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Anthropology of Life Design and Well-being

Good Living as a Whole

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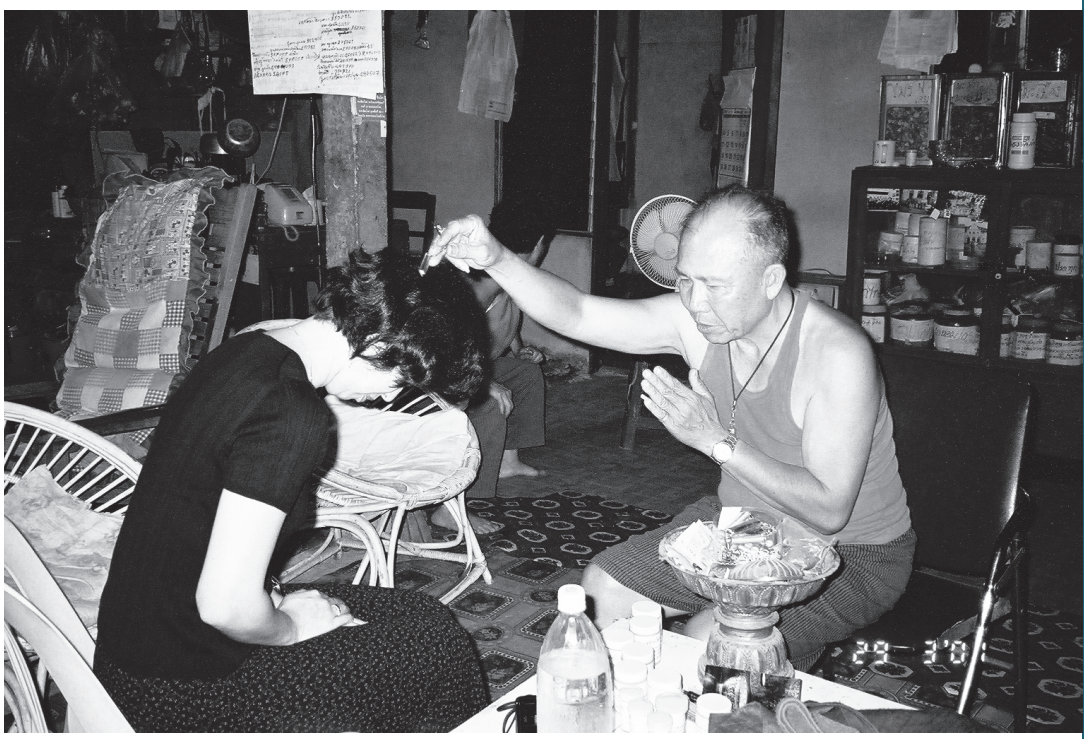
National Museum of Ethnology

During field research on medicinal plant healing and diet in Thailand, I was profoundly impressed by the wealth of practitioners performing a wide variety of services for people. In Chiang Mai, a Buddhist monk, working in a temple with luxuriant trees, showed me one of his medicinal plants for stomach distress. He talked for a long time about the influence of the natural environment, water, and the sun, on human beings. He believed that the starting point for healing his patients was to share the story of the relationship between macrocosmos and humans, in order to transmit the idea of our place as a microcosmos within the universe.

A local folk healer, or *mo-muan*, living in a house surrounded by woods at Sansai, to the east of Chiang Mai, has made pills from local herbs and animals with the recipes handed down to him from his grandfather and father. Most of the pills are carefully made to treat people appropriately at their respective life stages. There are 'medicine for women in their golden age', 'medicine for female mountain hermits', and 'medicine for cranky kids'. He has placed great value on medicine for comfort, and a pill named 'throwing one's troubles far away' is one of his most popular medicines, with many people coming to buy it from distant places, including Bangkok. He also offers fortune-telling for love and people's futures. He gives people explanations to reconcile their anxieties and help them understand their situation, and regards this as one of the important roles of practitioners.

Folk practitioners are also active in modern hospitals. At Maeon, near Sansai, local healers are asked to make herbal medicines for local patients who look to both modern and folk medicine for comfort and convenience.

These practices remind me of the popular medical book, *Aristotle's Masterpiece*, first published in the U.K. in the 17th century, and translated into many languages. It remained in distribution well into the 19th century. That



Wishing as one of the healing practices of a folk practitioner (Thailand, 2001)

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book, in addition to explaining medical treatments and midwifery, mentions dream interpretation, fortune telling and physiognomy. In the teaching of physiognomy, human beings are treated as a microcosm within a celestial globe. Physiognomy gave hints about the future and the nature of a person, helping him or her to find a good relationship. From physiognomy, people learned how to know a person as a whole, by looking at his or her appearance, voice, and way of talking. Though the explanation and effects of physiognomy defied quantitative measurement, it seems to have reconciled a wide range of human concerns and anxiety.

At the end of the 18th century, phrenology appeared on the scene, developed by the physician Franz Joseph Gall in Austria. Gall insisted that the nature and ability of a person could be diagnosed objectively based on his or her cranial shape and facial angle. Phrenology especially attracted the attention of politicians and educators interested in the welfare of the modern state in Europe, the U.S.A., Brazil, and elsewhere.

Phrenology in the U.S.A. was not only used to diagnose a person's ability or nature, but also went well with the health reform movement. In that movement, phrenology was used to see how people had changed for the better by changing their way of life as a whole. The education of children as the next generation, and caring for those considered handicapped, were taken seriously as improvements of society and for the welfare of the nation, emphasizing the responsibility of the adult generation. The movement seems to have followed the image in the drawing of 'The Steps of Life', which appeared in the 17th century (for example, in Comenius's *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*). This image shows adults at the top of the steps, with children and the aged lying at lower steps, only waiting to be tended upon (see also Shirozu's essay in this issue).

Time and Space for Leading Lives Together

Members of the adult generation cannot always be 'persons of strength', unfailingly supporting others, because people age from birth to death, and encounter illness and numerous other kinds of adversity. Even though we live in an era that harnesses the potential of science and technology, we cannot express pain and suffering objectively in figures. We often have to fight alone, and many people experience age-related physical and mental decline. We worry so much about perceptual disturbances, because they often harm the dignity of the person. Wandering about, and depressive tendencies — both symptoms of perceptual disturbance — were once considered to reflect the relationships of patients with people around them. While such patients suffer from a declining ability to identify people, there is not so much difference between their ability to register facial expressions and the ability of healthy persons. It is assumed that this phenomenon reflects the patient's desire to preserve some relationships with others. Facial expressions and the feelings of people living together can enhance the well-being of the aged. The popularity of physiognomy in the past, which gave people hints of how to read others from their facial expressions, and to develop relationships with them, might be related to recent findings.

To improve the welfare of a society, more than one pattern of living needs to be considered to realize the various kinds of well-being that human beings can enjoy. The personal search for 'well-being' is continuous, since human beings are always in a phase of transition. We need to explore factors that support good living as a whole. The English word 'well-being' was originally

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translated into the Japanese *fukushi*, or 'welfare', but 'well-being' has a broader meaning that includes the good living of human beings, in harmony with environment and space (see Terasaki in this issue). There are always matters that cannot be dealt with by using modern technology, so we should take time to deal with them ourselves, for the well-being of people around us, and for our own well-being.

To explore good living as a whole, we organized the international research forum on 'Anthropology of Life-design and Well-being: Toward Developing Caring Spaces as Interacting Places' (together with Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto, February 28 and March 1, 2009). Researchers and practitioners from various fields attended sessions on: (1) 'Quality of Life' of Senior Citizens in a Multicultural Society, (2) From Senior Citizens' Well-being to the Design of Local Communities, (3) Community Design Starting from Techniques and Disabled People, and (4) Alternative Education and Life Design. These sessions stimulated thinking on how to create space and time to take good care of ourselves, others, and our surroundings, based on many possibilities for well-being. The research results will be published in a series starting next year (2010).

Education and *Scholē*: Towards an Anthropology of Life Design and Well-being

Hiroaki Terasaki
University of Yamanashi

Life-design is a crucial theme for education in Japan now, because career education is advocated as the most important issue in the Basic Plan for Promoting Education by the Japanese Ministry of Education. The aim of career education is to give each pupil the power to design his or her own career. A human 'career' is a commonly understood phase of life. The Ministry of Education also admits that career education should be strictly related to the power to live (*ikiru chikara*). In the Japanese education administration, at least, the power to design one's own career is the power to design one's own life, that is, the power of life design.

Genealogically and fundamentally speaking, education is an activity that feeds and fosters each life on earth. In this sense, the aim of education is to give everyone the power to nourish and design their own life.

Let us go back to the archaic meaning of 'education'. Glancing at the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), we find an old sentence "[The female breast] that most sacred fountain of the body, the educator of mankind" in the book *Palace of Pleasures* published in 1566. The educator of mankind is the female breast: milk feeding a baby.

As the *OED* also indicates, however, the English word 'education' began to be used probably from the beginning of the 16th century at the earliest, as a borrowing from the Latin word 'educatio'. We must go back far to the Latin word 'educatio', in order to clarify the archaic meaning of 'education' etymologically. In the CD-ROM, *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina* (BTL-1 & 2, K. G. Saur Verlag, 2002), we can find twenty-one examples of the Latin word 'educatio' in secular Latin texts from before the 2nd century. Most of these uses meant the growth as well as nourishment of all lives including animals and plants. This was evident in Cicero and Pliny. In his *Naturalis Historia*, Pliny depicted a female bird sitting over and fostering ('educat') a cuckoo's eggs and chicks. Cuckoos place their eggs in nests of other species of birds. The word 'educatio' meant the activity of a bird fostering and sitting over another bird's baby. Such a case is found in Japanese language too; the word *hagukumu* (educate) is derived from *hakukumu* (to sit over an egg and a baby in order to warm them with wing feathers), and *sodateru* (educate) from *sudatsu* (to fly from the nest). In addition, the Chinese character '育' (education) is derived from an ancient pictograph of a birthing woman and a baby (see Figure 1).

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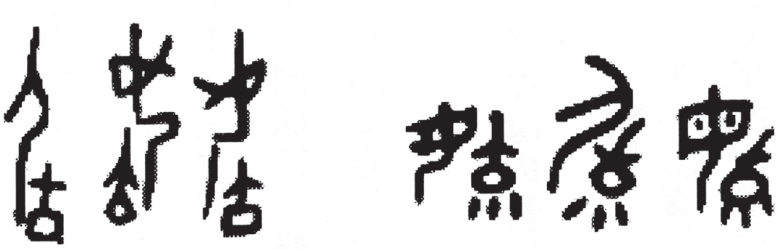

Figure 1. Ancient pictographs of '育 (education)' traced by Shou Zen Kow

To provide an education is thus to foster, nourish and care for life, so life-design is a focal point for the most important educational issues. In the 20th century, life-long education was loudly advocated. Education has not been restricted to younger generations but rather has culminated in the caring of humans at all life-stages.

How to care for everyone's life? Who cares? Who is everyone? What is life? What are the objectives and methods of care?

With the Anthropology of Life-design and Well-being, we can try to answer these questions. The first answer is that the objective of care is 'well-being', which is different from 'welfare'.

The word 'welfare' primitively meant 'the state or condition of doing or being well' (*OED*) and has been used in this way from the 14th century. But the word 'welfare' degenerated into an unfavorable word through the overwhelming role of 'police' in the 17th and 18th centuries. The 'police', in the name of 'welfare', enclosed and quarantined the old, the sick, the insane, the handicapped and children. They were made marginal and treated as objects of protection, imposition and manipulation, as Michel Foucault demonstrated clearly in his works. 'Welfare' became a kind of mercy and charity, far different from 'caritas' in the Middle Age. Such a corrupt concept of 'welfare' emerged and was strongly propagated in 19th century England. After being transported and translated into the Japanese word *fukushi*, it became deep-rooted in the social consciousness of modern Japan.

In contrast to the fate of 'welfare', 'well-being' does not seem to have been polluted with even a wisp of 'police'. It remains simply 'the state of being or doing well in life; happy, healthy, or prosperous condition; moral or physical welfare' (*OED*). 'Well-being' is not a disguise for imposition and manipulation; it is the positive right of every being, and the objective of all activities to care for everyone's life, at all life-stages.

After all, the fundamental objective of education is 'well-being'; education is, we know now, taking care of humans at all life-stages. Education is a care activity responding to the needs of every person, at each moment of life, from womb to tomb, in order to realize his or her 'well-being'.

I think that 'well-being' is a moment in which we feel comfortable and in accord with the senses of our internal organs. An indispensable aspect of 'well-being' is pleasure (*plaisir*) which comes to us from the inner soul (psyche) omnipresent in our body. Pleasure rises like the froth on beer or in a bubbling stream. Caring activity, therefore, should sustain a continuous emergence of pleasure, like a froth.

But pleasure does not mean an explosion of all desires. Epicurus, the ancestor of Epicureans who have been advocates and practitioners of pleasure, declared decisively that his pleasure consists in health of flesh and stillness of psyche. It was a 'still life' that Epicurus wanted to achieve as well-being. Such pleasure can be realized in *scholē*.

The classic Greek word *scholē*, from which the English word 'school' is derived, meant the time and space for freedom from the secular production cycle. It overlaps with the 'consumation' (unproductive and glorious extravagance) advocated by Georges Bataille. According to Bataille, the human race inevitably produces surplus products. In order to release the surplus like water, mankind had the wisdom to invent and practice the rites (times and spaces) of 'consumation'. In such liminary and marginal spaces and times, the well-being of life is realized, allowing us to resist the utility and efficiency that accelerates overproduction.

Well-being beyond Police Technology: A Brief History of the Governing Mentality

Hironobu Shirozu
Kobe University

I study the history of Western education, including how *police* as a form of educational government emerged and developed in 18th century France. What are police? As a system of protecting social security and order 'police' are well known all over the world now. Within the space of just a few centuries, Western-style police have radiated across the world. Police, however, have attended to not only security and order in a narrow sense, but also to broad fields such as hygiene, education and social welfare. In earlier times 'police' was understood to refer to an internal administration. The word 'police' appears to have existed since about the 15th century, and referred to all practical affairs of government in the 18th century. The welfare of people has been planned and realized by officers of the police, with their peculiar perspective, for a long time. It may be true that we can enjoy a comfortable, convenient and safe life owing to police efforts, even today, but we can also ask how we can achieve well-being free from police. I would like to examine the historical meanings of police, as a contribution to critical thought on achieving well-being.

Nicolas Delamare's *Traité de la Police* (1705-1738) was a milestone of police history (Figure 1). Michel Foucault regarded *Traité* as an infinite source of highly valuable information. *Traité* looks like an encyclopedia of practical affairs concerning police. It was a work used by new officers who had been subordinate to the general lieutenant of police since 1667. *Traité* dealt with problems of great urgency: what are police, what affairs should they attend to, and how should power and order be executed?

Delamare stated explicitly that the ultimate aim of police is to lead people to felicity, as much as possible, in their life. Police should focus on public welfare in order to make living comfortable and orderly. The objects of policing are common matters that make up all quotidian life. Delamare divided these matters into eleven domains: (1) religion, (2) customs, (3) health, (4) foods, (5) roads & traffic, (6) security & order, (7) sciences & arts, (8) commerce, (9) manufacture, (10) servants and workers and (11) poverty. Montesquieu also pointed out in *De L'esptit des Lois* (1748) that police deal with matters that arise in every instant, and that are trifling. Figure 2 shows us a disordered Paris in the 18th century, and is a very good illustration of the social context of the birth of police.

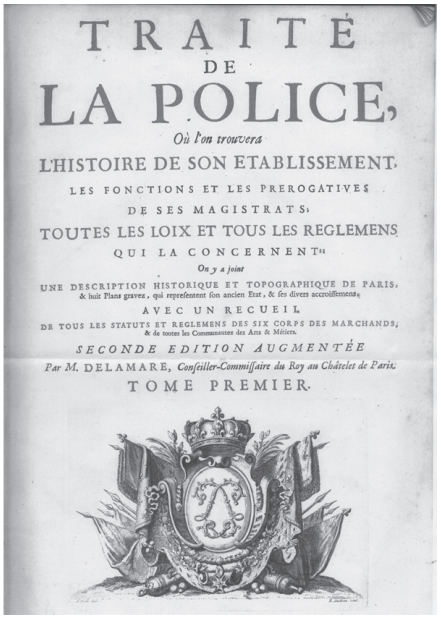
TRAITÉ
DE
LA POLICE,
Où l'on trouvera
L'HISTOIRE DE SON ETABLISSEMENT.
LES FONCTIONS ET LES PREROGATIVES
DE SES MAGISTRATS,
TOUTES LES LOIX ET TOUS LES REGLEMENS
QUI LA CONCERNENT.
On y a joint
UNE DESCRIPTION HISTORIQUE ET TOPOGRAPHIQUE DE PARIS,
& huit Plans gravez, qui representent son ancien Etat, & ses divers accroissemens.
AVEC UN RECUEIL
DE TOUS LES STATUTS ET REGLEMENS DES SIX CORPS DES MARCHANDS,
& de toutes les Communautez des Arts & Métiers.
SECONDE EDITION AUGMENTÉE
Par M. DELAMARE, Conseiller-Commissaire du Roy au Châtelet de Paris.
TOME PREMIER.

Figure 1 (left) Title page of N. Delamare, Traité de la police, second edition, Paris, 1722

Figure 2 (right) Les embaras de Paris, 1710 ©Bibliothèque Nationale de France

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As for 'felicity' as the goal of police, it is important to consider this word again in order to design an alternative style of well-being today. 'Felicity' seems to have been something different from the subjective feeling of happiness. Delamare said that people often mistook their own happiness. The duty of police was to both define felicity, and to lead people there. The modern concept of 'welfare state' sounds paternalistic and charitable to the miserable, because it keeps the concept and the perspective of a police attempting to realize felicity. Police officers regarded themselves as like pastors. In Japan, the expression, *bokuminkan* (herdsman of people), has often been used to describe the role of an officer in the Japanese Ministry of Home Affairs, since 1873. I am interested in this common early metaphor as evidence of how quickly the Western concept of police entered modern Japan.

There is another well-known analogy in theories about police: the relationship between parents and children. Early writers held that police should take care of people as parents did. Delamare exaggerated a view of the police offering parental affection and education. Hegel later discussed *Polizei* in his *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (1821), and said that people must obey *Polizei*, because the latter were the sons of civil society.

In modern Japan, police officers were also typically regarded as parents or teachers. In Europe, police were an ensemble of agents providing preventive care according to a governmental code that combined Enlightenment thought and pervasive discipline, throughout society. Police schemed to turn inhabitants into infants, who are etymologically unable to speak, in order to physically and mentally reproduce the social system. Welfare policies of the present-day almost invariably lead to a growth in bureaucracy, which is historically haunted by the schema of police. In my opinion, to find alternative styles of well-being, we must surely explore vernacular and ground-level approaches in order to break the fetters of dependence on police.

Finally, I would like to cite Plato's *Leges*. This text is very well known as the last dialogue of Plato, in which Socrates is absent. There is, moreover, no doubt that this text was crucial in the history of police. Delamare referred to it several times in his introduction of *Traité*. The following passage on children would be in accord with an ideal type of government in the theory of police:

For just as no sheep or other witless creature, Athenian said, "ought to exist without a herdsman, so children cannot live without a tutor, nor slaves without a master. And, of all wild creatures, the child is the most intractable; for in so far as it, above all others, possesses a fount of reason that is as yet uncurbed, it is a treacherous, sly and most insolent creature. Wherefore the child must be strapped up, as it were, with many bridles" (808d).

It is not difficult to guess that such a contemptuous idea of children was transferred to people generally under modern police. I would say that it is proper to seek alternative approaches to well-being, to create a world where all living beings can experience and equally share delight in life.

Well-being in a Super Aging Society

Mariko Fujita-Sano
Hiroshima University

Japan is facing a 'Super Aging Society' with rapidly growing aging population and declining fertility. According to the 2008 statistics, published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, the number of the Japanese over the age of 65 is 28,190,000, or 22.1% of the total population: one out of every five people are the elderly. This trend is expected to continue and by 2015, the elderly population will grow to be 26.0% of the total population. What makes the situation more serious is the declining birthrate. The aging index, defined as the number of people aged 65 and over per 100 youths under age 15, was 66 in 1985,which in 2002, rose to 130. The same phenomenon of the growing aging population and declining fertility can be seen in the U.S.A. and Europe.

Media portrayal of the 'Super Aging Society' is always grim. With the growing aging population, the number of elderly with chronic illnesses is also estimated to grow. Consequently,

economic and social burdens such as increasing medical costs and a shortage of caretakers is a great concern now. The decline of the young working population that is expected to support the elderly population aggravates the problem.

What is people's well-being in such a super aging society? What can anthropology contribute to the issues of well-being and life-design? Well-being means 'meaningful' in addition to good life, happiness and comfort. What is thought to be meaningful depends largely on culture. These problems associated with an increasing aging population can be seen not only in Japan but also in the U.S.A. and in Europe. Thoughts on the ideal old age, or on how the elderly should live are different from culture to culture. Anthropology can contribute by investigating cultural diversity in ideas about old age, and responses to aging society. Let me illustrate this point from my fieldwork in the U.S.A. and Japan.

Japanese and American elderly people are eager to be involved with various activities after retirement, and to build new social networks. They are anxious about maintaining their health, and preparing for possible illnesses and immobility. In both countries, centers and programs for senior citizens were set up in local communities almost at the same time, in the early 1970s. However, the ways they try to solve problems and in particular how they prioritize their concerns are different.

For example, in discussions of the Super Aging Society in Japan, elderly people are portrayed as care-receivers, and only rarely as care-givers. The Japanese elderly do often take the role of care-receivers in social programs for the elderly, whereas American elderly people do not like to be seen as needing help. They try as much as possible to be care-givers, rather than care-receivers. Let us examine their different attitudes toward certain activities at senior centers.

In social programs for the elderly, volunteers play a significant role in the U.S.A. and in Japan alike. In Japan, the volunteers are by and large middle-aged housewives whose children have grown up. In America, a vast majority of volunteers are elderly people themselves. They are involved in various activities at senior centers. These American senior volunteers use 'work' in their pre-retirement as a model for their volunteering. Most of them come to the centers to 'work' everyday. According to them, volunteering should be like work, with a clear vision of the purpose and goal, a strong determination for doing it, a regular schedule, and a sense of responsibility. Above all, all these disciplines should come from themselves and not from others. Volunteering is highly regarded because being able to volunteer means that they have leeway in health, time and money. In other words, it is a symbol of success in old age. Their view of successful old age reflects such American core cultural values as independence, work-ethic and self-determination.

Japanese elderly people see senior centers as places to enjoy their leisure time, and definitely not as places to work. A group of middle-aged volunteers hold a luncheon for the elderly once a month. They plan the menu, buy groceries, cook and set the table for the elderly guests. Meanwhile, the elderly relax and chit-chat among themselves. There is a clear division of labor between the volunteers and the elderly. An irreversible host-guest relationship is established between them. The middle-aged volunteers talk about their activity as a way of respecting the elderly. They say, "Because the elderly people have worked all their life, we'd like to do as much as we can so that they can be relaxed. We love seeing them enjoying this luncheon. It is a special time for us, too." It reminded me of the image of an ideal 'mother-in-law and daughter-in-law' relationship. This luncheon must be a special occasion for the volunteers, too. Asked why they don't hold this luncheon more often, once a week, for instance, if it is so meaningful to them, one of them quickly answered, "Oh, no. We can do it precisely because

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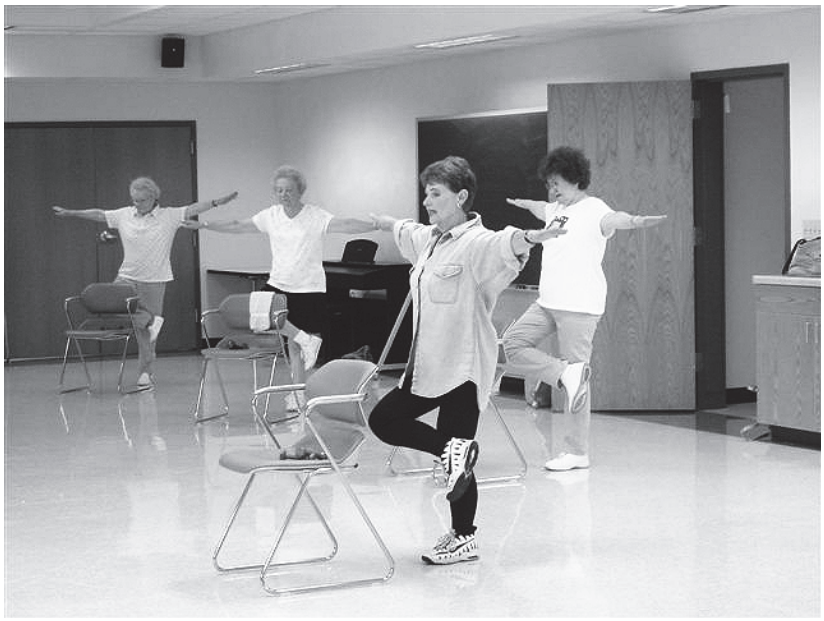
Senior volunteers working in kitchen at a senior center, Wisconsin, U.S.A. (Fujita-Sano, 2007)



Exercise class at a senior center, Wisconsin, U.S.A. The instructor is also a senior citizen (Fujita-Sano, 2007)

it is only once a month! Otherwise, it is too much of a burden for us!

An interesting incident occurred when I showed the video of a lunch program at the American senior center of my research site after the luncheon in Japan. At the American center, lunch programs are held everyday. Viewing the American elderly people themselves preparing, and serving the meal, and doing the clean-up after the meal, one of the Japanese middle-aged volunteers said, "some of our elderly people here are active enough to do the same. But, I've never thought of asking them to help us! The reaction of the Japanese elderly people there was more striking. "I'm envious of American elderly people, because they have work. Here, young people work so hard for us and we are grateful, but we have nothing to do. It must be so nice if we elderly people can help each other like Americans do." Viewing a similar activity with different attitude, in America, Japanese elderly people and volunteers could discover an alternative way to cope with similar problems.

What are the implications of this episode in understanding the issues of 'well-being'? First, a cross-cultural comparison exposes us to different ways of coping with the same problems. Growing up in a culture often makes us believe that only a single solution is available for the problems we face. By seeing the diverse ways that people try to solve common problems, we may be able to find alternative solutions and may become free from the 'common sense' that controls us.

Second, this episode makes us realize the importance of being 'care-givers' for the elderly. Throughout our lives, we strive for independence while being helpful to others. Confining the elderly to the role of 'care-receivers' only may deprive them from this opportunity.

Third, if the second point is correct, the concept of 'designing' becomes important. The government and social agencies should design programs so that elderly people who want to can 'work' and volunteer. Social services, buildings, information and tools must be designed to be accessible for them so that they can enjoy using them and being active.

A Super Aging Society certainly brings us many challenges, but the study of cultural diversity on well-being also brings us alternative ways of coping and thus broadens our horizon.

Strategic Use of the Well-being Concept for Development Anthropology

Motoi Suzuki
National Museum of Ethnology

Well-being has become a major research topic for anthropologists, and innovative studies are emerging. In the subfield of development anthropology, the well-being concept is expected to bridge the gap between ethnographic inquiry and development practice. In this essay I will address how we should use the concept of well-being, and the advantage of adopting it for evaluation of development projects.

Well-being is frequently equated with quality of life, which is usually estimated by statistical indicators of health, wealth, education, and other valuable assets. In this usage well-being is an objective concept. Some anthropologists have started to examine

the subjective sense of well-being, treating it as happiness or comfort. Well-being, in this sense, relates to people's state of mind. Although psychological studies have long tried to gauge the subjective status of happiness by applying objective tools like self-evaluation scales, the new anthropological approach to well-being aims to understand people's happiness directly in the context of his or her real life, through ethnographic methods.

Because of idiosyncratic variation as to what makes one happy, however, subjective well-being is difficult to compare and hence weak for theory building, let alone policy formation. A wise usage of well-being concepts may be to combine and compare the objective and subjective aspects. Nanami Suzuki's project on well-being at Minpaku (see her article in this issue) seems to share the same assumption. Writing that well-being has come to take on a broader meaning that includes the good living of human beings, she opens a path for flexible approaches to well-being, so far as we can conceptualize 'good living' both objectively and subjectively.

There is, however, a challenge for the new approach. Gordon Matthews and Carolina Izquierdo assert, in their edited volume *Pursuits of Happiness: Well-Being in Anthropological Perspective* (2009), that the relationship of external markers to internal states of well-being remains an open question. We need a theory to explain why the variation in objective indicators of well-being does not always correspond to that in subjective indicators of well-being.

In this vein, Matthews and Izquierdo's argument is quite suggestive. First, they correctly highlight the effect of culture. Cultural values shape people's own estimation of happiness. Objective conditions for enhancing well-being are always mediated by cultural criteria. Secondly, Matthews and Izquierdo propose that symbols of well-being are not totally distinct among different cultures but somewhat similar and hence classifiable into some broad experiential dimensions. Through comparison of ethnographic studies, they present (1) the physical dimension (how individuals experience their bodies), (2) the interpersonal dimension (how individuals experience relations with others), and (3) the existential dimension (how individuals comprehend the values and meanings of their lives). They also identify the influence of national institutions and global forces as a fourth dimension.

In addition, I would like to suggest that the gap between past and present is a fifth dimension in well-being. A drastic change in one's life itself can strongly affect the subjective sense of well-being.

With these five dimensions of well-being in mind, it is possible to evaluate development projects in qualitative ways. I argue that the ultimate concern of development is the subjective well-being of people. High scores in objective indicators such as income and literacy rate are not the goal of development but merely its approximation. To evaluate a development project fully, both objective and subjective data are necessary. Well-being fits well in this regard.

Let me cite two cases. First is the grief of a rural woman in Mexico. She is the leader of a female group formed by *Proyecto de Asistencia para Pequeños Productores del Soconusco* (PAPROSOC), a rural development project in the state of Chiapas funded by Japan International Cooperation Agency from 2003 to 2006. According to the official evaluation report, the project attained remarkable success. In her village, some forty women actively participated in the project. They formed a group to learn vegetable cultivation, dressmaking and the construction of energy efficient cooking stoves. Consequently the group members were strongly motivated to improve their living conditions.

When I visited her in 2007, a year after completion of the project, I observed that the group still existed with a substantial fund for further activities. To my surprise, however, the leader said with great sorrow that PAPROSOC was dead. She was annoyed at a sudden disruption of extension

The author is an associate professor at Minpaku. He has conducted extensive fieldwork in the state of Yucatan and Chiapas of Mexico, Belize, and the Dominican Republic. At Minpaku he organized an inter-university research project 'Anthropological Evaluation on Development Assistance' (2004-2006), and now heads another project 'Thought and Practice of "Fair Trade' (2008-2012). His primary interest lies in socio-cultural transformation in contemporary Mesoamerica. He is also interested in the application of anthropological insights to international development practice. He has contributed articles to Guideline for Development Cooperation to Indigenous Peoples in Middle America *(Japan International Cooperation Agency, 2006).*

A cacao farmer in Belize and the author (2008)

services, which had been amply provided during the project. Extension workers in the municipal office were assigned to other villages and never returned. The municipal office considered that further help to her village would be a problem in terms of equality. Moreover her disappointment discouraged other members, and the sentiments of irritation and helplessness were spreading among them.

As far as the well-being of these women is concerned, the physical dimension was improved owing to the Japanese development assistance. Unfortunately, the interpersonal dimension deteriorated after the project because of the loss of confidence between the leader and the municipal office, as well as between her and other group members. Here the fifth dimension of well-being, namely the gap between past and present, is highly relevant. This suggests that PAPROSOC should have devised measures for project sustainability, anticipating the changes in feeling among participants.

The second case is drawn from cacao growers in Belize, Central America. The Toledo Cacao Growers Association (TCGA) is famous as an example of the triumph of fair trade. In 1994 they started to export organic cacao beans to a British company, which launched Maya Gold as the first certified fair trade chocolate in the world. Since then the reputation of TCGA is growing, which in turn attracts plenty of assistance from both governmental and non-governmental organizations. As a result, TCGA members have increased more than six times in the past fifteen years.

In 2008 I went to Belize and had a chance to talk with some of TCTA members. After making a range of inquiries, I posed a straight question. "What is fair trade for you?" One farmer replied instantly, "Fair trade is market." Another farmer answered, "Fair trade is good for all, good for producers and good for consumers." I suspected that this was a formal answer for visitors, such as inspectors sent by fair trade organizations. When I asked why fair trade is good for consumers, he gave no clear answer.

From these conversations I would like to suggest that knowledge about consumers would improve the well-being of TCGA members, although I do not disbelieve the positive effects of fair trade for them. If they had more accurate images of those who enjoy the chocolate made from their cacao, rather than recognizing them abstractly as a 'market' or as 'consumers', the interpersonal dimension of their well-being would become better. Communication by mail, e-mail, and mutual visit programs would satisfy this requirement. In order to support marginal producers in developing countries, typical economic strategies of fair trade such as the establishment of a minimum price and the disbursement of a fair trade premium, are not enough. Personal contacts are desirable to add reciprocal confidence to business transactions.

These two cases illustrate that the objective existence of well-being is not always sufficient for the subjective feeling of well-being. While official development institutions tend to emphasize the former, the ethnographer's expertise lies in the latter. Strategic use of the concept of well-being will help to promote dialogue between them. Well-being should be a basic concept for applied and practice-oriented anthropologists.

Exhibition

Voices from the Land, Visions of Life: Beauty Created by the Indigenous Peoples of Canada

Special Exhibition
September 10 – December 8, 2009

Through the beauty of daily tools, ceremonial items, clothing, and artworks created by the indigenous peoples of Canada, this special exhibition shows their cultural diversity and their underlying world. It introduces the unique aesthetic expressions and concepts of the indigenous peoples of Canada.

The exhibition consists of three parts: (1) Forms of beauty in the expressive and practical arts of the indigenous peoples of Canada, and the influences of diverse environments, (2) Natural environment and people in the Arctic and Northwest Coast regions illustrated through photographs, and (3) Vitality of the indigenous peoples evident in art: The art of Inuit and indigenous peoples along the Northwest Coast.

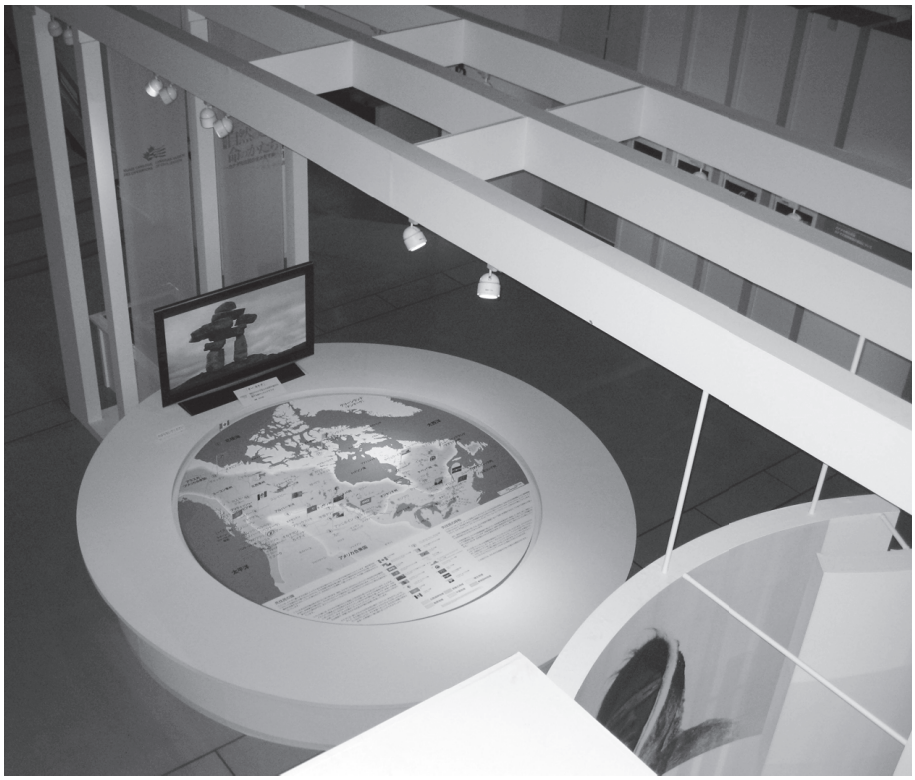
Part 1 consists of an international traveling exhibition from the Canadian Museum of Civilization: 'The First Peoples of Canada: Masterworks from the Canadian Museum of Civilization'. The 140 objects are extremely valuable from an academic research perspective. They represent the cultural diversity associated with four cultural and geographical areas: 'the world of hunters and warriors (Plains and Plateau regions)', 'the world of

people with salmon and ceremony (Northwest Coast region)', 'the world of people living in extreme environments (Arctic and sub-Arctic regions)', and 'the world of agricultural people around the Great Lakes (Eastern Woodland region)'. The exhibition introduces clothing, tools, ceremonial goods, and artworks from each cultural area. We can observe the rich and skilled artistry of indigenous peoples in Canada through these exhibits.

Part 2 is a series of photographs showing changes in society and environment in the Arctic region, and the beauty and preciousness of the Northwest Coast region. In the first section entitled 'Forty-five Years of Rapid Change: Revisiting the Inuit of Canada', the natural environment and society in the Arctic region of Canada are shown through photographs taken in the 1960s, and then forty years later by reporters of the Asahi Shinbun. In the second section, entitled 'Voices of Mythology: Along the Canadian Northwest Coast', photographs taken by a Japanese photographer, Tomoaki Akasaka, introduce viewers to the natural environment and people of the Northwest Coast region.

Part 3 shows the art of Inuit and Northwest Coast indigenous artists. Minpaku collections include numerous prints and sculptures created by indigenous people of the Arctic and Northwest Coast regions. The Inuit art includes prints and stone sculptures representing scenes of hunting activities and daily life. The Northwest Coast art includes works such as totem poles, masks, wooden boxes, and bowls. Although based on technology and tales cultivated and recounted over many centuries, these artworks emerged during the waves of drastic change in society and culture experienced in the middle of the 20th century. The art reflects the history of their hardships, revival from their suffering, and their hopes for the future. Part 3 also introduces indigenous modes of expression and the underlying relations between humans and animals expressed through prints and sculpture. We hope to show the different concepts and world views, while at the same time making it possible to simply enjoy the art of the indigenous peoples. Many works of indigenous art from Canada represent the idea of 'transformation' from animals to humans and from humans to animals. We also present this idea visually, using state-of-the-art computer technology to aid the imagination.

By using materials and research results from two museums, we have been able to present an overall picture of the diverse cultures of indigenous people in Canada. At the same time, we have highlighted the unique artistry of two contrasting cultures in the Arctic and Northwest Coast regions. We also hope to give visitors a glimpse of a world view shared by many of the indigenous peoples of Canada — a view that integrates nature and humans into one 'whole'.



Introductory area of the special exhibition

Nobuhiro Kishigami
Chief organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Conferences

The Japanese Way to Multilingualism: Its Ideal and Reality

Open Research Forum
June 20, 2009

This open research forum was held on June 20, 2009 at Minpaku, jointly with *Tagengoka Gensho Kenkyukai* (Research Association for Multilingualism).

Japan is now moving rapidly towards being a multiethnic society. At the same time, languages brought into Japan by immigrants (immigrant languages) have gradually begun to function as community languages in society. The majority, the Japanese, have more chances than ever to have contact with immigrant languages in their everyday life. This might bring about changes in the language attitudes of the Japanese people and society. In Japan, generally the ideology of monolingualism has been pervasive. A common concern has been that societal

multilingualism might lead to the emergence of an information underclass among immigrants, thus leaving them outside society, without integration. *Tagengoka Gensho Kenkyukai* was founded ten years ago to examine phenomena related to the multilingualization of Japan.

Hiroshi Shoji (Minpaku) opened the panel discussion with a keynote speech on the general situation of multilingualization in Japan.

He remarked on the changes that multilingualism may bring to the present rigid Japanese society, and pointed out the need for close attention to the on-going multilingualization, and the sociolinguistic situation of individual immigrant languages in Japan.

During the panel discussion Hitomi Okazaki (Ochanomizu University) spoke of the need to create a *kyosei Nihongo* (Japanese language for living together) in Japanese language education for foreigners, instead of forcing normative Japanese on them. Susumu Ishihara (General Editor, *Immigrants*) talked about the increasing role of public media that convey messages and information between immigrants and immigrant-related institutions. Miseon Kim (Minpaku) spoke about first-generation Korean immigrant women in Japan in relation to gender, social class and illiteracy. She pointed out that the present Japanese social setting may easily reproduce a social underclass among immigrant women. Toshiaki Yasuda (Hitotsubashi University) examined the term *tagengo-shakai* (multilingual society) that came to be widely used only recently. He considers it ill-founded to define multiethnic society as multilingual, for any society contains a substantial component of multilingualism.

Eleven papers were presented before the panel discussion. Most of them concerned current issues in the development of multilingualism in Japan: for example, the problems of teaching Japanese as a second language for foreigners, the functions of using dialects in courts, Japanese loan-words in Japanese-Brazilian pupils' speech, dissemination of the concept of 'plurilingualism' in Japan, and old Korean dialects preserved by Korean immigrants.

About 120 scholars and students from related fields participated in the forum, including many from Kyushu and Tohoku. Discussions among the speakers and audience were active and productive. The forum was an excellent opportunity for participants to exchange opinions and information, contributing to the further progress of this new field in Japan. Japanese summaries of the papers are available in the following online document: http://www.r.minpaku.ac.jp/hirshoji/tagengo/tagengoforumpapers.pdf.

Hiroshi Shoji
Convener
National Museum of Ethnology

Japanese Way to Multilingualism

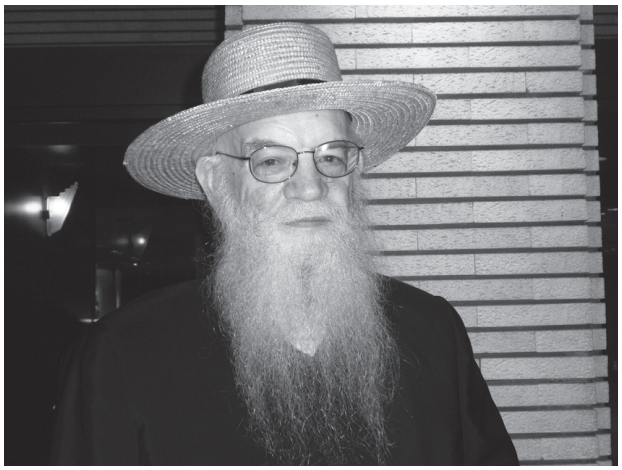
The Amish Way of Living Together in the 21st Century: Mutual Help and International Cooperation

International Research Forum
June 21, 2009

The forum was held to publicize the results of three projects: (1) 'Anthropological Perspectives on Well-being and Life Design', (2) 'Anthropology of Life Design and Well-being', and (3) 'Historical Anthropology on the Creation of Multifunctional Spaces for Welfare and Education in Multicultural Aging Societies'. It was organized by Minpaku and sponsored by the Shibunkaku Art Museum in Kyoto, which ran a concurrent special exhibition on 'The Amish Way of Life'.

The Amish are an Anabaptist sect that emigrated to North America from Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, seeking freedom of religion. The most conservative of those — the 'Old Order Amish' — are wary about the trappings of modern civilization, not using cars, televisions, and telephones, not receiving higher education, opposing war on account of their assertion of non-violence, and declining the receipt of Social Security benefits. Though they have often been the source of controversy in the U.S.A., greater recognition has been given in recent years to their ideals of daily mutual aid and forgiveness.

The forum invited Stephen E. Scott (himself a member of an Anabaptist group, the Old Order River Brethren), who has studied the Amish lifestyle for many years at the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies in Elizabethtown College (Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.). He enlightened the participants on three topics: (1) the role played by the thoughts and practices of mutual help and forgiveness in developing people's relationships within and between communities; (2) the



Stephen E. Scott (Suzuki, 2009)

factors that have enabled the practices to work well; and (3) how the practices might be applied in other settings.

The forum opened with welcome remarks by Director-General Ken'ichi Sudo and introductory remarks by Nanami Suzuki on 'The Amish Way of Living Together: Life Design Aiming at Well-being'. Scott then gave a keynote lecture entitled, 'The Amish Way of Life in Modern American Society'. Comments were later delivered by Chiho Oyabu (Gifu University) on 'The Amish Way of Life and Cooperation', Shin-ichiro Ishida (Osaka University) on 'The Pacifism of Anabaptist People and Aid Practice in Africa', and Motoi Suzuki (Minpaku) on 'The Amish Way of Supporting Others: From the Viewpoint of Post-development Theory'. Afterwards, a general discussion was held, with the participation of more than 210 people, including members of the public.

The forum clarified what the Amish cherish as well-being (i.e., a comfortable way of life) based on 'God's will' and what they do to realize it. One approach of the Amish is to refine the arts of communication with each other, as a basis for cultivating relationships and mutual help in a changing society. The findings of the forum may give us hints about the proper pursuit of well-being and life design, particularly in the sense of working together in a multicultural, aging society, in which conflicts are experienced based on differences in beliefs and life history.

Nanami Suzuki
Convener
National Museum of Ethnology

Management and Marketing of Globalizing Asian Religions

International Symposium
August 11 – 14, 2009

This symposium was a joint initiative by Minpaku of the National Institutes for the Humanities (NIHU) and the International Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden, Netherlands. Our aim was to catalyze research and publishing on an organizational and strategic management perspective of globalizing Asian religious movements. This perspective has emerged from Nakamaki's earlier work on the links between religion and economic enterprises.

In developing theories about the management, leadership and organizational structures of globalizing religions, the success of New Religious Movements (NRMs) and established religions in Asia as global players, from their earliest days, is striking. Tenrikyo and Zen Buddhism are two examples. A new research focus is how religious movements market themselves to potential converts in a global context. How do they approach non-diasporic communities with different cultural and linguistic heritages, and what media do they use for proselytization? This symposium combined the insights of theories of management, human resource development and marketing with perspectives from the sociology and history of religion. The result is an alternative view of the dynamics of NRMs and mainstream religions as global organizations.

Our symposium brought together established and emerging scholars in a sustained dialogue covering theoretical and empirical issues

relating to the management and marketing of Asian religions that have established a global presence, after originating from South, Southeast and East Asia. We also focused on the spread of Japanese religious organizations in the Americas, and their global context.

Eighteen participants attended from eight countries: Japan, the Netherlands, Australia, Korea, the U.K., Malaysia, Brazil and the U.S.A. For one day, the symposium was hosted by the Oyasato Institute of Tenri University, and included a field trip to the headquarters of Tenrikyo, one of Japan's earliest globalized NRMs, in Tenri City.

The proceedings were bilingual, with simultaneous translation in Japanese and English. Edited books containing a selection of papers will be published in both languages.

The symposium received generous support from the Society for International Cultural Exchange, the Oyasato Institute for the Study of Religion of Tenri University, and a JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research: 'The Intercollege Project for Education about Religions and Cultures'.

Hirochika Nakamaki
National Museum of Ethnology

Wendy Smith
International Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS)

Co-convenors

Information

Awards

Two Minpaku researchers have recently been given prestigious awards for their exceptional academic and social contributions.

Ritsuko Kikusawa (Department of Advanced Studies in Anthropology) received the Ralph Chikato Honda Distinguished Scholar Award from the Crown Prince Akihito Scholarship Foundation. Each year, the award is given to a previous scholarship recipient, who later made a major contribution in both academic pursuit and friendship between Hawai'i and Japan (July 15, 2009).

Yuki Konagaya (Department of Social Research) received the Daido Life Foundation Incentive Award for Area Studies for her multi-dimensional research on nomadic peoples in Mongolia which was regarded highly by the peoples she studied and added a new perspective to area studies. This award is given annually to two scholars who made a significant contribution to the study of developing countries or marginal areas (July 17, 2009).

In memoriam

With regret we note the following:

Hiroyasu Tomoeda, Professor Emeritus. Social anthropology on Bolivia and Peru. Minpaku 1977–1996; d. August 27, 2009.

Visiting Scholars

Kalina
Associate Professor, Nationalities Museum, Minzu University of China

Kalina was born in Nandun (Bain Tohoi) in the Evenk Autonomous Banner in the Hulunbuir League (present Hulunbuir City), Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. After finishing high school in Hailar, she studied at a college in Shanghai and graduate schools of Minzu University of China in Beijing. She received her PhD at the School of Ethnology and Sociology, Minzu University in 2004. She is now associate professor at the Nationalities Museum, Minzu University, and is engaged in museum activities and scientific research. Her main research

My Field of Dreams

If all practical restrictions magically vanished....

Legends and traditions concerning Alexander the Great in West Asia have been the subject of my research for close to twenty years now. Coming from the field of comparative literature, the basic materials for my research are texts. I try to explore how the perception of this figure transformed over the centuries following Alexander's conquest, in the regions once subjugated by him. I do this through the analysis of Arabic and Persian works of various kinds; historical didactic, religious, etc. Thus, being neither an ethnologist nor an anthropologist, fieldwork is actually secondary in my approach. It's not an absolute necessity.

But since I am an adventurous person by nature, I dream of crossing the Eurasian continent (and part of Africa) following the footsteps of Alexander.

I have so far traveled in Turkey, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Iraq, Iran and India, and have already seen some of the sites related to Alexander, such as the oasis of Siwa, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Persepolis, and Babylon. But to cover the ground in one go and to track the mountain paths and desert roads that Alexander had crossed, would be a sort of pilgrimage for me.

I don't intend to do it on foot nor on horseback, of course. I would not deny myself the modern comfort of a four-wheel drive and a GPS navigation device, and a nice hot bath in a hotel, from time to time. Besides, I would not have an army to lead nor a war to fight. World conquest is not my agenda.

So, if I were to clear the practical restrictions of time and money,

theme is the ethnology of Tungus-Manchurian peoples in China, especially the Evenks of Olguya village, who live by hunting and reindeer breeding. She is one of the few specialists on the culture of Reindeer Evenks in China. Her main publications include *A Study of the Culture of the Reindeer Evenks in China* (Liaonin National Publishing, 2006), and 'A study on the shamanism culture of the Reindeer Evenks' (*Bulletin of Minzu University of China*, 2007).

(May 1, 2009 – April 30, 2010)

David Charles Koester
Associate Professor, University of Alaska Fairbanks, U.S.A.

Koester teaches anthropology at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. He has conducted extended field research in Iceland and in Kamchatka, Russia. In Iceland he studied historical consciousness, publishing especially on national identity and the history of ethnographic representation. He continued this line of research on conceptions and uses of the past in a different ethnographic context, the Russian Far East. He has worked primarily with Itelmen people, a minority indigenous group that once inhabited most of Kamchatka peninsula. At Minpaku he is preparing the life history of a female Itelmen educator for publication. The book is based on her personal document archive, and extended interviews. He is also participating in an international collaborative study of new religious movements in the former Soviet Union. His primary interest has been to understand the place of Russian Orthodoxy in Itelmen history and social life.

(September 1, 2009 – July 31, 2010)

would I do it?

Time and money are the least of the problems that would have to be solved in order to make this dream come true. As matters stand, too many 'hot zones' lie throughout the course. Alexander's route goes through extremely charged areas. Another military conflict may erupt at any time between Israel, Lebanon and the Palestinians. Newspapers continuously report bomb attacks in Iraq and Afghanistan. The domestic situation still seems very sensitive in Iran after the elections. Plus ethnic clashes in Kurdistan, and Separatists in North India, and so on.

I do hope my 'field of dreams' would be free of the danger one day of being blown up by bombs, rockets, and mines, or of being kidnapped and shot. Not just for my own dream, but for the dreams of the people who live in these lands.

Alexander was HERE! Temple of Oracle, Siwa, Egypt (Yamanaka, 1995)

Yuriko Yamanaka
National Museum of Ethnology

Crispin Bates
Associate Professor, Edinburgh University, U.K.

Bates is a modern and contemporary historian of South Asia whose interests range widely across social, economic, cultural and political spheres. His core research interest concerns economic and social change in colonial and post-colonial central India (Madhya Pradesh), with particular reference to its peasant and tribal (*adivasi*) populations. He has spent many years working in local-level archives in this region. He has related interests in labour migration, within India and beyond. Recently he has been engaged in a major UK-government funded project on the Indian uprising of 1857 and its legacies. His most recent publication is *Subalterns and Raj: South Asia since 1600* (Routledge, 2007). For the past four years he has been Director of the Centre for South Asian Studies at Edinburgh University, and a member of the managing committee of the European Association of South Asian Studies. At Minpaku he will be writing a history of the *adivasis* of Madhya Pradesh in the *longue durée* as well as contributing his expertise on subaltern networks to a Minpaku research project led by Minoru Mio. He will also help organise workshops and conferences and overseas partnerships arising from Minpaku's involvement in the NIHU (National Institutes for the Humanities)-funded project 'Contemporary Regional Studies on India'.

(September 1, 2009 – August 31, 2010)

David Odo
Lecturer, Harvard University, U.S.A.

Odo is Lecturer on Anthropology at Harvard University, where he teaches critical history and

theory of photography and material anthropology. His doctorate examined historical photographs of Japan's early colonial project in the Ogasawara Islands. He is currently completing a manuscript on the processes by which early souvenir photographs of Japan were used within anthropology as scientific data, which was also the focus of an exhibition he curated at the Peabody Museum (Harvard University 2007-2008). Odo received his D.Phil. in social and cultural anthropology from the University of Oxford, and has held numerous research fellowships, including appointments at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, the Smithsonian Institution, Harvard University, and the University of Tokyo. He has edited, curated and published work on early Japanese and Asian photography. His most recent publications are *Unknown Japan: Reconsidering Early Photographs* (Rijksmuseum, 2008) and 'Expeditionary photographs of the Ogasawara Islands, 1875-76' (*History of Photography* 33(2), 2009).

(September 10, 2009 – January 9, 2010)

Marina Mongush
Leading Researcher, Institute for Cultural Research; lecturer, Institute of Tourism and Service (Moscow) and consultant at the Tuvan Institute of Humanitarian Research (Kyzyl, Republic of Tuva), Russia

Mongush is an ethnologist whose current research activities focus on Siberian Studies and Buddhism in Central Asia. In the 1990s she participated in an international research project 'Environmental and Cultural Conservation in Inner Asia', conducted by Cambridge University, U.K. In 1994-2006 she pursued fieldwork among Mongols, Tuvans and Kazakhs in China, and Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal. She was also a Tuvan translator for the British ethnographic film 'Herders of Monguan-Taiga', made by Granada TV. She has published about sixty articles and four books on different aspects of the history, culture and ethnography of Tuvans in Russian and English. At Minpaku she is preparing a book that reviews foreign research on Tuva in the past and present.

(October 1, 2009 – April 30, 2010)

Publications

From July to December 2009, we published the following issues and articles:

Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 34
Issue 1: T. Nishio, 'Word order and word order change of Wh-questions in Egyptian Arabic: The Coptic substratum reconsidered'; K. Yamaji, 'Aboriginal artifact in Taiwan: Weaving culture, decolonization and modernity'; Y. Iikuni, 'The gaping abyss between feminism and religion: Religious practice of women in a village in Upper Burma (Myanmar)'; I. Ebihara, 'A study of the hunting practices and knowledge of a trap-hunter in Iriomote Island, Okinawa: Based on trapping field maps over a period of 11 years'; H. Suzuki, 'Dialectal position of Daan Tibetan spoken in the Naxi cultural area'; and D. A. Madulid and E. M. G. Agoo, 'Notes on the economic plants of Batanes: *Citrus* species and *Phoenix loureiroi* var. *loureiroi*'.
Issue 2: K. Sasaki, 'Research on the ethnogenesis of the Japanese people: Review and outlook'; S. Ota, 'Blood and occupation: On scholar-bureaucrat identity and its modern change in Korea'; and S. Tsumagari, 'Sketches in hagiography: From the deeds of the guiding beings to the final realization'.

Senri Ethnological Studies
No.75: Nagano, Y. (ed.) Issues in Tibeto-Burman Historical Linguistics. 328pp.

Senri Ethnological Reports
No.87: Mita, M. *Palauan Children under Japanese Rule: Their Oral Histories*. 274pp.
No.88: Shaglanova, O. A. and Y. Konagaya (eds.) *Annotated Catalogue of Archival Materials on Buryat Shamanism: Of Center of Oriental Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist, and Tibetan Studies*. 332pp.

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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