SES no.93; Introduction

メタデータ	言語: eng
	出版者:
	公開日: 2016-09-30
	キーワード (Ja):
	キーワード (En):
	作成者:
	メールアドレス:
	所属:
URL	http://hdl.handle.net/10502/00008563

Introduction

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Since the 1990s, there has been a worldwide surge in cultural revitalization movements among indigenous peoples, minorities, immigrant groups, and refugees in diverse countries and societies (Yamada 2004, 2011b). These movements fall into three categories. The first category comprises minority cultural groups in modern nation-states that engage in remaking connectedness; members of such groups feel that their cultures are threatened as the societies in which they live shift from a multicultural/ethnic inclusiveness that embraces indigenous peoples, immigrant populations, and refugees toward mono-cultural exclusiveness. The second category comprises people engaged in remaking connectedness who have been recently freed from the suppression of their culture and religion—for example, minority groups in post-Soviet Russia and in China. The third category comprises micro-regional/local communities engaged in remaking connectedness within larger societies when they are marginalized by the center and thus keenly aware of the threat to their cultural distinctiveness. The range of cultural revitalization movements clearly demonstrates the value all cultures place on their origins and uniqueness in the face of the perceived threat of global standardization and cultural uniformity.

This worldwide trend offers strong evidence against the theory of European-centered globalization, which posits that modernity facilitates a homogeneous cultural milieu worldwide as well as people's identification as global citizens. In reality, as Robertson (1995) has proposed through the idea of glocalization, modernity has resulted in the localization of global phenomena, rather than universal and uniform globalization. In various contemporary societies and cultures under the influence of globalization, the striking continuity of tradition against global uniformity can be observed (Yamada and Irimoto 2011).

The value of local and micro-regional cultures cannot be overlooked. The theories on immigrants in host societies have shifted: Whereas the focus was once on assimilation and the "melting pot" of races, theories now emphasize the hybridity of agency (see Feit 2004: 115), trans-nationality (Basch, Schiller, and Blanc 1994), and trans-locality (Clifford 1997). One of the "Population Movement in the Modern World" series issued by the Japan Center for Area Studies, National Museum of Ethnology, focused on identities and networks consolidated and/or reformulated through migration (Usuki, Bajunid, and Yamagishi 2005). A more recent study (Portes and DeWind 2007) also pointed out the transnational community of immigrants, although the main issue is the incorporation of immigrants to host societies.

This theoretical shift from "melting pot" to emphasis on the individuality and uniqueness of immigrants has resulted from the fact that immigrant populations that are marginalized in majority societies have not been totally assimilated into the majority and have struggled to determine a path toward realizing their own cultural originality (Yamada 2011a). It is explicitly noticed that in the midst of the cultural threat presented by assimilation, not only immigrant populations but also indigenous groups and minorities have tried to maintain their cultural uniqueness through various movements.

Remaking of Ethnic/Micro-Regional Connectedness

These movements are of similar origins and share several characteristics. They are self-reorienting (Yamada 2011c) and involve engaging with cultural heritage, traditions, and history. In the two decades since the 1990s, minority group movements have evolved from enthusiastic cultural revitalization to a search for ways to consistently maintain culture in everyday life and to achieve cultural symbiosis with their host cultures and with other minority cultures within host countries. This process is inseparable from a view toward remaking the "connectedness" of the group's members and reconfiguring the significance of their culture in the modern world. In particular, case studies reveal that the value of local cultures and religions is reappraised to keep a sense of micro-regional communal "connectedness."

The term "connectedness" is originally referred to by Turner as "the age-old ethic of co-operation and 'connectedness'" to describe the sense of community and sharing that was prominent in Inupiaq culture (Turner 1994: 153). Here, "connectedness," which is prompted by Turner's study, is defined as face-to-face relationships in the socio-cultural milieu of a group that forges the sense of community and the sharing of values and ideas (Yamada 2014: 10).

Recently, a reappraisal of communal connectedness has attracted a growing interest as local values in a globalized world have become more and more important. For example, Jo (2005) deals with the reconstruction of identity and communality in a turbulent age. By examining the community in a globalized era in terms of "reimagination," Matsuda (2009) pointed out that performative essentialism becomes the core element for creating communality. Again, Oda (2010) considers the modern world to be in the midst of ongoing glocalization and examines a variety of expressions of the remaking of communality in terms of local context.

Although these recent studies provide a new understanding of communal connectedness in contemporary circumstances, "communal connectedness" has not been sufficiently discussed from the viewpoint of the continuity of community, namely, the transmission of communal values from generation to generation.

In this volume, connectedness will be examined according along both the vertical axis and the horizontal axis: the vertical axis means the continuity and change over time, while the horizontal axis is an aspect of the "micro-region." Although the term "micro-region" was originally used in analyzing the society of immigrants (Wang-Kanda 2010), here the term "micro-region" is more generally defined as a spatial domain in which these

face-to-face interactions or relationships can operate in the everyday life of a group.

Looking back over these studies and having realized that the value of local and micro-regional cultures cannot be overlooked and that the remaking of connectedness would be more clearly analyzed by studying migrating populations, Yamada organized a KAKENHI project, "A Comparative Study on the Remaking of Connectedness among Migrant Populations Living in a Multicultural Landscape" for 2012−2014 in collaboration with Fujimoto, Wang-Kanda, and Sonoda (JSPS KAKENHI (B) Grant Number JP 24310181). In attempts to discuss the topic more broadly, an international workshop on "Migration and the Remaking of Ethnic/Micro-Regional Connectedness" was held on December 5−7, 2014, at the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka and Kyoto University. The term "migration" here is used in a broader sense: It includes not only migration beyond national borders, but also migration to other areas within national boundaries where one meets with different ethnic groups. The workshop aimed to explore, from a comparative viewpoint, the similarities and uniqueness in the ways immigrants, refugees, migrants, and minorities have resisted the dominant culture and the uniformity of globalization to maintain a micro-regional community by remaking connectedness within the group. Thus, based on case studies, the following questions in particular were addressed.

(i) How do members of a culture recreate connectedness among themselves in order to form communities both within and extending beyond national borders?

(ii) What kinds of heritage and historicity can serve as symbols for remaking connectedness among members to form distinct groups in multicultural/ethnic landscapes?

(iii) What religious dynamics can be seen in the remaking of connectedness among members?

(iv) What strategies or forms of leadership are employed to remake the dynamics between a marginal community and the dominant culture in order to facilitate fruitful symbiosis?

Basing the research on field studies, the aim was to clarify the mechanisms whereby culturally endangered populations—that is, minority and marginal groups within larger societies—remake connectedness among members in modern multicultural landscapes. Thirteen papers were presented at the workshop by anthropologists and historians from seven countries. This included case studies of Tibetans, Chinese Canadians, Kazakhs, Yunnanese Muslims, Palaung Buddhists, the Dong in Southwest China, the Khanbogd community in Mongolia, the Sami, and the Catholic community in Russia. Although most of these case studies deal with Asian people or immigrants from Asia, the European cases are also examined and compared with Asian cases in order to widely discuss the remaking of connectedness.

This volume is the product of the international workshop and includes twelve papers presented at the workshop. This volume aims to understand what is needed for a population in order to remake ethnic/micro-regional connectedness under modern global circumstances. Although the general theme of this book is the remaking of ethnic/micro-regional

connectedness among minorities, including migrating populations who are living in multicultural landscapes, the focus of each paper differs according to the viewpoint adopted. These cover a wide range of aspects: historicity, identity, education, networking, religious dynamics and contextualization, and religious/secular leadership as involving agency. These topics are interwoven with each other and related to the dynamics of remaking ethnic/micro-regional connectedness.

In order to plainly show the key factors for understanding the process of remaking connectedness in a multicultural landscape, this book is composed of six parts, in which each paper is arranged according to the main topics addressed. Part I is on the power of historiography and networking in the remaking of connectedness; Part II on the power of education; Part III on the power of "tradition"; Part IV on the contextualization of religion or cultural heritage; and Part V on the power of religion and leadership in the remaking of connectedness. Part VI contains the product of roundtable discussions on migration and the remaking of ethnic/micro-regional connectedness.

Historiography and Networking in the Remaking of Connectedness

In Part I, Sonoda discusses the history-preserving movement as a medium for creating micro-regional connectedness among Chinese Canadians in Vancouver, British Columbia, after the Second World War by exploring the long-term aspects of history-preserving activities and the meanings associated with excavating, preserving, and sharing history among minority populations within the multicultural landscape of Canada. She concludes that the chronological process of the development of history-preserving activities by Vancouver Chinese indicates that the social space necessary to vitalize these activities of the minority has been prepared by the Canadian government policy of multiculturalism; by this "sharing a collective past" or "sharing a collective history," a Chinese Canadian identity, and the sense of being a "community," a communal sense is forged and this connectedness is reinforced. The consciousness of the Chinese residing there is thus raised and extended to the next generation; moreover, by uncovering the relationships between Chinese immigrants and indigenous peoples, a new and intimate link between them is rebuilt to share the sense of minorities within the multicultural landscape of Canada.

In contrast, Wang-Kanda, dealing with the case study of Yunnanese Muslims in the Thai-Myanmar borderland, discusses the creation of a communal space and the nature of the formation of ethno-religious boundaries by focusing on the construction of the Yunnan Chinese Muslim society's network and their religious events. Examining how Yunnanese Muslims have created a space for social bonds with their relatives and friends who are of Yunnanese origin by constructing their mosques, she shows that the construction of mosques consequently facilitates the network of Muslims and bridges the gap between the Muslims in dispersed refugee villages and those who arrived earlier and now live in urban areas. Moreover, she suggests that their religious activities serve to maintain ethno-religious identity and to create a communal arena beyond ethnic boundaries in a multi-ethnic Thai society, which can be precisely termed a kind of "bottom-up coexistence."

The Power of Education and the Remaking of Connectedness

In Part II, the power of education that is newly acquired after migration is addressed in the contributions to the remaking of connectedness. Settamalinee explores how Chinese Muslims in northern Thailand since their migration to Thailand connected with both their homeland and host country via a common culture and how they were able to become middle class in a Buddhist country within two to three generations. The history of Chinese Muslim immigrants in northern Thailand reveals that after achieving success as traders and local businessman to establish the Yunnanese Muslim community in Chiang Mai by the 1920s, they adopted strategies to send their children to the best modern schools in northern cities. They considered education the most effective means for the next generation to move up the social ladder in Thai society. Settamalinee thus suggests that the power of education contributes to their establishing and sustaining communities with self-reliance and their becoming part of the middle class, which then enabled them to make a sizable contribution to their host country.

Tsering Choedon, herself a Tibetan, giving historical background on the role of women, the invasion of Tibet, and endangerment of Tibetan culture and identity, explores the roles of women as leaders, conscious members of society and guardians of the home in the remaking and maintenance of communal solidarity among the Tibetan diaspora in Toronto, Canada. She concludes that although Tibetan women had seldom worked in government services, been involved in politics or taken any responsibility outside the home before 1959, the educational opportunities that Tibetan children received after 1959 impacted Tibetan women profoundly; they now play not only a pivotal role in the household but also contribute to communal cohesion as leaders and conscious individual members of society.

The Power of "Tradition" in the Remaking of Connectedness

In Part III, two papers discuss the power of "tradition" in the remaking of ethnic/micro-regional connectedness. Altangul Bolat explores the ancient practice of eagle falconry among the Kazakhs, who are a minority group in Mongolia. They are Muslims living mainly in the west of Mongolia and engaging in animal husbandry, although a small number live in the capital city of Ulaanbaatar. Although it has been almost 160 years since the Kazakhs migrated to Mongolia, eagle falconry is still practiced today. She reveals how this practice became a symbol of Kazakh identity in Mongolia by describing Mongolian Kazakh falconers, who have developed a strong relationship and spiritual bond with their birds, and the commitment required to breed, train, handle, and fly the falcons; falconry has also been transmitted as a cultural tradition by a variety of means, including mentoring, learning within families, and formalized training in associations. She thus suggests that the very "tradition" functions to connect people with each other as Kazakhs.

Though Fujimoto deals with the case study of the Kazakhs, she focuses on "return migration" and the process of remaking connectedness after the migration. She defines "return migration" as the migration of people to the country that they consider as their

"homeland," where their own ethnic group constitutes the majority of the population. Generally, after the "return migration," remaking connectedness anew among themselves beyond the national borders is crucial for the returnees to sustain their lives in new settings. The migration of Kazakhs in Central Asia in the post-socialist period is a case of this "return migration." Focusing on Islamic practices and the *Nawrïz* festival, which were severely restricted during the socialist period and revitalized after Kazakhstan's independence, she explores the ways of making and remaking connectedness between returnees and local Kazakhs. She revealed that returnees remade connectedness with local Kazakhs by emphasizing their role in maintaining Kazakh beliefs and traditions much more than Kazakhs in Kazakhstan. Some returnees, by playing an important role in revitalizing Islam or cooperating through the services in the mosque, consequently gained respect from local Kazakhs while their involvement in the revived *Nawrïz* festival, as the holders of tradition, worked to change the perception of backwardness into a positive trait that Kazakhs in northern Kazakhstan had lost. Thus, she concludes that the revitalized tradition of a festival rooted in the history of Central Asia offers the opportunity to remake connectedness among Kazakhs beyond national borders after socialism.

Contextualization and the Remaking of Connectedness

Three papers in Part IV deal with the topic of "contextualization" and the remaking of connectedness. Kaneshige explores the diffusion of specific knowledge that is accompanied by experts' moving from village to village among the Dong people in Southwest China and discusses the power of specific knowledge in the remaking of communal connectedness. The Dong people, who are wet-rice cultivators and have sedentary village communities, welcome receiving specific knowledge that the community does not have, including knowledge about religion, magic, folk entertainment, and so on, from specialists, who come from the outside. Using case studies on specialists of Dong opera, he shows how the movements of experts make a substantial contribution to the client villages by offering them the knowledge of folk performance arts that is indispensable for communal village enterprises. He suggests that specific knowledge of Dong opera is contextualized by local settings and contributes to strengthening the connectedness among villagers.

Kojima explores the relationship between the migration of Palaung (Tăʾaŋ) people and the remaking of ethnic/micro-regional connectedness, focusing on their practice of Buddhism in Namhsan, northern Myanmar, and taking account of relationships with Shan (Tăi) and Burmese (Bama) ethnic groups. The Palaung are known as uplanders, while the Shan are rulers of the valley bottoms of this area, and Burmese are lowlanders. Although Buddhism was originally transmitted from the Shan to the Palaung as a result of their long and close relationship, he found that the Palaung have recently begun to translate Buddhist texts using the Palaung script and to teach dharma in the Palaung language. Focusing on this new practice in terms of why it came about and how it influenced the Buddhist practices in Namhsan, he reveals how the Palaung have exercised their own cultural agency and remade ethnic connectedness in the articulation of Palaung Buddhist practice; the tendency to create texts written in Palaung became common among subgroups,

bringing great diversity to the practices of each subgroup as well as to the village of the same group. He thus suggests that through the contextualization of Buddhist texts, Palaung Buddhists maintain a micro-regional community by remaking and reinforcing connectedness within these groups.

Among the Sami, the indigenous people of Scandinavia, on whom Sundström's case study is based, a process of revitalization and recycling of elements from the old indigenous religion has taken place since about 1980. In the revitalization process of Sami ethnic identity in the late twentieth century, the earlier taboo on some elements of the former religion was lifted during the persecution by the Scandinavian Lutheran Churches around the turn of the eighteenth century. Moreover, during the last decade, elements from the former Sami religion have also been used in Christian Sami contextual theology as well as liturgy, in attempts to bring together what they present as a particular Sami spirituality with Christian doctrine and practices. Sundström explores these current movements in terms of creating a new sense of belonging within a certain group by focusing on the example of the Norwegian-Sami Lutheran minister Tore Johnsen's contextual Christian Sami theology as presented in his 2007 book. It is revealed that Johnsen is greatly inspired by Christian indigenous theology among Native Americans and that he interprets indigenous Sami religion as "natural theology" rather than "paganism." Sundström locates Johnsen's attempt as one that remakes ethnic connectedness and resists the dominant culture and cultural uniformity potentially caused by globalization. He suggests that Johnsen's theological project is an attempt to reverse the image of the indigenous religion as inferior and antiquated and to propose the revitalization of certain Sami ideas and symbols.

Religion and Leadership in the Remaking of Connectedness

In Part V, three papers focus on the roles of religion and leadership in the remaking of connectedness. Glavatskaya presents a case study of the Catholic institutions in the Urals, which has always been a multi-religious region and currently houses representatives of more than 50 nations. By focusing on its evolution, represented mainly by ethno-confessional minorities of exiled Poles and Germans through the last three centuries and their diverse survival strategies, she explores how the Russian/Soviet state has designed the religious landscape in accordance with its own views; how the religious landscape is an instrument of power and control; and how the Catholic Church offered social security and comfort for groups discriminated against on the bases of their ethnicity both in imperial and Soviet times, thus supporting their ethno-religious identity and isolation during their diasporas. She reveals that the example of the Ekaterinburg Catholic community shows that the development, maintenance, and reestablishing of connectedness illustrates different scenarios, including identity awareness, state policy, social support, ritual practices, institutional evolution, education, leadership, the creation of social networks, incorporation into the local cultural landscape, and many forms of support from abroad; each of these factors plays its role at different stages of the process and in different ways. Moreover, she suggests that the process of revitalization in the late 1980s paralleled the same stages

the Catholic community had gone through in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Yamada sheds light on how religious and secular leadership as well as empathy within the community operated within the process of remodeling connectedness among Tibetans in Toronto Canada by exploring the process of establishing the Canadian Tibetan Association of Ontario and the Tibetan Canadian Cultural Center. Since late March 1971, when 43 Tibetans arrived in Toronto, the population of the community has increased to the extent that there are now more than 4000 Tibetans living in the Greater Toronto Area. She reveals that the history of the Tibetan community in Canada shows a series of efforts among Tibetans to remake connectedness and maintain their Tibetan culture and identity as Tibetan Canadians. She suggests that leadership in Tibetan communities, as displayed by His Holiness globally and by community leaders locally, is underpinned by the idea of love and compassion and the shared empathy it engenders; this is not only the empathy of common historical memories, but empathy premised on the basis of the Tibetan Buddhist philosophy and religion, which is shared among individuals and serves as the motive for promoting the remaking of connectedness in this community.

Shimamura explores how shamanism reconstructs people's connectedness, by examining shamanic activities in Khanbogd around the Oyu Tolgoi mining site in South Gobi. In recent years, Mongolia has been enjoying rapid economic growth thanks to the development of its enormous natural resource deposits of copper, coal, gold, petroleum, and other resources. However, due to the consequent social instability, the number of shamans among Khalkha Mongols has increased dramatically over the last 10 years, especially in the capital city Ulaanbaatar and in mining towns. Considering these situational changes, he focuses specifically on examining what kinds of people are actually becoming shamans and how they become shamans, as well as what activities they are involved in with respect to the dramatic socio-economic and environmental changes. He reveals that while shamanism has the possibility to trigger (or help resolve) both ethnic conflicts and disputes about environmental conditions against mining companies, which could be interpreted as the beginning of the nativist resistance against mining development, in Khanbogd, the foundation of a religious and/or quasi-traditional movement, shamanism, is dependent on the mining industry: the movement is "dependent resistance" on/against mining development. Presenting a view of paraphrasing as a form of "cultural immune system" in response to cultural and socio-economic "external traumas," which he discussed previously in the Buryat case, he concludes that the shamans—as the immunocytes— reorganize social connectedness, such as kin groups, the shamans' party, and the eco-nationalist group to resist external trauma, yet they disband previous social connectedness in order to create anew. He thus suggests the ambivalent nature of shamans' activities in changing circumstances.

In Part VI, which is based on the roundtable discussions during the workshop, additional notes to understand the remaking of ethnic/micro-regional connectedness are presented. On one hand, it is suggested that those factors, including the time of migration, the generational differences, education and collaboration in host society, gender balance and intermarriage, language and religious service, and scripts, religious texts and

contextualization for remaking connectedness, need to be discussed further. On the other hand, it is shown that the remaking of connectedness is deeply rooted in the sense of belonging to a particular group and that religion can function as a common ground.

Extensively exploring the case studies of minorities, indigenous groups, and immigrants, this volume reveals significant factors common to the remaking of connectedness. First, besides networking among immigrants, case studies indicate new phenomena when a few generations have passed since migration, in which migrating populations collaborate with other immigrant groups and/or indigenous groups through networks in order to claim their cultural uniqueness. It is also made clear that minorities and immigrants actively utilize the opportunities for education to promote their social status, to remake connectedness, and to affirm their traditions, although education is often adopted as a mean of assimilation or incorporation to the host society.

Second, the sense of continuity of tradition is a core factor for remaking connectedness over generations among minorities and indigenous people as well as immigrants. As they face the pressure of the majority culture, the contextualization of their own religion or cultural heritage is an essential means to reorient themselves. Not only specialists in their own religion or cultural heritage but also educated persons often play an important role in contextualization because they know the cultures of both their own and the host society well.

Third, leadership in remaking connectedness is also a substantial issue among both indigenous people and immigrants. Case studies make clear that leadership in both secular and religious areas is of importance and that these two kinds of leadership are sometimes intertwined.

Fourth, although religion sometimes has an ambivalent power that could separate the previous connectedness to recreate something new, it also enables a broad re-creation of connectedness among indigenous people, minorities, and immigrants. Religious factors still play an important role in remaking connectedness in the contemporary world, against the myth of secularization. In a modern era when the way of life becomes more and more similar among different ethnic groups, the symbolic significance of religion is increasing for remaking connectedness.

Remaking connectedness has become an important issue not only for minorities and immigrants but also for each of us living in the contemporary era as societies become more and more multicultural. This volume suggests ways of finding symbiosis among peoples of different origins, based on the discussions of researchers from inside and outside micro-regional societies.

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