oceania (July 18, 2006).

Norio Yamamoto (Department of Cultural Research) was awarded Prince Chichibu Memorial Prize for Mountaineering. This award, established in 1998 in honor of the late Prince Chichibu and his wife who loved mountains, is given to those who made significant achievements in mountaineering or cultural activities related to mountains (December 2, 2006).

Toshihiro Nobuta (Center for Research Development) was awarded Japan Society for Southeast Asian History Prize for two of his recent publications: *People Living in the Peripheral World: Development and Islamization among the Orang Asli, Malaysia* (2004), and 'Life world of Kampung Durian Tawar: hierarchy and household among the Orang Asli, Malaysia,' (*Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 29, 2004) (December 10, 2006).

Visiting Scholars

Govind Prasad Dhakal

Associate Professor, Tribhuvan University, Nepal

Govind Prasad Dhakal completed his MA in public administration at Nagpur University, India (1981-82) and PhD research in urban



development at the University of Delhi, India (1995). He has conducted public administration education, research and training at Tribhuvan University, Nepal for the last twenty-four years. He has been Executive Director of Local Development Training Academy under the Government of Nepal, and Market Development Advisor for the United Nations Development Programme, and has also served as a trainer in the field of conflict resolution, conflict mediation, advocacy, networking, decentralization, and local development. He has been awarded medals for academic performance and administrative service. At Minpaku, he will conduct research on relationships between NGOs/NPOs and Japanese local governments.

(August 2, 2006 – August 1, 2007)

Tek Nath Dhakal

Associate Professor, Tribhuvan University, Nepal



He received his Masters in public administration (MPA) from Tribhuvan University in 1989 and a PhD in 2002 from the University of Tampere in Finland. He has also received a wide range of training in cooperative management, project management, rural development, public enterprises, entrepreneurship development, and performance evaluation in Nepal and abroad.

He has recently published a book, *NGOs in Livelihood Improvement*, which provides a

comprehensive perspective and theoretical understanding on the role of NGOs in livelihood improvement and explores the development of NGOs in Nepal, policies adopted for involving them as development partners. In 2000 he was co-editor for *Development NGOs Facing the 21st Century: Perspectives from South Asia*, a book published by the Institute for Human Development. He has also contributed research articles to journals in Nepal and abroad.

(August 2, 2006 – August 1, 2007)

Okpyo Moon

Professor of Anthropology, Academy of Korean Studies, Korea



Okpyo Moon obtained a PhD degree in social anthropology from the University of Oxford (1984) based on her first long-term fieldwork in

Japan at a ski resort village in Gunma prefecture (1981-1982), and later published as *From Paddy Field to Ski Slope: Revitalization of Tradition in Japanese Village Life* (Manchester University Press, 1989). She also studied urban community making in Kawasaki city in 1993-1995, with special attention to resident organizations, social education, and citizen movements. Since 1987, she has been teaching at the Graduate School of the Academy of Korean Studies and has served as Vice President of the Korean Society for Cultural Anthropology (2000-2002). Tourism is still one of Moon's main research areas, but her current research interest is a comparison of the generational shifts in thinking and life styles in Japan and Korea. During her stay at Minpaku, she plans to explore tradition and its construction in the production and consumption of Nishijin textiles in Kyoto.

(September 4, 2006 – March 3, 2007)

Krister Björklund

Researcher, Institute of Migration, Finland



After graduation from Abo Akademi University in 1979, sociologist Krister Björklund worked as a professional

regional planner for ten years, and did research on geography and physical planning at numerous universities including Hitotsubashi University (Tokyo), Helsinki University of Technology (Finland), Lund University (Sweden) and Odense University (Denmark). In 1992 his interest turned to human migration while working as a research coordinator at the Institute of Migration, Turku, in Finland. Björklund's research in this field has mainly been about emigration from Finland, especially to the German speaking parts of Europe (*Aus Finnland in die Schweiz*, Werd-Verlag 1999), but he has also written about immigration. Before joining Minpaku, he edited the 6th volume of a history of Finnish emigration, which concentrates on migration to Europe. At Minpaku he will investigate return migration, comparing the integration of the returnees from China and Brazil in Japan with the Ingrians, returning descendants of Fins.

(October 1, 2006 – April 30, 2007)

Yoo Myung-Ki

Professor, Kyungpook National University, Korea



Yoo is a cultural anthropologist. After graduating from Seoul National University (1968-1977), he began his study in demography with an MA at the

Australian National University (1980-1982) and completed PhD coursework in anthropology at Michigan State University (1984-1988). His research career began with an interest in the basic structure of social organizations in Korea, then extended to studies of basic structural influences on the process of globalization in Korea. His research areas include ethnicity, nationalism, and multiculturalism, especially with regard to migrant workers and other minority groups. He is currently working on international migration and the urbanization of Korean-Chinese, and influences on their construction of ethnic and national identity. His publications include 'Migrant workers: our unfinished future' (2003), 'Minority: a logic of the rootless' (2004) and 'Shaking identity of Korean-Chinese' (2005).

(October 1, 2006 – July 31, 2007)

Publications

The following were published by the museum during the period July to December, 2006:

◇ *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 31(1). Contents: T. Takane, 'Between hope and reality: cocoa and Nkrumah in independent Ghana, 1951-1966', S. Takezawa, 'Preface'; T. Kuwayama, 'Lessons from American anthropology'; S. Takezawa, 'Anthropology and anthropological education in France'; K. Nawa, 'On the state of British 'social' anthropology: in Cambridge 2002-2003, for example'; and Z. Qin, 'The originality and potential of Chinese anthropology'.

◇ Sugimoto, Y. (ed.) *Anthropological Studies of Christianity and Civilization*. Senri Ethnological Reports, No.62, 420pp., October 2006.

◇ Tsukada, S. (ed.) *Cultural Dynamics among Ethnic Groups in Border Areas of China and*

Mainland Southeast Asia. Senri Ethnological Reports, No.63, 305pp., December 2006.

◇ Shoji, H. and M. Kim (eds.) *Presenting 'Multiethnic Japan', a Special Exhibition*. Senri Ethnological Reports, No.64, 270pp., December 2006.

◇ Hitchcock, R.K., K. Ikeya, M. Biesel and R.B. Lee (eds.) *Updating the San: Image and Reality of an African People in the 21st Century*. Senri Ethnological Studies, No.70, 300pp., December 2006.

◇ Tsukada, S. et al. (eds.) *A Thirty-Year History of the National Museum of Ethnology*. 498pp., March 2006.

MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter

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

The Newsletter is available online at: www.minpaku.ac.jp/publication/newsletter/

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