

ASIAN ANTHROPOLOGIES: FOREIGN, NATIVE, AND INDIGENOUS

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This book is about socio cultural anthropology in East and Southeast Asia, its development, its distinctive characteristics, and its relation to anthropology in the rest of the world. We examine how anthropology is affected by the location of fieldwork, writing, and teaching, by its different histories in different countries, and by the identities of the researchers, whether local or foreign. We examine the national and international intellectual climates within which anthropology is practiced, and the significance of these differences for the development of a universalistic, global, or transcultural anthropology in the twenty first century.¹

The concern with the history of anthropology thus defined and its indigenization is not new, but since the early 1990s, there has been an explosion of interest in the subject within East and Southeast Asia.² Part of the reason for this activity can be traced back to Western anthropology's increasing reflexivity in relation to its own history, methods, and theories, but there are also other causes. They include the rapid growth in the number of anthropologists in Asia within the expansion of higher education as a whole, and their attempts to make the discipline relevant to local issues such as problems of ethnic identity. There is also the flow of students and scholars between Asia and the traditional centers of research in North America and Europe, the increasing awareness of differences in national anthropological traditions, and a growing concern among scholars based outside America and Europe about the risk of a "world system" of anthropology in which the means of publication and evaluation lie mainly in the hands of the major universities and publishing houses in the West.³

In Western accounts, the development of socio cultural anthropology is often presented in terms of the intersecting biographies of a small number of leading scholars linked to major departments in North America and Europe. In America, the list extends from Franz Boas, via figures such as Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict, to Clifford Geertz and the rest of the postwar generation. In the United Kingdom, it extends from Malinowski and his pupils, of whom the main figures in relation to Asia were Fei Xiaotong (Hsiao tung), who completed his first monograph on China in the 1930s (Fei 1939); Edmund Leach, whose research in Burma was interrupted by the war (Leach 1954); and Raymond Firth, who carried out research in Malaya following his earlier work in the Pacific (Firth 1946). There were also the groups of Dutch and French scholars carrying out work in their colonial empires, in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), and in French Indochina (now Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia). What is left out of many of these accounts is the activity taking place among Asian scholars, with the exception of those like Fei whose work became part of the Western canon. It also leaves out all those scholars engaged in forms of research and writing closely related to modern anthropology; but who lacked the legitimacy which training in the core Western departments bestowed. In the case of Japan, it ignores completely the fact that a major school of anthropology had developed in the late nineteenth century, paralleling and in some cases even preceding the developments taking place in the West. This school was in part a result of Japan's encounter with Western scholars during the Meiji period (1868-1912), but was also a response to Japanese nationalism and colonialism, as the chapters by Askew and Yamashita in this volume show.

The aims of this introduction, therefore, are two fold. The first is to give a brief historical sketch of some of the main strands of development in Asian anthropology, many of which are unfamiliar to scholars in the West. The second is to examine some of the main issues in the relationship between

anthropology in Asia and the rest of the world, such as the problem of Western dominance, the uses of theory, the process of indigenization, languages of publication, the audiences to which anthropology is addressed, and the possible contribution of anthropology in Asia to the development of the discipline world wide.

Anthropology in Japan

As mentioned above, Japan has a history of anthropology going back to the latter half of the nineteenth century, and it also has the largest number of anthropologists in Asia. The Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology (*Nibon Bunkajinruigakukai*, formerly the Japanese Society of Ethnology or *Nibon Minzokugakukai*) is one of the largest anthropological associations in the world, numbering around 2,000 members at present. Japan is thus the largest center for anthropological research in Asia. What, then, are the characteristics of Japanese anthropology in terms of its history and its structural position in the world as a whole?

Origins and development

As Askew and Yamashita note in their papers in this volume, the origins of Japanese anthropology date back to 1884, when a group of young scholars formed a group called *Jinruigaku no Tomo* (Friends of Anthropology) (Terada 1981: 7). This was founded as a response to the theories of Edward Morse, a professor in the biology department at Tokyo Imperial University (now the University of Tokyo) who had carried out some archeological excavations on an ancient shell mound. From the evidence of the bones he found there, he suggested that cannibalism had once been practiced in central Japan. The members of the group felt that the origins of the Japanese should be investigated by the Japanese themselves rather than outsiders (Shimizu 1998: 115; 1999: 126), so the formation of the group was partly inspired by Japanese nationalism. After two years, the workshop evolved into a society called *Tokyo Jinruigakukai* (Anthropological Society of Tokyo), later known as *Nibon Jinruigakukai* (usually translated in English as the “Anthropological Society of Nippon”). The leading figure in the group, Tsuboi Shōgorō, later studied for three years in London, and became the first professor of anthropology at the University of Tokyo in 1892. He remained active in the debate on the origins of the Japanese in the early years of the twentieth century until his death in 1913.

The annexation of Taiwan in 1895 marked the start of the Japanese colonial empire, and as this expanded, ethnographers followed in the wake of the military and the administrators, much as they did in the empires of the West. The materials they collected remain some of the most important early sources of information on these societies. One of the most remarkable figures was Torii Ryuzō, Tsuboi's successor as professor of anthropology at Tokyo Imperial University, who traveled extensively throughout the entire region from Mongolia to Southeast Asia, as described in the chapters by Askew and Yamashita. He not only collected extensive written data, but also built up an early photographic archive of the region, a total of over 1,800 prints (Suenari 1995:3).

In 1913, the year of Tsuboi's death, Torii published a paper based on his extensive fieldwork, proposing the establishment of a discipline he called *Tōyō jinshugaku* or *Tōyō minzokugaku* (“Oriental ethnology”). This was similar to the “Japanese Orientalism” advocated by the historian Shiratori Kurakichi (see Tanaka 1993; Kang 1996; and Yamashita in this volume). Torii advocated the study of the Orient by Oriental scholars because they were assumed to be in a better position than Western scholars to study these regions (Torii 1975: 482-83). Because of his extensive field research abroad, Torii was much more concerned with cultures outside Japan's national boundaries than Tsuboi had been. His article marked a new stage in the history of Japanese anthropology, one in which Japan began to observe others, and not be observed (Shimizu 1998: 116). In this new stage, the object of study shifted from the origins of the Japanese people and Japanese culture to Japan's “colonial Others” in Asia. Interest in ethnological research continued to develop with further Japanese colonial expansion, into Micronesia in 1919, Manchuria in 1933, and Southeast Asia in 1941.

The *Nibon Minzokugakukai*, or Japanese Society of Ethnology, was formed during the same period, in 1934. The Orientalist historian Shiratori Kurakichi mentioned above was the first president. Interestingly its establishment was stimulated by the First International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in London that same year. The rationale was stated as follows:

“Ethnology in Japan has a history of several decades. However, we have not yet reached an international standard [of research] ... Ethnological studies in Japan have been concerned with native culture and ancient cultural survivals in Japan under the name of *minzokugaku* [here meaning folklore studies]. But we should develop the discipline through comparisons with other cultures, using the results of the development of the discipline in the West to consider cultural origins and diffusion. In particular, through participation in the First International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held at London this summer, we have realized that we should promote ethnological research in Japan. This is the reason why we are reorganizing the former *Minzokugakukai* [i.e. Society for Folklore Studies] into the *Nihon Minzokugakukai* [i.e. the Japanese Society of Ethnology].” (Minzokugaku Shinkokai 1984: 4, translation by Yamashita)

This statement is interesting because it shows the growing cleavage in Japanese anthropology, between scholars whose primary concern was the origins of Japanese society and culture, and scholars who were interested in the kind of comparative anthropology then developing in the West. The two groups were about to part company institutionally as well as intellectually. In 1935, the influential Japanese folklorist, Yanagita Kunio, founded an association called *Minzokugakukai* (Group for Research into Popular Traditions). Yanagita was an influential figure in Japanese literature for over half a century (Oguma 2002: chapter 12). He had a dual career as a diplomat and writer, and his book based on Tohoku folk tales, *Tono Monogatari* (Tales of Tono, Yanagita 1975 [1909]) was one of the key texts in Japanese folklore studies (Yamashita 2003: chapter 9). The group he founded later evolved into an association also romanized as *Nihon Minzokugakukai* though using different characters (meaning “Folklore Society of Japan”) As the result, scholars specializing in Japanese folklore and ethnological studies (or *Volkskunde* in German) became separated from those interested in comparative ethnology (*Volkerkunde* in German). These two traditions have continued side by side until the present, but as Cheung shows in his chapter in this volume, the balance has continued to shift in favor of a comparative socio cultural anthropological approach over the years. A defining event in relation to this was the Eighth Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES), held in Japan in 1968. This trend was symbolized most recently in the decision of the Japanese Society of Ethnology to change its name to the Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology, from the Spring of 2004.

From the annexation of Taiwan in 1895 onwards, ethnologists had been used by the Japanese colonial government, and they also became involved in the war effort after 1941 (cf. Shimizu and Bremen 2003). A number of ethnographic research institutes were set up, some of which had colonial origins. These included the *Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūsho* (Institute of Oriental Studies) at the University of Tokyo, which still exists, plus departments of ethnology in the Japanese imperial universities in Seoul and Taipei. Other shorter lived ethnographic research institutes were established during the Pacific War: the *Minzoku Kenkyūsho* (Institute of Ethnic Research) in Tokyo (1943-45) and the *Seiboku Kenkyūsho* (Northwestern Research Institute) in Mongolia (1944-45). Both of these were closed at the end of the war, but their longer term significance was that some of the leading figures in anthropology in postwar Japan such as Mabuchi Tōichi and Umesao Tadao carried out their first research in such institutions.

After the war Japan lost its colonies, and the interests of Japanese ethnology were once again confined to Japan. Fieldwork became mainly confined to groups such as the Ainu of Hokkaido (also discussed in Cheung’s paper in the volume) and the Okinawans. But during the Korean War, the Japanese economy began a long period of high speed economic growth which lasted for over twenty years. By 1964, the year of the Tokyo Olympic Games, restrictions on overseas travel and foreign exchange for Japanese were finally removed, and Japanese scholars once again began to focus more on “other cultures” outside Japan and less on Japanese culture itself.

Several things can be noted from this brief history. First, Japanese anthropology started with a search for the origins of the Japanese and their culture in response to the theories of foreign researchers. From the outset, it was a nationalistic project, as was also true of some other anthropologies in Asia. Second, unlike other Asian countries, Japan itself became a colonial power in Asia and the Pacific, and Japanese anthropology reflected this colonial experience. Its history was more similar to that of Western anthropology than other Asian anthropologies, even if Japanese anthropologists did tend to see their

colonial Others through the lens of what Yamashita describes in his chapter in this volume as “Japanese Orientalism.” As in early British and American anthropology, the dividing line between amateur and professional anthropologists was often rather vague, as shown in the chapters by Askew and Yamashita. Yamashita’s paper focuses on research in the Nan’yô or Japanese “South Seas” (Micronesia and Palau). Interest in this region continued after the war, and one of the major preoccupations remained the light that these societies could cast on the cultural origins of Japan itself.

Third, the regional concerns of Japanese anthropology have varied historically, along with the power and influence in Japan. In his examination of the articles in *Minzokugaku kenkyu* (Japanese Journal of Ethnology) from 1935 to 1995, Sekimoto Teruo has noted a centrifugal tendency in Japanese research over the years (Sekimoto 1996: 138–39). In each historical period, Japanese anthropologists have generally been more interested in regions peripheral to Japan than in Japan itself. Cheung’s chapter makes a similar point: by the 1960s, Japanese anthropologists were diversifying rapidly, both geographically (away from the traditional fields of research of the Ainu, Okinawa, Taiwan, North China, Korea, and Japan), and also theoretically, bringing their interests more in line with those of anthropology in the West. This trend eventually resulted in the long debate over the name of the Japanese Society of Ethnology during the 1990s which Cheung describes, and which has only been resolved very recently.

However, these areas of research now have little connection with Japan’s wider economic interests: Japanese anthropologists have generally been more interested in Africa and Latin America than they have in the United States, where Japanese economic interests are vital (Shimizu 1998: 121).

Finally, it should also be noted that, despite the large numbers of anthropologists in Japan and the immense volume of work they publish, it is still surprising how little of this work is known in the West.

Japanese anthropology in the anthropological world system

This brings us to the consideration of Japan’s position in what Kuwayama, in his chapter in this volume and elsewhere, has called the “academic world, system” (see e.g. Kuwayama 1997; 2000; 2004). In his analysis, he draws on models of the capitalist world system developed by Frank, Wallerstein, and others. The “core” of this system consists of the United States, Britain, and France, which define what kinds of anthropological knowledge carry the highest prestige (see also Gerhohn and Hannerz 1982), together with the language in which anthropologists must write if they wish to be taken seriously. In this model, Asian anthropologies are generally classified as “peripheral,” though Japanese anthropology is “semi peripheral,” historically intermediate in influence between the rest of Asia and the West. The course of the subsequent debate is described in detail by Kuwayama in his chapter in this volume.

Here the point can be made that anthropology has now become so international that it is becoming increasingly difficult to see where the “center” really is. The most powerful anthropology departments in the United States have many teachers and students from “peripheral” areas, just as Asian universities have many scholars from the West. The division is made even fuzzier by the rise of the new information technology, and the ease of information flow, so that center and periphery are now intermingled in very complex.

Anthropological production and language

Perhaps the most critical structural problem for Japanese anthropology in the anthropological world system is the problem of language. Japanese anthropologists are generally very knowledgeable about the main trends in Western anthropology, as shown in the bibliographies of articles in the *Minzokugaku-kenku* and other leading journals. Graduate students are required to read works in English or other European languages. However, Japanese scholars mainly write in Japanese, which makes access difficult for non Japanese readers. In this respect; Japanese cultural anthropology, unlike the Japanese economy, imports too much and exports too little.

One result of the “balance of payments” problem is that it is difficult for theoretical ideas from Japan to be adopted more widely. Unlike France, which has always been a major source of theoretical

ideas for the Anglophone world, the ideas of Japan's theoretically more adventurous anthropologists have had little impact outside Japan. Indeed, Mathews's chapter in this volume goes as far as arguing that Japan has become an "intellectual colony" of the West. Japanese anthropologists "sometimes seem to reduce Japanese anthropology to being a matter of collecting data to confirm Western theory." Like Kuwayama, he argues that the problem arises from power relations in the academic world system, with Japanese anthropology remaining constantly in the shadow of Western hegemony.

Eades (2000) has discussed some of the other institutional factors that might explain this reluctance to write in English, and argues that major differences between the career structures of anthropologists and the publishing industries in the West and Japan may be partly to blame. In the West, and especially America, there is immense pressure on the most prestigious journals and publishers from academics wanting to publish with them. The lengthy peer review system and subsequent revisions mean long delays in publication, often of the order two to three years. Books from major academic presses can also take years to produce. Even though peer review is assumed to safeguard and guarantee quality, the long lead time in publication means that in situations of rapid social change much of the empirical material is dated before it is published. A final point is that publishing in the West requires mastery of complex theoretical vocabularies and writing styles that are constantly changing, and these are extremely difficult for non native speakers to acquire and keep up with.

Japanese academics, in contrast, publish much of their work in university in house journals, where delays are a matter of weeks or months rather than years. Japanese book publishers are much more efficient than those in the West, and titles are frequently published within six months. Books published in Japanese in Japan generally sell more copies than books published in the West. It is therefore not surprising that few Japanese academics attempt to publish their work through conventional Western channels. Most publish quickly in Japanese and then move rapidly on to the next piece of research. Japanese anthropologists often focus more on empirical data and less on theory than researchers in the West. Historically speaking, it is not the Japanese system which is out of line with the rest of the world, but rather the West, where pressures of competition have led to rapid changes in the publishing system since World War II. Paradoxically, it is the Western system that has become the role model for scholars elsewhere, because of the power and prestige it has managed to accumulate.

Theory and its audiences

However, there is a related question: to what extent is it worth translating anthropological work written in one language into others? Work may be translated for two basic reasons, either because it contains interesting data, or because it contains interesting theoretical insights. Generally it seems to be agreed that one of the hallmarks of Japanese research is the richness of the data presented. However, this does not mean that theory is not highly valued in Japan: it clearly is. The works of leading Western theoreticians appear in Japanese translations very quickly, and many Japanese academics adopt as a career building strategy exegesis and interpretation of a particular theorist for local audiences. However, it makes little sense to translate this work into other languages in which many similar works of interpretation already exist. Mathews in his chapter makes a related point, noting that some theoretical issues that are still current in Japan are of little interest to scholars in the West, such as the search for the origins of Japanese traditions.

It can be argued that all academic anthropologists feel a need to address two different kinds of audience: the global community of scholars, and the local societies in which they live. Because of the sheer size of the American anthropology profession and the fact that its members write in English, scholars based in America can often assume that the global community of anthropologists and their local audience are one and the same. For Japanese anthropologists, the distance between these two poles is much greater. Addressing the global community raises the problems of writing and publishing in English discussed above. Addressing the local audience can be done in Japanese, which is much easier. These factors tend to reinforce the belief among many Japanese researchers that their main responsibility is to communicate with their local audience, which is Japanese. The end result is a distinctive school of domestic anthropology with its own preoccupations, such as the origins of Japanese culture and identity, and its own canon of literature for citation.

A final area to be explored in relation to the anthropology of Japan is that of minorities. It is often said that Japan is a “homogeneous society,” but historically speaking, as Oguma (2002) has pointed out, Japanese images of themselves have been much more complex. He argues that from the late nineteenth century to the Japanese colonial period, Japanese leaders and intellectuals generally saw Japan as a mixed nation. From time immemorial, the Japanese had successfully assimilated a variety of peoples from outside Japan, from both Northeast and Southeast Asia. The corollary of this belief was that the Japanese advance into Asia was “a return to the Japanese homeland,” and that the assimilation of the peoples there should be easy due to existing ties of kinship (Oguma 2002: 321). After 1945, with the collapse of the empire and the reduction in the number of non Japanese in Japan, an alternative myth of ethnic homogeneity took over. Not surprisingly, this myth has encountered increasing criticism over the years, and there has been a growing body of research both by Japanese scholars and outsiders on minorities in Japan, including permanently resident Koreans (Ryang 1996; Fukuoka 2000), the people of Okinawa (Hook and Siddle 2001; Allen 2002), and the Ainu of Hokkaido (Siddle 1996; Fitzhugh and Dubreuil 1999; Walker 2001).

Cheung’s chapter in this volume reveals some of the political complexities of carrying out this research, especially for scholars, Japanese or foreign, wishing to publish the results in Japanese. The Ainu share much in common with other minority aboriginal ethnic groups of the Pacific Rim. They were the original inhabitants not only of Hokkaido, but also Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, and probably of parts of northern Honshu. Now they form a small minority in Hokkaido alone. As a result of Japanese conquest and assimilationist policies, they lost control of their land, and found much of their culture, their language, and their traditional modes of subsistence officially suppressed. These measures, coupled with intermarriage, meant that little of their original culture survived, apart from arts and performances that could be salvaged as the basis of a tourist industry. Their culture was only officially recognized by the Japanese government in 1997. Thus when Cheung submitted a paper on images of the Ainu to a major Japanese language anthropology journal in 1995, relations between the Ainu, the anthropology establishment, and the state were still highly sensitive.

A final issue raised by Cheung’s chapter is that of the definition of anthropological insiders and outsiders. Japanese anthropology has internationalized to the point where we have a continuum of roles. Japanese anthropologists who write mainly in Japanese for local audiences, Japanese anthropologists who write in both Japanese and foreign languages for different audiences, (e.g. Yamashita, Kuwayama), Japanese scholars based in the West who write mainly in English (e.g. Emiko Ohnuki Tierney, Takie Sugiyama Lebra, Lisa Yoneyama), foreigners based or trained in Japan who can write in Japanese (e.g. Cheung and the Chinese anthropologists based in Japan mentioned in the next section), foreigners based in Japan writing mainly in English (e.g. Eades), and so on. The number of categories can be multiplied if we consider whether or not these scholars are writing about Japan or elsewhere, or if we take into account scholars of Japanese heritage with other nationalities. Clearly the question of who are the “native” or “indigenous” anthropologists, as opposed to “outsider” or “foreign” anthropologists, is become increasingly complex in relation to Japan, and a similar situation is developing in relation to China.

Anthropology in China

As Ishikawa Yoshihiro has recently argued, the early development of Chinese anthropology also had links with Japan, as ideas of race and evolution made their way in from Europe via Japanese translations at the end of the nine-teenth century (Ishikawa 2003). Among those most interested in the new ideas were intellectuals opposed to Manchu rule, who found Torii’s classification of the Manchu as a Tungus people from Siberia useful as a stick with which to beat the Qing regime. An alternative strategy was to hypothesize that the Han themselves were different because they had originated from elsewhere, as suggested by the eccentric French historian, Terrien de Lacouperie, who proposed that Chinese civilization could be traced back to ancient Mesopotamia. His ideas also seem to have arrived via Japan and enjoyed a brief vogue among Chinese intellectuals as well (Ishikawa 2003: 22). More significantly, as Liu notes in this volume, the ideas of Spencer, Morgan, and Engels were also becoming known in China via Japan

(cf. Guldin 1994: 24). These ideas were also popular among revolutionary students who saw in evolutionary theory a justification for regime change (Guldin 1994: 25). By the early 1920s, some scholars were attempting to apply these theories to the evolution of Chinese society. Institutional structures were also being established, such as the Academia Sinica in Nanjing (Guldin 1994: 31–32). In the interwar years, until the onset of the war with Japan, increasing numbers of Chinese were going abroad for training, including Fei Xiaotong and Lin Yaohua, and distinguished foreign scholars were starting to come to China. The list of monographs on China written by Chinese scholars in English was also starting to grow.

The end of the Pacific War in 1945 left Chinese anthropology little time to recover before the onset of civil war, the removal of the Guomindang regime in Taiwan, and the communist victory in 1949. There followed a long period of very mixed fortunes for the social sciences. In mainland China, sociology was closed down as a discipline until after the death of Mao (Wong 1979), while ethnology was reorganized around a new Central Institute for Nationalities (CIN), the task of which was to identify, research, and help formulate national policy towards China's minorities (Guldin 1994: 101). Major surveys of language and social history were carried out, starting in the late 1950s. However the political campaigns that swept across the country, starting with the Great Leap Forward, caused increasing disruption, and from 1966–71 the work of the CIN was halted. Attacks against leading ethnologists such as Lin and Fei escalated, and most of their fieldnotes and books disappeared (Guldin 1994: 193). Accounts by foreign scholars during the period before 1978 were also few and far between, exceptions being the studies by Hinton (1966, 1983) and the Crooks (1959; 1966), authors from outside anthropology with special access because of their own pro regime credentials.⁴

Many of the postwar generation of Western specialists on China had taken to working in Taiwan and Hong Kong during the years of chaos on the mainland. On the positive side, the closure of the mainland led to an extraordinary concentration of research in Hong Kong and Taiwan, much of it of a very high quality. The precursor in Hong Kong was Maurice Freedman, whose book, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* (1958) proved highly influential. This was followed by a major series of studies of the New Territories of Hong Kong, by Baker (1968), Potter (1968), James Watson (1975) and Rubie Watson (1985), making this one of the most intensively researched areas in the world. However, even within this area there were striking differences between villages, and minor variations in the environment could have dramatic effects on development patterns and social structure. Another substitute for fieldwork in mainland China itself was to gather data from Chinese who had emigrated to Hong Kong, and this formed the basis of several other studies (e.g. Parish and Whyte 1978; Whyte and Parish 1984; Chan et al. 1984; and Oi 1989).

The other alternative to research on the mainland was to go to Taiwan. As Bosco shows in his chapter in this volume, much of the research on Taiwan during the colonial period had been Japanese research on the aboriginal population (cf. Eades 2003). Chinese researchers carried on the tradition of aboriginal research after the separation of Taiwan from the mainland, at a time when much of the work on the Han Chinese was categorized as “sociology.” However, Taiwan also saw an influx of Western “anthropologists” studying the Han Chinese, including Gallin (1966), Pasternak (1983), Cohen (1976), Ahern (1973), A. Wolf and Huang (1980), and M. Wolf (1972). Meanwhile, Japanese scholars led by Mabuchi were starting to return to Taiwan to resume their own work there (cf. Suenari 1995; 1998).

The situation for anthropologists on the mainland gradually improved with the end of the Cultural Revolution. Fei emerged from years of persecution to become one of China's most influential establishment academics, and travel to China by Western scholars became more common. At first many of these visits were short, but gradually longer term fieldwork became possible, resulting in a fine series of monographs, which documented the upheavals of the revolutionary period and the early years of economic reform (e.g. Endicott 1988; S. Huang 1989; Siu 1989; Potter and Potter 1990; Judd 1994). Senior scholars in the major American departments such as Arthur Wolf, Myron Cohen, and James Watson who had previously carried out research in Hong Kong and Taiwan had students who increasingly chose to do their fieldwork on the mainland.

Since the late 1980s, the research interests of younger Western scholars in China have diversified to include an increasing number of projects relating to urban and cultural studies (e.g. Jankowiak; 1993;

Bruun 1993; Davis et al. 1997; Davis 2000; Tang and Parish 2000; Dutton 1998; Barme 1999), as well as ethnic identity among the minorities (e.g. Gladney 1991; Rudelson 1997; Hanson 1999; Schein 2000). There have also been an increasing number of studies by mainland Chinese scholars educated in the West after the Cultural Revolution who returned to China for their fieldwork (Yan 1996; Jing 1996; Liu 2000). To these must be added several major studies by mainland Chinese scholars based in Japan, such as Nie (1992) and Han (2000). These bodies of work are particularly interesting in the comparison they offer between the different effects of American and Japanese training on Chinese scholars of very similar background. In general, the Western trained scholars tend to produce work on rather focused topics heavily influenced by recent theory, whereas the Japanese trained scholars produce classic all round village studies exceptionally rich in historical and empirical data, in the tradition of Fei's early work from the 1930s.⁵ As with the research on Japan, the internationalization of research on China has resulted in a complex body of work in Chinese, Japanese and English, written by a variety of Chinese and foreign scholars variously based in mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, and further afield.

Two other chapters on China in this volume, by Zhuang and Wu, represent other facets of recent Chinese anthropology. Zhuang's paper is an interesting case study of a scholar using anthropology critically in order to achieve practical reforms. He uses the anthropology of education as the starting point for a critique of traditional and contemporary Chinese education. He begins with an outline of the main characteristics of Confucian education, highlights the political elements inherent in it, and suggests that many Confucian traits have survived in the modern Chinese system. Passive students, rote learning, a one way flow of information, an emphasis on examinations, and constraints on free discussion in class clearly place constraints on creativity and require reform. Much of what he describes fits well with other analyses of higher education throughout East Asia in the past few years and the current processes of reform underway in a number of countries there (cf. Goodman 2001). Finally, Zhuang provides fascinating information on the teaching of anthropology in Chinese universities, including the changes in the curriculum that have taken place since the 1980s.

Wu's paper focuses on a very different subject, that of traditional dance, which in China provides not only a focus for expressions of local and ethnic identity, but also an important element in a burgeoning tourist industry. As he notes, indigenous and foreign anthropologists may well experience and interpret these dances in very different ways. The dances themselves can be seen both as genuine attempts to preserve and stage traditional forms in ways that are meaningful to modern audiences, and as classic examples of reinvented tradition. Wu himself is well aware of the reinvented nature of the spectacle, and he also examines the role of the state in the process. After the revolution, dance teachers could impose their own meanings on what they taught, but ultimately they could not challenge the interpretations of the state. Even into the 1990s, despite the growth of the capitalist market and opportunities for performers to "moonlight" and accept other work in the free economy, the state still continued to attempt to control performers and maintain what it saw as acceptable standards. But now, as Wu wistfully comments, the market has done its worst: "Today, almost anything can be staged as long as it makes profit for the performers and organizers."

The Meaning of "Indigenous"

What Wu's paper also highlights is the importance of the position of anthropologists in relation to their subjects and in the interpretations they make of what they observe. His own position is ambiguous, as someone who is Tai-wanese but was born in mainland China, raised in Taiwan, educated in Australia, and long resident in Hong Kong and Hawaii. He was therefore able to act as both "insider" and "outsider" in relation to his mainland subjects. As we have seen in the cases of both Japanese and Chinese anthropology, there is increasing complexity in the notions of indigenous/foreign, insider/outsider, and subject/object. One of the most important themes underlying the papers in this volume is to examine critically notions of "native" or "indigenous" anthropology, and how useful they are for an understanding of the development of anthropology in East and Southeast Asia.

Indigenous as homegrown research

According to Webster's dictionary, the term "indigenous" in ordinary usage means, "having originated in and being produced, growing, living, or occurring naturally in a particular region or environment."

Anthropology cannot be said to have originated in Asia, but it is certainly being produced in Asia, where it has certain characteristics that make it different from anthropology elsewhere. “Thus, the term “indigenization” is now sometimes used to mean the rise of anthropology in places that were previously only studied by for-*e*ign anthropologists. This actually excludes the United States and Europe where local anthropology has generally been carried out by local people rather than foreigners.

Indigenous as local research

Sometimes “indigenous” is also used to refer to local rather than overseas research. In local research, fieldworkers and informants share a common culture. For example, indigenous anthropology in Taiwan often refers to research by Taiwan anthropologists about Taiwanese society. As has often been noted, a common culture between fieldworker and informants allows symbols and allusions to be more readily grasped (Aguilar 1981). Despite the danger that familiarity can be deceptive (Greenhouse 1985), the likelihood that linguistic competence of the anthropologist will be much higher allows for a deeper exploration of meaning (Ohnuki Tierney 1984).⁶

The definition of indigenous anthropology as studying one’s own culture overgeneralizes, however, by ignoring *infra* cultural differences (Narayan 1993). Taking the case of Chinese anthropologists, if an anthropologist from Beijing were to conduct research in Hong Kong, this might now be considered “indigenous” anthropology when seen from a national perspective. However, because of the differences in language and lifestyle, it could be argued that this is comparable to a British anthropologist carrying out research in Italy or Spain, i.e. within the European Union. A northern Chinese researcher in Hong Kong may well experience a degree of culture shock, an experience made more complex by the tension between the assumption of Chinese cul-tural unity and the discovery of great cultural difference. At the same time, a certain commonality in background is undeniable, and the interplay of difference and commonality can be used to see things in a new light.

A range of commonality and difference thus in fact exists between “native” or “indigenous” researchers and the societies they research: This range can be described as a scale, but is in fact more complex since it includes physical appearance, ethnicity, language, class, gender, age, and other separate factors. Hu Tai li (1984) has described her experience as an anthropologist of mainlander parentage studying a Taiwanese village where she was a daughter in law. She had to learn a new field language (Minnanhua and Mandarin are mutually unintelligible, even though they share a common writing system), and found that life in a rural village was quite different from what she was accustomed to in the city. A number of scholars have noted that particular commonalities and differences need to be considered, since class, gender, age, ethnicity, and other factors will affect the research experience (Aguilar 1981). Within this range of commonality and difference, there are some projects we would recognize as “native” or “indigenous” anthropology, in which anthropologists study people who speak the same (or nearly the same) language as they themselves grew up with, with whom they can blend in physically and behaviorally, and who share the same cultural background. In addition, some scholars of local ancestry but born and educated abroad may be viewed as “native” by the local people, even if they themselves do not feel that they are (see e.g. Hamabata 1990).

It is often assumed by anthropologists in the West that their colleagues in East and Southeast Asian countries overwhelmingly study their own societies, but the case studies in this book show that this is something of an over-simplification. It is true that in many countries, including China, the Philippines, and Taiwan, most research has been local and students are primarily interested in their own societies. For instance, at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, courses are taught on Chinese society and culture, on Chinese “minorities,” and Hong Kong culture, but not on the other major regions studied by anthropologists such as Africa, South Asia, Europe, Latin America, or the Middle East.⁷ In most of the countries represented in this volume, government funding agencies are primarily interested in the contribution that anthropology can make to nation building and development. Neither these agencies nor the students are particularly interested in exotic comparisons or distant peoples, given that funds for overseas research and travel, together with economic ties with other areas of the world, are restricted. The major exception is Japan, as described above, even though the Japanese government was certainly interested in the contribution anthropologists could make to nation building in the early years of Japanese anthropology. For other countries a link between research and political,

economic and business inter-ests is often essential for funding, despite academic pretensions of scientific disinterestedness. Anthropology—indeed most social science research—is funded primarily by states that have economic development and nation building agendas, so most research and teaching has focused on people within the national borders. Thus, the inward looking nature of much Asian anthropology is in large part the result of funding priorities which make distant research unjustifiable. When national priorities change, so does the pattern of research. In Taiwan, interest in the anthropology of Southeast Asia has recently grown, coinciding with the island's foreign investment in that region. Research on Taiwan's aboriginal communities has also taken a new turn, given the aborigines' historical and cultural links with Southeast Asia and the Pacific, and Taiwan's own search for an identity distinct from that of the mainland.

Indigenous as locally published research

Local anthropology can be divided into two types by where a work is published; some writers make a distinction between “native” and “indigenous” anthropology, and this may be useful in some instances. “Native” anthropologists are defined as those that share a common language and cultural background with their informants, often having grown up in the same society, but they write in a foreign language and act as cultural translators for a foreign audiences: By this definition, Fei's *Peasant Life in China* (1939) was a work of “native” anthropology since he came from China and did research in his home area, but wrote in English.

In contrast, “indigenous” anthropology can be defined as written by local anthropologists for local readers. Indigenous anthropologists share a common culture with their informants, and write in their common language. Since they are usually based in their home countries, they usually teach students with whom they share a common culture about themselves and their countrymen, rather than about foreign peoples.

Using this distinction, anthropological works can be divided along two dimensions: similarity between fieldworker (author) and informants, and similarity between intended audience and informants, yielding a four fold table (see Figure 1). The distinction between native anthropologists and indigenous anthropologists hinges on whether the audience is the same as the informants. Both native and indigenous anthropologists write about the culture they were raised in, but native anthropologists write for foreign audiences (e.g. Fei 1939; Befu 1971) while indigenous anthropologists write for domestic audiences (e.g. Chuang 1977; Myerhoff 1979). In indigenous anthropology, informants, fieldworker, and audience all speak the same language.

Native and indigenous anthropology can be contrasted with the two other cells in the table. In “regular/exotic” anthropology, which is the dominant model in North America, the anthropologist goes to a foreign place, using a foreign language to interview informants, and writes in English, which is a foreign language to the informants. Examples include M. Wolf (1960) and Bestor (1989). This has long been regarded as the norm in anthropology in the United States, United Kingdom, France (Rogers 2001: 490) and Japan.

In rare cases, the anthropologists do fieldwork in places that are foreign and different for them, and then publish in the language of the informants. Here the fieldworkers and informants have cultural differences, but the culture and audience is the same (or at least overlaps). One example is the research published in English by Korean born Choong Soon Kim (1977) on race relations in the southern United States. Because such scholars sometimes feel their audience does not treat them seriously (see e.g. Kim 1990; Hsu 1973), we label them here “foreign experts/Cassandras.” The closest example in this book is that of Cheung who describes his experience writing on the Ainu for a Japanese audience on the Ainu, which was viewed as politically sensitive.

The distinction between native and indigenous anthropology is not hard native language, and thus participate in the academic dialogue “back home,” as is the case with the Australian based Japanese sociologist, Yoshio Sugunoto (e.g., Sugimoto 1993,1997) and Kuwayama in this volume. Furthermore, in some instances, because of the prestige they have as academics overseas, native anthropologists often have substantial influence in the anthropological community of their country of origin, even if

they do not publish very often in their native language. An interesting case here is that of Harumi Befu (who was actually born in America, but who spent much of his youth in Japan, returning to America after World War II). Thus, making a clear distinction between “native” and “indigenous” anthropology is often problematic.

Nevertheless, the advantage of this distinction between native and indigenous anthropology is that it focuses on the intended audience in addition to the characteristics of the researcher. In both cases the anthropologist claims a special authority based on cultural commonality with the people studied, but the distinction recognizes that the writer will make different assumptions depending on the intended audience. Audiences of “outsiders” need more background, while “natives” will find descriptions of the obvious to be of little scientific merit.

Anthony Giddens is purported to have said that sociology is stating what we know but are not aware of. Anthropologists studying exotic societies, on the other hand, have traditionally written about things that their audience did not know about. Now that travel, news media, and documentaries mean that fewer societies seem exotic, anthropology has had to adapt. Part of this change is the growth of an anthropology that is indigenous, in the sense described here, with local anthropologists writing in the language of their informants.

Intentional indigenization

The term “indigenization” in some cases refers to the purposeful adaptation of anthropology to local conditions, resulting in a viewpoint different from that of mainstream anthropology: Some anthropologists call for indigenous theories to replace imported theories, and for the voices and views of the local people to be given priority. Often the result is research questions which are very different from those in the United States and Western Europe. Sometimes this localism is based on a rejection of a universal science of human culture, but in many cases the argument is that indigenous theories are of superior scientific value and/or practical use to the local society. An additional motivation in some countries (e.g. China) is to make anthropology politically acceptable by claiming that it is indigenous and not “Western.” Furthermore, many Asian scholars feel that their contributions have not been sufficiently recognized by Western scholars, while Western scholars make reputations merely reporting what is common knowledge, and treat local scholars as assistants rather than intellectual partners.⁸ Thus, indigenization as a purposeful movement is in response to the perceived hubris of Western anthropologists who see themselves as defining the field and imposing their own practices as the rules of the game.

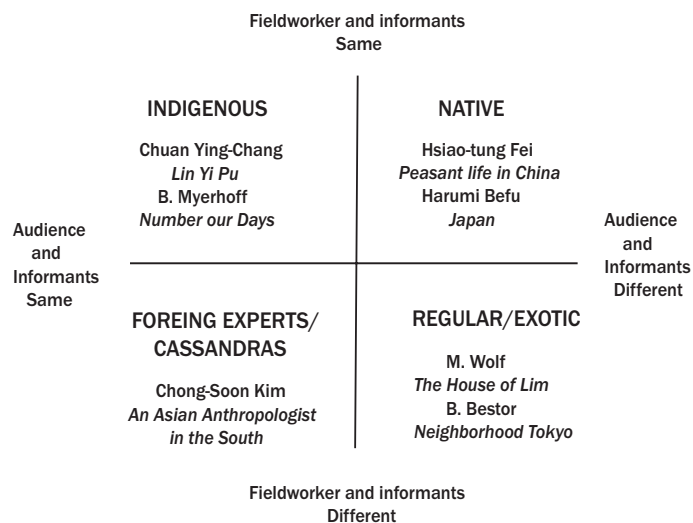


Figure 1. Difference and sameness among audience, fieldworker, and informants.

There are, of course, national traditions in anthropology, but they are not always purposely created. Sometimes they are simply side effects of the developmental process in social science. Present day Japanese anthropologists do not seek to consciously indigenize anthropology, even though, like Kuwayama in this volume, they may see it as a Western dominated “world-system.” But a large body of writing in Japanese inevitably creates a Japanese tradition of scholarship, within which scholars research and write, making reference primarily to previous work in Japanese, often written by members of their intended audience, rather than to work written in English. The same is true to a lesser extent of work in French, German, and Spanish. But some early Japanese anthropologists, as we have seen, did operate with a nationalist agenda, in making a case for the development of an “Oriental” ethnology or history, distinct from that in the West. Memories of the equation between anthropology and colonialism still linger in many parts of the world, with the result that Western anthropology is still linked in the minds of some scholars with colonial, neocolonial, or postcolonial hegemony, and denounced accordingly.

The clearest example in this volume is the chapter by Magos. She argues that it has long been recognized that “Western concepts, theories, and methods are inappropriate to the Asian setting” and that a “change in the anthropologist’s role and perspective might require a set of theories based on non Western precepts and assumptions.” Colonial education “imposed ... concepts, ideas, beliefs, and practices which were alien to the natives,” and the process of indigenization is presented as a struggle against this outside hegemony by particular groups of local scholars. As her chapter makes clear, the development of anthropology in the Philippines has to be seen within the context of the turbulent history of the country, in which Spanish, American and Japanese colonialism were followed by years of political instability and dictatorship. It is also clear from her paper just how complex the notion of “indigenization” is in the context of the Philippines. At one level it expresses the aspirations of the peoples of the Philippines for freedom from domination from outside. At another level, it also expresses the struggle among the ethnic minorities in the Philippines, including the Muslims in the south and aboriginal groups, for their own ethnic identities to be recognized (cf. Tokoro 2003; Shimizu 2003). Readers may disagree with parts of Magos’ argument, or find the shifts in the use of the word “indigenization” to describe these different contexts unsettling, but the editors of this book decided that it was important to include this chapter as an example of the kind of challenge to a universal anthropology that is common in many of parts of Asia, as in other parts of the postcolonial world. There are also similarities between the cases of the Philippines and Korea, as discussed by Kim in his chapter in this volume, in that Korean anthropologists have also been struggling to liberate themselves from a colonial legacy, in this case Japanese.

National, ethnic, and indigenous

Other types of cleavage and conflict underlie the two chapters in this volume on Malaysia. Shamsul is also interested in the links between colonialism and anthropology, given that colonial knowledge “subsequently came to be accepted as the basis of the history and the territorial and social organization of the postcolonial state.” Postcolonial nations are still officially seen as consisting of the various ethnic groups documented by colonial anthropology, though anthropologists are also seen as useful specialists in mediating the relations between these groups. Like Zhuang, Shamsul discusses the politics of the curriculum in anthropology departments; and comments that anthropology graduates are considered employable partly because of their supposed expertise in multi ethnic situations. However, he is loathe to use the word “indigenization” in the Malaysian context, preferring to see the development of the discipline in Malaysia as a process of “Malaysianization” after the crisis of 1969, with a shift from the old emphasis on “Malay studies” to one on the multi ethnic pluralism of the Malaysian state. “Indigenous” in the Malaysian context has become a word associated with just one of the local ethnic groups, the Malays. Tan also discusses contemporary Malaysian anthropology, and the influence on it of the ethnic diversity within the country, including aboriginal groups (the Orang Asli), the Chinese, and the minorities in East Malaysia. Like the country itself, anthropologists are recruited from a variety of ethnic groups,

giving them very different viewpoints. This makes the dichotomy between “foreign” and “indigenous” researchers largely meaningless, as the most important divisions lie within the country, not between Malaysia and the outside world.

Beyond Indigenization?

When “indigenization” is viewed as the adaptation of anthropology to suit local settings, it is inherently particularistic. From this viewpoint, instead of anthropology being seen as a universal science, it is seen as primarily a Western construct that needs to be tailored and modified to make it useful in Asia and elsewhere. If the proposition that anthropology always needs to be indigenized to be valid were to be taken to its logical conclusion, the discipline would be divided into a host of mutually incompatible national projects with no grand aspirations in common: Though nationalistic pride will continue to drive some anthropologists to argue for the creation of new forms of “indigenous” anthropology; the more *difficult challenge* in the discipline is to reconcile the universalistic goals of anthropology as a science with the particularistic problems and viewpoints of the local, and to use local viewpoints to inform and improve the universal enterprise. Among anthropologists in China, there seems to be a consensus that anthropology needs to be indigenized (*bentubua*), yet at the same time, the same scholars argue for increased ex-change to learn from the West (see for examples the papers in Rong and Xu 1998).

The analysis of the uses of the terms “native” and “indigenous” anthropology above suggests that it may be useful in some contexts to limit the term “native anthropology” to mean research conducted by a native of the culture, and “indigenous” research to refer to research and publication by native anthropologists in their own languages. However, the case studies of the “indigenization” of anthropology in East and Southeast Asia in this book show that there is no universal process of indigenization and that the only utility the term may have comes in highlighting local differences. The key issues affecting native and indigenous anthropology are issues that affect anthropology everywhere: audience and context.

Audience

One of the major weaknesses of the universalistic models of anthropology as a science is the lack of recognition that writing must address an audience. An audience has certain assumptions upon which writing must build, or which it must seek to undermine. In general, these assumptions are simply the ethnocentric understandings of the readers’ own cultures. What strikes anthropologists as worth studying is usually that which seems odd from their common sense point of view. Even though anthropologists should ideally study questions that emerge from received theory, in practice, many of our questions originate from our own times and social context. Postmodernist critics have noted that politics and emotions, and not just theory, mediate knowledge. The chapters in this book suggest that the culture of the audience forms a kind of hidden substructure on which we build our theory. Whether we notice and accept theories and interpretations is based, in part, on how well they fit with our received common sense. In our areas of specialization, we can hope to transcend culture bound perspectives to some degree, using cross-cultural anthropological theory, but because we address a culturally based audience and do not write in a universal language (even English is not universal), the reception of all writing is affected by the culture of the intended audience.

One experience that leads scholars in China to feel that indigenization is necessary is the odd sense of seeing their own cultural practices described in Western categories. Despite the deserved praise received in the West by books such as Yan’s *The Flow of Gus* (1996) and Jing’s *The Temple of Memories* (1996), some scholars in China have dismissed the books as “written for foreigners” because they describe things (*guanxi* and social memory) that “everybody in China knows” and because they “do not address the real problems of China.” Undoubtedly, the books would have been written differently had they been written first in Chinese: The intended audience matters. This is the basic reason why the monographs written by the Chinese scholars based in Japan address rather different issues to those written by Chinese scholars based in the West, despite the similar Chinese origins of the two groups.

The chapters in this volume show that much indigenous anthropology is motivated by a desire to record a vanishing past. As in the West, this nostalgia for the past is in part a critique of capitalism and materialism and the rationalization of society. In addition, however, it is driven by controversies over national identities and by attempts at nation building. Many of the authors point to nation building as one of the primary purposes of anthropology. The position of anthropology is often similar to that of history, ethnomusicology, and other disciplines. The resulting research is much like Western folklore: empirical, atheoretical, and oriented towards collecting and classification. These characteristics, which are often cited by outsiders as limitations of indigenous research, can be understood as due to the audiences of their work and the context of the research funding and not due to the nature of the fieldworker.

Context

It has been said that “foreign anthropologists are less affected than local ethnographers by the political and social world of their research” (Kapferer 1990: 299). From our discussion above, it is clear that the key differences arise from the audiences for which the anthropologists write. Indigenous anthropologists write in the same language as their informants, so will have their work scrutinized by their informants. Ethnographers are increasingly concerned about the ethical and legal issues that arise when informants read their published work (see e.g. Allen 1997). The freedom previously enjoyed by foreign anthropologists was entirely premised on the assumption that the subjects would not read the ethnographies, but as Tan points out in his chapter, this can no longer be assumed. Given that this assumption of separation is increasingly untenable in our increasingly globalized world, all anthropologists are affected by the political and social world in which they do research.⁹ Here again the distinction between indigenous and foreign anthropology fades as one realizes that the primary issue is that of the audience which reads the ethnography, and as one realizes the degree to which the world is interconnected. Anthropologists are increasingly being confronted with individuals claiming to be “natives,” and therefore to have more authority than anthropologists regardless of data (their experience being the only necessary datum).

Each chapter of this book shows how various aspects of context have strongly affected what is studied as part of anthropology. Tan in this volume notes that he had to abandon his hope of doing fieldwork in northern Thailand because doing so would make him unemployable back home in Malaysia. Magos describes the localism that led young scholars to want to do fieldwork in the Philippines. In developing countries, economic development and topics related to nation building are more likely to receive government funding, leading scholars to specialize in these areas. Thus, the job market and the national political context both strongly affect the nature of indigenization. This should not come as a surprise; Joan Vincent (1990) has ably demonstrated the influence of national agendas on political anthropology in the United States and the United Kingdom, and there has been much commentary since the early 1990s on the way in which the area studies approach in the United States was a response to the Cold War.¹⁰

Though it probably should not have been a surprise, one thing we have discovered in editing this book is how widely the nature of the process of indigenization, the adaptation of anthropology to local conditions, varies from country to country. In the Philippines, as Magos' chapter makes clear, the word “indigenous” operates at different levels, both national (minorities versus the majority) and international (Filipinos versus outsiders). In Malaysia, for historical reasons, the term “indigenous,” has come to mean “Malay” and hence the study of Malay society in contrast to Chinese, Indian, or British society (Cheap 1996). Thus, both Malaysian authors in this book (Shamsul and Tan) hesitate to use the term “indigenous” in their chapters. The Malaysian case highlights the political and nationalistic usage of the concept of indigenous. Given the many variables along which one can be an “insider” or “outsider,” and the obvious nationalistic and ethnic manipulation of the term “indigenous” it perhaps behooves us, as anthropologists, to view “indigenous anthropology” with caution and skepticism. All the chapters in this book show how local context and history have affected local anthropological theory, concepts, and fieldwork. But their writers also note the importance of an international dialogue among scholars, not only between Asia and the United States and Europe, but also among scholars in Asia.

Conclusion: Asian and Global Anthropology

Focusing on one country at a time, as the chapters of this book do, risks obscuring the connections between countries, overlooking both the students that go overseas for degrees and postdoctoral research and the visitors and fieldworkers that come and influence local scholars. Yet many of the chapters focus on connections, and the reader is left in no doubt as to the importance of travel and contact with foreign anthropologists. The world economic system is the most prominent influence: Filipino scholars have ties with the United States, scholars in Taiwan and Korea have contacts with the United States and Japan, and Malaysian scholars have ties with the United Kingdom and Australia. So far, however, there has been very limited communication between anthropologists from different Asian countries. As Kuwayama notes, quoting Gerholm and Hannerz (1982: 7), residents of the peripheral islands within the anthropological world map always look to the mainland center, but they know little about each other. Japan has the largest anthropology industry in the region, and Japanese anthropologists have always been most deeply concerned with Asia, but Japan has failed to develop as the major regional hub in the discipline, partly because of the language factor discussed above, and partly as a legacy of its imperial and colonial past. This is well illustrated in the chapter on Korea in this volume by Kim. In recent years, a number of scholars have been anxious to create links within the region, through meetings, exchanges, and joint research and publication.¹¹ Given this trend, there are several interesting possibilities for future cooperation between Asian anthropologists.

The first issue to be confronted is the historically ambiguous position of Japanese anthropology in relation to Japanese colonialism and imperialism. During the colonial period, Japanese anthropology practiced its own kind of Orientalism, in which the people of Asia were seen as “*dojin*” or “indigenous peoples” (cf. Kawamura 1993). They were also ranked as “progressive” or “backward” instead of being treated equally. This historical period could be examined not only by Japanese but also by other Asian scholars as a joint project on the history of colonialism and anthropology in Asia.

A second issue is that of the differences and tensions between anthropology as practiced in Japan and elsewhere in the region, following on from Mathews’ discussion of Japan and the United States. For example, Japanese anthropologists have historically been less concerned with the anthropology of development than anthropologists elsewhere in Asia. This raises the question of the reasons for these differences in emphasis between Asian anthropologies, and in what ways they can learn from each other.

Third, given that anthropology in each Asian country has its own national characteristics, how can the discipline deal with common problems such as development, environment, migration, or ethnic conflict in the postcolonial world? In order to answer these questions, one solution might be to set up an Asian network for anthropological studies which can hold regional meetings, rather like the European Association of Social Anthropologists established in the late 1980s. This would also enable Asian anthropologists to develop their own distinctive projects rather than simply depending on the West for ideas. However, even though there are national and regional differences in anthropology, we still see anthropology as a unified global enterprise. We are not advocating the development of “Asian” anthropology as opposed to “Western” anthropology. What is required is interaction between Western and Asian anthropologies that can enrich the discipline world wide. An interactive anthropology is global, because it is neither national nor international but transcends both, allowing anthropologists to work with anyone on the globe “and to appreciate the worldwide processes within which and on which they work” (Albrow 1990: 7). Anthropology is a cultural product. If culture travels, as James Clifford (1992) puts it, anthropology travels, too. Through traveling the world, anthropology can be enriched and transformed by adjusting it to the local situation. The anthropology of the twenty first century will be constructed on the basis of the “glocal,” namely the interaction of global and local relations (Robertson 1995), in the same way as other major forms of cultural production in the world are constructed, and in the process it could radically change the map of the anthropological world-system.

Notes

¹ Unless otherwise stated, the term “anthropology” is used throughout the book to refer to American style cultural anthropology or European style social anthropology, rather than the broader “four field” anthropology practiced in the United States, which also includes archeology, linguistics, and bio medical or physical anthropology. Generally socio cultural anthropology is by far the largest of the four fields. There are national differences in terminology within Asia. In Japan, the meaning of the term *jinnruiigaku* is as wide as that of “anthropology” in America. The term for “cultural anthropology” is *bunkajinnruiigaku*, though the older term *minzokugaku* (“ethnology”) is also often used. As in some European countries, there is also a strong tradition of folklore studies (also pronounced *minzokugaku* in Japanese, though written with different characters). Terms using similar characters are also found in mainland China, though “anthropology” (*renleixue*) is not as widely used as the term “ethnology” (*minzuxue*). This usually refers to research on national minorities which in the past used Marxist Leninist evolutionary theory, a model adopted from the former Soviet Union. “Sociology” is used for work on the Ban Chinese. A number of former colonial countries in East Asia follow the British tradition, in which social anthropology is often taught alongside sociology, whereas in Japan and the United States the two disciplines are more distinct. At the level of graduate research in Asia, differences between sociology, American style cultural anthropology, and European style social anthropology are often elided as scholars focus on similar social issues using similar bodies of theory. In this book we regard contemporary socio cultural anthropology as a fairly homogeneous discipline which uses an internationally accepted body of theory and research methods, while the various research traditions from which it arose are now in practice inextricably intertwined.

² On indigenization, see the edited volumes resulting from conferences organized by the Wenner Gren Foundation at Burg Wartenstein (Fahim 1982; Messerschmidt 1981) and the Association of Social Anthropologists in the United Kingdom (Jackson 1987). For earlier work on Asia, see Befu and Kreiner (1992) on national traditions of Japanese studies, and Chiao (1985), and Yang and Wen (1982) for research on the sinicization of the social sciences. Since the early 1990s, Eades and Yamashita have organized a series of panels at the Annual Meetings of the American Anthropology Association, focusing on the history and current state of anthropology in Japan. One of these resulted in a volume on Japanese research on China, edited by Suenari, Eades, and Daniels (1995 j). In 1996, a number of articles on the history of anthropology in Taiwan were published (see Li 1996, Chang 1996, and the special forum in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, no. 80). A conference entitled “Forty Years of Anthropology in Taiwan” was held in March 1997 at the Institute of Ethnology of the Academia Sinica in Taipei. (The Chinese title is actually slightly different from the official English title: *Renleixue zai Taiwan de fazhan* literally means “The Development of Anthropology in Taiwan.”) In May 1997, Jan van Bremen convened an international workshop in Leiden on the indigenization of Asian anthropology (Bremen 1997). The same year also saw the publication of a book edited by Yamashita, Kadir Din and Eades on the anthropology of tourism, consisting mainly of papers by Asia scholars (Yamashita, Kadir Din, and Eades 1997). In China, two volumes have focused on the localization and indigenization of anthropology, edited by Rong Shixing and Xu Jieshun (1998) and Xu Jieshun (2000), and many major conferences in China now include papers on this issue. The Fourteenth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Williamsburg, Virginia, in July 1998 included two panels which formed the starting point for this book: “The Making of Anthropology in Asia: The Past, The Present, and the Future” organized by Shinji Yamashita and Takeo Funabiki, and “Indigenization of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia,” organized by Joseph Bosco. In the same year, the Japanese Society of Ethnology published the first issue of a new English language journal, *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology*, designed to make the results of research by Japanese scholars more readily available to scholars elsewhere. More recently, the Department of Anthropology at the Chinese University of Hong Kong has launched its own English language journal, *Asian Anthropology*, and the Institute of Ethnology of the Academia Sinica in Taipei has launched the new bilingual *Taiwan Journal of Anthropology*. There is also the Berghahn series of which this volume is part. This is only a partial list: other references can be found in the chapters throughout this book. Not only are there a growing number of Asian anthropologists studying their own and other societies, but they are also increasingly interested in publicizing this research internationally.

³ See the chapter by Kuwayama in this volume. A session of the 2000 Japan Anthropology Workshop (JAWS) conference was also devoted to this theme, and the papers were published in Asquith (2000).

⁴ Hinton went to China as an agriculturalist. For many years after his first volume, *Fangshen*, was published (Hinton 1966), he was prevented from returning to China, due to the American government's seizure of his passport and by the onset of the Cultural Revolution (Hinton 1983: xiii xiv). He later retired to Mongolia. The Crooks stayed on in China as translators, but David Crook was incarcerated for much of the Cultural Revolution, and was only released in 1973. He died aged 90 in 2000 (Davin 2000).

⁵ In the case of Nie, this is not a coincidence. She was Fei's student at Beijing University before moving to Japan, and she discusses the influence of Fei on her fieldwork in the introduction in the book based on her Tokyo Ph.D. thesis (Nie 1992):

⁶ Note that this excludes the study of minorities in one's own society, such as the study of Native Americans in the United States and of minority nationalities in China. This type of study, which has often been seen as part of a colonial agenda (Asad 1973), takes advantage of proximity, government funding, and the fact that informants are often bilingual. Anthropologists from the dominant society generally do not claim to share the culture of their informants, even though there may in fact be many commonalities because of education and popular culture.

⁷ While it is not unusual for universities in the United States and United Kingdom to focus their research on a small number of ethnographic regions, they still usually claim to teach anthropology as a global subject, drawing on material from all over the world. In Asia outside Japan, however, the focus is usually firmly on the home region.

⁸ In the worst case, as noted by Whyte (1984: 211), the project was designed overseas, and it only used local scholars as informants and to collect data; the local scholars got a stipend but no credit in publications which came out in English.

⁹ The discussion in *Anthropology Newsletter*, October 1999, p. 4, in relation to the work of Gilbert Herdt, illustrates this issue well.

¹⁰ Ironically, as this volume goes to press, there is another discussion starting in America of the status of area studies programs in the wake of the 9/11 attacks on New York and Washington in 2001. Some area studies scholars now see themselves as under attack from neo-conservatives as "subversive," and "anti-American" because they are seen as supporting and representing the interests of the peoples they study.

¹¹ For instance, in Japan, a symposium entitled "Cultural anthropology and Asia: The past, the present and the future" was organized in 1995 at the annual meeting of the Japanese Society of Ethnology at Osaka. The aim was to discuss the state of cultural anthropology in Asia and the possibility of cooperation in future. Anthropologists from China, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia participated, and the Turkish anthropologist, Nur Yalman of Harvard University, gave the keynote speech. There have also been research exchange programs at institutions such as the National Museum of Ethnology at Osaka and joint research projects with financial support from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, the Japan Foundation, the Toyota Foundation, and others. An Asia Center was specially established by the Japan Foundation in 1995 in order to promote mutual understanding of Asian peoples and their cultures.

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