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Sohatsu 2018

Report of the Centre for On-site Education and Research Part 2

京都大学大学院アジア・アフリカ地域研究研究科
附属次世代型アジア・アフリカ教育研究センター

Sohatsu 2018: Report of the Centre for On-site Education and Research Part 2

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『創発 2018』刊行にあたって

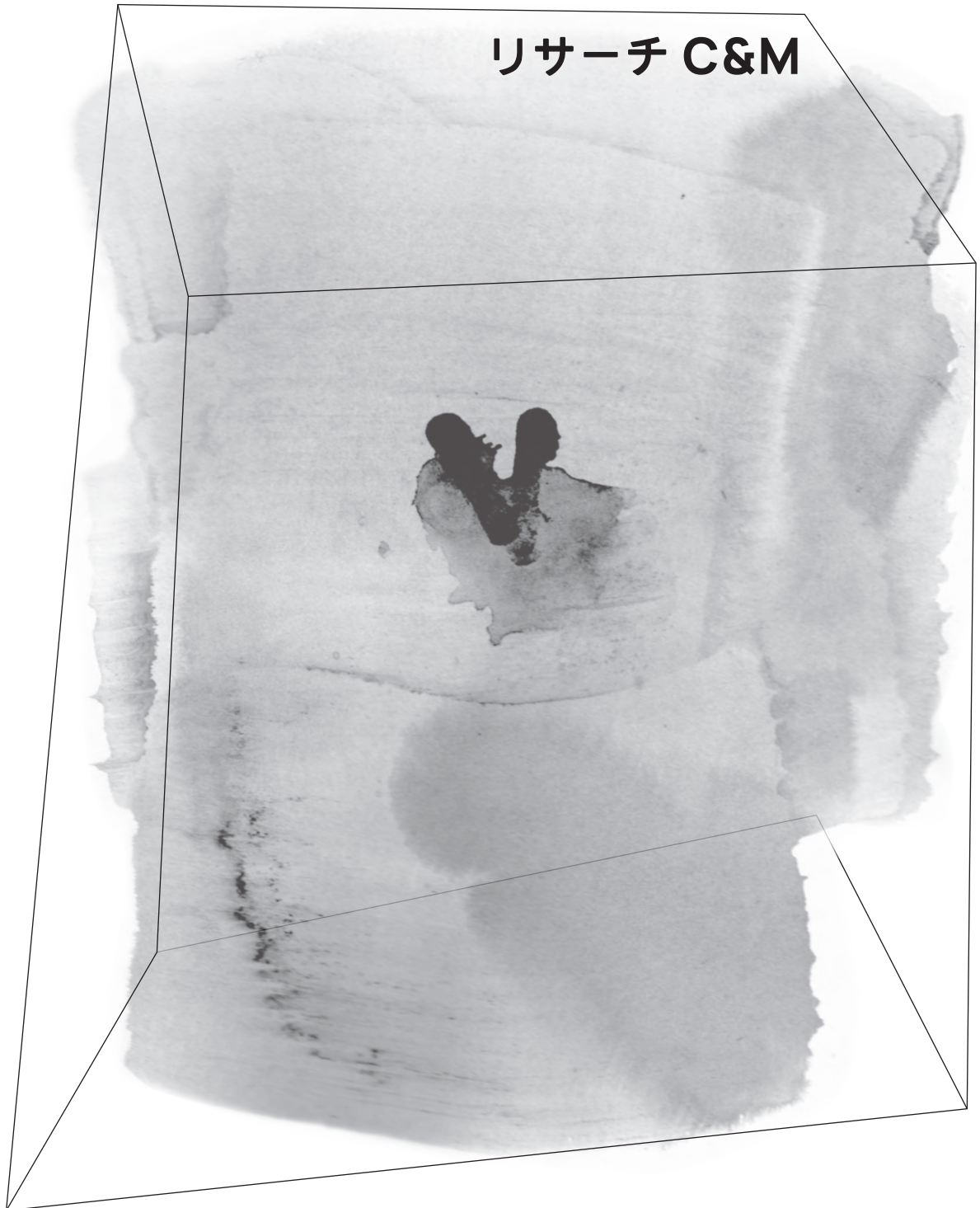
本報告書は、京都大学大学院アジア・アフリカ地域研究研究科・次世代型アジア・アフリカ教育研究センターが実施している「国際研究発信力強化プログラム・リサーチ C&M」「臨地キャンパス」「Wild & Wise インターンシップ・プログラム」「実践型フィールドスクール」の4つのプログラムの成果を記したものです。「リサーチ C&M」は、専攻や講座、学年の枠を超えた複数名の大学院生が積極的に研究グループを組織するものです。分野や地域を横断する大きな研究テーマを設定し、そのテーマに多角的・包括的に取り組むことにより、各自の研究課題をより大きな文脈のなかに位置づけ、比較の視点をもちながら研究を進展させることを目指しています。「臨地キャンパス」は、大学院生が自分の調査地とは異なる地域にでかけて、本研究科のパートナーである現地の教育研究機関の教員からその地域がかかえる現代的課題やそれに対する取り組みに関する講義をうけ、また、自分の研究を英語で発表して議論するものです。「Wild & Wise インターンシップ・プログラム」は、国内外の大学院生や若手研究者が京都に集まって学際的な研究交流をおこなうことで、次世代のフィールドワーカーを育成することを目指しています。「実践型フィールドスクール」は、教員と学生からなる小規模なグループで海外の調査現場を訪れ、住民との対話や教育研究機関との協働について理解を深めるとともに、現代社会が抱える複雑な問題についてともに考えることを目的としています。いずれのプログラムも、複数の大学院生が自主的に協力し、ともにフィールドワークを実施したり、自由な議論を重ねることをとおして、高度な研究能力とコミュニケーション能力を彫琢することを目指しています。個々人の経験とちからが感応し、接合するプロセスによって予想外の研究成果が生み出される創発 emergence が、地域研究教育の現場では日々、創出されています。その一端をご覧いただければと思います。

なお、上記4つのプログラムの実施、および本報告書の刊行は、平成30年度概算要求（機能強化経費）『海外拠点の機能強化による「アジア・アフリカ地域対応の高度グローバル人材育成」事業』、平成30年度京都大学全学経費『アジア・アフリカの大学での「出前セミナー」の実施による留学生獲得事業』および平成30年度総長裁量経費『アジア・アフリカにおいて持続的生存基盤を構築するための共同オンサイト教育・研究』および平成30年度京都大学ワイルド&ワイズ共学教育受入れプログラム事業『アジア・アフリカにおける分野横断的・通地域的問題発見型インターンシップ・プログラム』の支援を受けて実現しました。記してお礼を申し上げます。

附属次世代型アジア・アフリカ教育研究センター長
玉田 芳史

Research Collaboration and Management Support Course

リサーチ C&M



Connecting China and Southeast Asia: Changing Landscape of Education, Capital and Cultural Mobility

Research Collaboration and Management Support Program
ASAFAS, Kyoto University

Connecting China and Southeast Asia: Changing Landscape of Education, Capital and Cultural Mobility

Southeast Asian countries have been deeply connected with Southern China for many centuries, not only because of their geographical proximity, but also due to their historical inter-relations. The flow of people, things, and information among these areas have continued unabated to the present, thanks to a variety of reasons, including migration, intermarriage, trade, and even wars. As globalization progressed, particularly in the 1980s, the approval of tourist visas for Chinese citizens to visit Southeast Asian countries such as Thailand and Vietnam grew easier, and tourism became one of the most important factors in promoting communication between the two regions, leading to a surge in cross-border migration. Therefore, ethnic groups in South China, such as the Tai and Yao peoples, are resident in Southeast Asia as well, and are always on the move. The introduction of policies such as "One Belt, One Road" has led to an explosion of investments from the Chinese government or other companies for the construction of real estate and infrastructure such as railroads in Southeast Asia during the past decade. Further, rail networks within China are expanding as well, with railways being built connecting Guangxi and Guizhou provinces in Southern China with Chongqing, which sits at the center of the country. All of these factors have led to major shifts in the lives of local communities in both China and Southeast Asia. Based on the above background, this workshop focuses on changes in cultural mobility, education, and capital of local communities of South China and Southeast Asia in recent years. In addition, some of us will also explore the histories or social systems of particular ethnic groups in South China, in order to help understand the present situation between both sides. This workshop will also seek to understand the relationships between the two areas that are often missed in existing studies due to the disciplinary divide between Southeast Asia studies and Chinese studies. The purpose of this workshop is to try to present a cross-cultural study from the perspective of cultural anthropology, political science, and ecology. I would like to sincerely thank the Center for On-Site Education and Research (COSER) of Kyoto University for offering us the precious opportunity to conduct this workshop.

中国と東南アジアをつなぐ —教育・資本・文化・モビリティにおける変容する風景—

東南アジア諸国は、地理的に中国の華南地方と隣接しており、両者は昔から深いつながりをもってきた。例えば、出稼ぎ、通婚、戦争乱や交易などによる両地域間の人、モノ、情報の移動は過去から現在に至るまで続いている。グローバル化が進む現在では、特に1980年代、タイ・ベトナムなど東南アジア諸国は、中国公民に対する観光ビザの発給を緩和し、観光による地域間の交流が深化してきた。タイ族・ヤオ族などの華南少数民族の人々における国境を越えた移動が急増している。一方、中国政府や企業では、「一帯一路」などの政策によって、東南アジアにおける不動産や鉄道などのインフラストラクチャーの建設への投資や、農林業などへの援助を行っている。中国華南の広西チワン族自治区を経て重慶市・貴州省につなぐ鉄道の建設が開始された。そのため、中国華南と東南アジア世界において人々の生活や社会の変動が発生している。以上の背景をもとに、本ワークショップでは、近年起こっている中国華南と東南アジアの地域社会における文化・モビリティ・教育・資本などの変容過程に注目することにより、両地域の変容とその傾向について、考察する。また、中国華南のエスニシティ・グループの事例から、華南地域社会と東南アジアとの歴史的関わりと現在についても触れる。

従来の研究は、それぞれ東南アジア研究と中国研究の枠組みによって、分断されてきた。こうした先行研究を架橋してその不足を補うべく、文化人類学・政治学・生態経済学などの複数の分野の知見を相互参照することにより、双方を跨いだ視点を提示することが本ワークショップのねらいである。そのため、本ワークショップでは、台湾國防醫學院通識教育中心（NDMC）副教授 Fangtzu-Yen、およびマレーシアのマルチメディア大学の Kia Meng Boon 講師をお招きして、「東南アジア」と「中国華南」をフィールドとしている日中の院生たちの発表も交えて、中国華南・東南アジアに関する国際ワークショップを開催する。

Program

Date: December 2, 2018

Venue: Conference Room AA447, Research Bldg. 2

Kyoto University Yoshida Campus

12:30-12:35 Jie Huang (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
Explanation of the Purpose

Section One: From the Fields in Southeast Asia

12:35-13:05 Ying Yao (Tsinghua University)
Investment Coalitions and Public Support: An Exploratory Survey on Public Perceptions of Chinese Investment in Myanmar

13:05-13:35 Kia Meng Boon (Multimedia University)
The Malaysian Anomaly? The Case of Malaysia's Peaceful 2018 Electoral Change & The China Factor

13:35-14:05 Xiaobo Hua (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
How Telecouplings Contribute to the Co-produced Livelihood and the Land Use Systems in Transition at the China-Myanmar Border

14:05-14:35 Shihua Zhang (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
Social Networks and Migration: Chinese Migration and the BRI in Northern Laos

14:35-15:05 Yunxi Wu (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
The Impact of the Taiwanese Oolong Industry on Vietnamese Small Farmers: New Possibilities for Diverse Livelihoods

15:05-15:20 Comments by Dr. Fangtzu Yen (Taiwan National Defense Medical Center)

15:20-15:50 General Discussion

15:50-16:00 Coffee Break

Section Two: From the Fields in Southern China

- 16:00-16:30 Fangtzu Yen (Taiwan National Defense Medical Center / NDMC)
A Hidden People in the Mountainous Areas: A Kam Village in Southwest China
- 16:30-17:00 Jingzhi Lai (Xiamen University)
Solidification and Flow, from Mountain People to Regional Society: The Pacific Rim
Rural Social Circle with A Special Case of Dazhai Terrace Landscape in Longji,
Guangxi
- 17:00-17:30 Jie Huang (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
Senl and Basin Society: Traditional Local System of Tai Group in Southern China
- 17:30-17:40 Comments by Prof. Tsutomu (Kaneshige Shiga University of Medical Science)
- 17:40-18:10 General Discussion

Investment Coalitions and Public Support: An Exploratory Survey on Public Perceptions of Chinese Investment in Myanmar

Ying Yao (Tsinghua University), Youyi Zhang (Cornell University)

While Myanmar remained under military rule until 2011, the presence and activities of multinational corporations (MNCs) in Myanmar were infrequently discussed in the media and largely obscured from public attention. However, since 2011, FDI has become one of the most salient and hotly debated issues in the context of Myanmar's rapidly changing political economy. Existing anecdotal evidence and case studies offer only a partial view of Chinese FDI and systematic data on public attitudes towards different types of Chinese FDI is lacking. To build a more nuanced understanding, we conducted an exploratory survey on public perceptions of Chinese FDI in Myanmar, gathering data from 956 respondents, followed by another survey with nearly 2000 college students (homogeneous grouping of students) across the country. The key factors under examination were types of local partners of Chinese firms and the latter's social engagement strategies. We asked the respondents to read fabricated news items discussing multiple scenarios of varying types of investment, and subsequently, to react to our questionnaire. We found that public perceptions of Chinese projects were contingent on a firm's selection of local partners and its social engagement strategy. Respondents reacted more favorably to projects that partnered with local private companies and engaged with local communities directly. With the newly initiated China-Myanmar Economic Corridor under the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative, this study seeks to inform stakeholders in China and Myanmar on how to better manage Chinese FDI in Myanmar.

Keywords: Myanmar, China, FDI, Survey, Public Perceptions

The Malaysian Anomaly? The Case of Malaysia's Peaceful 2018 Electoral Change and The China Factor

Kia Meng Boon, PhD. (Multimedia University)

On May 9, 2018, Malaysia elected a new coalition government into power, defeating the previous coalition government (the Barisan Nasional or National Front), led by the United Malay National Organization (UMNO), for the very first time since the nation's independence in 1957. Many social and political analysts have since tried to explain or understand the nature of and conditions for this electoral event, questioning how it was possible for this political breakthrough to take place. In particular, what made possible the surprisingly peaceful transition, given Malaysia's past, where the ethnicity-based state policies, known as Bumiputeraism, has been a key feature within the wider context of national capitalist development and modernization from 1969 to 2018. The present paper represents an ongoing attempt to understand and interpret this key political event (the elections of 2018) against the socio-historical background of national politics and wider globalization factors, such as trade and investment. For this purpose, much of the paper will concentrate on investigating the nature of the present Malaysian political change as a specific case in the study of Southeast Asian political regimes. The empirical case of the 2018 Malaysian elections which saw the return of Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, and the defeat and subsequent criminal prosecution of former Prime Minister, Najib Tun Razak, for high corruption in the now infamous 1MDB financial scandal, also raises questions on how China featured in the Malaysian electorate's popular imagination and discourse, both during the elections and thereafter. Significantly, a number of major China-linked investments in Malaysia, agreed upon during the Najib administration, are now up for re-evaluation in the new Mahathir administration, causing some economic uncertainty among interested parties. In conclusion, I will highlight some observations on what I consider to be key trends and social developments that are taking shape in the "New Malaysia" that has been celebrated by many experts and commentators around the world, a political change that is much more complex and ambiguous than what has been called a victory for democratization in a region dominated by different degrees of authoritarianism and corruption.

Keywords: Malaysian Anomaly, Malaysia's Peaceful 2018 Electoral Changes, China Factor

How Telecouplings Contribute to the Co-produced Livelihood and Land Use Systems in Transition on the China-Myanmar Border

Xiaobo Hua (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)

This paper will address one challenge for application of the telecoupling framework in interpreting transitions in rural land use and livelihoods at a micro-level in a border area. Specifically, I aim to answer the question of how we can adopt the current telecoupling framework to understand changing border landscapes in the context of multiple interactions. For examining this issue, the China-ASEAN borderland was selected as the site of my study. Over recent decades, the China-ASEAN borderland is experiencing a rapid opening-up and regional integration, with rural land spaces being linked together by phenomena involving mobility and migration., such as the conversion of upland areas into rubber plantations and the intensification of agriculture in response to the fruits boom in the lowland. Such a study of borderlands is significant insofar as it provides new insights into the relationship between modern states and transnational linkages. However, in the context of global restructuring, it still remains unclear as to how transnational linkages combine with local needs and state plans to (re)shape the border landscape through co-produced land use and livelihood systems on the Chinese frontier of the China-ASEAN border. By using the effective conceptual framework of telecoupling, we aim to theorize such interactions as the drivers of landscape plasticity in borderlands. In addition, a detailed case study using remote sensing and in-depth fieldwork has been conducted in the rural Yunnan frontier on the China-Myanmar border between 2016 to 2018 to examine the impacts of these interactions on the shaping of the border landscape. In this paper, we will report how local interethnic land rental systems, trans-regional agribusiness, cross-border inward labor migration, illicit flows, and transnational farmland investment—working together as local, trans-regional and cross-border interactions respectively—contribute to rural land use changes and livelihood transitions. This paper makes two major contributions: First, it elaborates the telecouplings in the plasticity of border land use and livelihood from geographical, economic, cultural, historical, and geopolitical perspectives. Second, it contributes to a better understanding of the current changes and transitions on the Yunnan frontier in montane Southeast Asia.

Keywords: Transition, Telecouplings, Co-produced Livelihood, Land Use Systems, China-Myanmar Border

Social Networks and Migration: Chinese Migration and the BRI in Northern Laos

Shihua Zhang (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)

Southeast Asia has experienced a long history of Chinese emigration. In Laos, which shares a border with southwestern China, Chinese migrants have occupied a crucial position in its economic, social, and political life since the 15th century. To a certain extent, the expansion of Chinese migration has been aided by the social networks of migrants. In the early decades of the 21st century, the growing presence of China in Southeast Asia has been followed by a boom in fresh migration. Due to the “Belt & Road Initiative” project launched in 2013 in particular, construction workers and businessmen aiming to reap benefits from the project are flowing into this area. The purpose of this study is to understand the functions and characteristics of the social networks of Chinese migrants. Especially with regards to the results of mega infrastructure construction, the question that arises is, how these social networks will transform and develop. The chosen case of the receiving site of Chinese migrants is Muang Xay in Oudomxay province of Lao PDR, where the first station on the China-Laos Railway is under construction. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with 182 individuals pursuing various types of livelihoods and having different origins. With regard to the origins of migrants, the study shows that earlier groups of migrants originated primarily from the Hunan, Sichuan, and Zhejiang provinces, while the recent railway-induced migration is drawing immigrants from scattered locations such as Beijing, Hebei, Henan, and so on. The kinds of livelihoods pursued by earlier groups of migrants include running general stores, restaurants and cellphone stores. Some of them also manage hotels or clinics, jobs they secured through the help of their relatives. On the other hand, railway-induced migrants have tended towards worksites such as cement factories, and hardware and truck stores, and are more oriented towards railway construction. Further, earlier groups of settlers usually belong to strong kinship-based social networks, rather than other networks. These networks played a crucial role before and during their migration process, but after having settled down in Muang Xay, these migrants have barely relied on their relatives. However, railway-induced migrants are prone to building new social networks after their migration. Finally, new migrants and their social networks are influencing the earlier migrants by melding together with them.

Keywords: Social Networks, Chinese migration, the BRI, Northern Laos.

The Impact of the Taiwanese Oolong Industry on Vietnamese Small Farmers: New Possibilities for Diverse Livelihoods

Yunxi Wu (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)

Since 1986, the number of foreigners operating agribusinesses in Vietnam's Central Highlands has grown, promoted by a land reform movement and a series of incentive policies of successive Vietnamese governments. The inflow of foreign direct investment on high value cash crops provided the Vietnamese new approaches to diversifying livelihoods, while at the same time creating the risk of more uncertain and vulnerable livelihoods. Among the various sources of foreign direct investment, Taiwan was one of the pioneers in transferring technology-intensive cash crops industries into Central Highlands. Oolong tea was one of the key investment objects of the Taiwanese. As part of a technology-intensive, agro-product processing industry, oolong companies attracted large numbers of workers to them. The purpose of this study is to clarify how Vietnamese small farmers got involved into oolong industry and the impact of this livelihood change. Dalat city and Bao Loc city in Lam Dong province were chosen as the research sites for this study, as both are hotspots of foreign direct investment and major locations for oolong companies. The study found that the time of joining the oolong industry and the current employment position affected achievement in diversifying livelihood. Long-term contract workers and tenants had better access to knowledge, information regarding the market, and a steady income, which they could invest to develop multiple income sources and ensure themselves a stable life. Contract small farmers tended to suffer more due to uncertainty of income, poorer knowledge access and lack of information, which resulted in single livelihoods and a weak ability to manage risk. Besides, those who joined the oolong industry earlier have tended to have a greater possibility of diversifying livelihoods than later comers.

Keywords: Oolong Tea Industry, Foreign Direct Investment, Central Highlands, Diversifying Livelihoods

A Hidden People of the Mountains: A Kam Village in Southwest China

Dr. Fangtzu Yen (Center for General Education, National Defense Medical Center, Taiwan)

According to the definition of Zomia [Scott 2009], the highlands of SEA Massif are home to diverse ethnic minorities, numbering nearly 100 million people. Previously these minorities lived on the periphery of the state; while lowland empires and nation-states such as China tried to integrate and control them, they resisted and escaped to rugged mountains, seeking autonomy and self-government. Zomia can be seen as a social space where ethnic minorities fight for their own dignity and culture. In the eyes of Scott [2010], Miao in SW China is the oldest refugee population. However, we know little about another ethnic minority—the Kam and why they hide themselves among valleys in mountainous areas. The state constructs historical discourses that are consistent with the identity of unification, shaping people's collective memory, and thus justifying territorial conquests and imperial rule. However, state power obscures certain historical memories of state violence. Since the Ming and Qing Dynasties developed southeastern Guizhou, those who were unwilling to be included in the territory, and resisted the suppression of the empires, have rarely had discursive power. So far, this historical structure problem has not changed. However, Scott maintains that the voices of the powerless are kept in hidden transcripts, such as village histories, landscapes, rituals, and even witchcraft accusations. This paper takes the example of Bian village, whose members live in the highland of Congjiang County, SE Guizhou, as a representative of Dong Man (峒 蠻 in Chinese, “Kam Barbarians” in English). According to the regional history, Dong Man it reflects the historical memories of fighting, escape, and defense. Their interactions with the state have shaped the Kam people's ethnic identity as a hidden people. The paper is divided into three parts. Firstly, I discuss changes in the Aboriginal Boundary and the distribution of Kam barbarians on the borderlines of empires. The drawing of demarcations created the dimension of defenses to stop barbarian rebellions. On the other side, the sacred defensive spaces restored in the 1990s demonstrate their political and military functions. Secondly, I use the village history to illustrate the messages conveyed to the masses during ancestor worship. They present a perspective of refugees in the regional history through a deliberate construction of history and ethnic identity by means of festivals and rituals. Lastly, under the tension of ethnic relations, the villagers pay much attention to developing their military forces and witchcraft powers. This shows that the Kam people actively draw social boundaries, and maintain a strict confinement to keep outsiders from occupying their land and taking away their wealth through marital exchange. In conclusion, the history of Kam barbarians did not end in “rough savages turned into tamed savages, and then the tamed savages assimilated into the Han populace.” Rather, they have continuously hidden themselves in hidden spaces by a variety of means, such as obeying the state's family planning policy, but keeping their unofficial practices under the table.

Keywords: SE Guizhou, Kam Savages, hidden transcript, witchcraft, identity

Solidification and Flow, from Mountain People to Regional Society: The Pacific Rim Rural Social Circle with the Special Case of Dazhai Village in Longji, Guangxi

Jingzhi Lai (Xaimen University)

Mountains, rivers, and oceans are three main basic natural features. Under the narrative of different dimensions such as time, space and history, the interaction between man and nature has shaped different cultural types. Traditionally, mountain areas have been regarded as relatively closed spaces in anthropological studies because, as James C. Scott described, mountain dwellers unconsciously choose evasive livelihoods, social systems, cultural awareness and so on as their life strategies in the process of avoiding being governed and flowing. Correspondingly, the mountain people pursue a closed, homogeneous and stable form of "living." This is a form of social network defined by the Chinese scholar Fei Hsiao-táung, and reflected by the term "earthbound." In particular, this refers to the local characteristics formed by the connection between humans and mountain features, and presents two aspects of nativity and locality, which can be equated with local knowledge in essence. As the counterpoint of "residence," "flow" is compared with regional society, and the mechanisms of mobility that link the regional cultural system. The terrace landscape society, which is typical of rice culture, is widely distributed in areas of the Pacific Rim, such as Southwest China and South China, Japan, Philippines, Indonesia and so on. At present, although we have not been able to effectively judge that these similar rural societies have directly acquired a common cultural logic due to the internal ethnic composition or the flow of cultural factors, in recent years, the flow of the world discourse of "cultural heritage" under the world political and economic system has opened up a new path for us to interpret and understand regional society. To a certain extent, the dialogues between different local societies connected by the world heritage organization as the main body can be described as a kind of space-time juxtaposition flow. If separated from the framework of the nation state, the Pacific Rim will become a regional society based on the broad sea area. Taking the Dazhai Village of Longji, Guangxi as a special case, this paper attempts to provide a comprehensive representation of the non-central and mobile decentralized society around the Pacific Rim by using the concept of "rural social circle." This is in comparison with the mountain society of the Noto Peninsula in Japan and the rice social type of Ifugao in Philippines. Relative "solidification" is the expression that captures the closed living spaces of the mountain people. In the modern experience, the supra-local dialogue between pre-modernity (local knowledge) and modernity highlights the overall significance of regional society with a time-spatial flow. In the isomorphism of solidification and flow, we may be able to find a new paradigm for analyzing regional society.

Keywords: Solidification, Flow, Mountain People, Regional Society, The Pacific Rim rural social circle, Dazhai Village in Guangxi

***Senl* and Basin Society: Traditional Local System of Tai Group in Southern China**

Jie Huang (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)

This study aims to explore the folk concept of “*senl*,” which refers to the local river basin system of the Dong (Kam) people resident in Southern China (belonging to the Tai-Kadai language family), from the perspective of Southeast Asian Studies. The Dong have been categorized as one of the 55 ethnic minorities in China since 1953. The Dong are treated as one of the most Sinicized groups among all the Tai groups resident in Southern China, having, for instance, faith in *Fengshui*. Therefore, existing research regarding Dong society from the perspective of Southeast Asian Studies, has focused on the cultural influence of Han-Chinese culture, in establishing the difference between the Dong and other Tai groups. On the other hand, existing research on Dong society from the perspective of Southern China Studies has tended to treat the Dong as a unique ethnic group with its own language, history, faith and culture. In particular, Dong scholars have been making great efforts at rewriting their history. For example, these scholars have tried to state that the Dong have their own country and social system, named as “*kuant* (款),” which was thought to once have been widespread in Dong society before 1949, when the PRC was established. They also have their own guardian spirit called “*sax*.” Though such statements have been based on historical literature written in Chinese, of which there is a large amount, not all of them can be proven true. The Dong ethnic group also has characteristics of Tai-speaking ethnic groups, including language (similar to shan), beliefs in evil spirits (called *Tui*), as well as the theme of the river-basin society called *senl* (basin society) in the Dong language. The concept of *senl* among the Dong people represents a relatively closed-off geographical space of a valley, with a river passing-through, with mountains and virgin forest surrounding. Villages along the river within a *senl* develop into an alliance based on egalitarianism for the purpose of handling quarrels or disputes inside the region and for resisting intruders. Moreover, member villages inside a *senl* stick to the same customary laws and worship of guardian-spirits under the leadership of headmen, and villages sustain their covenant relationship by intermarriage, economic trade, literary activities and so on, contributing to the internal differences within the Dong minority. The purpose of this study is to grasp the history and society of the Dong, by using the new concept of *senl*. More specifically, the study aims to reconsider Dong history through investigating the structure of a certain *senl* located on the boundary of Guangxi and Hunan, China.

Keywords: *Senl*, Basin Society, Local System, Tai Group, Southern China

Comparative Study on Religious Practice, Popular Culture, Relatives and Social Groups in Hindu Sphere

Research Collaboration and Management Support Program
ASAFAS, Kyoto University

International Workshop on Comparative Study on Religious Practice, Popular Culture, Relatives and Social Groups in Hindu Sphere

世界的なポピュリズムの台頭や分断的な社会問題の発生は、様々な国や地域で見られる。このような状況下において、多文化社会における宗教や文化的融和を改めて解明し、分断ではなく共生の道を探る試みは重要であると考え。しかしながらその分析において、例えば近年のインドネシア研究ではイスラーム・ヌサンタラ（インドネシア諸島のイスラーム）という新しい概念が提示され、単一的なアラブ的・イスラームと異なり、共存や融和を重んじるとされている。しかしながらこの概念もまた、多数派のイデオロギーの域を出ず、研究主題としては不十分であると考え。またインド研究においては、宗教集団を分析の基本単位とし、多数派ヒンドゥーと最大の少数派であるムスリム間の分断の歴史や暴力的対立に着眼する研究（e.g. Jaffrelot 1996. *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics 1925 to 1990s.*）が主流であり、これらの研究では、日常生活における宗教を越えた個人間の関わりの実態には十分に焦点が当てられてこなかった。本研究集会のメンバーは昨年度から「エスノグラフィー」研究会を開き、『*The Religion of Java*, (University of Chicago Press, 1960).』などを題材にして民俗誌的研究手法について古典的文献を講読するとともに、最新文献についても渉猟し、議論を重ねてきた。東南アジアや南アジアに関する民族誌の記述の中では、多くの共通性がみられるにも関わらず、両地域の連続性については主題的関心がよせられることはなかった。このような連続性を補足するため、多角的アプローチを持った研究者を集め、議論、比較を試みることで、その共通性と特殊性に注目し、多文化社会における人々の生き方を探りたい。具体的な発表として、足立はインドネシア最後のヒンドゥー王朝である東ジャワのシンゴサリにおけるイスラームのザカート（喜捨）制度についてその影響を論じ、鶴田は現代インドにおけるヒンドゥーとムスリムの異宗教間結婚とボランティア団体の関わりを事例として発表を行う。ヒンドゥー・インドネシア大学のクトゥット氏が多文化社会におけるヒンドゥー主義や宗教的实践について発表する。

本研究会は、現在でもヒンドゥー教徒が大多数を占めるバリ島のヒンドゥー・インドネシア大学で開催する。バリはイスラームが大多数を占めるインドネシアにおいて今日まで独自の発展を遂げてきた。そしてインドネシア独立期以降、バリにおいてヒンドゥー教に関する研究は盛んにおこなわれており、数多くのバリ島の知識人たちがインドから知識を吸収しつつも交流を重ねてきた歴史がある。インドとインドネシア、両地域の研究者が集まることで、お互いに地域の共通性と特殊性を指摘しあえる場になることが期待される。

Program

Date: 10:00–17:30, February 25, 2019

Venue: Hindu University of Indonesia (UNHI)

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 10:00–10:10 | Opening Remarks by Mari Adachi (Global Area Studies, ASAFAS, Kyoto University) |
| 10:10–10:35 | Prof. Dr. Phil I. Ketut Ardhana (Hindu University of Indonesia)
<i>Hindu Religious Practice in a Multicultural Society</i> |
| 10:35–11:10 | Dr. I. Nyoman Wardi, MA (Faculty of Arts, Udayana University)
<i>Archaeological Sites and Religious Practices in Postmodern Bali</i> |
| 11:10–11:35 | W. A. Sindhu Gitananda (Faculty of Religious and Arts Education, Hindu University of Indonesia)
<i>Humanism: A Study of a Modern Balinese Hindu Philosophy Text and Its Socio-religious Context</i> |
| 11:35–12:00 | Comments by Dr. Katsuyuki Ida (Center for South Asian Studies, Ryukoku University) |
| 12:00–13:00 | Lunch |
| 13:10–13:35 | Prof. Dr. Yekti Maunati (P2SDR-LIPI, Jakarta)
<i>Cultural and Eco-tourism in a Bali Hindu Community</i> |
| 13:35–14:00 | Seiko Tsuruta (Global Area Studies, ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
<i>Inter-religious Marriages and the Transformation of Relations in Contemporary India: Antagonization and Negotiations with Family</i> |
| 14:00–14:25 | Dr. I. Made Adi Widyatmika, ST, MT (Hindu University of Indonesia)
<i>Balinese Architecture, Cultural Heritage, and Local Government</i> |
| 14:25–14:50 | Comments and Discussant Dr. Reiko Iida (Kyoto University) |
| 14:50–15:15 | Tea Break |
| 15:15–15:40 | Mai Kato (Southeast Asian Area Studies, ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
<i>Literature Review on Islam in Indonesia: Focusing on Southeast Asian Studies in Japan</i> |
| 15:40–16:05 | Dr. Kaoru Nishijima (Kyoto University)
<i>Comparative Studies of Sacred Kingship in Japan and Southeast Asia from the Perspective of the “Empty Center”</i> |
| 16:05–16:30 | Dr. Dundin Zaenuddin, MA (Indonesian Institute of Sciences, LIPI-Jakarta)
<i>Social and Religious Organization in the Context of Hindu Indonesian Society</i> |
| 16:30–16:55 | Mari Adachi (Global Area Studies, ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
<i>Islamic Religious Organizations Working for Social Welfare in Malang, East Java</i> |
| 16:55–17:20 | Comments by Dr. Dundin Zaenuddin, MA (Indonesian Institute of Sciences, LIPI-Jakarta) |
| 17:20–17:30 | Closing Remarks by Prof. Dr. Phil I. Ketut Ardhana (Hindu University of Indonesia) |

Committee for the seminar

Prof. Dr. Phil I. Ketut Ardhana (Hindu Indonesia University)

Mari Adachi, Seiko Tsuruta (Global Area Studies, ASAFAS, Kyoto University)

Hindu Religious Practice in a Multicultural Society

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Indonesia is not an Islamic state, although the majority of the population is Muslim. There are six religions that are recognized by the state: Islam, Christianity (Protestant), Catholicism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Hinduism. However, the Indonesian state guarantees religious freedom for all people. Indeed, Indonesia is a multicultural society, as can be traced back through Indonesian history and migration processes.

As it is a multicultural society, Muslim people, who are the majority in terms of religion, prioritize harmony and balance among Indonesian people. In a similar vein, the Balinese, most of whom are Hindu, also live side by side with other ethnic groups due to the increasing development of the tourism industry, which has been promoted by the government for a long time. This has been the pattern not only in traditional, colonial times but also in the modern and postmodern eras. For instance, during the Dutch era, it is noted that the Dutch introduced the tourism industry on a small scale. After Indonesian independence, particularly during the reign of Soekarno, the government sent certain artists, musicians, and dancers to Europe. However, this does not mean that the development of the tourism industry at that time had to be linked with the *adat* or local traditions based on the Hindu religion. Bali is the only part of the Hindu mosaic in Southeast Asia.

This development was continued by the New Order regime under Soeharto, which focused on the concept of the national development of centrality, based on the grounds of national security and economic growth. This government regime even introduced the opening of certain tourist destinations such as Nusa Dua and Jimbaran in the 1980s. The introduction of the concept of mass tourism in Bali has had both positive and negative impacts on Balinese culture. On the one hand, as a negative impact, this national policy has caused certain problems for the local culture in Bali. Many criticisms have been directed toward the government due to the decreasing quality of Balinese arts. On the other hand, as a positive impact, this policy has led to improving prosperity for the local Balinese, although this could relate to other indices of the Balinese people as a result of recent development. Due to the increasing prosperity of the people living in Bali, this has accordingly attracted many people to come to Bali: not only skilled but also unskilled laborers.

Many new residences have been opened, such as in areas near tourist destinations, including Legian, Seminyak, and other places nearby. The tourists not only stay in the hotels but also with the local people, who have many villas. This could influence the arrival of religions from outside Bali. This in turn affects the lifestyle of those who live in these regions. Although Bali has been much influenced by foreign cultures, local culture and tradition still do exist. The newcomers should understand and appreciate this local culture, which is well known as the *Ajeg Bali*. In order to preserve *Ajeg Bali*, Bali needs to try to avoid the negative impacts that could destroy its culture.

It can be understood that there are many critical issues relating to how Balinese culture should be maintained. Social issues, economic crises, the Bali bombings, intolerance, and even the context of disintegration are crucial issues that have emerged beyond the social, cultural, economic, and political spheres alongside recent Balinese development. It is crucial to discuss certain issues related to what the Balinese mean by Hinduism, religious practices, and multiculturalism, since Bali is currently at a crossroads. Real effort is needed to form a coherent concept of how Bali should be developed both at

present and in the near future. We need to think more wisely about how the Balinese people can profit from the globalization process, as it can also have negative connotations. Due to this globalization process, we need to have a clear idea of what we mean by the *Ajég Bali* in order to preserve and revitalize local Balinese culture, despite the unavoidable impacts of globalization.

Therefore, the concept of how the *Ajég Bali* should be applied in daily life, particularly with other ethnic groups and religions, needs to be maintained and preserved in well-organized ways. There are certain questions that will be addressed in this paper. First, how can we understand the concept of Hinduism in Bali, which is different from that in India and other regions in the Indonesian archipelago? Second, what do we really need to do in order to implement the concept of *Ajég Bali*? Third, what role do the central government, local government, entrepreneurs, and local community play in preserving and maintaining Balinese culture? Through these questions, this paper is expected to give us a better understanding of Hinduism, religious practices, and multicultural society in the wider context of the globalized Indonesian world.

Keywords: Hinduism, religious practices, *Ajég Bali*, Balinese culture, and multiculturalism

Archaeological Sites and Religious Practices in Postmodern Bali

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This scientific work aims to reveal the relevance of archeological cultural heritage to the practice of religious life in postmodern era Bali. Information was collected through observation, interviews, and literature study. The collected data were analyzed by qualitative description with a cultural semiotic approach.

The results of the study indicate that the monumental remains of archaeology inherited from ancient Bali are mostly in the form of sacred buildings, namely temples (*pura*); some are in the form of *candi* (*prasada*), such as Candi Gunung Kawi, Candi Pagulingan, Candi Prasada-Kapal, and some are hermit caves, such as Goa Gajah. The religious background of the cultural heritage is generally Hindu from the Çiwasime sect and also shows some signs of Buddhism or syncretism between Hinduism (Çiwaistic) and Buddhism, as can be seen in Goa Gajah, Pagulingan Temple in Gianyar, and elsewhere. This seems to be consistent with the contents of Ancient Balinese inscriptions (ninth to fourteenth centuries), which mention two major religions that developed at that time, namely Çiwa (Hinduism) and Buddhism. In this postmodern era, the cultural heritage is still preserved and functions as a living monument for Balinese people, who are generally Hindus. The cultural heritage has an important role in enhancing spirituality, strengthening the social personality and cohesion of society, developing cultural arts, and as a medium of education in the context of historical, ethical, moral, and scientific development. In the practice of religious life, this cultural heritage functions to invoke *kerahayuan* (safety and health), the purification of the self, fertility, and prosperity (welfare) from the gods and/or ancestral spirits believed to be found within it.

Because of its uniqueness, antiquity, scarcity, and aesthetic value, this cultural heritage also functions as a tourist attraction in the postmodern era. Some pieces of cultural heritage are quite popular as cultural attractions. These include the Tirtha Empul Temple, the Elephant Cave (Goa gajah), Gunung Kawi Temple, Uluwatu Temple, Tanah Lot Temple, Batukaru Temple, Kehen Temple in Bangli, Besakih Temple, Pura Candi Dasa, and other cultural attractions. The development of the function of cultural heritage as a tourist attraction indirectly leads to two inseparable consequences, both positive and negative. The positive value can be measured economically: it opens employment opportunities for the surrounding community and increases income through entrance tickets, which are imposed on tourists. Meanwhile, the negative impact of tourism is the disruption of the value placed on the sanctity of the cultural heritage and the comfort of the local community in making worship. Unconsciously, the values of rationality and materialism that have been inherent in the modern and postmodern eras have also contributed to both tangible and intangible cultural changes. Physical building changes due to renovations, which do not pay attention to scientific and technical rules, can also reduce the authenticity of cultural heritage, which can in turn reduce its aesthetic and historical value.

Likewise, the unconscious consequence of the management of cultural heritage in Bali has been the emergence of a spirit of religious practices that tends to be primordial in the form of *soroh* (clans). Unexpected social conflicts can sometimes also color the management of cultural heritage, as it once did in the cultural heritage on the site of the Pura Dalem Dasar Gegel-Klungkung, and as reflected by current events at the Pura Tirtha Empul site in Tampaksiring, Gianyar. This also influences the attitudes, perceptions, and practices of religious life in the Balinese Hindu community in the

postmodern era.

Keywords: archaeological site, cultural heritage, religious practice, and postmodern

Humanism: A Study of a Modern Balinese Hindu Philosophy Text and Its Socio-religious Context

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For years, the prominent characteristic of the pre-modern and modern philosophical discourse in the archipelago has been generalized to that of spiritualism with a saivistic discourse. This notion has also been applied to the Balinese Hindu texts and their socio-religious praxes. These philosophical texts (*tattwa*), such as Wrhaspati Tattwa, Tattwa Jnana, Jnana Siddhanta, Dharma Patanjala, Bhuwana Kosa, and so on, may have undergone this generalization and reduction since the postcolonial period. These texts have attracted the attention of many researchers, especially philologists and indologists. These texts are intertextually related to one text that was composed or at least transformed in Bali, entitled *Aji Sangkya*. This text was composed by Ida Ktoet Djelantik in Singaraja, Buleleng, in 1947, during the post-colonial and the modern period. It was distributed in the form of mimeographed pamphlet in 1947. In 1951, four years after its publication in stencil print, this text was translated into Dutch by Hooykaas, entitled *Changkhyaleer van Bali in Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Landen en Volkenkunde*. In 1972, I. Gde Sandhi translated this into Indonesian with the title *Aji Sangkya*, published by the Directorate General of Hindu and Buddhist Community Guidance in Jakarta. There is also a version in the form of *lontar*, in the Balinese alphabet (*aksara*), found in Kasimpar, Abang, Karangasem, under the title of *Tutur Aji Sangkya*, which was then transliterated and stored in Puskor Bali (T/1/12=K31, 60 folio pages). In 2008, the *Aji Sangkya* became the object of a philology study by I. Wayan Sukayasa and Ida Bagus Jelantik, published by Widya Dharma. There are also other translations into Indonesian, claimed to have been completed by Ida Ktoet Djelantik (the author of the original text) and edited by Ida Komang Wisasmaya (2012), published by Paramita Surabaya. Finally, the *Aji Sangkya* version by Sukayasa and Jelantik was again recently reprinted in Mabakti, Denpasar.

The *Aji Sangkya*, on first reading, contributes helpfully to explaining the socio-religious life of Balinese Hindu society, including the performance of *yadnya* (sacrifices). Although *Aji Sangkya* includes saivism as well as spiritualism, some points in the text have led to the construction of a different discourse; the saivistic-spiritualism is not its only feature. The title of the text shows a diachronic relationship with the *Samkhya Dharsana*, so-called Indian (Hindu) materialism with its own concept of “evolution.” Some of the contents do not match exactly with the *Samkhya Karika*, the classical text of *Samkhya* philosophy. The *Samkhya Karika* had been adopted for students of this philosophy and has become the basic discourse found in the *Yogasutra* of Patanjali and the *Bhagavad Gita*. This tension between the discourse of spiritualism and materialism may be found in the text but there is still one point that is becoming a very interesting phenomenon to discuss. The focus of this article is the discourse of humanism, which is implied in the text by the term “*manusa tattwa*.” This point has provided another perspective for interpreting the socio-religious life of Balinese Hindu society in the form of *panca yadnya* (the five categories of sacrifice).

The stylistic-contextual and the phenomenological-hermeneutics approaches, with their methods of descriptive-interpretative and ethnographic exemplification, provide great opportunities for the *Aji Sangkya* to be interpreted, as well as being seen in its context within the socio-religious life of Balinese Hindu society. From close study, it can be seen that the text implies the process of the materialization of the spirit (*purusha* or *atman*) into the circle of the material (*pradhana*) until it finally becomes material itself. Nonetheless, this materialization cannot simply be understood as a process with the ultimate goal of materialism, but it is implicitly a process of humanization since

the human (*manusa*) comes as the ultimate accumulation of all the philosophical categories. The idea of materialization must be seen as the process of humanization or making the spirit humanized. Therefore, the philosophy of humanism could also help to explain the socio-religious life of Balinese Hindu society.

The expression, “*Raris sane mangkin sarining jagat punika sad-rasa minakadinipun punika matemahan manusa: kenginipun rupa sampun sinah, i-manusa dados pamuput papupulaning sarwa tatwa*” (And then now the essence of the world is the six-tastes and all their categories manifest into the human: thus it is clear that the human being also becomes the ultimate accumulation of the *sarwa tatwa*, the philosophical categories) has constructed the sense that all the things in the world may be found in the human being. Therefore, all socio-religious praxes in Bali, such as *bhuta yadnya* (sacrifices to *bhuta*, evil spirits), *manusa yadnya* (sacrifices to fellow human beings), *rsi yadnya* (sacrifices to teachers), *pitra yadnya* (sacrifices to ancestors), and *dewa yadnya* (sacrifices to gods), may be viewed on the basis of this humanistic philosophy. This view confirms the testimony of IBM Dharma Palguna (2015) that the *Aji Sangkya* contains true and beautiful language, and can be considered the door to entering the inner civilization of Bali. Therefore, based on the philosophical view presented in *Aji Sangkya*, humanism is the central point for understanding all of the socio-religious praxes relating to *panca yadnya* in Balinese Hindu society.

Keywords: humanism, philosophy, *Aji Sangkya*, text, context, socio-religious praxes, and Balinese Hindu

Cultural and Eco-tourism in a Bali Hindu Community

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Bali is indeed very popular as a cultural tourist destination: Balinese cultural tradition is an important attraction to lure both domestic and international tourists. Of course, Bali offers not just cultural tourism but tourism of many different types, including eco-tourism, sand, sea, and beaches, to mention a few. It is widely known that tourism is very dynamic and is always in need of improvement or new attraction(s) in order to be sustainable. In relation to this, a mixing of different elements, especially local wisdom, Hindu religious teachings, tradition, and environmental richness, has become an important strategy for promoting cultural and eco-tourism in the Bali Hindu community. Since Bali has been very popular as a destination for cultural tourism for a long time, this combination of many elements is important as a new strategy. A new idea is needed in order to add to the existing attractions. Based on a study in a village in North Bali, I will provide an example for this mixing of attractions. This village does not offer a single attraction but combines with other attractions originating from Hindu teachings as well as magnificent landscapes and traditions.

Cultural tourism is a trend for tourist promotion in Southeast Asian countries, including Bali, Indonesia. A wealth of cultural tradition from ethnic group(s) has become the most important element of cultural tourism. Social scientists have taken an interest in tourism, including the effects of tourism on local people. Anthropological studies on tourism generally touch upon the negative and positive impacts of tourism for local people. Nevertheless, a number of other issues, including the commodification of culture, the notion of authenticity, and the rise of the global market, to mention a few, are considered in the theoretical literature. The impact of tourism on host societies not only brings about negative impacts but also provides certain benefits.

Indeed, in order to understand tourism, it is not sufficient to discuss the issue of whether tourism has a negative or positive impact on society, particularly the host society. Instead both the negative and the positive effects seem to be necessary in order to understand tourism itself. The role of agency must be also considered, that is, individuals and/or groups within that society who participate in, and have effects upon, the construction and reconstruction of authentic traditions within the context of cultural tourism. The roles of various actors engaging in tourism, including the owners of accommodation, travel agencies, and local guides, for instance, are indeed important since they are often the people who maintain or create the notion of an authentic tradition within the framework of promoting cultural tourism.

Tourism, especially cultural tourism, also deals with the promotion of the uniqueness of the cultural tradition of a particular ethnic group, in this case the rich Balinese cultural tradition. In order to develop tourism in North Bali, a new strategy has been created to combine this cultural tradition with other aspects, especially local wisdom, Hindu teachings, and environmental beauty, so that it is not merely cultural tourism but also eco-tourism. Hindu teachings have been important in developing tourism in the Bali Hindu community in North Bali. The core notion of direction, as well as the concept of *Tri Hita Karana*—harmony between people and people, people and environment, and people and God—have been applied in the promotion of tourism here. Meditation is also one of the most important activities within the context of tourism. The notion of direction has been applied by bringing tourists to several places, such as temples, waterfalls, mountains, and rice fields, while the core is the large homestay in the village where tourists can stay and perform meditation.

In the context of cultural tourism, the commodification of culture also occurs: here, culture is transformed into a commodity and reproduced by the market in order to meet the demand for consumption from tourists. By commodification, I mean the process of packaging and selling the cultural objects, performances, and lifestyles of a people group. This involves ascribing a monetary value to aspects of people's lives which formerly had a value independent of the tourist market. There have been a large number of cases of cultural commodification. It is a global trend in relation to the tourist industry. Environmental beauty has also been promoted, especially the promotion of waterfalls, rice fields, and mountains: in this way, eco-tourism is also combined with cultural tourism.

In relation to the above explanation, this paper will address several issues. First, how cultural and eco-tourism have been developed in Bali, especially North Bali; second, what are the dynamics of cultural and eco-tourism in North Bali? Third, how are new strategies constructed, especially through mixing cultural tradition, Hindu religious teachings, and the beauty of landscapes? What are the challenges in keeping cultural and eco-tourism sustainable?

Keywords: cultural and eco-tourism, Hindu religious teachings, cultural tradition, local wisdom, and North Bali

Inter-Religious Marriages and the Transformation of the Relations in Contemporary India: Antagonization and Negotiations with Family

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Conflicts between Hindus and Muslims have occurred continually in India since the late 19th century. However, despite severe conflicts, inter-religious marriages between the two communities have occurred. Generally speaking, inter-religious marriage is considered a serious social taboo in India. Couples who are in such marriages usually face grave consequences such as persecution. This is because marriage is considered a religious custom and endogamy is practiced as a strict rule. Therefore, if a couple gets married without their families' permission, they may have to give up their familial relations. This can happen in cases of intra-caste marriages too; hence, inter-religious marriages are even more complicated. In view of such circumstances, Hindu-Muslim marriage has gradually become a prominent political issue. Therefore, I will investigate how inter-religious marriages between Hindus and Muslims have continued to take place despite such a hostile situation by focusing on the relations between couples, their families and relatives, and others who intervene in the marriage.

My research revealed that couples in such marriages regard their similarities as more important than the difference in their religions. This is why they are "connected" as conjugal couples. However, relations between them and their families were mostly cut off or strained as a consequence of the marriage. Nevertheless, they fight, aiming to restore or maintain their familial relations. Moreover, some voluntary organizations help restore relations between couples and their families and relatives, through the process of negotiation and reconstruction of their relations. This presentation concludes that though couples in inter-religious marriages encounter several problems in their daily lives, they attempt to survive the isolation they face by negotiating with society and family, with support from voluntary organizations.

Balinese Architecture, Cultural Heritage, and Local Government

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Bali is well known as the Island of God because of its beautiful nature and the religious atmosphere of the Hindu Bali communities. Various kind of religious ritual contribute to the aura of the religious sphere, with thousands of temples that occupy the island. The temples, from east to west and north to south, are the guardians of Bali, with the fragrance of offering flowers and the relaxing aroma of incense comforting and lingering amongst the visitors. With miles and miles of beautiful beaches in Bali, picturesque mountains, and quiet countryside, the island has become one of the world's top destinations and a major influence in the world of architecture and design. Balinese architecture is one of the most popular Asian tropical architectural styles, with a distinct flair for being in harmony with nature. Balinese architecture is a vernacular style of architecture, wherein designers use local materials to help construct buildings, structures, and houses, as well as reflecting local tradition. It is a centuries-old style of design that is heavily influenced by Bali's Hindu traditions, as well as containing ancient Javanese elements. Materials commonly used in Balinese homes and buildings include thatch roofing, coconut wood, bamboo poles, teak wood, stone, and bricks. Balinese architecture has a distinct characteristic of traditional aesthetic principles, using the island's ancient culture and artistry in every element of structural design.

Despite the visible marriage of tradition and modernity in architecture in Bali's houses, designers and builders still maintain the distinct philosophies of Balinese architecture as the top priority. The philosophies of this architectural design revolve around Hinduism, spatial organization, and communal-based social relationships. There are seven philosophies of Balinese architecture, as follows: (1) *Tri hata karana*, the concept of creating harmony and balance between the three elements of life—the *Paramatma* or God, *atma* or humanity, and *angga* or nature; (2) *Tri mandala*, a concept of space division and zoning based on function; (3) *Sanga mandala*, also a set of rules of space division and zoning based on directions; (4) *Tri angga*, a concept of hierarchy based on the classification of the human body; (5) *Tri loka*, a similar concept but with a different realm; (6) *Asta kosala kosali*, guidelines for architectural designs regarding symbols, shrines, stages, and units of measurement; (7) *Gunung segara* or *hulu teben*, the concept of a sacred axis between mountains and the sea. Using these philosophies, Balinese architecture focuses on four strength aspects. These are: first, a good ventilation system with big windows to give full attention to air circulation, where a large free space between the roof and wall is also created. Second, a strong foundation: based on the philosophy of *tri angga*, a human body with stable feet is strong, in the same way, a house with a strong foundation will have tremendous strength. Third, a large yard: based on the concept of being in harmony with nature, a typical Balinese house must have a yard in which to commune with the natural surroundings. Fourth, a guarding wall or *panyengker* protects the home from public view, providing privacy and protection from other people, as well as to ward off black magic and evil spirits from entering the property. Unlike most Western countries where there is one, single large house, a Balinese home is a compound of separate pavilions that serve different functions. One pavilion houses the kitchen, while another houses the master bedroom, another is the family shrine, and another houses the *payadnyan* or religious activities. All these structures are connected through a series of gates. Those philosophies, which are based on Hindu tradition, have led to traditional Balinese architecture surviving and existing in Balinese society today.

Preserving traditional Balinese architecture is not only the duty of the Balinese people, but the role of the regional government is also very important. In 2005, Bali Province regional regulation number five stipulated the building architecture requirements for traditional and non-traditional buildings. These regulations not only stipulate the style of buildings, but also the style of the fence walls, as well as the open space in Balinese residences and commercial buildings. Despite the implementation of these rules, there are many irregularities due to development challenges in Bali, especially in Denpasar. The Dewan Kota Pusaka Denpasar (Denpasar Heritage City Council), which was formed after Denpasar became a member of the OWHC (Organization of World Heritage Cities), can support the preservation of traditional Balinese architecture through studies and consultation with the community.

This paper discusses the existence of traditional Balinese architecture in the present day related to the challenges it faces in its conservation efforts, as well as the role that local governments play in their efforts to preserve traditional Balinese architecture as a cultural heritage. From in-depth interviews with stakeholders, direct observation, and a literature review, it develops a description of the conditions of traditional Balinese architecture in Denpasar, in the face of globalization and the challenges of modernization.

Keywords: Balinese architecture, local traditions, cultural heritage, local government, and regulation

Literature Review on Islam in Indonesia: Focusing on Southeast Asian Studies in Japan

Mai Kato
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This presentation aims to examine and understand the history and characteristics of the development of research on “Indonesian-Islamic studies” in Indonesian area studies by overviewing papers of this field that are published in Japan. In this paper, the term “Indonesian-Islamic studies” is understood to mean an area of research that involves analysis of items related to Islamic doctrine and practice in Indonesian area studies. The materials employed in this research were representative journals on Asia and Southeast Asian regions (Quarterly Journal of the Institute of Developing Economies, the Japan External Trade Organization, the Japanese Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, the Journal of Asian and African Studies, and Southeast Asia: History and Culture). The titles and summaries of these articles are examined quantitatively in order to clarify trends and features of Islam in Indonesia. Indonesian-Islamic studies in Japan were found to be strongly influenced by bilateral relations between Indonesia and Japan, like the trend of Southeast Asian studies in the United States. Therefore, Indonesian-Islamic studies have been discussed within the Indonesian area studies framework. However, in recent years, there have been studies that seek to position this discussion within the framework of Islamic area studies. This is attributed to the Islamic reconstruction that has been taking place since the 1980s to re-organize Islamic area studies in Japan.

Comparative Study of Sacred Kingship in Japan and Southeast Asia from the Perspective of “Empty Center”

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This presentation compares previous literature on kingship in both Southeast Asia and Japan. Comparative literature reviews on kingship in Japan and Southeast Asia have introduced new perspectives into the traditional models of Southeastern kingship. Previous literature on the traditional kingship in Southeast Asia has focused on the magnificent kingship that exercised both economic and political power, such as the Ayutthaya kingdom in inland Southeast Asia and the Majapahit kingdom in insular Southeast Asia. A common feature of these kingdoms is that they both have been influenced strongly by Hindu-Buddhism.

The literature on kingship in Southeast Asia has also therefore been influenced strongly by the Hindu-Buddhism cosmological model, proposed by Heine-Geldern. The cosmological model argues that the kingdom is a visual representation of the macro cosmos. In this cosmological model, the center, that is, the palace, is the worldly representation of the macro cosmos. The mountain beside the king's palace, or sometimes the palace itself, is identified as the Meru mountain and is guarded by the four cardinal polities [Heine-Geldern 1958]. Two prominent works on Southeast Asian studies further elaborate this cosmological model. The first one is the “Theater State” by C. Geertz [1980] and the second one is the “Galactic Polity” by S. Tambiah [1976].

This presentation argues that the presumptions of the model are that the center itself has the power or the means to attract the followers. The kings, as arbitrators between the macro cosmos and this world (micro cosmos), play an important role in attracting followers by conducting rituals and establishing tributary relationships. On the other hand, some researchers report the existence of “powerless kings” in Southeast Asia. These powerless kingships do not seem to be strongly influenced by the Hindu-Buddhism culture. However, a model to understand powerless kingship has not been developed yet.

Unlike the strong centers, which are filled with attractive symbols such as temples, government offices, and a solemn palace, the Japanese center, which is the emperor's palace, is said to be empty of any attractive symbol [Barthes 1982]. It is said to be “empty” in two ways. First, the palace is inaccessible physically and visually. People are usually not allowed to walk into the center. The palace is also surrounded by woods so that people cannot peek into the center. The center is therefore hidden from the people. Second, the Japanese center is empty because there is no absolute entity such as God. The rituals of the Japanese palace have been centered around the ancestral worship of the emperor. However, to whom the emperor gives offerings in the emperor's rituals is ambiguous [Maruyama 1988; Watsuji 1952].

Finally, I would like to argue that the perspective of the Japanese “empty center” would contribute to studies on powerless kingship in Southeast Asia.

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Social and Religious Organization in the Context of Hindu Indonesian Society

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This paper will describe Balinese beliefs about capital-based social organization. Social and religious organizations based on social capital or so-called structural social capital function as lubricant and adhesive organizations between the government, the community, and the private sector. Social capital consists of reciprocal trust, social networking, and institutions that respond to kindness and collective cooperation. In turn, this socio-religious organization became a structural social capital that has been a means of developing Balinese Hindus.

This social structural capital is able to function as a resource with a set of social and cultural values that not only are important in bridging internal group cooperation but can also bridge cooperation externally with other groups (social capital bridging). The persistence of external social capital owned by the Balinese Hindu community is indicated by an attitude of appreciation for the importance of cooperation in order to achieve progress and development as desired. It is not enough for a community to simply rely on outside help to overcome economic difficulties, but it must also think collaboratively and take the best steps to overcome these problems by mobilizing all of its potential and resources. Therefore, this social organization or structural social capital emphasizes the need for independence and cooperation in overcoming social and economic problems, while outside assistance is considered only as a complement in order to trigger initiatives and productivity that arise from within the Hindu community itself.

As a concept in contemporary sociology, looking at social organizations while analyzing social capital is important because social capital is an increasingly intensive approach that can be used to overcome social problems such as symptoms of underdevelopment, cross-class and ethnic injustice, social protests, and poverty. As in many countries, this functions through a specific organization in the Indonesian Hindu community, called Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia. Robert Putnam, a well-known expert on social capital [Putnam 1993], concluded that social capital in the form of norms and linkages is a precondition for economic development. Besides that, it is also an absolutely necessary prerequisite for the creation of good and effective governance. According to Putnam, there are three important aspects of social capital's importance. First, the existence of social networks allows coordination and communication to be established, which can ultimately foster mutual trust. Second, trustworthiness has very positive implications in community life. This is evidenced by the fact that the relationship between people with mutual trust in a social network strengthens the norms about the need to help each other. Success that has been achieved through previous collaboration in a social network will encourage the continuation of cooperation in the future. Putnam further said that social capital can even bridge the gap between different ideological groups and strengthen agreement on the importance of empowering groups in society. In order for a social organization to be trusted by the community, it needs to be seen to practice good governance. This can be judged from the extent to which social organizations practice openness in financial or budgetary matters, accountability in carrying out programs by not practicing corruption, collusion and nepotism, and always allowing participation in decision-making and determining policies that affect the lives of many people. Social organizations that practice good governance are important because they always strive to involve the community in an inclusive manner.

Bali, with Denpasar as a city and capital, works within global and national dynamics. Along with the increase in community participation, there is also an increase in the synergy of social organizations and religious organizations with the government. The growth and development of synergy between communities, including the private sector and the government, seems phenomenal because it is supported by cultural vitality, the role of traditional values in modern life, either national or universal, which globalizes or synergizes local culture. The rapid development and population growth in Bali, especially Denpasar, has implications for the carrying capacity of the environment, tourism issues, hygiene, and welfare issues. Forms of self-reliance, partnerships, and synergies such as the Sanur Development Foundation are evidence of community participation that has been facilitated by the city government. Existing customary institutions, including traditional village government structures, can drive a sense of community togetherness. The present condition of development has implications for the ability of communities with dense social networks to develop synergic relations intra-community and with the government. The cases that are used as the object of this study illustrate how synergy operates based on everyday community values and is a manifestation of the traditional values of *Tri Hita Karana*, the philosophy of balancing the relationship between humans, God, and nature. This culture also has environmental characteristics and a focus on smart living.

The synergy of social organizations and religious organizations, or the general public with the government, has implications for the birth of smart governance. The indicators for this are in the form of participation in decision-making processes, public and social services, transparent governance, and strategic politics and perspectives. For example, in the last five years, Sewaka Darma has been socialized and internalized by all municipal officials with better service implications. Institutions that live in communities such as Banjar and Desa Adat have an important function in directing the community to carry out synergy development. Self-reliance, partnership, and synergy with the government have succeeded in realizing development and protecting traditional aspects of life through developing the community. The Sanur area, which has extraordinary attractions for foreign tourists, is an area that is especially favorable to structural synergies such as the Sanur Development Foundation (YPS), facilitated by the city government.

Aside from being a synergy structure for social organizations, YPS also synergizes with the city government, especially with agencies in accordance with the scope of work and programs. The City Planning and Regional Infrastructure Office, the National Unity and Community Protection, the Tourism Office and the Housing Agency often partner with YPS. The Sanur village festival, held in August, reveals the important side of the activities of this social organization. The government is also able to create a situation that is conducive to developing synergies. This shows that the government, especially Pemertinah in Denpasar, has the ability not only to develop bonding social capital but also to bridge social capital and create a smart heritage city. In real terms, the municipal government is able to develop local genius in the context of the Denpasar city development.

The sense of ownership that the municipal government has toward YPS has implications for growing and increasing social capital within the city government and the community. The city government is able to facilitate the *banjar-banjar* elements of YPS by placing its representatives within the initiative's formal structure. The stakeholders of this institution include official villages and traditional villages. YPS became fully supported because of the city administration's accommodation to community participation, the facilitation and trust given by the municipal government, and the positive community spirit due to the active principles of synergy and trust.

The synergy of the city government, the community, and the business world is due to the availability of well-managed resources, which in turn can provide maximum benefits to the common interest in a sustainable manner. As an open-access area, Denpasar as a smart heritage city can provide mutual benefits to different parties. This has implications for the relative distribution of the level of welfare experienced by residents of Denpasar. This emphasis on inclusive development

seems to be pursued so that the symptoms of inequality can be anticipated and dealt with earlier. This is important so that the social cohesion of the Balinese as a whole and Denpasar in particular can be maintained and improved.

Islamic Religious Organizations Working for Social Welfare in Malang, East Java

Mari Adachi
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Zakat is a religious obligation (*ibāda*) which is prescribed for every grown-up Muslim meeting the financial criteria (*nisāb*) to make a alms-giving contribution toward the poor and the needy. The recipients or *mustahiq*, which is Arabic for “people with rights,” are grouped in eight categories in the Qur’an, including those in debt. Recent studies show that zakat is not only used for direct cash transfer but also for productive usage like non-profit loans. This idea has been supported by many Islamic jurists and economists with the aim of fulfilling socio-economic objectives (*al-ibāda al-māliyya al-ijutimaiyya*), such as redistribution of wealth, alleviation of poverty and achieving social welfare, in theory. However, some scholars have criticized the achievement of the welfare mentioned in the Islamic economy and the theory of the Islamic state, citing the example of the prophet era which probably contained ideology in many ways and is used just as a means to criticize the current nation-state. This criticism of Islamic economy does not factor in the fact that poverty and justice are expressed in the religion as flexible situations beyond ideology. The main aim is to explore actual roles and strategies of zakat management organizations that adopt productive zakat programmes as new practices of the interpretation and expansion of zakat. In order to accomplish this task, this exploratory research adopts case studies through direct interviews with the recipients of the productive zakat program in Malang, East Java, using a list of structured questions from my fieldwork on how zakat have been utilized for social welfare of Muslim communities that conducted between November 2016 and October 2017.



Minamata On-site Campus

水俣臨地キャンパス

Minamata On-site Campus Report, 2019

Azeb Girmai
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I had the good fortune to participate in a program of Kyoto University of Minamata campus from January 8–13, 2019. The program was four days of field visits in various institutions connected to the Minamata disease within Minamata city; and two-days participation of the Minamata disease stakeholders, patients, lawyers, medical practitioners and activists, annual meeting.

Our field visit began with the Minamata Disease Municipal Museum, which was established in 1993. The Museum, showing chronological history of the disease and scientific link of pollution to the disease, is situated next to the Eco Park Minamata—a restoration project for Minamata Bay, created over 13 years (1977–1990) at a cost of 48.5 billion yen to contain contaminated sediment – accumulated effluent pumped into the bay. Additionally, we visited “Soshisha”—a civil-society group supporting victims of the Minamata disease—which also hosts a museum on its ground. The museum showcases the local fishing communities’ cultural artifacts to demonstrate their way of life and the effects of the disease on their livelihood, culture, and heritage (Photo 1).

The next day, Mr. Yamashita Yoshihiro—ex-Chisso employee, trade unionist, and activist—walked us through the city and offered a detailed historical background of Chisso Corporation and its polluting effect on Minamata Bay. The Chisso corporation has been an integral part of Japan’s economic development history, producing chemicals such as acetaldehyde acetic acid and polyvinyl chloride, as well as fertilizers and other products since 1908. Mr. Yoshihiro explained how the activities of this corporation led to lethal quantities of factory effluents (dioxins and mercury) getting pumped through the “Hayakken” dumping point into Minamata Bay. The results were disastrous for both the fishing community—which depended on Minamata Bay for their livelihood—and the Minamata inhabitants, who consumed contaminated fish and were affected in varying degrees. In the past, the Minamata community had been divided between the fishing community (which was also devastated by the pollution and disease) and the Chisso employees (who feared losing their employment). Mr. Yoshihiro held a unique position, being a Chisso employee, a trade unionist, and an activist who openly supported the victims of the pollution (as Chisso employees were also affected by the disease). The reality of the devastation was made clear to us upon visiting Hotto House, a local social-welfare institution for

the Minamata disease patients, where we viewed a presentation by the victims themselves. We were further enlightened by our visit to Meisuien (a city-owned medical and welfare institution for few selected certified patients), as well as our participation in a discussion at Toomi-no-ie with the first-generation victims and their supporters. The legal case pertaining to the Minamata disease, based on its discovery in 1956 and the official confirmation in 1968 that it was a direct result of the contamination from the Chisso Minamata Factory, is still being debated in a courtroom. The victims are demanding recognition (as the official number of people estimated to have been affected does not reflect the actual number of people affected) and adequate compensation. According to presentations by medical practitioners and lawyers at the stakeholders' meeting, governmental screening standards for recognition as Minamata disease patients are unfairly stringent. For example, even people with clear symptoms and prerequisites that would make them eligible to be classified as Minamata disease patients according to local physicians' standards would not be classified as such according to the governmental screening standards. The Akagi International Mercury Lab (an initiative of Dr. Akagi Hirokatsu) uses a novel technique to determine the mercury level from an individual's strand of hair, and this lab has made remarkable contributions towards determining contamination from mercury using a simple technique. We were able to visit his lab and get the opportunity to experience this technique.

Mr. Yoshihiro's most-pressing concern today is a looming disaster on the reclaimed block of land that contains a contaminated sledge, which is showing signs of damage; it may open up and release chemicals yet again (Photo 2). He complains that neither the government nor Chisso are focusing on activities that recognize the plight of unrecognized patients and concern of further contamination of the bay, rather he complains, ceremonies like Moyainaoshi (reuniting) mislead the reality as if the situation is solved. He also criticizes the rhetoric of Minamata as Eco city, engaging city dwellers in complicated environmental activities such as recycling, portraying the city as environmental model, while denying ground realities. During our visit to the city's environmental policies and measure department, the government official's presentation focused on the present image of the city rather than the concerns about impending damage. He said such issues were the responsibility of the prefecture and the federal government, and not the city. A spokesperson for the Japan New Chisso Company—a production subsidiary company separated from the parent company Chisso—was also clear in distancing the company from any responsibility towards infrastructural issues, stating that such issues were the responsibility of the government. Hence, such complications persist.

Minamata provides a practical lesson about the tension between a country's

need for economic development and the negative consequences of such development when the social and environmental aspects of an economic activity are not considered in advance. However, the importance of citizens' right to hold governments accountable at all levels of decision-making is evident from the example of Minamata City. This sparks a concern for other countries, such as those in Africa, which are in a state of rapid economic development; they may put their people in a similar situation. Therefore, it is vital to consider how we can create people-to-people experience-sharing opportunities to avoid such tragedies in future.



Photo 1: Original fishermen's boat, Soshisha museum, Minamata.



Photo 2: Side of concrete where contaminated sledge is buried.

Report on the On-site Campus Program at Minamata

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Introduction

Currently, environmental pollution is a widespread global issue. While governments encourage activities to develop economic growth, these activities also adversely impact human beings and the environment.

In the 1950s, Japan focused on rapid economic growth without paying due attention to any other consideration. Technical advancement kept magnificent pace with economic evolution. Japan was swiftly becoming a major economy; however, the negative impacts were also starting to affect many areas of the country.

In 1956, a disease called Minamata Disease (MD) was first diagnosed in Minamata City. It was caused by the release of Methylmercury from the industrial wastewater from Chisso Corporation's chemical factory. The factory discharged wastewater containing toxic chemicals, and the bioaccumulation contaminated the shellfish and fish in Minamata Bay and the Shiranui Sea. The local population consumed the afflicted fish, and this resulted in mercury poisoning.

To learn more about environmental pollution and the resultant MD, we visited Minamata City from January 8–13, 2019.

Minamata Disease Municipal Museum

On the first day of the trip, we visited the Minamata Disease Municipal Museum to learn what caused the Minamata incident, and its devastating impact on human health and the environment, by studying the archival collections available on MD.

Minamata Historical Museum at Soshisha

The museum was established by Soshisha in 1988. It is devoted to collecting and preserving documents as well as disseminating knowledge about MD to promote awareness about this human rights violation, with the hope that environmental issues such as the Minamata disaster will never occur again.

Meeting with Mr. Yamashita Yoshihiro

Mr. Yamashita was a former Chisso employee, a member of the trade union, and an activist. He is also a patient afflicted with MD. He showed us the site where the Chisso factory was built. We also visited the reclaimed land that was built on the contaminated sea, the Hyakken effluent outlet, Umedo port, Marushima fishing port, and Hachiman Sedimentation Site to see the conditions of environmental controls around the Bay of Minamata.

Minamata City Council

To learn about the actions taken by local government agencies, we visited the Minamata City Council attended lectures about environmental policies and measures. One positive outcome of the experiences gained and lessons learned from the Minamata Disaster is the government's efforts in creating an eco-friendly city through cooperation with citizens. The Pollution Control Project (1977–1990) was tasked with reclamation of the fifty-eight hectare area of Minamata Bay. The project cost 48.5 billion yen and took thirteen years to be completed.

Visit to Meisui-En, Hotto House, and Toomi-no-ie

Meisui-en Hospital was the city-owned medical and welfare institution assigned to treat MD patients. We learned about the health care systems and welfare activities for MD patients. Hotto House is a local social welfare institution for MD patients. We also interviewed first-generation plaintiffs and supporters at Toomi-no-ie.

International Mercury Laboratory & Conference Participation

Dr. Akagi Hirokatsu is a leading scientist who, for the past fifty years, has studied and contributed to the scientific knowledge about methylmercury. We visited his laboratory for a lecture about the bioaccumulation of methylmercury in the human body via the consumption of large quantities of fish. The doctor had invented a cost-effective equipment that could measure mercury levels by taking hair samples. We measured the mercury level in our bodies by providing him our own hair samples.

Conference topics included the ongoing status of MD certification processes, fact-finding of important details to be highlighted about MD, medical debates in the MD support group's legal case, mercury regulation, and related issues in Japan.

Lessons learned from the program

Government programs always impact the environment and the well-being of humankind. If economic development is the priority, the nation must use the

resources available to them. However, in doing so, social and environmental safeguards should be integrated into their programs to prevent devastating impacts on the earth. Meanwhile, monitoring and assessment of these programs should be continued. Currently, many developing countries are trying to achieve economic development through various ways. These countries should study cases like that of the MD to avoid similar tragedies and take into consideration the well-being of their people and the environment.



Photo 1: Site visit to former Chisso Factory with Mr. Yamashita

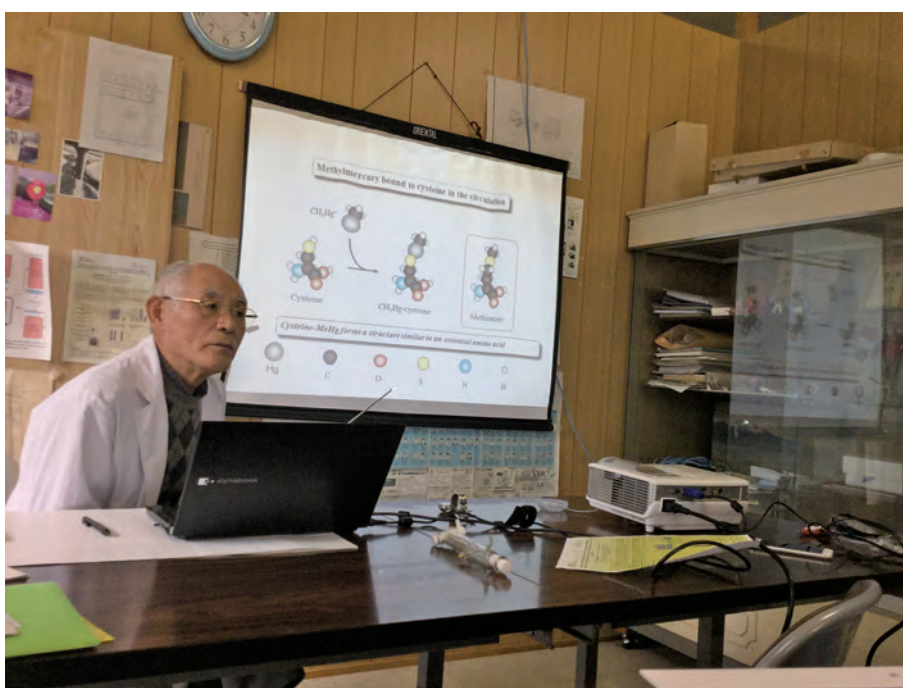


Photo 2: Lecture on mercury poisoning by Akagi Sensei at International Mercury Lab

Minamata On-site Campus: An Unforgettable Experience

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Background

For thirty-six years, from 1932 to 1968, Chisso Corporation (now Japan New Chisso), in the vanguard of Japan's chemical industry, used mercuric sulfate as a catalyst in the production of acetaldehyde, releasing methyl mercury in its untreated effluent into the sea. Entering the marine ecosystem, mercury was taken up in the food chain, first in plankton and sea-bottom organisms, then in fish, and finally in cats, birds, and humans [Oiwa Keibo 2010]. Through fish intake, residents were infected with Minamata disease (MD), a neurological syndrome with fatal and crippling symptoms.

When I first heard about MD, it was a very distant idea and I believed that it was “just” one of the myriad environmental and social impacts of the economic development of modern times. As a practitioner in the environment field, I wanted to learn more about the adverse impacts brought about by the industrial development so I joined the trip.

A rewarding experience

We arrived at Minamata station an hour earlier than scheduled and the first impression I had of the city was that it was so quiet. Little did I realize at the time that the city has a rich history of ups and downs with an invisible community. On the first day, we were brought to the Minamata Disease Municipal Museum where the memory of the disease and its victims from its development to its discovery and the miseries is kept alive. The memories are brought into life through powerful photos with informative captions, video clips and other exhibits associated with MD. A visit to a local civil society called Soshisha gave us some light on the how Minamata Disease Patients (MDP) have been struggling for their lives and justice. The director shared her personal story of how she became involved with helping the patients ten years ago. She also shared her daunting challenges which deeply touched all the participants of the trip.

Mr. Yamashita who worked for the Chisso Corporation, and is now an activist for MDP, took us around the city (reclaimed land, old factory, Hyakken effluent outlet, fishing port and sedimentation pool). Born in Minamata, he was able to share all the history of these places blending it with his life as an ex-

worker of the Chisso Corporation. We learned that MD not only destroyed lives but also caused deep social division, which persists, among the community. At Minamata Research Centre, doctors and scientists demonstrated the MD test. To explore their perspective, we also visited to Chisso Company. They said that it is important to learn from their mistakes rather than dwelling on the past.

The meeting with four patients at Hotto house was the most unforgettable one. Their powerful life stories moved almost all the students to tears. My throat was choked with sadness when one of the male patients, born with the disease said with a struggle, “I want to live with my father and help him. But I couldn’t. He is always in my heart. I always imagine his face in my mind as I’ve never seen him.” His father died of MD before he was born. His whole family was infected with the disease. Their stories will stay with me forever.

A fisherman with less severe symptoms of MD had a different story to tell us. At one point, people stopped buying fish from their family because they had the disease. Being a fishing family for generations, they had difficulties due to the discrimination. But he refused to give up his livelihood. Gradually, their hard work and honest living despite the disease, won the admiration of the community and people began to buy fish from them again.

Over six decades after the official recognition of the disease, it is incredible that the government and Chisso Corporation are still reluctant to own up to and pay for the tremendous damage they have caused. We did not have much opportunity to meet this official side in part because they may not be willing to discuss the issue. Conversely, it is equally important to understand their perspective.

Having met various organizations and patients, there is one thing consistent with all the narratives we were told: the people have suffered an insurmountable tragedy, and their cries for justice have been silenced. Although the number of MD sufferers could be as large as 60,000, less than 3,000 patients are officially certified as of 2018. It is urgently needed for all parties involved to agree on the test methodology and certification process.

During the trip, we have learned more about the MD and the complexity of the issue. It was the best opportunity to witness the devastating environmental and socio-economic impacts of “rushing up the ladder of economic growth” without due attention to any other considerations. We listened to the touching stories told by the victims which made us sad, angry and emotional. But they did not fail to give us the strength to continue with our life and our fight for environmental justice. It is also encouraging to learn from the two-day workshop that there is a strong community advocating for the cause of MD and the patients. Making many Japanese and international friends was the best part of the trip. A history that is not remembered is bound to be repeated. Therefore, it is crucial for all of us to share our experience with friends and family.



Photo 1: Mr. Yamashita explaining the history of the old factory



Photo 2: Hottohause welcomes the study group

The Everyday World of Minamata

Sese Ma
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Suffering is never a one-time experience. Participating in the Minamata on-site campus tour two years ago struck me harshly with the depth of its seemingly endless levels of suffering caused by both top-down systematic injustice and the collective individual decisions of self-preservation or priority picking. However, there exist stars in this extreme darkness. Therefore, I was also stricken by the beauty of individuals who never give up considering the power-holders responsible and trying to rewrite the standard of what government and Chisso should do for both the undiagnosed patient and the environment. How did individuals comprehend a way to be assertive against the world after being betrayed by the government, the sole employer, and their neighbors and families, considering that what they are speaking against is an absolute power that clearly drives them to die out? Witnessing large-scale violence that took the lives of most of the people around them in a sudden or gradual manner did not take away their ability to take ownership of this world and their own lives. It is like having the lightest light in the middle of the darkest dark.

However, as argued by feminist Josephine Donovan, there is no neutral place from which one can observe evil. Being silent or taking no action is like being complicit. I have always wondered what all I am capable of doing in these two years, and this time, an encounter in Meisuien (the only city owned medical and welfare institution for recognized Minamata patients, which is sponsored by Chisso) highlighted the hypocriticalness of my status as a participant observer. During the tour, I inadvertently made eye-contact with a woman in her 60s, who was sitting on her bed with a mandatory open door during lunch break. I smiled and nodded at her but she looked disgusted and turned away.

I am granted the power by the social hierarchy to observe her suffering without her consent, to listen to the official discourse about her story and make my own judgment and discourse without her consent, and to be a student-observer who is entitled not to take real actions even though I am granted the privilege to do so. It is the same social hierarchy that causes Minamata disease and fosters many, many observers who do not take actions for various reasons. What should I do if I do not want to be simply an observer? What can I do on a daily basis?

Fortunately, I was being offered an opportunity to stay with Takashimasan, a 72-year-old-gentleman who has never applied for a certificate or medical

aid program for the disease and has identified himself as a supporter to the plaintiffs and a social activist. I think perhaps that I was able to start sensing the gradual, day-to-day suffering as well as the spirits of people who take their lives and those around them ever so seriously and try their best to live the life they want, with a caring heart. Takashima-san is definitely one of them. Working as a contracted milk delivery driver for Morinaga Corporation, he started this job back when he was a college student, along with his younger brothers. Today, he has managed to expand his business such that he is one of the only two milkmen in the greater Ashikita area. He and his family members take turns for delivery. He delivers from 4:30 to 8:00 a.m.; his wife delivers from 3:00 to 6:30 a.m., and then prepares breakfast for the family; and his daughter delivers from 1:30 to 7:00 a.m. After breakfast, they sit down to work on logistics and prepare road maps. Besides that, Takashima-san's wife has to take care of an ill family member, which requires her to stay up all night, and therefore she can only take naps in the afternoon. His daughter also lends a helping hand to her mother in looking after the family member. Apart from that, his daughter takes care of stray cats in the surrounding area. People constantly throw away their cats and newly born kittens at random places along her routine delivery paths, and she makes the commitment to bring them food while on delivery. Since this act of kindness entails much more of her time, she can only sleep from 9:00 to 1:30 a.m. Hence, all the family members persistently look drowsy, and therefore they carry candies in their cars to prevent them from falling asleep during delivery. Apart from the family members, they have been required to hire four additional part-time workers to deliver on different routes every day, and the earliest one starts delivery at around 12:30 midnight.

Takashima-san is highly respected as a genuine man with strong integrity and a gentle heart among the group of the plaintiffs. I had envisaged him to be a solid support for his family, but I am amazed to discover that it is the other way around. His family has proven to be his solid support while he has been a support to the plaintiffs. It takes a caring community to fight for what one believes.



Photo 1: Takashima-san looking drowsy while waiting for dinner at the house of one of the plaintiffs, Kuramoto san, with their long-time lawyer Yamaguchi san. Kuramoto san is cooking and Yamaguchi san is busy working.



Photo 2: Takashima-san in Mount Aso. He enjoys hiking but does not find enough time for it. Perhaps that is why his family encourages him to take me to Aso.

水俣を訪問して

—水俣病に対する人々の捉え方の違い—

齊藤 喬
京都大学総合人間学部

1、水俣を初めて訪問して

私は今回初めて水俣を訪れ、水俣病の関係者の方から話を聞いた。今まで、水俣病について学校の授業で習った程度であり、それほど深く考えたことがなかった。しかし、今回の臨地研修に参加して、この水俣病が抱える問題は非常に複雑であると考えた。現地であった多くの人は、水俣病はまだ終わっていないとおっしゃっていた。その言葉の重みを強く実感した。私が質問すると、水俣の方は水俣病に対する本音を語ってくれた。私が1番興味を持ったことは、水俣病をめぐる人々の間の考え方の違いやその複雑さである。

2、水俣病が抱える問題構造の複雑さ

現在でも、水俣病に対しては一樣な考え方が存在するのではなく、様々な意見や考え方が存在している。自分が水俣病になり患者として施設で生活している人、国から水俣病の認定や補償を受けた人、今でも水俣病の認定を求めて裁判を争っている人、水俣病だとわかっていながらも水俣病認定患者手帳などの申請をしない人、自分は水俣病に関係していないと思っている人、水俣病患者を支えるために活動している人などである。患者の方は、加害企業であるチッソに対してしっかりとした賠償や謝罪、今後の改善策の提示を求めている一方で、自らの親戚がチッソに勤めている場合も多く、チッソを憎む気持ちと同時に、チッソから何かしらの恩恵を受けていると感じている一面もあり、水俣病に対して複雑な思いが交錯している方がいらっしゃる。

水俣で出会ったある人は、「医療費の補助をあてに水俣病の申請をした人が、実際は非常に多いのではないか。」と言っていた。この発言の真偽を判断することは私にはできない。もちろん、水俣で生活し水俣病認定患者と同じ魚を食べていれば、多かれ少なかれ何かしらの有機水銀の影響を受けていると考えるのは普通かもしれないが、そのように捉えている人がいることも事実である。水俣市民であるにもかかわらず、水俣病をめぐる一連の流れに疑問を感じている人もいることに驚きを感じた。また、自分の母親が水俣病患者であり、母親と同じ食事をしていた自分も申請すれば必ず水俣病患者として認定されるとわかっていながらも、チッソから何らかの援助を得ることを恥だと考え、申請をしないと決めていると話してくださった方もいた。さらには、水俣の繁栄にはチッソの存在が必要不可欠であるとまで言い切る人もいた。今でも水俣では水俣病についての話がタブーとなっていることから、普段はこのようなことは水俣に住んでいる人にはあまり話さないそうであるが、それぞれの人が水俣病に対して様々な考えを持っていることがわかった。

「もやいなおし」と言われ、地域住民の関係の再構築が目指されている。水俣病はチッ

ソが原因で起きた公害でありもうこのような公害は起こしてはならないという点では共通するものの、水俣病発生から時間がたった現在では、時間がたったからこそ様々な見方を持つ人が出てきたと考える。水俣病の関係者を支援するための制度ができたことも1つの要因だと考える。被害者間の対立が生じ、国や県やチッソに対する行動の起こし方として違いがでてきている。そのため、この水俣病問題は、関係者を立場の違いによって分けて考えたり、人々の考えを一面的に捉えたりすることはできないと強く感じ、この問題の複雑さを改めて実感した。今後は、水俣病に関する活動をしている人だけでなく、多くの人が水俣病に関する自分の思いを話せる場ができればよいと思う。立場を超えて互いを知ることが、水俣病の風化を防ぐことにもつながるだろう。

この水俣病は公害であるといわれているが、この水俣病の問題構造は公害だけでなく様々なところに存在するという点でも、今後も水俣病について理解を深めていきたい。

参考文献

原田正純．2004．『水俣学講義』日本評論社．



写真 1：現在の百間排水口



写真 2：福田農場から見た八代海



Wild & Wise Internship Program for Trans-disciplinary and Transregional Problem Oriented Research in Asia and Africa

ワイルド&ワイズ

**アジアにおける分野横断的・通地域的問題発見型
インターンシップ・プログラム**

Wild & Wise Collaborative Learning Programs (2018-2019) “*Internship Program for Trans-disciplinary and Trans-regional Problem Oriented Research in Asia and Africa*” Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University

Wild & Wise International Workshop Perspectives on Next-generation Area Studies



Date: 14:30-17:30, January 22, 2019

Venue: Large Conference Room, 3F, Inamori Foundation Memorial Hall, Kyoto University.

Program

- Chairperson: Gen Yamakoshi (Chair of SHIEN Office, ASAFAS)
- 14:30-14:35 Opening remarks: Yoshifumi Tamada (Dean, ASAFAS)
- 14:35-14:40 Workshop Overview: Gen Yamakoshi (SHIEN Office, ASAFAS)
- 14:40-15:40 Presentations
- 1) “Khe-med Lhakhang”
Sangay Yonten (College of Language and Culture Studies, Royal University of Bhutan Bhutan)
 - 2) “2019 Thai General Election”
Leelasetakul Maesaporn (Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand)
 - 3) “Eastern Himalayas within the Indian Territory: Sikkim, the Northern Part of West Bengal (Darjeeling and Kalimpong) and Arunachal Pradesh”
Evelyn Lepcha (Department of Geography, Sikkim University, India)
 - 4) “The Believers Hurt by Their Fortune: Rituals and Narratives of Minamatta Disease”
Kiya Gezahegne (Department of Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia)
 - 5) “Influence of Seagrass Meadows That Impact Ice-ice Disease along the Southern Coast of Sulawesi, Indonesia”
Nur Abu (Research and Development Center for Marine Coastal and Small Island, Hasanuddin University, Indonesia)
- 15:40-16:00 Coffee Break
- 16:00-16:20 Comments by ASAFAS students
Commentators: Takanori Aoki, Ryuichi Niwa, Yuka Nakae, Yuki Okabe, Noriko Suzuki, Risa Teramoto
- 16:20-17:30 Discussions

Khe-med Lhakhang

Sangay Yonten
College of Language and Culture Studies, Royal University of Bhutan

There are many sacred temples across the country with a very significant background whose sacredness made the people of Bhutan more religious. Bhutan is known to be the last and hidden Shangri-la—the most religious land. Among all, Khe-med Lhakhang is one of the most significant temples located in the Punakha district. The temple was founded by Ngawang Chogyel, the younger brother of Drukpa Kuenley, in 1499. It was built in memory of the widely known Divine Mad Man since he already blessed the place, and it is an old temple which was probably built at the end of 15th century. Though it is one of the most significant tangible examples of culture in Bhutan, it is not widely known by the Bhutanese as there is no in-depth study of it. Only the nearest village is aware of it and considers it to be the most significant temple. The villagers conduct yearly festivals where everyone gathers and celebrates grandly. People forget the past significant feature which contributes to the nation's culture. To convey the essential information on Khe-med Lhakhang, research has been done on it by interviewing the priest of the temple and collecting information from the elder villagers of Sopsokha and written documents.

2019 Thai General Election

Leelasetakul Maesaporn
Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University

This talk is an overview of one of the most discussed topics in Thailand, the 2019 election. This election will be the first since the Military *coup d'état* in 2014, following many changes in the 2017 constitution. For example, the new Electoral system, the Mixed Members Apportionment (MMA), has only one ballot for candidates that will be counted as a vote for both candidates and party list. All 250 members of the Senate will be appointed by the NCPO (National Council for Peace and Order), the military government that has ruled Thailand since 2014. A system may determine a future prime minister who is not directly elected by the people. Moreover, the establishment of the new party, the “Phalang Pracharat Party” or “People’s State Power Party,” whose leadership includes four current cabinet ministers, and who has strong ties to the Military Government is another example of these changes. How will these changes and the election result affect Thailand’s politics in the near future?

Eastern Himalayas within the Indian Territory: Sikkim, the Northern Part of West Bengal (Darjeeling and Kalimpong) and Arunachal Pradesh

Evelyn Lepcha
Department of Geography, Sikkim University

The Eastern Himalayas with its varied biodiversity provide a wide range of ecosystem services. It is a home for tribal communities where many live in isolation with their livelihood and traditions deeply depending on natural resources. This makes an understanding of conservation essential for their continued survival. Tribal people are still misunderstood and feared by the those living in urban areas, for example, as is the case with the Mishmi tribe in Arunachal Pradesh. The history of Darjeeling, Kalimpong, and Sikkim are intertwined with Nepal, Bhutan, and British India. The development of Darjeeling and Kalimpong was initiated by British and, until today, their educational institutions and welfare centers are well known for the quality education and service. The economy of Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Sikkim, and Arunachal Pradesh are based on agriculture, tourism, and the tea industry. The low productivity of the land has necessitated a shift from agriculture to tourism. The development process is slow in these areas, and the topographical settings limit the establishment of big industries for generating employment. These areas are considered to be less developed because the government has been neglecting issues here. More than 100 years of the people of Darjeeling and Kalimpong demanding a separate state has not resolved, which has resulted in political instability in the hills. This presentation provides an overview of the history, people, culture, and economic activities of the Eastern Himalayas within the Indian territory, and also explores the differences between these regions and mainland India.

The Believers Hurt by Their Fortune: Rituals and Narratives of Minamata Disease

Kiya Gezahegne, Department of Social Anthropology,
Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia

“The sea was their fortune,” said the head of Soshisha, “and now they seem to be harmed by it.” This was an explanation given in a field visit to Minamatta city, Kumamoto Prefecture on January 2019 about the Minamatta disease which claimed many lives and affected many more. Though thought by many to be over, the disease continued to affect the lives of people living in this city and neighboring places. Caused by methyl mercury disposed of through industrial waste, contaminated seawater (which was once a source of the people’s livelihood and pride) became a threat to people’s lives and identity. Thus, some sought refuge in their beliefs while others were focused on making and remaking narratives. From putting *Jizzoh* to keeping memorials and the notion of “integration,” the government, JNC, and the community have tried to tackle the disease. Underlying this, debates over victims, patients, and crime/accidents contributed to divergent narratives. The aging Minamatta disease affected the community; however, they still wait for the god of the sea to respond to their problems and for death to give them peace.

Influence of Seagrass Meadows That Impact Ice-ice Disease along the Southern Coast of Sulawesi, Indonesia

Nur Abu

Research and Development Center for Marine Coastal and Small Island,
Hasanuddin University

There may be a natural way to reduce levels of disease-causing pollutants entering coastal reefs. The ecosystem filtration of toxins, nutrients, and pathogenic microorganisms provided by coastal seagrasses and mangroves are one of the potentially highest value ecosystem services provided by natural marine ecosystems. Initial research is needed to quantify the benefits and value of the filtration ecosystem service and to reveal the connections between the health of marine ecosystems and their ability to filter. The overarching goal of this activity is to assess the magnitude by which intact coastal seagrass meadows filter pollutants to benefit both humans and seaweed and to quantify the value of this ecosystem service.

Seaweed farming is frequently practiced as an alternative to improve economic conditions and to reduce fishing pressure and overexploited fisheries; however, disease outbreaks threaten the sustainability of this industry. In recent years, many seaweed farms have been decimated by disease outbreaks. Water temperature, salinity, and light intensity have been individually shown to predispose seaweeds to disease in controlled laboratory studies [Largo et al. 1995]. It is proposed that opportunistic microbial pathogens that are normally resident in marine waters predispose seaweed to develop disease due to environmental stress [Largo et al. 2002].

Kappaphycus alvarezii is one of the carrageenan producing seaweed and is widely used as an ingredient in medicine and food products. The ice-ice infection has affected *K. alvarezii* production in several seaweed farming areas along the southern coast of Sulawesi, Indonesia. Drastic environmental changes can trigger this disease. Therefore, we focused on the prevalence of ice-ice in *K. alvarezii* cultivated in coastal regions of South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. This research was conducted during October 2015 in Takalar, Jeneponto, Bantaeng, and the Bulukumba Districts along the southern coast of Sulawesi. Data on ice-ice prevalence was collected in the field using 15-meter line transects. Environmental parameters (temperature, salinity, chlorophyll-a concentration, and Blue-Green Algae abundance) were measured using the EXO sonde tool. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to evaluate the difference in ice-ice prevalence with and without seagrass, and the correlation between ice-ice prevalence and

environmental parameters was also evaluated. All statistical analyses were implemented in SPSS Version 21. The ANOVA results indicated that ice-ice prevalence tended to be higher (in the area without seagrass than when seagrasses was present ($16.54 \pm 2.3\%$ compared to $10.58 \pm 2.1\%$). The correlation analysis did not show a significant relationship between ice-ice and any of the environmental parameters measured at the study sites.

Wild and Wise Internship Report

Nur Abu
Hasanuddin University

A fieldtrip visit to Minamata city from January 9 to 13 2019, organized through the Wild and Wise program of Kyoto University, provided me with many experiences. I knew about the city of Minamata since I was in high school. At that time, we had learned about the environmental pollution caused by methyl mercury. Most students believed that the Minamata disease had been eliminated. However, in reality, this disease exists even today.

A patient of Minamata disease demonstrates symptoms such as sensory disorder, loss of sensation in the extremities, difficulty in movement of hand and feet, narrowing of visual field, hearing impairment, and speech impairment. Yamaguchi San is one such patient of this disease. He lives in Amakusha island, which is located opposite Minamata bay. Numerous fisherman catch the fish and shellfish surrounding the island. Yamaguchi san is like a healthy person but while he pained his shelf he could not felt the pain. Minamata disease is a “Silent Killer,” and thus, it is impossible to judge if a person is healthy by only observing their body. Minamata disease is similar to the ocean, it seems calm, but can kill someone with its undercurrent.

Thank you to all Sensei and TA involved in the Wise and Wild program of Kyoto University, and to the Minamata disease patients who really inspired me to take care our environment). Thanks also to the government of Minamata city.



Photo 1: A scenery of Shiranui Sea.



Photo 2: Yamaguchi San demonstrated one of the symptoms of Minamata disease for us. He was unable to feel pain when he poked his hand with a toothpick.

Wild and Wise Internship Report

My “Non-Sequel” Japan Experience

Maesaporn Leelasetakul (Mace)
Chulalongkorn University

“This is not my first time in Japan. I have lived in Tokyo for more than ten years. Although I am going to learn some new things about Japan, I’m pretty sure I already know my way around the country at some level.” - This is what I thought before coming to Kyoto this time. As it turns out, I was completely wrong.

The first activity of this program began with a field trip to Minamata city in the Kumamoto Prefecture with the aim to learn about Minamata disease, which I had already heard of since I was young. Until this field trip, I had never once imagined that the Minamata disease problem is still ongoing and effecting the lives of the locals. The company that caused the methylmercury pollution is still operating in the city, reaping profits, and growing continually. People with symptoms of the disease are still struggling in everyday life, both from the disease itself and from the discrimination they face. The possibility of leakage of the hazardous substance, Methylmercury, is increasing due to the time-sensitive deterioration of the reclaimed land. These issues are proof that most people, not only in Japan but also worldwide, may have heard of Minamata disease but never really understood it. I will not dare to claim that I fully understand all the aspects of the problem; however, through this field trip, I had a chance to learn and understand much more about this disease, even more than everything I have thus known about it. As a government officer, this problem made me decide to use this disease as a lesson about what the government’s duty should be, which is to protect and support the people. As an individual, the Minamata disease patients taught me to cherish the normal things in my life that I probably took for granted previously, and to live my life to the fullest while I can.

Another main activity that I got to do during my current stay in Kyoto is to visit Tokyo for interviewing people related to the Japan Conference or “Nippon Kaigi,” one of the largest right-wing organizations in Japan, and also my current research theme. In order to really understand the viewpoint from both sides of the people related to Nippon Kaigi, I decided to interview “Mr. A,” who is a member of Nippon Kaigi and a professor specializing in Constitutional Law, and “Mr. Y,” an activist and member of the Children and Textbooks Network Japan 21 and a pioneer on the activities of Nippon Kaigi, including issues regarding textbooks and education. “Mr. A” brought his friends from Nippon Kaigi to our interview in order to give me details about their organization. They told me that their ultimate

goal is to bring back “Beautiful Japan,” which is how the Japanese society should have been, instead of the current society in which people blame themselves for the “mistakes” they made during the war. According to the interview and the documents that they showed me, Nippon Kaigi would like to amend the current constitution, which they view to be forced upon them by GHQ after the war. Their aim is to encourage Japanese people to respect the emperor and royal family like how it was in the past, to improve the education system by including more lessons about morals, and to embrace the beauty of the Shinto religion. On the contrary, “Mr. Y.” showed me how Nippon Kaigi is related to the government, especially the current Prime Minister and his administration. He showed me a book that the right-wing politicians, including Mr. Abe, believed to be proof that the Pacific war, which the book chose to call “the Greater East Asia War,” was not the invading war. This is contrary to the then Prime Minister Hosogawa’s speech, which mentioned that the pacific war was the invading war. “Mr. Y.” believes that Nippon Kaigi’s goal and ideology is dangerous to the Japanese society, as it will make the society move backward to how it was before World War 2. After listening to both sides, I understand more about what their goals are, and realized that this topic is somehow related to the Thai society, especially with respect to the conflict between the left and right wing.

Moreover, I had an opportunity to enjoy the beauty and characteristics of Kyoto. I did not just visit the popular tourist spots, but also enjoyed the small but wonderful details hidden in the towns of Kyoto, such as temples or shrines right in the middle of the shopping streets or residential areas, and experiencing special events or seasonal scenery with the locals, including the Setsubun Festival at Yoshida Shrine and the Golden Temple, Kinkakuji, in the snow. Most importantly, I got to connect with many people from various fields, and from not only Japan but also from Bhutan, Ethiopia, Indonesia, and Sikkim. We exchanged information about our countries regarding various topics, such as the potential similarity of our countries with the Minamata disease in terms of Industrial development, culture and traditional, dancing, language and food, which we held party featuring foods from our countries.

During my stay in Kyoto, I had many valuable experiences, with most of them revealing new information or knowledge to me despite the long time I have lived here previously. Therefore, my current stay in Japan has been the second chapter of my life in Japan, being short but very unique, important, and unforgettable. I would like to express my gratitude to Kyoto University for granting me this opportunity, and to all the people I met here who have been extremely kind and always willing to help me during my stay.

Wild and Wise Internship Report

Evelyn Lepcha
Sikkim University

In order for both to survive, there needs to be mutual co-operation between nature and humanity. Although the Second World War drained much of Japan's economy, human life, and the stability of human life, it has been a miracle to witness the rapid recovery of the country. During this development, there was a shift toward a new way of earning a living/livelihood from the traditional way of life. Although this change brought growth, it brought along with it disasters in some vulnerable areas. This was evident from the field visit to Minamata city, where both terrestrial and aquatic flora and fauna has been affected by Methylmercury contained in the water drained by Chisso Company (chemical factory) into the sea, which killed and disabled several people in **Kumamoto** in the **1950s** and in **Niigata** in the **1960s**. The first case of Minamata disease was recorded in the year 1956.

Many people are still suffering from this disease and it has deeply affected their social lifelives. It causes not only physical disadvantages, but also the deterioration of social relationships. The company and the government failed to recognize the potential of environmental destruction in time. Our visit to "**Hotto Hausu**" made us realize that the people suffering from the disease have strong will power to live. These people have adapted to the changes brought on by the disease; their economic activities involve organic farming (orange) and tourism, along with fishing. Even though a large area has been turned into a reclaimed land, people like **Mr. Yamashita** still fear that history may repeat itself due to lack of proper management of the reclaimed area.

At present, many people and institutions are working together for the mitigation and preservation of the environmental problems. In the **NAGAO Foundation** as well as the **National Institute for Environmental Studies, Tokyo**, many scholars have dedicated their time and effort to the management of the environment and its sustainability for a better future. We learned more about nitrogen-14 pollution that affects the microalgae and the circulation of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.

A month-long stay in Kyoto gave us the opportunity to experience a completely new world. At the **Setsubun Festival** at **Yoshida Shrine**, held at the end of our program, we were able to participate in the celebration and witness the belief of people in the traditional norms and values. Japan has set the example

that, despite being the most developed country in the world, traditional values can still be preserved.

Wild and Wise Internship Report

Sangay Yonten
College of Language and Culture Studies, Royal University of Bhutan

Through this program, I learned that we all should be concerned about our future generations and take measures through proper guidance of the present generation.

The economic development of a nation through developing multiple industries that produce the utmost chemical waste, which further pollutes the environment and affects human health, should be avoided.

For instance, in Minamata city, Chisso Company had initially been very important for Japan, especially for the people of Minamata. However, the company had been releasing chemical (mercury) waste into the environment, leading to people's lives being destroyed by the polluted water. Almost all families of fishermen were affected by this disease as the company had been draining their chemical waste into the ocean, which is their main food source.

The people of Minamata city have been badly affected by the chemical waste and have still been fighting for their rights through a court case. There are numerous people who are still suffering. The strangest thing I learned is that the people of the same country looked down upon and discriminated against the people of Minamata, along with anyone suffering from such a disease.

One of the most important things that we all should keep in mind is that we have to remain alert regarding such a situation occurring again in any country, especially in the developing countries of the world. A crucial message that we all should remember is that every action has a consequence. We reap what we sow, and if we pollute the environment, then the environment will pollute human life.



Photo 1: Lecture by a fisherman from Modo, Minamata



Photo 2: Old Chisso Factory

Wild and Wise Internship Report

What I have learned from Minamata

Kiya Gezahegne
Addis Ababa University



Several different narratives have developed since Minamata disease was discovered in 1956. Although they seem contradicting and all with their own arguments, these narratives overlap in several instances and form new alliances between different actors at different times. There are also different representations of the disease, such as a mistake, a cause for green initiatives, a call for justice, and a cause of suffering. One thing that can be said is the relationships between these actors are complicated, and thus, difficult to explain.

"They were hurt by their fortune [the Sea and the Company]"

The sea was the main source of livelihood for the people in Minamata, and was polluted by MeHg contamination by Chisso Company, which had not only provided stable jobs to half of the residents, but also contributed to the development of Minamata. However, because of the disease, Minamata as they knew it changed. The discrimination that followed can still be sensed when several people find themselves unable to discuss it. Patients are uncertain about the end of their suffering or receiving justice. Portrayed either as Higayashi (Victim), Kanja (Patient), or Jiken (accident), the people affected by the disease have come together in order to try and adapt to the situation. They share their experiences for others to learn from it, as well as to let their voices be heard. Another way to cope for them is through religion.



Looking for Religion

Considered to be a "strange disease," patients of Minamata disease were discriminated against by priests [Shinto and Buddhist]. Consequently, several patients migrated to the city in search of a religion that would accommodate them, and found spiritual refuge in the Catholic and Lutheran churches, which were introduced by foreign Chisso workers. Others abandoned religion and became spiritual, while a few found religion through the disease, claiming Minamata disease to be their god. However, Ebisu (god of fishery) and Ryujin (god of sea) still continue to be relevant in the community. Annual rituals are performed, although not at the same scale, to pray to the gods for good fishing seasons. Putting Jizo on roadsides as a sign of solidarity and a protector brought together not only the patients in Minamata, but also reconnected them with patients in Nagata.

Moyainaoshi and the Prayer of Fire

The importance of religion in the wake of Minamata disease led to the establishment of “Moyainaoshi” (restoration of human ties), which was launched by the government to rebuild human relationships in Minamata. The term “Moyai” represents working together to repair or clean shrines, often in times of religious or ethnic conflict. The notion of a community coming together was taken from this ideology. This project also includes the praying to fire, a ritual in which residents come together to commemorate the victims who have passed away and pray to nature. In 2001, this was followed by the Haiya folkdance performed in the old days to welcome boats. Through such rituals, including the waste recycling ritual of the present day, I see Moyainaoshi as the restoration of the human-nature relationship, rather than relations among the residents, by emphasizing an environment friendly local community and not losing touch with the sea and nature.



January in Japan

I found my visit to Japan to be unique and extraordinary. During my one-month-long stay here, I have learned that Japanese societies have much to offer to the world, which many have failed to realize. This also includes having an accommodating culture. I have come across hybrid or syncretic religion here, which originally had only one god, but welcomed 300 million more from the outside world. You can find cuisines in the restaurants here that have been taken from other parts of the world and combined with traditional Japanese food. It is one of the few places in the world where race or religion does not matter when it comes to providing services; all foreigners are treated equally. Although Japan is believed to be a closed community, I found it to be very inclusive, in its own ways. To my understanding, rather than rejecting foreign elements, people found the “Japaneseness” in them and embraced it. One case in point is the outlets of Starbucks and McDonald’s. While these franchises have their own distinct mark in every country, here in Japan, I found them to be dominated by the Japanese culture, beginning right from the architecture. It is the only place where I have seen a society that finds goodness in *ONI* (Satan). All in all, despite the cold weather of January, I found tolerance, patience, calmness, and accommodativeness to be the dominant traits among the Japanese people. I found myself praying in temples even though I am not religious, along with celebrating youthfulness in Kyoto. I have also learned to be grateful from the Japanese people. There are more ways to say thank you and show gratitude in the Japanese language than any other language I know. Thus, I want to say どうもありがとう ございました for letting me be a part of the Wild and Wise program and visit Japan.



実践型フィールドスクール I

アジア・アフリカの大学での「出前セミナー」の実施による留学生獲得事業



ASAFAS Field School 01

出前セミナー実施報告書

ネパール

実施期間：2018年7月23日から2018年7月29日
藤倉 達郎

ネパールにおいて非感染症疾病をめぐる状況について調査しているグローバル地域研究研究科院生・中村友香氏の臨地教育を行った。現地研究機関におけるカウンターパートは、トリブヴァン大学ネパール・アジア研究所のムリゲンドラ・カルキ博士である。

20世紀半ばまでの国際保健の分野において、ネパールを含む「発展途上国」については伝染病についての関心が非常に高かった。このことは、日本キリスト教海外医療協力会（JPCS）によって1960年代にネパールに派遣された岩村昇医師の当初のミッションが結核患者の治療であったことにも反映されている。しかし岩村医師はネパールでの経験を通して、一つの伝染病対策に特化した垂直的プログラムではなく、その地域の人々の健康を総合的に向上させていくプライマリー・ヘルスケアの重要性を強調するようになる。それは、地域の状況に根ざした医療の課題を、地域の中に身を置いて考える姿勢だったといえる。では、現在のネパールの状況に根ざした医療を考えるとどうなるであろうか？ 1960年代と大きく異なるのは、糖尿病や高血圧等を含む、非感染性疾患の重要性が大きく増していることである。しかしその現象についての研究はいまだに少ない。そこではまた1990年代以降の新自由主義的な政策転換や、内戦や王制廃止・連邦共和制の導入へと至る民主化の流れと、健康や医療との関係を考える必要がある。

今回の臨地教育においては糖尿病や、西部ネパール・タライ平野部のタルー民族にみられる鎌形赤血球症等に関わる患者組織や医療従事者たちとのインタビュー、医療教育制度改革を求める社会運動についての臨地研究に関するアドバイスを行なった。また、ネパール・ヒマラーヤ研究の主要な組織・ネットワーク関係者が一堂に集まる Annual Conference on Nepal and Himalaya に参加し、ソーシャル・サイエンス・バハ（ネパール）、マーティン・チョータリ研究所（ネパール）、トリブヴァン大学（ネパール）、英国－ネパール学術評議会（BNAC、英国）、フランス国立科学研究センター・ヒマラーヤ研究所（Centre d'Etudes Himalayennes - CNRS、フランス）、ネパール・ヒマラーヤ研究学会（ANHS、北米）等の研究者と学生との間のネットワーキングをサポートした。また現地においてアジア・アフリカ地域研究研究科の博士課程修了生であり、現在、マーティン・チョータリ研究所で震災復興や現代ネパール政治についてのさまざまな研究プロジェクトをリードするとともに、トリブバン大学国際関係学研究科で講師をつとめる、バースカル・ゴータム氏と面談し、研究・教育における今後の協力について話し合った。また日本への留学を目指す学生たちが集い、日本語教育を受けているパナシア・エデュケーション・ファウンデーションを訪問し、ASAFASにおける研究教育についての説明を行った。



写真 1 : ASAFAS 卒業生バースカル・ゴータム博士と院生中村友香氏



写真 2 : パナシア・エジュケーショナル・ファウンデーションにて

出前セミナー実施報告書 ウガンダ・ケニア

実施期間：2018年8月1日から2018年8月18日
太田 至、西 真如

今回の出前セミナーと共同オンサイト教育、事後検討会は、以下の日程で実施した。

- 出前セミナー：2018年8月3日（金）マケレレ大学人文社会科学カレッジ
発表者：山崎暢子、西真如、太田至
コメンテーター：Edward Kirumira（マケレレ大学人文社会科学カレッジ・教授）
参加者：Specioza Mugula, Edigold Koreta, Robert Ssemenda, John Lwanga
（マケレレ大学・学生）
- オンサイト教育と事後検討会：2018年8月4日（土）～7日（火）
カンパラ市内でオンサイト教育を実施し、最終日にはマケレレ大学人文社会科学カレッジにて、出前セミナーとあわせて事後検討会をおこなった。
参加者：太田至、西真如、山崎暢子、Edward Kirumira, Specioza Mugula, Edigold Koreta, Robert Ssemenda, John Lwanga
6日～7日のみの参加者：堀光順、大谷琢磨。
- 出前セミナー：8月10日（金）王立ムテサー一世大学、社会・文化・開発研究学部
発表者：大谷琢磨、堀光順、太田至
コメンテーター：Aisha Lutale（王立ムテサー一世大学・教授）
参加者：Agnes Namayanj, Birende Jamiri, Robert Nsereko, Stanley Kizito
（王立ムテサー一世大学・学生）
- オンサイト教育と事後検討会：8月11日（土）～15日（水）
マサカ市内でオンサイト教育を実施し、最終日には王立ムテサー一世大学にて、出前セミナーとあわせて事後検討会をおこなった。
参加者：太田至、大谷琢磨、堀光順、Aisha Lutale, Agnes Namayanj, Birende Jamiri, Robert Nsereko, Stanley Kizito
- 出前セミナー：8月18日（土）アメリカ国際大学国際関係・平和研究学部
発表者：池本春美、太田至
コメンテーター：Kennedy Mkutu（アメリカ国際大学・教授）
参加者：James Ruguru, Patricia Akeyo, Nancy Gathoni, Betty Kimani, David Wangombe（アメリカ国際大学国際関係・平和研究学部・学生）

それぞれの出前セミナーでは、太田至と西真如が京都大学およびASAFASの教育研究の特色を説明し、ASAFASの大学院生は各自の研究内容を具体的に説明した。そのあと、ウガンダではカンパラ市内とマサカ市内で共同オンサイト教育を実施し、その最終日にはASAFASの教員と大学院生、そして現地の教員・学生の参加のもとに事後検討会を実施し、京大式フィールドワークの神髄を説明して、留学生の確保につとめた。



写真 1：マケレレ大学人文社会科学カレッジにて、キルミラ教授とともに。



写真 2：王立ムテサー世大学社会・文化・開発研究学部にて。アイシャ・ルタレ教授および学生とともに。

出前セミナー実施報告書

エチオピア

実施期間：2018年8月7日から2018年9月2日
重田 眞義、金子 守恵

2018年8月7日から9月2日にかけて、以下の4つの時期において、出前セミナー／共同オンサイト教育研究を実施した。

1. 2018年8月7日～8月9日

- ・ 開催場所：アジスアベバ大学京都大学アフリカリエゾン・オフィス
- ・ カウンターパート機関：アジスアベバ大学（AAU）エチオピア研究所、社会人類学部、アフリカ中東研究センター、公衆衛生学部
- ・ 参加者（教員・ASAFAS）：重田眞義、大山修一（8月7日のみ参加）、金子守恵
- ・ 参加者（教員・AAU）：Ahmad Omar, Samuel Tefera, Getaneh Mehari, Mirgissa Kaba
- ・ 参加者（学生ほか）：鈴木功子（ASAFAS 院1年）、Haregewoin Bekele（ASAFAS 院2年）、相原進（ASAFAS 院4年）Azeb Girmai（ASAFAS 院4年）、坪田七海（農学部1年）、Brahamu（京都大学アフリカリエゾン・オフィス職員）
- ・ 主な活動内容と成果：ASAFAS 教員が、安全情報の確認と緊急事態への対応についてのオリエンテーション、滞在期間中の院生の調査研究について個別指導をおこなった。具体的には、鈴木さん（院1年生）には、アジスアベバ大学への客員研究者としての所属等の申請手続きについて指導した、Haregewoin さん（ASAFAS 院2年）には、調査の進捗状況および博士予備論文の構想について指導した、相原さん（ASAFAS 院4年）およびAzeb Girmai さん（ASAFAS 院4年）には、博士論文執筆のための調査項目等について指導をおこなった。坪田さん（農学部1年）には、海外での現地調査に関する基本的な心構えと準備事項について説明した。アジスアベバ大学の教員より、エチオピアの治安状況や医療分野に関わる現地調査に関する倫理規定等の取得について情報提供をうけた。これにより、院生が安全かつそれぞれの研究状況に応じて調査をすすめる準備ができた。

2. 2018年8月13日～16日

- ・ 開催場所：アルバミンチ Tourist hotel 会議室、アルバミンチ市ヘルスポスト
- ・ 参加者（教員・ASAFAS）：重田眞義、金子守恵
- ・ 参加者（教員・アルバミンチ大学（AMU））：Alemaiyu 講師
- ・ 参加者（学生ほか）：鈴木功子（ASAFAS 院1年）、川股一城（ASAFAS 院3年）、坪田七海（農学部1年）、Yohanness Ethiopia（NGO 勤務（AMU 卒業生））
- ・ 主な活動内容と成果：ASAFAS 教員が、アルバミンチ周辺地域における水産業や観光産業について基本的な説明をおこなったあと、調査地選定のための広域調査につ

いて個別指導をおこなった。AMU 講師より、アルバミンチ市内および近郊における医療サービスについて説明をうけた。ASAFAS 教員が、京都大学 ASAFAS への進学希望者（エチオピア人）に対して、京都大学 ASAFAS の教育研究方針について説明をおこなった。これにより、鈴木さんが十分な情報収集をすすめられ、調査地の選定をしやすくなった。また、ASAFAS 受験希望者に対して十分な情報提供をおこなったことにより、希望者が進学にむけての準備をすすめられるようになった。

3. 2018 年 8 月 17 日～8 月 28 日

- ・ 開催場所：ジンカ大学会議室、メツァ市内
- ・ カウンターパート機関：ジンカ大学（JU）
- ・ 参加者（教員・ASAFAS）：重田眞義、金子守恵
- ・ 参加者（教員・ジンカ大学）：Dr. Alemtsagai, Dr. Dikaso
- ・ 参加者（学生ほか）：鈴木功子（ASAFAS 院 1 年）、川股一城（ASAFAS 院 3 年）、Azeb Girmai（ASAFAS 院 4 年）、坪田七海（農学部 1 年）、Lenma Chigro（メツァ市長）
- ・ 主な活動内容と成果：ASAFAS 教員と JU 教員が、エチオピア西南部に暮らす民族の生活や文化、現在人びとが直面する課題に関する調査研究について説明した。その後、ASAFAS 教員が個別指導をおこなった。これにより、鈴木さんは、医療サービスとコミュニティアとの関連性を調査するための準備をすすめた。川股さんは、博士論文のテーマであるコーヒー産業に関する生産と流通との関わりについての調査内容をより明確化することができた。Azebさんは持続的な生業としての観光業について主に遊牧民側の補足データの収集内容を整理できた。

4. 2018 年 8 月 31 日～9 月 1 日

- ・ 開催場所：アジスアベバ大学京都大学アフリカリエゾン・オフィス
- ・ カウンターパート機関：アジスアベバ大学（AAU）エチオピア研究所、社会人類学部、アフリカ中東研究センター
- ・ 参加者（教員・ASAFAS）：重田眞義、金子守恵
- ・ 参加者（教員・AAU）：Samuel Tefera, Mamo Hebo
- ・ 参加者（学生）：鈴木功子（ASAFAS 院 1 年）、Haregewoin Bekele（ASAFAS 院 2 年）、川股一城（ASAFAS 院 3 年）、相原進（ASAFAS 院 4 年）、坪田七海（農学部 1 年）
- ・ 主な活動内容と成果：ASAFAS 教員が、広域調査のまとめをおこない、その後個別指導をおこなった。これにより、鈴木さん（院 1 年生）は、調査に必要な現地語習得についての指導を受け予備調査にむけての準備が整った、Haregewoinさんは、博士予備論文の補足データの収集について検討をすすめることができた、相原さんは、博士論文の構想をすすめ不足しているデータの内容を明確化できた。これにより、重田、金子が指導する院生すべてが、調査進捗状況にあわせて具体的に指導を受け、今後の博士予備論文や博士論文執筆準備をすすめることができた。



写真1：アジスアベバ大学京都大学リエゾンオフィスにて撮影



写真2：アラバで調査中の土井保真利さん（院3年）のフィールドに立ち寄り、調査報告および個別指導をおこなう



写真3：ジンカ周辺にあるメツァ市を訪問し、ジンカ市長（左から3番目）より農業に対する行政の取り組みについて説明をうける



写真4：鈴木攻子さんが、アルバミンチ周辺地域において、アルバミンチ大学講師から、ヘルスポストの普及員が住民へ提供する医療サービスについて説明をうける

出前セミナー実施報告書

ミャンマー

実施期間：2018 年 8 月 18 日から 2018 年 8 月 28 日
竹田 晋也

ミャンマーのシャン州ニャウンシュウエ郡とマグウエー地方域ソウ郡において共同オンライン実習を実施するとともに、首都ネーピードー・イエジンの林業環境科学大学で学長 Myint Oo 教授、Rosy Ne Win 講師、Nyein Chan 講師らと今後の学生交流、留学生受け入れ、共同研究について意見交換をおこなった。ASAFAS からは 3 名の学生 (Thel Phyu Phyu Soe, 小林美月、Wai Phyo Maung) と山口哲由特定助教が参加した。

8 月 19 日から 22 日にかけてシャン州ニャウンシュウエ郡の L 村と Y 村を訪れた。両村では Thel Phyu Phyu Soe が生業転換とその村落共有林管理への影響を調査している。L 村と Y 村の村落共有林での *Dipterocarpus tuberculatus*, *Shorea siamensis*, *Quercus brandisiana* の萌芽と頭木の存在はこれまでの攪乱を示している一方で、薪炭需要の激減と村落内の伐採規制により現在それらは回復している。ニャウンシュウエ郡では、この 20 年間に観光業がブームとなり基盤整備が著しく進展した。地域の電化、観光関連業への転換、市場アクセスの安定化により、村落林資源への依存は減少している。村落共有林管理は、ベーシックニーズを満たす直接利用から、生態系の公益的機能を発揮するための保全へとその目的を変化させていることが彼女の調査から明らかになった。

8 月 23 日から 26 日にはマグウエー地方域ソウ郡を訪れた。同郡ではアセンヤクノキ (*Acacia catechu*) からのカッチ (タンニン) の生産が英領期より続けられてきた。Wai Phyo Maung は、アセンヤクノキ林管理とカッチ生産の持続性をテーマに臨地調査を開始したところである。まずアセンヤクノキ林の構造を知るためにプロットを設定して毎木調査を行うとともに、カッチ (タンニン) 生産に従事する地元住民やカッチの仲買業者に対する聞き取り調査を行った。毎木調査からは、乾季の野火の侵入がアセンヤクノキ林の更新に影響していることが予想された。一方で仲買業者からの情報で大径木を求めて毎年の伐採地はかなり広範囲で移動していることが明らかになった。

8 月 27 日にはイエジンの林業環境科学大学で小林美月の臨地調査に関してカウンターパートの Nyein Chan 講師らと相談をした。「バゴー山地のダム移転村落における焼畑システムの変遷と生業戦略」をテーマとして 2 年目の臨地調査の内容や安全確保に関して意見を交換した。1980 年代の水田及びカインへの移行や 2005 年の村落移転など様々な変化をくぐり抜け、生業を柔軟に組み替えながらも焼畑耕作が継続している対象村の実態が明らかになりつつあった。

以上のように学生 3 名のそれぞれの臨地調査に関して、現地でカウンターパートをまじえて議論し、今後の方向を確認できたことは大きな成果であった。



写真 1：共同オンサイト実習終了後の昼食会（8月27日・イエジン農科大学食堂にて）



写真 2：マグウエー地方域ソウ郡での森林調査実習（8月25日）

出前セミナー実施報告書

ミャンマー、インド

実施期間：2018年8月18日から2018年9月11日
山口 哲由

アジアの山地では、現在でも多くの人々が農業や自然資源の採集活動に従事しているが、経済のグローバル化や気候変動の影響によって農業や資源利用の形態が急速に変化しており、その変化が地域の自然環境の荒廃を招いている事例などが報告されている。山地は、平地を潤す河川の水源地として重要な役割等を担っており、それゆえに山地での資源利用や農業の持続性を検討することは、より広域的に影響を及ぼす重要な地域研究上の課題である。以上のような背景に基づき、報告者らはミャンマー・インドにおいて出前セミナーと共同オンサイト教育を兼ねたフィールド講習を実施した。

8月20～22日には、ミャンマーのほぼ中央部に位置するインレー（Inlay）湖周辺でフィールド講習をおこなった。ミャンマーのインレー湖周辺では、これまで水生植物から作られたマウンドを湖に浮かべ、これを利用した浮き畑での野菜栽培がおこなわれてきた。しかし、民主化と経済改革が進むなかでミャンマーにも多くの外国人観光客が訪れるようになり、インレー湖周辺でも観光地として開発が進んだため、多くの人々が観光セクターで働くようになっている。それに伴って浮き畑の放棄が進んでいるが、今回は、GISなどを用いて浮き畑の利用状況を分析する手法などに関してフィールド講習をおこなった。

8月24・25日には、ミャンマーの西部に位置するアラカン山脈に近いサウー（Saw）でフィールド講習をおこなった。サウー周辺の山地には、皮なめしの際に用いる植物性タンニンを多く含む *Acacia catechu* が自生しており、この樹種を用いた植林がおこなわれてきた。近年は中国からのタンニンの需要が増加するなかで、植物性タンニンを取り扱う中間業者などがどのように *Acacia catechu* を調達しているのかを明らかにするための手法に関するフィールド講習を実施した。

8月28日からはインドに移動し、北部の Jammu & Kashmir 州ラダックにおいて、今後の出前セミナーの実施に関して現地 NGO である Ladakh Ecological Development Group (LEDeG) 等との面談をおこなった。ラダックでは、土地制度の改変が進められており、現地住民と他地域の人々との間で軋轢が生じており、この問題の趨勢が今後のラダックにおける農業や土地利用にも影響するのではないかという見解を共有した。また、LEDeG の職員なども含めたサーベイ調査を実施して、ラダックの東部地域チャンタンにおける気候変動の影響や社会変化などのように、今後のラダックの社会を考察するうえで重要な意味を持つ事象に関する見聞を深めた。



写真1：インレー湖周辺でのフィールド講習の様子



写真2：ラダックにおけるサーベイ調査の様子。

出前セミナー実施報告書

タイ

実施期間：2018年9月28日から2018年10月2日
玉田 芳史

2018年9月27日の夕方便でタイへ渡航し、28日開催の京都大学 ASEAN 拠点の NGO 法人格獲得祝賀会に出席した。日本とタイの双方の出席者と意見を交換した。

出前セミナーは2018年10月2日に予定されていた。このセミナーの準備のため、事前に9月30日に、ASAFAS から派遣されている学生（Noble、白石、泉、青木）ならびに ASAFAS 卒業生のタイ大学教員と意見交換と懇親会を開いた。

セミナーは10月2日の13時半から15時まで、タイ国チュラーロンコーン大学政治学部政治学科の8階講義室において「何のために汚職撲滅を行うのか：汚職取締にまつわる問題点」と題する講演を行った。聴衆は、大半が同大学の学生ながら、それ以外に同大学や他大学の教員、日本とオーストラリアの大使館職員、タイと日本のジャーナリスト、そして本事業でタイへ派遣されている ASAFAS の学生（Kritdikorn、白石、菅原、泉、青木）たちであった。

講演の冒頭で、日本へ留学するなら、早稲田大学、慶応大学、東京大学ではなく、是非とも京都大学を候補にして欲しいと強く勧めた。東京の有名大学に対抗馬として言及したのは、タイの学生の関心が東京に強く向いているからである。京都大学の魅力として、日本の大学ではタイ語ができる教員の人数が群を抜いて多く、意思疎通が容易であることを強調した。

講演の要旨は次の通りである。タイの民主政治にとっては、汚職そのものよりも汚職取締のほうが深刻な問題である。タイでは反汚職熱の高まりゆえに、2006年と2014年に軍事クーデタが発生した。汚職撲滅のためにはクーデタや軍事政権もやむを得ないと考えている国民が少なくない。しかし、クーデタによって汚職の阻止や摘発が進むわけではない。汚職が蔓延しているからクーデタが起きるのではなく、民主政治を否定したいから汚職撲滅を喧伝しているに過ぎない。現代世界では、気に入らない政治家や政策に手当たり次第に汚職の烙印を押して否定するという傾向があり、タイはその一例である。反民主主義者に騙されることなく、冷静に汚職や汚職取締を観察する必要がある。

この講演は、同日夕刻にはタイの有力日刊紙マティチョンのオンライン版に内容がほぼそのまま掲載されたので、一定のインパクトがあったと考えられる。これが留学生の募集に多少なりとも反映されることを願っている。



写真 1：チューラーロンコーン大学での講演



写真 2：セミナー会場にて

出前セミナー実施報告書

タイ

実施期間：2018 年 10 月 3 日から 2018 年 10 月 6 日
岩田 明久

日本においてオオクチバスやブルーギル等の特定外来魚類が在来生態系を劣化させることに加えて水産資源を減少させるなど、生物学的のみならず人間社会にまで大きな影響を与えていることは周知の事実である。

東南アジアにおいても観賞魚や遊魚目的の外来魚が意図的・非意図的に放流されているが、その実情すら明らかにされていないのが現状である。

このような背景のもと、今回の出前セミナーは東南アジアの中で外来魚の調査が最も進んでいるタイを実施国とし、2018 年 10 月 5 日午前 9 時 30 分から 11 時 50 分まで、カセサート大学水産学部の Boon Indrambarya Building、FI 303 号室で、International Seminar **"Problems of alien fish species in Thailand"** というタイトルで開催された。発表者は報告者の岩田明久、本研究科東南アジア地域研究専攻生態環境論講座の友尻大幹及び友尻のカウンターパート兼共同研究者であるカセサート大学水産学部の Prachya Musikasinthorn 助教授である。

Prachya Musikasinthorn 助教授が本セミナーの趣旨説明を行った後、同氏によって、The present status of alien fish problems in Thailand: an over view という題目で、同氏がタイにおいて行った外来魚の研究成果を概説した。次に本出前セミナー報告者岩田明久が、The present situation of alien fish problems in Japan という題目で、日本における外来魚の概説、環境省によって制定された特定外来生物法の説明に続き、希少淡水魚保全と特定外来魚の関係に焦点をあてた発表が行われた。最後に本研究科東南アジア地域研究専攻生態環境論講座の友尻大幹が、Dietary habits of non-native cichlid fishes and their use by local people in the lower Chao Phraya River basin, central Thailand という題目で、彼の博士論文の研究内容の一部である、外来カワスズメ科魚類の食性比較、ならびにこれらを含む外来魚の地域住民による利用実態の調査内容を報告した。その後の総合討論では活発な質疑応答と論議が展開された。

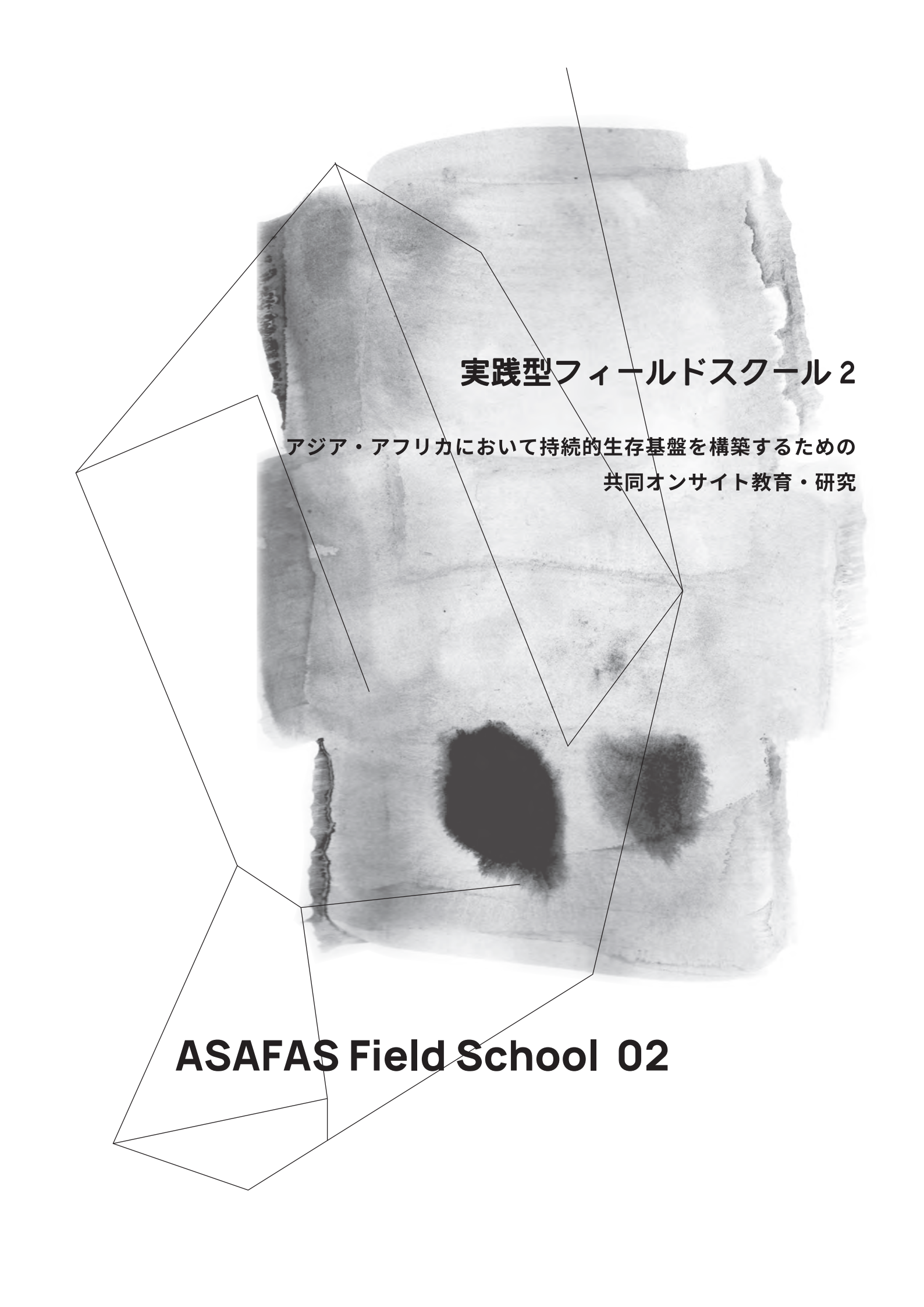
本セミナーはタイでは外来魚を対象とした初の公開セミナーで、事前にカセサート大学水産学部のホームページに紹介され (<http://www.fish.ku.ac.th/index.html>)、同水産学部からカニター・ブアケーオ、アピラディー・ハンポンキティクーンを含む 14 人の学生（水産生物学科 11 人、養殖学科 3 人）、教員（獣医学部を含む）5 名に加え、外部から水産局の職員が 10 名も参加し、合計 31 名の出席があり、盛況のうちに閉会した。



写真 1 : 2018 年 10 月 5 日、出前セミナーで発表する報告者、岩田明久。



写真 2 : 2018 年 10 月 5 日、出前セミナー後の集合写真。



実践型フィールドスクール 2

アジア・アフリカにおいて持続的生存基盤を構築するための
共同オンサイト教育・研究

ASAFAS Field School 02

共同オンサイト教育・研究実施報告書 マダガスカル共和国

実施期間：2018 年 11 月 2 日から 11 月 20 日まで
佐藤 宏樹

報告者はアフリカ地域研究専攻 1 年生山田祐君のマダガスカルへの初めての調査渡航に同行し、彼のテーマである「マダガスカル、アンカラファンツィカ国立公園における保全政策と地域住民の生業活動」に関する現地調査の立ち上げを支援してきた。

2018 年 11 月 3 日から 6 日にかけてアンタナナリヴ大学理学部を訪問し、Rakotondraparany 准教授の協力を得て、調査許可証の準備を行った。さらにマダガスカルにおける国立公園の保全政策に精通している Razafiarison 准教授と面談し、テーマに近い山田君の今後の研究活動に協力してくれることになった。11 月 7 日に Rakotondraparany 准教授も同行し、アンカラファンツィカ国立公園に移動した。11 月 8～10 日はアンピジュルア森林ステーションを拠点としつつ、2km 離れた Ambodimanga 村で水稻栽培を主とする農耕活動を視察した。11 月 9 日に、山田君および Rakotondraparany 准教授とともに同村の村長を訪問し、山田君の同村での調査および住み込みに関して話し合い、同意を得た（写真 1）。その後、国立公園管理局でも面談を行い、Ambodimanga 村における山田君の調査実施について許可を得た。11 月 11 日に山田君の調査拠点を Ambodimanga 村に移した。11 月 12～20 日は、Ambodimanga 村の調査を本格的に開始した。GPS 定位および参与観察によって Ambodimanga 村の範囲とその土地利用を把握した。その後、国立公園管理局および同村の土地管理代表者へのインタビューおよび文献資料収集を行い、同村における土地および森林資源の管理に関するルールを把握した。次に住民の生業調査を行った（写真 2）。森林から流れ込む水源を利用して水稻栽培を営んでおり、副次的に畑で野菜類の栽培を行っていた。また、屋敷林に生育するマンゴーやライムの果実を都市部へ出荷し、現金を獲得していた。

山田君がとくに着目し始めたのが、国立公園内で生業活動のために利用される土地の権利である。同村から南 2km に位置する国立公園の境界外では移民が増えており、都市部から移り住む裕福な移民が土地を占有して開墾したり、南部の遊牧民が野焼きや放牧を行ったりして、地域住民が利用する森林や農地が急速に破壊されている。一方、国立公園内における居住や生業活動は、国立公園設置前から土地を相続してきた農村社会に限られている。Ambodimanga 村の住民は、国立公園の保全政策によって、さらなる居住地や農地の開墾が許されていないことに不満を持ちながらも、外部者によって土地を収奪されるリスクがないことにメリットを感じている可能性がある。山田君は、国立公園内で維持される小規模かつ持続的な生業活動を理解するために、マダガスカル全土で社会問題となっている移民と住民の土地利用をめぐる対立にも着目して調査を続ける予定である。報告者は 11 月 21 日から本業務を離れ、他の資金による調査に移行した。



写真 1： Ambodimanga 村での調査開始に向けた村長訪問。
左から 1 番目 Rakotondraparany 准教授、左から 3 番目 Ambodimanga 村長、右から 3 番目山田祐君、右から 1 番目報告者。終始和やかに協議が進み、山田君は村に受け入れられた。



写真 2： Ambodimanga 村における生業調査の様子。
左側が山田祐君。牛耕による水田耕起に参加しながら住民との関係を築いていく。

共同オンサイト教育・研究実施報告書

ミャンマー

実施期間：2018 年 11 月 15 日から 2018 年 12 月 10 日
竹田 晋也

バゴー山地で共同オンサイト実習を実施した後、首都ネーピードー・イエジンの林業環境科学大学で今後の学生交流、留学生受け入れ、共同研究について意見を交換した。続いてタニンダーイー地方域のランピ島、ダウエー北部の K 村ならびに南部の C 村でマングローブ林利用の調査をおこなった。

11 月 17 日から 25 日にかけてバゴー山地で共同オンサイト実習を実施した。18 日から 20 日は S 村での土地利用、21 日から 24 日はカバウン指定林での伐採跡の森林回復と年輪気象学に関する予備調査を実施した。京都大学からの参加者は、渡邊裕美子（理学研究科助教）、大室渉（理学研究科修士課程学生）の 2 名、林業環境科学大学からは、Rosy Ne Win 講師、Nay Lin Maung 助教、May Ko Thein Lwin 助教、Kyaw Win（修士課程学生）の 4 名が参加した。11 月 26 日には林業環境科学大学において、渡邊助教が「樹木年輪の酸素同位体比を用いた古気象変動の復元」研究計画のプレゼンをおこない、学長 Myint Oo 教授、Nyein Chan 講師らと今後の共同研究について意見を交換した。

11 月 27 日に Win Maung Aya（アジア・アフリカ地域研究科学生）と合流し、コータウンへ移動した。11 月 28 日から 12 月 4 日にはメルギー諸島ランピ島で、マングローブ林の植生調査とモーケンの人々のマングローブ利用に関する調査をおこなった。

12 月 5 日にダウエーに移動し、北部の K 村と南部の C 村調査をおこない、たとえば次のようなことが明らかになった。K 村には、マングローブ林を開拓した水田と丘陵斜面の果樹・ゴム園が広がっている。2003 年に輪中堤が決壊したために水田が放棄され、翌 2004 年からタイへの出稼ぎが急増した。聞き取りをおこなったインフォーマントの 44% がタイへの出稼ぎを経験していて、集落の総人口の 21% が現在もタイで就労している。タイからの送金は家計収入の 67% を占めていた。放棄された水田はエビ養殖地に適しているが、敬虔な仏教徒であるモンの村人はそれをよしとはしない。出稼ぎで得た資金でパラゴムノキ、ビンロウ、カシューの園地経営に参入するものが多い。K 村の近くには、ヤナダ海中ガス田からタイに向かう天然ガスパイプラインが通っている。これは仏トタルやタイ石油公社が手掛けるヤダナ事業で、周辺の農村開発も合わせて行っている。K 村には、ヤダナ事業のサポートも受けて 5 年間「外国人技能実習生」として日本で働く若者や、イスラエルへ働きに行く若者もいた。これは特殊な事例かもしれないが、従来のタイでの非合法就労のように不安定な法的身分と低い賃金水準に甘んじてきた状態から、より制度的に保障された条件での国外就労がようやく始まったのかもしれない。

今回の共同オンサイト実習を通じて、今後のミャンマーでの共同研究・学生交流に関するより明確な展望を得ることができた。



写真 1：バゴー山地での共同オンサイト実習



写真 2：ランピ島でのマングローブ調査

共同オンサイト教育・研究実施報告書

マダガスカル共和国

実施期間：2018 年 12 月 21 日から 2018 年 12 月 31 日
大山 修一

アンタナナリボ大学理学部動物学教室の Rakotomanana Hajanirina 教授と連絡をとりながら、2018 年 12 月 21 日から 31 日までマダガスカル共和国へ出張し、大学院生 2 名（山田佑君と Tojotanjona P. Razanaparany 君）のオンサイト教育を実施した。

オンサイト教育の実施まえには、首都アンタナナリボにおいて政治と治安情勢について情報収集に努めた。マダガスカルでは 12 月 19 日に大統領選挙の決選投票があり、開票結果の確定が急がれていた。決選投票の候補者 2 人（Andry Rajoelina 氏と Marc Ravalomanana 氏）はともに大統領経験者であり、開票の途中経過が発表されるたびに、票数の少ない Ravalomanana 氏が開票結果に不服を訴え、選挙のやり直しを求めている。支援者によるデモもおこなわれ、政治情勢には注視する必要があることが確認された。

12 月 26 日には、雇上車によりアンタナナリボからマジャンガ州マルバイ県に位置するアンカラファンツィカ国立公園に向かい、山田佑君と Tojotanjona 君と合流した。アンカラファンツィカ国立公園には熱帯乾燥林が分布しており、キツネザルや鳥類、は虫類などの固有種が多く生息している。この熱帯乾燥林の土壌は、標高の高い地域では白色の砂質土壌が表層を覆っており、標高の低い河川沿いには熱帯性の赤色土壌が卓越していた。砂質土壌は、雨水の浸食にはきわめて脆弱であることがうかがえた。

12 月 27 日には、Tojotanjona 君の案内で国立公園内に存在する研究林をまわり、各樹種の特性について説明を受けながら、調査の進捗状況を聞いた。周辺住民による国立公園の利用は制限されており、国立公園の外部に広がる「はげ山」とは対照的であった。国立公園の森林では樹高 10m 前後の樹木が密生している。そこには自然倒木が存在し、ギャップが形成されていること、そして日照条件の変化によって進む稚樹の生長と更新を見ながら、コドラート法による毎木調査のほか、照度や湿度などの環境条件を調査項目に入れることをアドバイスした。

12 月 27 日から 29 日にかけては、国立公園内に立地するアンブリマンガ村を訪問し、山田君の現地調査に同行した。山田君はマダガスカル語を駆使し、村落調査をおこなっており、2 か月ほどで日常生活に必要な言葉を習得していた。山田君の通訳により、現地インフォーマントとともに村の家屋の立地や丘陵の地形、傾斜変換点と湧水、河川と氾濫原、水田稲作、灌漑用水路、粘土と砂の堆積を見たり、用水路建設の歴史などを議論した。わたしは実地に山田君に対し水田稲作や農業、地形、土壌に関して説明を加えながら、地主 / 小作人の間でおこなわれる分益小作などの社会関係、マダガスカルにおける深刻な森林破壊の問題、国立公園の稀少な自然、そしてその自然が育む水田の土壌や水について話しあった。今後の調査方針とデータの取得方法についても議論した。



写真 1：上流の森林減少により赤色土壌を多く含むベツィボカ川の濁流



写真 2：ウシ 2 頭だての犁を使った代かき作業を調査する山田佑君（アンブリマンガ村）

共同オンサイト教育・研究実施報告書 フィリピン共和国

実施期間：2019年1月9日から2019年1月12日
岡本 正明

フィリピン大学第三世界研究センターのフェローとして現地調査をしている大学院生である西尾善太氏とコンタクトを取りながら、2019年1月9日から1月12日までオンサイト教育を実施した。

フィリピンでは現在のドゥテルテ大統領のもとで、民主主義体制でありながら、麻薬撲滅のために密売人など7000人以上が超法規的に殺害されている。一般市民は対象とならないとはいえ、治安の悪化が懸念されていたので、出発前にはその点に留意していたが、滞在していた限りでは、日常生活レベルでは治安に問題ないことがわかった。

1月10日、西尾氏と合流し、現地での調査の進展具合を確認しながら、アドバイスをを行った。西尾氏の調査テーマは、フィリピン、あるいは、フィリピンの首都マニラの文化的象徴として描かれることの多い乗合小型バス、通称ジプニーの都市人類学的調査である。第二次世界大戦後にアメリカ軍が使っていたジプニーを改良して乗合小型バスに転用されたものがジプニーである。ジプニーは乗客を乗せるためにどこでも停車することから、東南アジアでも最悪レベルの交通渋滞の原因として首都圏からの排除を求める声強いが、未だにマニラに行けばジプニーを容易に目にすることができる。西尾氏はこのジプニーをめぐる政策の変遷とジプニー運転手たちのネットワーク、日常生活を調査対象としている。ジプニーはフィリピンの文化的象徴として表象されることもありながら、驚くほど実証的な研究が行われておらず、その点では、西尾氏の研究は画期的なものになる可能性がある。1月10日は、デラサール大学の研究者ロニー・ホームスとも交えながら、西尾氏の今後の研究の方向性についてアドバイスをを行った。西尾氏は、マニラ首都圏のジプニー運転手たちが所属している複数の組合、その連合の態様については把握してきていることから、各組合の具体的な構成メンバーの性質、組合員と非組合員の差異、組合のネットワークとフィリピン社会の社会資本構築の態様との関係性などをさらに分析していく必要性をアドバイスした。また、フィリピンでも急増しているオンライン・タクシーとジプニーの関係、ジプニーのICT活用の可能性についても調査をしておくようにアドバイスをを行った。

翌1月11日には、西尾氏とともにフィリピン大学第三世界研究センターを訪れて、リカルド・ホセ所長と面談した。リカルド・ホセ所長は、西尾氏のカウンターパートになっていただいている先生であり、日本占領期のフィリピン史研究者であり、東京外国語大学、東京大学にも所属されていたことから、日本語が極めて堪能であり、フィリピンの社会史についても極めて造詣が深い上に、性格は温和な方で西尾氏のカウンターパートとしては申し分のない先生であった。西尾氏の今後の研究の方向性について議論するだけでなく、フィリピン国内での彼の研究成果を発表する場についても議論することができた。また、これまで第三世界研究センターは、多くの日本人研究者を引き受け

ている。ASAFAS 教員の細田尚美氏、院生の師田史子氏、元院生の吉澤あすな氏もそうである。こうしたことから、ASAFAS や東南アジア地域研究研究所との MOU の締結の可能性についても議論した。



写真 1：フィリピン大学第三世界研究センター所長リカルド・ホセ先生と同センター前で

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表紙・デザイン

池田あいの