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Tourism and Glocalization in East Asian Societies

This special issue focuses on globalization and localization as two trends in the development of mass tourism in East Asia. Our five contributors discuss here how the history, culture and values are reshaped, represented and consumed. Their full papers will be presented to the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES), in July 2009 in Kunming, China.

Tourism and Representing Local Culture in Heshun

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Since 1978, China has been gradually transformed according to a new economic model, the socialist market system, and has been increasingly involved in globalization. After changes in central government policies, the primary role of tourism in China was no longer to strengthen international relations and to support ideological propaganda. It became a strategic economic industry. A remarkable feature of recent tourism development in China is the way that native cultures and their localities have been revalued, reconstructed and represented. This localization of culture is new in China.



The Ancestor Hall of the Liu Lineage is now a tourist destination (Han, 2008)

How and why has localization happened in Chinese tourism development? This paper offers an ethnological sketch of the process in Heshun. This is the hometown of overseas Chinese in Yunnan, where I conducted research in 2001, 2002 and 2008. The community and memory of Heshun has been reshaped and represented by local government, tourism agencies, intellectuals, and the local community.

Heshun is a border town in Tengchong County. It is 750 km northwest of Kunming, 210 km east of Myitkyina in Myanmar, and 600 km from Ledo in Assam, India. Heshun consists of over 1,300 households and 6,048 people living in three administrative villages. It is tucked away among rolling hills, and has long been overpopulated. People went abroad frequently during the Ming and Qing dynasties, and today more than 10,000 Chinese originating from Heshun are distributed in thirteen countries. Returnees from overseas, and their kin, make up 62.7 % of the total population, so Heshun is also called *Qiaoxiang*, the hometown of overseas Chinese.

In earlier times, the overseas Chinese who succeeded in rice trading, mining or processing jade built luxurious family mansions equipped with modern and exotic commodities. Now in Heshun, there are also about 170 farmhouses built between the late Qing dynasty and the early Republic Period. The overseas Chinese also built many public buildings: one library of 70,000 volumes, eight

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ancestor halls, seven shrines and temples, seven clothes-washing pavilions (*xiyi ting*) by the river, and more than ten moon terraces (*yuetai*, places that are important for village communication and grain drying).

These architectural features, the beautiful natural scenery, and the local lifestyle began to be revalued and reshaped in the 1990s when the Yunnan government and their scholars began promoting Yunnan as a 'great province of ethnic cultures' (*min zu da sheng*).

Within the provincial project, constructing Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Villages (*wenhua shengtai cun*) is an important activity. The project was initiated in 1998 with funds from the Ford Foundation and was led by the Yunnan Provincial Committee of China's Communist Party. Four policies were created for the Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Villages:

- (i) They should be conserved by the local community.
- (ii) The best cultural traditions should be maintained and modern civilization should be accepted at the

same time.

- (iii) An Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Village should be managed by local people independently, in contrast to the large museums managed by specialists in urban areas.
- (iv) The project must be linked to tourism development and the people's life should be enriched.

In Yunnan province, in 1998, Heshun and three other villages were chosen. In order to improve the project, capable cadres were sent from Tengchong County. They interviewed villagers, gathered first-hand materials and wrote a book about Heshun. They assessed the ancestors' halls, local environment, and geology, and found biographies that are valuable materials for research on migration in southwest China.

The provincial government also sent writers and journalists to Heshun, and mobilized the mass media to make Heshun well known. They asked CCTV to cover Heshun and make TV programs. In a state-wide competition held by CCTV in 2005, Heshun won the reputation as one of 'The Ten Most Charming Countryside Towns in China'. In 1996, only 150,000 tourists visited Heshun. After its selection as an Ethnic Cultural and Ecological Village and as one of the most charming countryside towns in China, the number of tourists increased to 649,890 in 2007.

Converting a local residence into a historical museum is an important part of the project. After their joint investigation, the government cadres, scholars and local elders decided to choose the Li mansion as a museum to represent the culture of Heshun and the history of the overseas Chinese.

The Li mansion was built during the late Qing dynasty and the early Republic period. Only one woman, a granddaughter of the original owner, is still living inside, while about 200 Li descendants are now scattered in Yunnan, Beijing, Thailand, Myanmar and other parts of the world. The Li mansion is currently managed by the Tourism Bureau and has three main display themes.

Firstly, their lifestyle is presented as the standard lifestyle in Heshun, combining agriculture and trade, and placing equal emphasis on scholarship and official service. The Li began trading by using a horse caravan to transport raw cotton and other small trinkets and in 1850 they established a company for trading jade and jewelry. They later set up eight branches in Yangon, Myitkyina, Kunming, Xiaguan

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and Chongqing. They donated a remarkable sum of money to Heshun Library and joined Sun Wen's alliance association which contributed a lot to the Xinhai Revolution (1911). One of the Li who studied in Japan became president of Tengchong High School and the Deputy Head of Tengchong County.

Secondly, the Li are represented as a patriotic overseas Chinese business family. Beside their contributions to the Xinhai Revolution and Heshun Library, they also changed all of their companies and branches inside China into joint state-private enterprises. A family member was elected Deputy President of an association of overseas Chinese in Yunnan and went to North Korea to encourage the volunteer army during the Korean War.

Thirdly, the imposing dwellings and spacious courtyards of the Li mansion are presented as a precious cultural heritage that exemplifies the history of Heshun.

Local people have also taken an active part in the Heshun project. The Dongjing music association is a good example. Dongjing music previously functioned as a means of education for men, as well as amusement, and as a part of religious practice before 1949. Dongjing performances in Heshun began about 200 years ago. Members of the association used to gather once a week on Saturday to play Dongjing. They also played at funerals, memorial events, birthday celebrations and other occasions. The music was also used to pray for peace and good harvests. It was prohibited during the Cultural Revolution, but recently it began to be revalued as 'local culture' by the local government. Now there are twenty Dongjing players in Heshun, and they have a repertoire of forty-four traditional compositions. They also compose new songs to enrich their repertoire, and are often invited to play Dongjing by other villages, and in other counties.

The Liu Family Courtyard is another example of local culture being displayed. This private museum is managed by the Liu couple. The atmosphere of the residence is graceful, and its architecture shows both Chinese and Western styles. The Liu were successful as grain traders in Myanmar, and built their residence in the 1920s. Their descendants voluntarily opened the residence to the public in 2000, guiding tourists, and providing meals and accommodation.

Many tourists from Kunming, Beijing and Germany have stayed at the Liu's mansion.

The Liu Family Courtyard was opened to the public before the Li mansion managed by the government, and is managed voluntarily by ordinary citizens. Both the Li Mansion and the Liu Courtyard emphasize the culture represented in their buildings. In both buildings, this culture is related to the culture of the central plains and that of Confucianism. The architecture displays typical features of Qiaoxiang culture, in which Chinese and Western styles were combined. A key difference between these venues lies in how the historical narratives are presented; stories about the Li are fixed, are told by guides provided by any government, and represent an official model culture of Heshun. The Liu Family Courtyard Museum is independent and is not restricted by any government or tourism agency. The volunteers can make their own decisions about what to display and how to display their residence, and can use their own words to represent the history, their memories of the Liu family, their community and the country. When the Liu show their residence, they usually tell the tourists the historic background and how the house was used in past years. They also display items showing the hobbies, personalities and lifestyles of their family, sharing their personal memories with the tourists.

Now in Heshun, there are more local people who open their old houses to tourists and offer food and accommodation. They enjoy presenting their history and communicating with tourists. Through communication with the tourists, the local people feel more confident about their history and their culture. Moreover, they are able to improve their narrations by responding to tourist reactions. In this way, cultural representation can be dynamic, influenced by the interaction between hosts and guests.

In Heshun we can see both collaboration and competition among the government offices, tourism agencies, intellectuals and the local community, in the process of creating local images for tourists. The emergence of multiple approaches to representing locality, along with new mechanisms for negotiation, raises the prospect of creating a more harmonious multicultural society as a result of the process of tourism development.

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Tourism and Urban Renewal in Xi'an's Muslim District

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In recent years, tourism development has become commonplace all over the world. Some scholars have criticized an over-emphasis on tourism development for urban renewal. In the People's Republic of China (PRC), after implementation of the government's 1978 'open door' policy, there was a shift towards promoting tourism development throughout the country. In Xi'an Province, a large-scale plan for development of the central area of Xi'an city is in progress. Here I introduce an example from Xi'an of how local residents with different cultural backgrounds place themselves, and deal with a city government plan for urban-renewal and a tourism promotion.

Xi'an is an internationally-renowned tourist destination located in northwestern China. In the central area of the city, historical monuments built during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) include the Xi'an City Wall, the Drum Tower, and the Bell Tower. There are also many historical ruins in the suburbs, such as the Terracotta Warriors, the Huaqing Palace and Qinshihuang's Mausoleum. In 2006, about 27 million domestic and foreign tourists came to Xi'an to visit these historical monuments and ruins.

According to the year 2000 census,

Xi'an had a population of 8.22 million. The majority of Xi'an residents are Han Chinese. People belonging to ethnic minorities number approximately 85,300, making up 1.2 % of the city's total population. Among them, 64,216 Hui people represent 75.3 % of the total ethnic minority population.

The Hui people are a Chinese ethnic group practicing Islam. They speak Chinese and their appearance is similar to the Han Chinese. But their practice of Islam has produced some striking cultural differences between them and the Han Chinese. Many Hui live near mosques, known as *qingzhensi*, thus forming a distinct community. In Xi'an, more than half of the Hui live inside the City Wall, where they form a residential area. This area is known locally as Hui Street or the 'Hui Quarter', approximately 1.5 km from east to west, and 1.2 km from north to south (although these numbers are disputed). The area holds twelve mosques and a population of 30,000 Hui.

In 2003, Xi'an began an urban-renewal plan called the 'Huangcheng Revival Project' (*Huangcheng fuxing jihua*). The aim is to develop the city's tourist industry by protecting and developing the old urban district. The city is attempting to implement four measures: protect and restore 'historic streets' and symbolic architecture, general development of the old urban district, maintenance of touristic resources, and population control within the old urban district.

During the Tang Dynasty (618-907), Xi'an had a population of one million, making it the largest city in the world. Chang'an (as Xi'an was then known) was an international city: the juncture of Eastern and Western cultures passing through the Silk Road, and a renowned melting pot. 'Huangcheng', the name used in the renewal plan title, refers to Chang'an's imperial and palace cities of the Tang period. The current government appears to have been hoping to restore the historic city of Chang'an.

However, there is no Tang Dynasty architecture in the old urban district targeted by the Huangcheng Revival



The Pailang on Dxuexixiang Street (Imanaka, 2008)

Project. The Xi'an City Wall, built in the Ming Dynasty, differs from the Tang Huangcheng's scale and location. The Bell Tower and the Drum Tower, located in the old urban district, were also built during the Ming Dynasty. Many other architectural structures were built during the Qing Dynasty (1636-1912). The Xi'an government is now promoting the protection of ancient architectural structures, and unification of the urban landscape through rebuilding of the architecture of the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

In the Hui Quarter, the Muslim district, tourism development began in the 1990s, and focused on Beiyuanmen Street, located in the Muslim district west end. This street has abundant ancient architecture, including ministries and merchant residences built during the Qing Dynasty.

The 'Ordinance of Xi'an to Protect the Historical City', issued on July 3, 2007, designated the 'Beiyuanmen Muslim Cultural Street' as a historical street. In 2007, development expanded to Xiyangshi Street, which connects with Beiyuanmen Street. Xiyangshi Street's development also promoted the protection of the ancient architectural structures, and road repair.

How have Hui people reacted to the government's development policies?

On Beiyuanmen Street, which already has a landscape similar to other districts, the key structures are the Gates (*Paifang*) built at the south end. The same kind of structures are found in three other places. Although the writings on each Gate differ, all the Gates are marked with the common words 'Hui Quarter' at the top.

These Gates were constructed at the beginning of the year 2000 in order to memorialize the main Islamic festival. In addition to the expression "Welcome to Beiyuanmen Islamic Street" in Chinese and English at the top of each Gate, they also display restaurant advertisements on the gate pillars, reflecting the effects of commercialism and tourism.

Gillette, an anthropologist, noted that the Muslim district was not a zone officially recognized by the government (Gillette 2002: 29). However, after the Gates were built, the Muslim district became a visible landmark, and following designation of the Beiyuanmen Muslim Cultural Street, the government actively brought Hui culture into play as a tourism resource. This is a radical change in the history of the Muslim district.



The Paifang on Beiyuanmen Street (Imanaka, 2008)

Meanwhile, a group of Hui are constructing a Gate with government resources on Daxuexixiang Street. This Gate resembles the architecture of the Ming and Qing Dynasties, and does not have the words 'Hui Quarter' at the top. On Damaishijie Street, where half of the structures have been removed according to the government's development plan, the previously built Gate still keeps the words 'Hui Quarter'. The Hui are still expressing a desire to protect their district.

The Xi'an government is unifying the landscape of the old urban district of Xi'an with the aim of tourism development. The Muslim district is not an exception. The government is steadily unifying the landscape of Beiyuanmen Street and Xiyangshi Street. However, within the Muslim district, the Hui are constructing Gates with their own resources, which embody their own vision of their district. Hui people living in the Muslim district are not merely complying with government-led development. They are also using tourism development to protect their district.

The situation here is fluid: the cut and thrust between the local Hui and the government over tourism development appears to be continuing. I will continue to study and analyze changes in the Muslim district of Xi'an City.

Reference

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Tourism Development among Cultural Minorities in Yunnan: The Role of the Anthropologist

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It is not unusual for local people to use their 'ethnic culture' to promote tourism, especially in the case of ethnic minorities in China that lag behind economically. The Chinese government has also recognized the need to support development among such minorities in order to stabilize the government's relationships and ethnic policies. Recently, cooperation between industry, government, and academics has begun to be valued as an effective way to promote development, with anthropologists being requested in some cases to participate. 'Ethnic tourism' that uses the 'Eco' label is also increasing as a way to differentiate one group from neighboring minority groups, and it becomes difficult to distinguish 'eco-tourism' from 'ethnic tourism'. The localization of ethnic tourism has thus become entangled with economic development, tourism development, policies concerning ethnic culture (protection and development), anthropology (ethnology), and the problem of environmental protection.

Tourism development in some areas has surged dramatically, regardless of how the local people feel about it. It has had drastic effects on traditional life styles. A case in point is a village called Bberdder, within the Naxi nation, where I have conducted field research intermittently over the past ten years. This village has been affected by the wave of tourist development and has changed considerably in the past six or seven years.

Bberdder is 70 km from Lijiang City, the political center of the Naxi nationality and is located in Xianggelila County of the Diqing Zang (Tibetan) Nationality Autonomous Prefecture, the only Tibetan district in Yunnan. Tourist development in Bberdder is not as large scale as that in Lijiang City which is famous for its ethnic tourism. However, Bberdder has great cultural and historical significance because it is known that for a long time the priest Dobbaq made this village one of his pilgrimage destinations. The village also

has a very good natural sightseeing spot called Bberperqdder which is a terraced plateau created by the action of a stream cutting through limestone. Within China, Bberdder is as historically important as 'Lijiang Old Town', which has been registered as a world heritage. The great sightseeing resources of Bberdder, namely, the pilgrimage place of Dobbaq and the Bberperqdder terraces, are the envy of other villages.

The management of tourism in Bberdder began in the latter half of the 1990s as a result of the ethnic culture recovery movement of the 1980s, after the Cultural Revolution. Intellectuals of Lijiang and Kunming led ethnic culture restoration movements during the 1980s, and regarded the priest Dobbaq as an important symbol of Naxi nationality. They used Bberdder, as a typical community of Naxi culture since it was already famous at that time. At first, the people of Bberdder also agreed with the intellectuals' opinion. However, they eventually began to characterize their culture as the 'Dobbaq culture of Diqing Prefecture' in an attempt to distinguish themselves from Lijiang. They were concerned that Lijiang City had monopolized the Dobbaq culture while successfully developing the city as a tourist destination. The Bberdder people began to claim that their representation of Dobbaq culture was genuine and legitimate, unlike that in Lijiang, which was just an imitation. This discourse was useful for advertising Bberdder, but it also attracted many outside operators connected with tourism development in Bberdder, and this threw the small village into the maelstrom of the hegemonic global economy. What began as a local competition and minor ideological conflict, focused on local efforts for betterment, became a wave of competition to bring global tourist development into Bberdder, regardless of the inhabitants' will.

While the rise of global tourism appears unavoidable, local movements

may emerge to reject tourism projects and protect local traditions. In the present case, four kinds of response can be recognized. The first is to take a closed position, and has been promoted by intellectuals who insist on preserving a 'genuine Naxi culture'. The second is positive participation in a government development program, or that of an assigned company, and participation in the profits made. About half of the villagers support this approach. The third response is dissatisfaction with the government development plan and an attempt to develop independently, because a concession was not acquired. Those who take the closed position have difficulty getting enough support and funds from outside, due to their exclusiveness. They depend on help from the villagers, but sometimes they ask villagers to work without compensation, causing antipathy. Many villagers respond with the second or the third approaches, depending on their intimacy with the managing organization. Some of those who have tried to develop independently are dissatisfied with the expanding difference in wages between groups in the village, and have committed acts of sabotage and have demonstrated against the government and the outside company that is contracted to employ villagers and manage Bberperqdder.

Finally, the fourth response has been to consider the transmission of traditional culture as the first priority. The people involved are trying to secure funds for protecting and resuscitating their ethnic culture through tourism development. They have strived for years to achieve a long-cherished plan, namely the construction of a field-type museum, and consider this to be a concrete solution to the problem.

While working as an anthropologist in Bberdder, I have faced the need to change my approach from that of 'anthropology about tourism' to 'anthropology involved in tourism'. Other anthropologists might respond differently in a similar situation. I was contacted by villagers representing each of the four positions described above, and was asked to give advice about tourism development. I had to learn how the goals of the villagers connected with the localization of tourism



Field museum under construction in Bberdder, which will officially open in 2009. Traditional houses were transported here from Naxi villages and reassembled (Oka, 2007)

development and of cultural policy. It is a large task to practice the anthropology of ethnic tourism. The difficulty of this situation inspired me to do an experiment by bringing people concerned with tourism development in Bberdder to Japan, to visit and study museums and sightseeing spots. Local people from Bberdder are not formally recognized as anthropologists, in this case, but they are people who do anthropology. While keeping my own identity as an anthropologist, I will also be an interpreter or guide, thus becoming an informant. This experiment looks similar to 'Reverse Anthropology', but is in effect an agreed switch in roles between researcher, informant, and guide.

This 'anthropology of role exchange' has become a cooperative research project to study tourism-related phenomena in China and Japan. The work will not always provide a common solution to our problems, but there is a possibility of building a new network of intertwined relationships between anthropologists, guides and informants, and this should allow all of us to make better and more impartial judgments regarding the problems we face. The network will construct a space for better communication through visits to both cultures.

Tourism and the Religious Culture in China

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The author teaches at Kyushu University and Kumamoto Gakuen University. She has published Politics of Culture and Poetics of Life (in Japanese, Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2007), an anthropological thesis on changes in the religious lives of the Dehong Dai under communist policy.

The ways of evaluating religion have changed in modern China. Recently, people have started to value religion as a cultural resource for tourism. This could be in conflict with modern Chinese views of religion. For example, a premise of Marxist theory is that religions should fade out in the course of modernization, and the Chinese government does not allow religion to be used for moneymaking. When people use 'religious culture' as a resource for tourism, they have to consider these views of religion. What does the newly born 'religious culture' really mean?

In the People's Republic of China (PRC), religious beliefs and activities are identified as belonging to one of five main religions (Protestant, Catholic, Buddhism, Taoism and Islam), or to the realm of spirit worship, and the government controls them in the name of national interest. At the same time, the PRC has also inherited the Western legacy of 'freedom of religion'. In the communist (Marxist) view, religion is expected to gradually decline under the growing influence of science and as economic conditions improve. However, it is also expected that religions can survive for a considerable time, and that government has a duty to treat them carefully. Generally speaking, religions are respected as historical legacies in ordinary times, but they easily slip into the realm of superstitions or heresy when seen as obstacles to national policy.

According to the official PRC view of religion, some religions are tied exclusively to specific nationalities and ethnicities. For example, Islam is for Turkish peoples and the Hui, Tibetan Buddhism is for Tibetans, and Theravada Buddhism is for the Dai. Under the system of the Chinese Communist Party, religion is managed by the Bureau of Nationality and Religion, which belongs to the United Front Department. The connection between notions of religion and ethnicity or nationality is striking in China.

Recently, however, we can see a slight shift of nuance at a practical level. The Water-splashing festival of

the Dai in Dehong Prefecture, Yunnan Province, is a good example. This festival, which includes Buddhist events, is well-known as a Dai festival. However, many recent remarks in newspapers emphasize that the water-splashing festival is no longer just for the Dai; it is also open to other minority peoples who wish to maintain unity and send messages about the past, present and future of Dehong Prefecture*.

From about the year 2000, Dehong Prefecture has used the word 'Mengbalaxi' to represent the Dehong area and established a Mengbalaxi Festival. This is similar to the water-splashing festival, but includes a variety of ethnic events organized by other ethnic groups, such as the Achang, Lisu, Jingpo, and De'ang who reside with the Dai in Dehong Prefecture. The festival has been held almost every year since 2000, during holidays in May, two weeks after the



Dai people bringing seated figures of Buddha into the festival ground at Mangshi, Dehong Prefecture, Yunnan. The water-splashing festival still has religious meaning, especially for senior generations (Nagatani, 1998)

water-splashing festival (In 2003, it was cancelled because of SARS, and the scale has been reduced recently).

According to local intellectuals, there are several aims and meanings in holding the Mengbalaxi festival. First, because of the rise of tourism, Dehong Prefecture needed a big event to gather tourists. Second, the water-splashing festival was not sufficient for such a big event because it was primarily a festival of the Dai (and De'ang). As a Dai people's festival, the water-splashing festival of Xishuangbanna has already established a reputation that the Dehong Dai cannot match. Besides, Dehong Prefecture is an autonomous county not only for the Dai but also for the Jingpo. It was considered more proper and strategic to advertise the charm of every ethnic group in Dehong by combining the various ethnic customs into one new and big event. Finally, the new event needed a new name. While looking for a suitable name, 'Mengbalaxi', the name of a beautiful city, was found in old Dai scriptures.

To promote tourism, government officers and travel agents seem to give more attention to overall regional characters than to specific ethnic characters. Following this trend, Theravada Buddhism has also come to be seen as a tourism resource for the Dehong area, not just for the Dai. In May 2005, I went to see the Baobo festival held in Ruili City, Dehong Prefecture. This is another tourism event that copies the style of the water-splashing festival. During the opening ceremony, many Buddhist monks appeared and solemnly marched over the ground. After the ceremony, I learned that they were performers hired to add a religious atmosphere to the ceremony, as a stage effect. What we see now as 'religion' is not necessarily an entirely religious or ethnic phenomenon anymore. A new 'religious culture' has been created under the strong influence of tourism, and it has national and regional features at the same time.

The newly formed festival did receive criticism in Dehong. In 2002, when the Mengbalaxi festival was very grand, I heard some old farmers in suburban villages making complaints about the festival. In their everyday lives, the

water-splashing festival is a time to pray for enough rain and the marker of the beginning of the planting season. But the Mengbalaxi festival held two weeks after the water-splashing festival was nothing but an obstacle for planting. They were angry with younger villagers who enjoyed the Mengbalaxi festival while neglecting their seed-planting work. Several Dai intellectuals were also uncomfortable with the Mengbalaxi festival; they seemed to feel that the Mengbalaxi festival is a false culture created only for display.

These examples show the existence of a gap between 'religion' and 'religious culture'. Although it is difficult to define 'religion', we can find at least three ways of defining 'religion' in these examples. The first way involves the idealistic definition seen in official thought, and is based on concerns about which religions are 'legitimate' in present society. The second way is through the historical and dogmatic thinking of Dai intellectuals. They are very concerned with 'traditional' style. The third way is through the voiceless practices of ordinary believers. They don't define 'religion' but practice it in their everyday life. Religion is thus lived at a bodily and spiritual level.

When I reconsider the 'religious culture' created mainly by tourism, it appears to almost ignore the idealistic, traditional and practicing levels of religion. This separation may be half-conscious, I suppose, in order to avoid the problem of treating 'religion' itself as a tourism resource. By manipulating concepts, 'religious culture' has been created as something that can be treated as a tourism resource. If my supposition is correct, this type of 'religious culture' may eventually conflict with 'religion', especially when people thoughtlessly equate 'religious culture' and 'religion'. To be more specific, when the people promoting 'religious culture' have the illusion that they are also promoting or protecting 'religion' itself, 'religious culture' could become an obstacle to seeing the heart of religious people.

*Paraphrase from an article of April 20, 1991, in the local paper *Dehong Tuanjie Bao*; similar remarks can be found in articles published on April 16, 1992 and April 18, 1998, in the same paper.

Reconstruction and Localization of Ethnic Culture in Yokohama Chinatown

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It is said that as surely as water flows downhill, one will encounter Chinese people everywhere in the world. Over 30 million Chinese migrants have spread world wide. Many of them start up a small Chinese restaurant; sooner or later, their family and kinsmen chain migrate and form a community known as Chinatown. Somehow, Chinatown became a global phenomenon and most big cities of the world contain a small 'China' of their own. The phenomenon of McDonald's may be more visible, but we cannot deny that the global spread of Chinatown, with its foods and festivals, has had an impact, attracting many people in every corner in the world.

Japan, which can boast of long historic ties to China, has several sizable communities of Chinese, including the Chinatown in Kobe, another in Nagasaki, and the most famous in Yokohama. With its over 600 shops, 200 restaurants and numerous grocery stores, Yokohama's Chinatown has become one of the most popular tourist spots for Japanese in Japan, who rank it along with Tokyo Disneyland as one of their 'must visit' sites. Yokohama Chinatown is now known more as a 'theme park of Chinese cuisine' than as an ethnic enclave.

Firstly, something of the history of the place: the Chinatown in Yokohama dates back 150 years, to the days in 1859 when Japan first opened port cities to residence by foreign nationals. Along with the Westerners who flocked to the port of Yokohama came Chinese middlemen and interpreters. Westerners and Japanese could not communicate with each other, so they needed Chinese middlemen who could communicate with Japanese by writing Chinese characters. Foreigners were allowed to reside only in an area designated by the Japanese authorities as the Foreigner's Residence Area (*Gaikokujin Kyoryuchi*), located in the area of present-day Chinatown.

Following the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 and the massive bombings of the eastern seaboard during World War II, Yokohama

Chinatown, along with the nearby city of Yokohama, was laid waste. After the end of World War II, a greater number of Chinese began arriving in Yokohama. The earliest settlers before World War II had been laborers and merchants who came directly from China to Japan, and many of their families already had strong ties in the community. The newer post-war group of Chinese tended to be businessmen, often with good education, who had originally fled from the Communist victory on the mainland to Hong Kong or to Taiwan. They tended to support the Kuomintang (KMT) Nationalist government on Taiwan, and were opposed to the People's Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland. The stage was set for divisive political battles caused by the differing political outlooks of the two groups.

A strained atmosphere swept Chinatown during the post-war years, with two distinct political viewpoints vying for legitimacy. Political animosity sometimes degenerated into physical confrontation. The 1960s and 1970s, when China itself was swept by the extreme rhetoric of the Cultural Revolution, were politically turbulent times for the residents of Yokohama Chinatown who felt forced to take political stands on issues that did not seem to directly affect their community.

Happily for all concerned, the group that was able to emerge victorious was the Yokohama Chinatown Development Association. It was set up in 1956 as a middle-of-the-road, politically neutral organization dedicated to fostering economic development in the local community. In 1971, the Development Association registered itself under the Japanese government's Small and Medium-scale Enterprise Cooperation Law, and developed a plan that called for economic revitalization of the area. Unlike many Chinatowns, where the community tries to limit itself to members or descendants of the same clan, hometown or Chinese merchant association, the Yokohama Chinatown Development Association has always accepted everyone living or doing business in the area. Thus from its earliest days, Japanese as well as

Chinese were able to play active roles in the life of the community through official community organizations. Somehow, participation of local Japanese in the community weakened political antagonism among Chinese. Also, the Development Association successfully woke townspeople to the benefits of pursuing mutual economic and cultural interests rather than political struggle. To reshape the town as a tourist spot, the community improved the infrastructure of roads, gates, information centers, and so on, as well as developing human connections with regular cultural events and festivals, surveys of visitors, and seminars. In many ways, the community revitalized Chinese ethnic culture in order to attract more local Japanese customers.

Today, most people come to Yokohama Chinatown to eat Chinese foods and enjoy the exotic atmosphere. This is natural because the town is packed wall-to-wall with Chinese restaurants and food stands selling *nikuman* (steaming meat buns) and chestnuts from Tianjin. This transformation of Chinatown into a tourist destination and 'theme park for Chinese cuisine' is rather recent.

I myself was born and raised in Yokohama Chinatown, and I still remember when there were many drugstores, bookstores, tailors, and other shops that were close to the needs of people living in the town. There were also Japanese restaurants providing *soba* (japanese noodles) and sushi. Until the early 1980s, although it was called Chinatown, half of the 6000 people who lived there were Japanese and Korean. There was even a narrow street called 'Korean market' and local people could always buy fresh *kimchi* (Korean pickles) and other Korean foods.

Before Chinatown strengthened its image as a tourist spot in the 1980s, along with the project of the Development Association, there were very clear divisions of labor inside the town. Chinese were mainly running Chinese restaurants, while Japanese dealt with perishable foods, alcohol, tableware etc., and provided them to local Chinese restaurants.

After the 1980s, a 'gourmet boom' accompanied the bubble economy in Japan. Popular media such as travel journals and television often covered the food in Yokohama Chinatown. As the image of a 'theme park of Chinese cuisine' strengthened, more and more Japanese-owned shops changed their business and started to come out with Chinese-style marketing. For example,



Dragon dance, lion dance and other ethnic Chinese arts shown during festivals are helping to revitalize the town (Chen, 2005)

the butcher shop became a famous meat bun shop, and the fresh fish shop became a Chinese seafood restaurant.

Ethnic culture has been promoted and capitalized by non-Chinese people who live and work in the town. This is natural because it is much more profitable for them to do business with tourists, rather than just selling their merchandise to shop owners in Chinatown. Many Japanese who live in Yokohama Chinatown began to utilize the brand image of Chinatown, and also identified themselves as members of Chinatown. Of course, many of them became members of the Development Association.

It is very interesting to observe that as more Japanese join the town, the image of a 'theme park of Chinese cuisine' deepens. Localization of ethnic Chinese food culture was somehow led by the Japanese media and was also supported by local Japanese residents in the town.

The present residents of Yokohama Chinatown are less divided on China-related political issues than at any time during the past fifty years. Both the pro-Taiwan and the pro-PRC groups can submerge their political differences in order to deal with the economic depression that continues to linger in Japan. Their goal is to continue pulling in tourists and other visitors to enjoy shopping and cuisine in Chinatown.

Residents of Yokohama Chinatown are reshaping their own local identity in a way that is not based on a single nation. They see themselves as a transnational and multicultural community not confined by any particular nation or by a particular set of politics. Increasingly, they are reaching out to other like-minded individuals beyond the borders of

Yokohama Chinatown. This kind of local/global, or 'glocalized' mentality is

something that helped the town become today's tourist spot.

Exhibition

SELF and OTHER: Portraits from Asia and Europe ASEMUS Travelling Exhibition

*Special Exhibition
September 11 – November
25, 2008*

This special exhibition asks how people in Asia and Europe have understood the self and how they have seen and accepted each other. Shifts in such perceptions can be traced through 'portraits', broadly understood — that is, in the various ways in which the human form has been figured in portrait paintings and sculptures, in the tools used in daily life, and in photography, to name a few examples.

It is no accident that we have chosen to focus on 'portraits' in order to investigate this theme. They are the most direct expression of our perception of the human being. Memories of encounters between peoples, East and West, surface among the works of artists known as masters, in screens of 'southern Barbarians', in the records of the Dutch East India Company, on Meissen porcelain and old Imari, and in the challenging work of contemporary artists. To depict a 'person' also seems to have been to narrate the 'self'.

This is a travelling exhibition, which has been created through collaboration between object museums and art museums in eighteen countries in Asia and Europe. These museums are members of the Asia-Europe Museums Network (ASEMUS). Through this collaboration, which has crossed the borders between museums and geographical regions, we have tried to see the outlines of a different world.

The exhibition is made up of five chapters.

Chapter 1 Portraits of the

Self — in the introductory section, we look at 'portraits' from the period before contact between Asia and Europe. These depict people from each culture based on their own, respective traditions. We can therefore identify the way in which the self was represented. The works in this chapter provide a frame of reference for measuring the distance between the ways in which self and other have been represented.

Chapter 2 Before Contact: imagined others — before large-scale contact, which began in the 16th century, images circulated in both Asia and Europe in which unknown, distant lands were represented as 'far-off lands' or even 'worlds', infested by strange human forms. Even after direct contact between Asia and Europe, these images of human beings from 'strange lands' survived for a long time.

Chapter 3 After Contact: representing the other in one's own style — the central section of this exhibition. Here we turn to various works produced in Asia and Europe after direct contact began in the 16th century.

Chapter 4 The modern look: adopting the other's style — the various works in this chapter reveal the way in which 'modernity' swept through Asia and Europe. These works reflect our understanding of 'modernity' to be an era in which it becomes easy, even inevitable, to incorporate the other's style or motifs, regardless of whether one is depicting the self or the other.

Chapter 5 Self and other in the contemporary world — this is the final section. At present, things, people, and information are flowing throughout the world, and trans-regional and trans-cultural contacts have become normal. Sometimes people's identity — that is, their sense of belonging to a particular region or culture — falters, and sometimes it is strengthened. In this last

chapter, we have collected works that question the way identity might exist in this contemporary world.

These works and the exhibition as a whole confront us once more with the question: 'have we in fact come to a deeper understanding of the other, and the self?'

Kenji Yoshida
Chief Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Conferences

50th Anniversary of the Japanese Expedition to the Andes

*International Symposium
September 2, 2008*

This year is the fiftieth year since Japanese anthropologists began archaeological investigations in the Andes of South America. In 1958 the Scientific Expedition of the Tokyo University to the Andes, headed by Eiichiro Ishida and



50th Anniversary of the Japanese Expedition to the Andes, Casona Cultural Center

Seiichi Izumi, began investigations of ancient Andean civilization in South America. Since then the Japanese team has focused on the formation of this civilization through excavations at large ceremonial centers of the Formative Period (BC 2500-AD 0), when the civilization was founded.

In commemoration, the international symposium '50th Anniversary of the Japanese Expedition to the Andes' was held at a splendid chapel that dates back to the 18th century in the Casona Cultural Center of the National University of San Marcos, Peru. Minpaku made an academic agreement with this university three years ago. The symposium was organized by cooperation between the University of San Marcos, the University of Saitama and Minpaku, with support from the Japanese Embassy in Peru.

The symposium, held on September 2, opened with greetings from the Dean of the Faculty of Social Science at the University of San Marcos and the Japanese ambassador in Peru. Following this, Yoshio Onuki, Professor Emeritus of the Tokyo University presented the fifty-year history of the archaeological investigation, showing quite a number of images of the initial stage of the work. He emphasized the Japanese introduction of trench-style excavation and its application to large-scale archaeological sites, and mentioned the accuracy of chronology established through this method.

Yuji Seki (the present author) represented the current Japanese-Peruvian team and showed new archaeological evidence from the Pacopampa site in the northern highlands of Peru. This is an ongoing project based on an agreement between the University of San Marcos and Minpaku. The project included an educational program for undergraduate students from the University of San Marcos to form specialists in the field of archaeology.

Finally, Hernán Amat Olázabal, Head of the School of Archaeology at the University of

San Marcos, presented his own experience of participating in digs with the original Japanese team back in 1958. He focused on its extremely valuable contribution to Peruvian archaeology, referring to almost all the excavations, and social development programs related to the conservation of cultural heritage that were realized by the Japanese team. Moreover, he applauded the present prosperity of Andean archaeological studies in Japan; many Japanese postgraduate students who were part of the study team now investigate archaeological sites all over Peru; *the Japanese Society for Studies on Ancient America* was recently established and an academic journal is now published by this organization.

After these presentations, Onuki and I were praised for academic contributions to Peruvian archaeology, and received a commendation from the Rector of the University of San Marcos. The symposium enjoyed an atmosphere of friendliness as the university choir sang folk music during the symposium intervals. The hall overflowed with an audience of more than 300 people.

Yuji Seki
Convenor
National Museum of Ethnology

Linguistic Substrata in Tibeto-Burman Area

*International Symposium
September 9 – 11, 2008*

This symposium was convened from September 9-11, 2008, at Minpaku. Twenty-three participants presented research results produced in the project, 'Linguistic Substrata in Tibet', supported by JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (S) No. 16102001. This symposium was also partially supported by a grant from Minpaku.

This project marks the third phase of 'Foundational Research into Tibetan Bon Culture' launched at Minpaku in 1995, and represents a summation of



Linguistic Substrata in Tibeto-Burman Area

the research. Japan has a long tradition of Tibetan studies, and has accumulated significant historical resources. However, the research has centered on Buddhist studies, and attempts to understand Tibet for its own sake have been sparse. At Minpaku, we were determined to focus on the culture of the Bon religion as one of the elements upon which Tibetan culture was founded, and to consolidate our research infrastructure for a comprehensive investigation of the topic. Early results were presented at the 1999 symposium 'New Horizons in Bon Studies' and in a Minpaku research report. The present symposium concentrated on the participants' original interests in the Zhangzhung language and surrounding Tibeto-Burman languages, and in problems associated with the methodology of historical linguistics.

Our participants and the main themes addressed were:

- (i) Pronominals and Directives: S. Shirai, Y. Takahashi, K. Kiryu, and H. Suzuki.
- (ii) Zhangzhung and Old Tibetan: I. Honda, J. Evans (Taiwan), Huang Chenglong (China), G. Jacques (France), Y. Nagano, T. Takeuchi and A. Nishida.
- (iii) Comparison, Typology and Subgrouping: R. Kikusawa, L. A. Reid (USA), and N. Hayashi.
- (iv) Some Critical Eyes on Linguistic Substrata: R. LaPolla (Australia), Dai Qingxia (China), J. Matisoff (USA), and S. Thomason (USA).

Yasuhiko Nagano
Convenor
National Museum of Ethnology

Review

Publication of the Complete Works of A.D. Simukov

Minpaku announces the publication of *Works about Mongolia and for Mongolia* (Y. Konagaya, S. Bayaraa, and I. Lkhavagsuren, Eds., Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2007-2008), the complete scholarly works of A.D. Simukov in Russian.

The geographer A.D. Simukov (1902-1942) worked in Mongolia for sixteen years. From 1923-1926 he participated in P.K. Kozlov's expedition. From 1927-1939 he was a member of the Science Committee of Mongolia (after 1961 the Mongolian Academy of Sciences), where he directed the Academy's museum, Cartography Department, and founded and directed its geographical office and later Department of Geography.

Simukov organized, led, or participated in more than fifteen expeditions throughout Mongolia. His writings based on these expeditions are a great contribution to the description of Mongolia's physical and economic geography, as well as the pastoral systems, patterns of animal husbandry, and culture of its people.

He was arrested without evidence in the Stalinist purges of 1939, and died in a prison camp in 1942. He was officially exonerated in 1956, but the stigma of arrest remained. Many of his main works were published without attribution, or remained unpublished and unknown beyond the archives of the Science Committee of Mongolia, and the Institute of Geography and National Archives of Mongolia, where they now reside.

Works about Mongolia and for Mongolia contains his complete works from the Mongolian and Russian archives, as well as Simukov's published articles of the 1920s and 1930s. This edition consists of three volumes, more than 2500 pages, and 145 photographs. The first two

volumes were presented at the international symposium 'Socialist Modernization in Mongolia: A Reappraisal of A.D. Simukov and His Works' (organized by Konagaya, Minpaku, Feb. 25, 2007). The third volume has been published afterwards.

In Volume I the President of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and several other prominent Mongolian and Russian scholars, introduce Simukov's life and works.

The rest of Volume I consists of his works on the physical and economic geography of Mongolia. 'Geographic essay on the Mongolian People's Republic', a fundamental, yet previously unpublished, study based largely on the author's own fieldwork, describes the physical, demographic, and economic geography of the 1930s Mongolia. Also included is an abbreviated textbook version of this work. Both were translated into Mongolian by Simukov himself. The works 'Western Gobi' and 'Report on the excursion in the southwest Khentei, winter 1924-1925' demonstrate Simukov's skill at field geography.

Volume II is comprised of five sections. The section 'Pastures' contains the previously unpublished 'Gobi pastures of the Mongolian People's Republic', the first work to classify and evaluate the economic value of Gobi pastures. Aside from the description of cattle breeding in the Gobi at that time, the work is notable for its observation of drought frequency as well as its suggestions to improve resilience to drought. This section also includes previously unpublished works on pastures in Khangai and a study of Mongolian flora, as well as several of Simukov's articles published in the journals *Hozyaistvo Mongolii* and *Sovremennaya Mongolia* in the 1930s. The works comprising the section 'Animal husbandry' include statistical data of people and animals found in Mongolia between 1924-1934, as well as a quantitative analysis of herd species in relation to physical and social conditions of the time. The

section 'Nomadic routes and Khotons' includes the earliest known accounts of several Mongolian nomadic routes and Simukov's analysis of their genesis and development in relation to physical and social conditions.

Volume III consists of two parts. Volume III (1) contains Simukov's previously unpublished field diaries, travel notes, plans and reports relating to expeditions undertaken for the Science and Research committee of the Mongolian People's Republic between 1927-1936. Also included are Simukov's zoological notes taken during Kozlov's Mongolo-Tibetan expedition (1925-1926), and a personal letter later written to Kozlov in which Simukov described his 1927 Gobi expedition, the only surviving account of that expedition.

In Volume III (2), the section 'Materials on regional division' includes documents on the creation of scientifically determined administrative divisions in Mongolia, and indicates Simukov's role in the process. The papers in 'Diverse works' considering water supply in the Gobi, forest management in Ulan-Bator, the potential for water-based transportation, and the remote regions of Mongolia, indicate Simukov's great intellectual breadth, and his influence on Mongolian development.

Minpaku is also releasing *Cartographic Works of A.D. Simukov and the Routes of his Expeditions* as an individual CD. It includes several rare works published in Mongolian and Russian in the 1930s, including 'Geographic atlas of the Mongolian People's Republic' (in Russian), and 'A physical and administrative map of the M.P.R.'.

The CD also includes several previously unpublished maps: one traces the routes of Simukov's numerous expeditions across Mongolia between 1927-1938, a second indicates the route followed by Kozlov's expedition through southwest Khentei. Finally, the CD contains some biographic information of Simukov, as well as a list of his main

cartographic works, some of which no longer exist.

This publication releases the complete works of A.D. Simukov to the scientific world for the first time. His remarkable career sheds light on the condition and character of Mongolia during a most difficult historical period, and on a place and a time that until now has been little known beyond its borders.

Natalia Simukova

The author is Simukov's only remaining child and has been the main keeper of his works and letters. See MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter vol.24, 2007.

Information

Introducing the Field Sciences Laboratory

Since its foundation, Minpaku has been a multidisciplinary and international organization. Our staff have come to the museum with diverse training and experience in the social, natural and applied sciences, and have collaborated with a wide range of organizations inside and outside Japan. For many years, we have had a laboratory for the 'ethnoscience', which was established by Norio Yamamoto (ethnobotanist and now Professor Emeritus). This was primarily intended to support ethnobotanical and ethnozoological research, the two main trunks or legs of ethnobiology, so-to-speak. Included in the facilities were cold-storage rooms for the preservation of viable seed samples of historically and culturally interesting crops.

In 2008, the opportunity arose to renovate the existing laboratory, and there was also a need to reduce operating costs if possible. To reduce costs, we decided to relocate the seed samples to a related organization with larger facilities for cold storage, the Research Institute for Humanity and Nature, in Kyoto (another member of the National Institutes for the Humanities, NIHU). Our

previous laboratory area has been reorganised to provide space for the handling of archaeological and biological materials, the use of chemicals for sample preparation, and for various kinds of analysis involving microscopes. We now have more shelving for the temporary storage of research materials, a shared office space, and three areas designated as a 'dirty' room, a sample preparation room, and a clean room. Sinks, drying ovens, a refrigerator and freezer, desk-top centrifuges, weighing scales, light microscopes, and other equipment are available.

The new laboratory has been renamed the Field Sciences Laboratory, and as far as the space permits, is available for use by all staff, research visitors, and graduate students. The new laboratory is currently managed by Peter Matthews (ethnobotanist) and Atsushi Nobayashi (ethnoarchaeologist).

Peter Matthews

National Museum of Ethnology

Awards

Two Minpaku researchers have recently been given prestigious awards for their exceptional academic and social contributions, and one has been awarded a patent, the first patent for Minpaku and the National Institutes for the Humanities:

Shingo Hidaka (Research Center for Cultural Resources) received the JSCCP Young Encouraging Award from the Japan Society for the Conservation of Cultural Property (JSCCP). This award was established in order to recognize and support young researchers with rich creativity and superlative research ability for the development of cultural property conservation (May 17, 2008).

Naoko Sonoda (Research Center for Cultural Resources) was granted a patent on 'A New Technique for Strengthening Book Papers through Use of Cellulose Derivatives' (Patent

Number 4164571). The patentee is the National Institutes for the Humanities and the inventors include T. Morita (Professor Emeritus, Minpaku), T. Okayama (Tokyo University of Agriculture and Technology) and M. Seki (Kochi Prefectural Paper Technology Center). This is a domestic patent (August 8, 2008).

Yuji Seki (Department of Advanced Studies in Anthropology) was awarded the Prize of HAMADA Seiryō. Seiryō Hamada (1881-1938) was one of the most important archaeologists in Japan. The prize was established in 1988 by Kishiwada-City and the Asahi Shimbun Company, and is presented annually to a rising researcher or research group as recognition for excellent contributions in archaeology (September 27, 2008).

New Staff

Kenji Saotome

Research Fellow, Research Center for Cultural Resources



Saotome studied at the University of Oregon, and then at the Institute of Education (University of London) where he received his

MA in education and international development. In his dissertation, he examined how African history and culture have been represented at museums in the U.K. and Zambia, and how exhibitions and education programs related to Africa have contributed to the promotion of African images to the public in each respective country. Before coming to Minpaku, he worked for seven years with museums in Zambia, U.K., St. Kitts-Nevis and Chiba, developing education/volunteer programs and exhibitions. His research focus includes the education practices of cultural

anthropology and ethnology, community participation in managing exhibition and education programs, and self/other representation at museums in the non-western world.

Visiting Scholars

James M. Savelle

Associate Professor, McGill University, Canada



Savelle is an anthropological archaeologist whose current research activities focus on prehistoric and historic Inuit whaling cultures in the Canadian

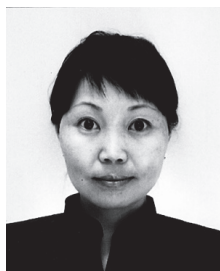
Arctic. He has also conducted field research amongst modern Inuit whale hunters. He studied geology at the University of Ottawa (BSc and MSc), and anthropology at the University of Arkansas (MA) and the University of Alberta (PhD). He has published on prehistoric and historic Inuit whaling and non-whaling societies, bowhead whale paleobiogeography, as well as past Arctic climate change, and recently co-edited, with Nobuhiro Kishigami (Minpaku), *Indigenous Use and Management of Marine Resources* (Senri Ethnological Studies 67, 2005). At Minpaku he is preparing a book that will focus on cross-cultural comparisons amongst traditional whaling societies.

(September 1, 2008 – August 31, 2009)

Olga Shaglanova

Researcher, Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies, at the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia

Shaglanova is a cultural anthropologist from the Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies (IMBTS). Before coming to Minpaku, she lectured at the Department of



Oriental Studies of Buryat State University (Republic of Buryatia, Ulan-Ude) and was official curator of Archives at the Centre for

Manuscripts and Xylographs at IMBTS, RAS. Her present research is concerned with shamanism, traditional beliefs, and their reflection in the collective consciousness of the Mongolian peoples. She has published a book *The Traditional Beliefs of Buryats of Tunka District* (in Russian, Ulan-Ude: Buryat Scientific Center Press, 2007). At Minpaku she will compare shamanic traditions across northeastern Asia and continue her research on neo-shamanism among the Buryat people who now live in urban areas.

(September 1, 2008 – August 31, 2009)

Publication

The following was published by the museum during the period from July to December 2008:

◇ *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 33(1). Contents: T. Udagawa, 'Some thoughts on Italian food and eating: towards an anthropology of food and eating in Italy'; H. Suzuki, 'Khamts Tibetan Rongbrag [Zhanggu] dialect: phonetic analysis with a wordlist', and M. Mita, 'Remembering colonial experiences: Palauan elders' stories of being educated as Imperial people, and being discriminated against as islanders'.

When Japan's Tea Ceremony Artisans Meet Minpaku's Collections: Creative Art in Perspective

National Museum of
Ethnology, Osaka,
Mar. 12 – Jun. 2, 2009

MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter

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

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

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