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# Yahai tsunagari



*The front cover is a photograph made in Berlin when police authorities tried to evict hundreds of refugee activists occupying a school building in 2014. The occupation was part of a larger protest by refugees against legislation that kept them from studying and working legally as well as moving freely within Germany and the EU. **Photograph by Tobias Zielony***

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# Introduction

The act of withdrawal is not new to the history of man. Migration, escape, colonialization and simply being a wanderlust is told in different ways by different cultures and society. In fact, the biggest religion in the Western world originated from the experience of exodus - a mass withdrawal of slaves from the oppressive Egyptian civilization.

Today, the shared urge to withdraw away from our contemporary oppressive condition remains the same. Young workers from early 1970s Italy, for instance, refused to work by withdrawing away from the futility of confronting Capitalism. Meanwhile, the biggest demography in refugee crisis are people fleeing away from the atrocities of war. Together they seek for their safety and survival. This extends also to the migration of people mostly from countries pauperized by colonialization who are now searching for green pastures in the land of plenty. All of these requires physical mobility and uprootedness. However, recently, there are some who withdraw from oppressive conditions of society without necessarily moving their bodies. But on the contrary they shutdown their social spaces, isolate themselves from others and remain stationary. Could this be an exemplary post-human condition or another ideal way of imagining the future?

The first issue of **Yabai Tsunagari Journal** explores the problematics of evasion, withdrawal and refusal by connecting it to the relationship with migration and the difficulty of accepting the different in our contemporary life.

Withdrawal(意識:離脱する、退くこと)の行為は人間の歴史上、新しいものではありません。移住、避難、そして単純に放浪者であることは異なる文化によって様々な形で語られてきました。実際に、西洋世界でもっとも信者の多い宗教の誕生は、法典に刻まれた出エジプト(古代エジプト文明の圧政から逃れた奴隷の大規模な移動)の経験に由来しています。

今日、現代の過酷な状況から逃れたい、離れたいという人々にとって共通の衝動は変わらず残っています。たとえば1970年代初頭のイタリアでは、若い労働者が資本主義の無益から離脱、逃れるために働くことを拒否しました。同じころ、危機的な状況にある難民の統計上最も多かったのは、戦争の残虐から逃れた人々でした。かれらは共に命の安全を求めています。この問題は、人々の移住-ほとんどの場合植民地化によって経済的貧窮に陥った国から豊かな土地へ移住した人々たち-にも関連します。こうしたことの全ては身体的な可動性と、人々を追い立て、立ち退きを迫る状況がなければ起こりません。しかし、近年では、過酷な社会状況から、必ずしも身体を移動させずに逃れる人もいます。自ら身体的に移動する代わりに、自分たちの社会的空間を閉ざし、他者から自らを孤立させ、とどまることを選択するのです。

YABAI TSUNAGARI Journal(ヤバいつながり・ジャーナル)第一号の寄稿募集内容は、回避、離脱、そして拒否にかんする問題意識を、移住や、現代の私たちの生活の中で差異を受け入れることの難しさに関連させて追求します。



Radio Kosaten  
Editorial Collective

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# Communal Experience, Radio, Border and Art Examining Waves

Keiko Sei

## We hear the song of a demon

When I was an elementary school student I was taught to believe that the origin of the Chinese character for “Ya – roof” signifies the range of an arrow from the spot where it has been discharged to the place where it falls to the ground. This explanation stimulated us to imagine that the territory of a family house must have been defined in the past by just releasing an arrow from a bow, letting it fly, and marking where it fell. The trajectory of an arrow is the territory of your house. “So the better archer you are, the bigger the territory you can have.” This concept played in the imagination of Japanese children.

In probably one of the most eloquent formal and condensed examples of modern Japanese literature, Jun Ishikawa's short story “The Archer” created the essence and complexity of politics, culture, religion and human relationships. In the novel the main character raised in a cultural environment where his father was a well known poet, decided to learn archery instead of poetry (was this to abandon his pursuit of culture or to complete it?) as a sign of rebellion against his father. The enraged father sent him to a remote village to be a local officer. The place was far away from any town and he had to face a vast mountain area that looked like there was no end. He practiced the archery, but for some reason his arrows never killed any animal. One day he found out that they could kill a human being. After that he started to release arrows one after another that killed local people indiscriminately. He showed no remorse for the killings but threw aster flowers onto

each of the corpses. People were very afraid of him, regarding him as a kind of demon (or god?) that could do whatever he wanted.

In this novel about the wilderness in the pre-modern era, the man feels his sovereignty by discharging arrows. The aster flowers, the symbol of not-forgetting a person, affirm his terrain.

One day he decided to explore deeper into the mountains, where he still felt uncertain about his influence. There he met a man who had devoted all his life to create Buddhist sculptures. After he saw the man's art, the artist became his rival in his mind. And in the very end of the novel the archer releases an arrow to hit a statue that the artist had installed on the mountain. As the head of the statue fell, the archer fell, too. Afterwards, a voice came out of nowhere. First it was like a whisper, yet as the spirit of the forest reflected on it, the sound be-

came bigger and bigger, bouncing off of the different elements in the natural environment and their spirits. It started from far away, came across rocks and mountains, and finally reached people's habitats and then the archer's village. Going through wind and rain the sound became a song. The local people claimed that they could hear a song of demon.

This open ending leaves numerous different interpretations for readers. What does the sound signify? The accomplishment of the archer's art? The voice of somebody that the archer cannot control? One interpretation is that the range that the sound reaches and the people who can hear and define the particularity of the sound (the song of demon") define the community. Also that this moment that people hear the song is the birth of a community after the horrible dictator goes away, and we can anticipate a villagers' movement soon afterwards.

### **United States, 2007**

Four congressmen and senators have thrilled the independent media people by introducing what is called Senate Bill 1675, or the Local Community Radio Act of 2007. If this bill is passed, it will expand access to community radio in all of the United States as the FCC (Federal Communications Commission) must grant low power FM (LPFM) radio licenses to many more communities than before.

LPFM stations are low wattage, community based radio stations that focus on serving communities by providing information on locally related health, social and cultural issues. They can fill certain gaps that major commercial radio networks cannot—they pick up more voices

from smaller communities and reflect on their specific needs.

Back in 2000, the FCC started to grant LPFM licenses to communities but the National Association of Broadcasters objected by claiming that LPFM frequencies would interfere with the existing FM broadcasters. This prompted the FCC to conduct further research. After further investigation determined that there would be no significant interference, organizers pushed the FCC to pass this bill.

Community radio stations can, for example, give information to local farmers on relevant agricultural techniques, which fertilizers they should use, price information and so on. If an epidemic illness was found in one area, the local stations could be used to warn the community. In the case of disasters, LPFM stations can provide crucial news (where to escape to safely, the location of shelters, etc.) that can save thousands of lives. For ethnic minorities, local broadcasters can become pivotal cultural stations where local languages, music and customs can be kept alive.

In this way community radio helps to create and strengthen community. In another words -- and more conceptually speaking -- a community is defined by its voices and the range they establish. This can be as small as a 5km range or as large as 50km, depending on the effective transmission power of the station. And this is neither a boundary that an archer draws by releasing arrows, nor a border line that was drawn as in the birth of modern nations. This idea of community is closer to the idea that was presented at the end of the Jun Ishikawa's fable.

## Thailand, 2007

Boonchan Chanmot, the manager of Radio Neu Keun FM 90.75 in Northern Thailand, has a lot to worry about since the coup d'état in September, 2006. The station was set up in 2002 to serve the ethnic Karen community in the area, broadcasting to about 30 nearby villages. When the area was hit by a severe flood in 2006, the station provided crucial around-the-clock information on the height of the water, the road conditions and so on, information that saved many villagers. Since the coup, however, the Karen community is facing an unprecedented obstacle. The station was closed for three weeks after the coup, and then as a condition for reopening, military officials demanded that all news broadcasts be translated from the Karen language into Thai, and that they be vetted by the Prime Minister's public relations department. Since the station is run by volunteers and many of them don't speak Thai, this condition has now hindered them from creating news programs. They are currently opting to air more music, but even so, they are afraid that these shows will be censored because the lyrics of the songs are not in Thai. *"They thought if it's in a language they don't know, it's a risk, and we might be criticizing them."* Chanmot says with sigh.

The first wave of community radio stations in Thailand came in 2001-2002 when about 140 stations started to operate in various parts of the country. The discussions on public media, independent media and grassroots media were heated in the 1990s after the student uprising in 1992. In a country where all the TV and radio stations had been owned either by the government or by the army one way or another (some stations are given as concessions to private com-

panies who want to create programs, through which the authorities receive substantial concession fees) it was a slow process. Nevertheless the first independent TV station iTV was launched as the result of the discussions. An experiment with giving radio airtime to community groups was launched in the late 1990s as well. After that came the new Frequencies Act. Enacted in 2000, the act stipulated that 20% of the frequencies must be allocated to community broadcasters. The first community radio stations all demonstrated direct needs, such as Kanjanaburi's Conservation Group that fought against the Thai-Burma gas pipeline project in 1995-1997. The group concluded that community radio is an essential medium for voicing their opinions and to mobilizing public support.

The emergence of Thaksin Shinawatra in 2001, a totally new type of ingenious civilian-media-business-tycoon-enterprise-politician, however, changed the pattern of authoritarianism from that of an army dictatorship controlling civilian populations with guns and tanks to that of a businessman manipulating citizens with cash and consumerism. Thaksin started aggressively monopolizing media by buying up shares and placing his people in the right positions. His company purchased the iTV station that, at that time, suffered from a huge debt, and controlled the content by threatening media that published critical contents against his government to pull their advertisements. As for the community radio stations, first Thaksin's government allowed them to air advertisements, and the community radio stations mushroomed from 140 to 2000. This strategy was effective in blurring the goals and objectives among those community radio stations and weakening the presence of grassroots organizations. This

situation also provided more reasons for interventions by the authorities. Licenses were given to Thaksin's cronies, but those stations that aired oppositional voices were shut down for "interfering with the air-traffic control".

Then came the coup d'état. The old power guard ousted the first civilian Prime Minister, declared Martial Law, and nullified the 1997 Constitution, and the first civilian-initiated Constitution, on the grounds that it failed to anticipate the rise of a politician like Thaksin. iTV again was taken over, this time by the junta. More than 300 community radio stations in North and North-East provinces (Thaksin's stronghold) were shut down soon after the takeover. These closings were met surprisingly with little protest by citizens who mostly believed the junta's theory that those stations served the ousted PM by being a mouthpiece of "the bad man, the evil, the Hitler-like dictator." About 3000 radio stations received a strong warning by the military junta not to air the voice of Thaksin. The media situation is a mirror of the situation of the country on the whole. Community radio stations in Thailand are moving at a turtle's pace, one step forward and two steps backwards, just like the country's democratic development. The struggle of the "voice of voiceless" thus still continues.

### **Andaman Coast, 2004**

The tsunami disaster came exactly midway between the beginning of the community radio stations, which also coincided with the beginning of the rise of Thaksin, and the coup d'état. Both the community radio stations and Thaksin gained enormous points during the post-tsunami disaster period with their

swift actions. Both groups proved to citizens that they were useful and effective. It was ironically symbolic, too, that the tsunami is also about wave range, but in this case the range of death.

Another thing that surfaced during the disaster was the ability of animals to detect the tsunami. For centuries animals' detection of natural phenomena such as volcano eruptions, earthquakes and tsunamis has been known but humans haven't discovered exactly what makes animals able to feel the subtle changes in the earth. Some scientists say it's Rayleigh waves, others say it's infrasonic waves that animals perceive that tell them something is extremely unusual. Both Rayleigh waves and infrasonic waves are inaudible for humans, but as the Indian Ocean coast areas where the tsunami hit are also the habitats of elephants who are said to use Rayleigh waves and/or infrasonic waves, this phenomenon was more visible in this region during this disaster. Both of these types of waves have been used by humans to monitor earthquakes, however their use in early detection of natural disasters hasn't been fully explored yet. In the Andaman Sea area, one type of floating buoy that detects small changes in the pressure of waves and the old style warning towers at the shore, are, for the time being, the devices that local people must depend on for the crucial role of warning. Infrasonic waves are, scientifically speaking, said to be the cause of people feeling ghosts and spirits. In the past, and even now in rural areas of Asia or Africa, people have shared an experience of feeling ghosts and spirits, not only among human groups but also with animals in the area. For many indigenous populations that weren't aware of the notion of community as such in the past, this shared experience was a sign

that the people who live in the area, speak the same language, and experience something eerie in the same way, must be connected by an invisible string or something.

*There was so much demand [in the past], I gave up most of my other work and decided to focus more on chasing ghosts... I've driven away 300 or 400 spirits..... As more development came, ghosts were fewer and fewer.*

This is an account of an amateur-turned-professional ghost buster that has chased away ghosts for local people on the Thai-Cambodian border. In pre-modern times, ghosts and spirits were much more common in our daily lives. Humans could feel them more, and also hear animals much more than in the past.

### Northwest of United States, 1874

The year 1874 created one of the defining moments in history when an Illinois farmer named Joseph F. Glidden took out a series of US patents on his design of barbed wire. This simple invention of wire with the sharp barbs, originally intended to keep farm animals from wandering, more than anything else, has separated people from their homes, families and communities, and confined them in a limited space in a form of a concentration camp, a prison, or even a state.

In an interview published by Cabinet magazine, Raviel Netz, the author of *Barbed Wire: An Ecology of Modernity*, talks about how the invention of barbed wire has shaped the politics and economics of space in modern times.

*Barbed Wire starts from the range experience with animals, where the cattle of the American West did actually “range” over an entire area. And they are gradually fenced in until the entire animal industry moves to a ranch model where animals are no longer fenced out of an agricultural field, but fenced in within an area defined for them. And this is a general historical trajectory we see in the uses of barbed wire in many aspects of modernity – that it starts out defining areas from which someone is to be excluded, until finally you remove the excluded one into his or her own reservation, so to speak, the excluded finally being limited to a very small space..... there is a central transition [of globalization] taking place in the middle of the nineteenth century, with the rise of the telegraph, the rise of the railroad, the rise of barbed wire: all tools that allow control over mass scale, away from the centers, which is the fundamental structure of globalization. .... imperialism is not the point, conquest is not the point – the point is control, the point is connectivity. This is what happens over the last century-and-a-half and barbed wire is a central tool, and a central metaphor, for this development.*

A simple device, barbed wire started to be mass produced and in a very short time – within four or five years – became a smash hit around the world. It was used by the British Empire to control the uprising of indigenous populations in their colonies, by Nazi Germany, and for the gulags of the former Soviet Union. It illustrated the division of East and West during the Cold War, and now in the year of 2007 when many high-tech inventions could possibly replace it, it is still used widely as the favorite tool

for anyone who wants to suppress and control, and for anyone who that wants to maintain the maximum security of his property for the minimum cost. It is sold almost everywhere to anybody without need of license, even in a place where there is a strict gun control. The design is minimalism, non-monumental, elastic and ubiquitous, it can automatically trigger a post-modern discourse or two around it. Since the time when the territory of one king had to be separated from another, and the rise of modern nations with the idea of “borders” for neighboring countries, territorial borders have been “guarded” or “protected” by either a monumental wall—for example the Great Wall and the Berlin Wall—or a non-monumental fence: barbed wire, if not by humans and guns. We haven’t yet seen much evolution with borders.

### **Cincinnati, 2006**

According to a report by Todd Lewan of AP, CityWatcher.com, a surveillance equipment provider based in Cincinnati, attracted little notice to itself until 2006 when two of its employees had microchips – RFIDs or radio frequency identification tags --with miniature antennas embedded in their arms. It was news that for the first time in United States that people had been injected with electronic identifiers, usually used for cattle, pets and consumer products. The picture of the antennas provided a vivid and imposing image. Fierce debates over the ethics of these technologies continue among civil right groups and religious groups.

According to the executive of the company these chips are used in the same way as retina scanning or fingerprinting. They are used to protect sensitive data, and to limit access to data (for example,

employees must show their arms to a reader that decides if s/he can open a door or not). Groups on the right fear, however, that soon company employees will be given only the choice of either having a microchip implanted or losing the job. It will start with Alzheimer’s patients, soldiers, convicts, sex offenders and illegal aliens -- in the name of “protecting” civilians -- and gradually to the whole civilian populations when it proves to be an effective method of control of large populations. This is perhaps the alternative idea of the border control – instead of preventing someone to enter a certain territory with barbed wire – a connected line – data does the job. If globalization is about control and connectivity as Netz says, this tool is as metaphorical as barbed wire.

So far we have gone down a path of thinking about the idea of sensory perception that creates natural community vs. border lines that define the constructed community as follows: Community built according to the range of sound that was illustrated by the community radio station waves (this includes the range within which indigenous populations can communicate with each other through their own language, and the shared experience of feeling ghosts and spirits that might be the experience of feeling the infrasonic waves at the same moments). This is contrasted with the drawn line of the border, the officially defined or compulsory constructed “community” illustrated by barbed wire. Barbed wire also illustrates the fact that in politics, apart from visions, the use of sensory functions of humans hasn’t developed at all. And now we have the third model: the data wall that draws a border with data and its archive. Can this, however, be regarded as an evolution?

## Art

To answer this question I would like to look at some art projects. My idea of compelling media art is work that reminds us of our inabilities rather than praising our capacities as an animal that caters to technology. These art works could provide us with a clue to the question as simple as “Are we evolving?” I cite here some examples of art works that involve the “sensory” experience of the audience, which might become a communal experience. Paradoxically these works are either rarely performed/installed, or did happen only in the past, giving us little chance to experience the actual project. Again we must resort to our imagination.

The first art work is “The ReCollection Mechanism” by Arnold Dreyblatt that was realized in 1998. It is a dark room in which almost invisible cylindrical mesh screens are suspended from the roof. Onto the screens are texts from historical data, taken from the book “Who’s Who in Central & Eastern Europe 1933”. Two computers randomly search and locate words from the data, and every time a word is found, it is highlighted visually and spoken out loud by a male or female voice. The voices gradually cross each other in time and create a dialog. The audience is included in the environment of the work, within the installation, and participate in the art work in a way, as the artist himself describes, as to “participate in a deconstruction of history through a non-linear and associational reading of forgotten archival fragments”.

Dreyblatt’s prototype work is “Data Wall”, made in 1995. On one large screen texts from the same book are projected, writing and overwriting themselves in real time. Apart from these projects

Dreyblatt has created a series of projects based on the same book, “Who’s Who in Central & Eastern Europe 1933,” in different forms, from an opera performance to an arena of the archive “Memory Arena” (1995-96). The artist accidentally found this book of historical data at a shop in Istanbul and since then has used it as a biblical text that allows readers to take out fragments, construct and deconstruct them, and to read the text non-linearly. The fact that these people in the data book have perished in one of the 20th century’s most brutal incidents offers the viewers many subtexts for reading – or feeling – the information from the book, or simply, being in the work.

The initial and central motif of Dreyblatt’s “life work” is memory. Just as our collective memories have become externalized by society, so has our individual memory become internalized as we become preoccupied with problems of personal identity and history. It is as if we have lost the mediators between the external and internal. What we have lost, he says, are the mnemonic techniques of pre-literate culture that were orally transmitted in the past. As a result, now we search “in the physical and virtual places of library stacks, desktop folders, and unix addresses for a meaning and a history.” In Dreyblatt’s works, the experience of sharing the collective memory is brought back in a non-linear manner – no history, only memory.

Another example is a series of Fog Sculpture projects by Fujiko Nakaya in collaboration with sound artists David Tudor and Bill Viola. Originally developed in 1980 as one of the projects by the Experiments in Art and Technology group for the Osaka World Expo, Nakaya, with a help of cloud-physicist

Tom Mee, developed the technique of creating a man-made fog (which should be distinguished from the fog machine that is widely used for concerts and events). She then went on to realize the “fog sculpture” as she names it, in various natural environments as well as cities. These fogs, which required that Nakaya measure and anticipate geographical and climate data in order to create a “sculpture” that fits to her concept as well as the environment, are most effective when the project is a collaboration with sound artists. Artists such as Tudor and Viola who work more with resonance than sound per se, made the best out of this unique environment. For Island Eyes Island Ears, which was realized in 1974 in Knavelskär Island in Sweden, for example, Tudor used Parabolic antennas to create sound beams and sound reflections. Tudor’s interest was to reveal and highlight nature by electronically transforming the recorded sources (recorded over one year period prior to the project), so that visitors, while walking through nature—an island, seashore, cliffs, rocks and forests—would hear sounds reflected back and forth between antennas and bounced off rocks and other natural obstacles. “Since the mixture of sounds originated from different terrains of the island recorded at different times of year, visitors experienced the sounds as constructed,

rather than live, and thus as memories of their natural source terrain.” Fog and clouds created by Nakaya in this setting would function as a natural amplifier or an obstacle that changes the course of the wave, depending on the dimensions of objects on site. The audience must be there, on the spot, listening and feeling the phenomena that they can experience only once in a life time. Whereas the spatial characteristics of Memory were once collectively memorized and shared but internally and individually stored, the development of the written word has externalized this process and its result. Nakaya and Tudor’s collaborative projects thus evoke the aural and pre-literal time when the community shared the collective memory of sensory experience. And this brings us back to The Archer. The head of the Buddhist sculpture was hit by the archer and fell at the end of the story, as the archer himself fell. Villagers tried numerous times to place the head back on the top of the body, but it kept falling off. Hence the public monument wasn’t accomplished. The only art that survived – that was accomplished -- after all was sound. It survived, or became more vigorous, bouncingback and forth among the rocks and trees, running through the wind and rain. The villagers, all of them, heard the same one song.

**Keiko Sei** is writer and curator on independent media and media activism. Based and worked in Eastern Europe since 1988 to research media/independent media in the communist Eastern Europe, Central Asia and Caucasus. In 2002 she moved to South East Asia to extend her research area. Her activities are research, workshops, exhibitions/projects, and writings on independent media, culture and society in transition that include: “The Media Are With Us!: The Role of Television in the Romanian Revolution” International Symposium (Budapest, 1990), “EX-ORIENTE-LUX -- Romanian Video Week” (Bucharest, 1993), “Eastern Europe TV & Politics” (Buffalo New York, 1993), “lantern magique ~ artistes théques et nouvelles technologies (Strasbourg, 1998), “POLITIK-UM/new Engagement,”(Prague, 2002), “Re-Designing East,” (Stuttgart, Gdansk, 2010, Budapest, 2011), book Von der Bürokratie zur Telekratie, Germany, 1990 and Terminal Landscape, Czech Republic, 2003. Her video archive, which she collected in Eastern Europe and Japan in the time of transition, was presented at Generali Foundation in Vienna, 1999. She has organized regular workshops on film and video making and media activism in Myanmar and the Thai-Myanmar border, and helped establishing Wathann Film Festival/Institute in Yangon. Currently she is working on projects about state-lessness. She writes for publications worldwide and has taught in many countries including Faculty of Art, Technical University Brno, Czech Republic and Karlsruhe University of Art and Design, Germany.

**Johanna Zulueta** Assistant Associate Professor at Souka University led us in a discussion upon the complex situation of people of mixed Philippine-Okinawan roots working in the US bases of the island region.

# A Glimpse of Invisible Minorities in Okinawa

## Philippine-Okinawans

**I**t may be claimed that Okinawa in itself is in a state of precarity. Having been an independent state as the Ryuku Kingdom from the 14th century it was occupied by Meiji Japan then assimilated into the country in the latter half of the 19th century. It was then to be the site of intense fighting during WWII, with many tragic deaths of local citizens by suicide, the only option seen available after the successes of the American military. Following the war, the region was occupied by America for close to 30 years, only finally reverted to Japan in 1972. But along with the reversion of the islands also came the agreement to allow American forces to maintain and expand their military bases across the Ryukyu territories. Due to this history there is a tension between Okinawan locals and mainland Japan, as well as with the American military presence. Many Okinawans hold a strong regional identity which is distinct from “Japanese” and take pride in their minority ethnic culture, but at the same time have been subject to discrimination in the main territories of Japan.

After the war the US started to construct its military bases in occupied Okinawa and to do so imported many foreign laborers from Philippines, China and India, amongst other countries. These laborers largely consisted of men, whilst women from around Asia were also encouraged to join the entertainment industry which grew up around the bases. Many of the foreign laborers had relationships with local Okinawan women, with many children being born “out of wedlock” in this way. These children of mixed Philippine-Okinawan heritage were often born in Okinawa but when their father’s contract finished with the

base they would move with their family to the Philippines and complete their elementary/junior high school education there. Later on in their late teens/20’s many moved back to Okinawa if the relationship between their mother and father failed etc. Although at this time the nationality law stipulated that in the case of mixed marriage the child must take the nationality of its father, those born outside of marriage took the nationality of their mother, and so in the case of these children they were recognized as Japanese citizens. Yet at the same time, having spent their formative years in the Philippines and being more

fluent in English/Tagalog than Japanese they found themselves in an awkward relationship to their consigned nationality due to language barriers.

Of course the relationship between language and nationality is not one of necessarily any close tie. We may be citizens of a country without being able to speak the main official language of that state, but given the myth of a “homogenous, monolingual” nation, in which nationality seems to be inseparable from ethnicity and language, then it can well be imagined the struggle which these children faced. Upon appearance they seem to fulfill the stereotyped expectation of what a Japanese person “looks like”, but their first language and cultural experience was in conflict with this.

In the Japanese language there is a popular term for bi-racial persons/people of mixed roots, which is “half”. This term itself is rather problematic and has been criticized by bi-racial people and foreigners alike. The word “half” implies that you are not whole. That you are defined by the part of you which is Japanese and not that which has roots of another country. To be “Japanese” is to be whole, to be of mixed heritage is to be “half”. (Yet another perpetuation of this myth of “Japanese”). There have been other alternatives to this term such as “double” or “外国のルーツ/つながりをもつ人” (people with foreign roots/connections) but still the term half remains prevalent, and even those who are subjected to such terms use it themselves, including many of the Philippine-Okinawans.

Having been born in Okinawa, spending many years in the Philippines and then moving back to Okinawa in their adult years, their movement embodies a form of return migration not wholly dissimilar to the Latin-American “Nikkei”

whose grandparents migrated from Japan to South America in the early 20th century, and their descendants were encouraged to “return” to Japan (a country many had never been to) during the bubble era when labor power was in high demand. But in this case the movement has taken place over several generations, while Philippine-Okinawans have completed this circuit during their lifetime. Many Philippine-Okinawans returned to Okinawa after the 1972 repatriation, when there was a concerted effort to secure a workforce to run the facilities of the US bases (also with support from the Japanese government). Given the confidence of the Philippine Okinawans in English and their own past family ties to the bases many readily took jobs here. Spending much of their time on the bases, living in their compounds, and hanging out with mainly the American soldiers or the international community, the Philippine-Okinawans had limited contact with the settled “locals” of Okinawa. This also inhibited their language acquisition, with many unable to read and write in Japanese and feeling somehow divided from other Japanese nationals.

One Philippine-Okinawan whom Zulueta interviewed in Okinawa spoke of feeling as if they had a disability – unable to understand the signifying environment around them, with all the Japanese kanji, and unable to express themselves in the dominant language of the region. Whilst holding a Japanese passport, many felt that they were not accepted as Japanese, particularly because of the language problem, with one subject claiming “I am only Japanese on paper”, feeling that legally they might be recognized as Japanese, but culturally, linguistically and in terms of social interaction they do not consider

themselves to be or are not considered by others to be “Japanese”. Yet at the same time, the very fact that they have this legal status offers them key privileges which so-called Nikkei Latin Americans or other foreign residents do not have due to their status as foreign nationals. They have voting rights, legal protections and access to services which are often denied to foreign nationals. But having said this, they are also subject to discrimination and have a sense of not being fully accepted in their own country.

The Philippine-Okinawans have carved out their own communities, forming the Association for Filipinos of Japanese Nationality, as well as being actively involved in the Filipino association Filcomrai. Many Philippine-Okinawans connect to their identity and communities through the church, being a focal point for both those of Philippine and Latin America heritage. Amongst their “own” community the Philippine-Okinawans refer to themselves as Nisei or Sansei (2nd or 3rd generation) of people with Japanese heritage.

Yet they are further complicated in the local region due to their employment by the US bases, and perceived support for US presence in Okinawa, which is severely opposed by some other locals. Zulueta claimed that many of the Philippine-Okinawan community feel that the problem of the US bases is a political problem which does not concern them, and they are legitimate in making their livelihood from the US presence in Okinawa. Other local Okinawans also make a living by working on the bases, and opinion towards the US military is not a simple for or against within the Okinawan community, yet having said this the perceived complicity with an outside

“occupying” presence of the US military may also be interpreted as a tension between the Philippine-Okinawans and some other locals and contribute to the certain divides which are felt here.

Another point of complexity is the history of Philippine women in the entertainment and sex industry which has built up around the US bases. In the radio program both Jong and Zulueta touched upon this, speaking of Kazuo Hara’s *Extreme Private Eros*, which documents his ex-wife entering into the sex-industry entertaining US soldiers in Okinawa, and even having a child by one of them, and Mao Ishikawa’s photography of Philippine women in the red light district, to illustrate the precarious lives of another minority in Okinawa, that of sex workers. Sex workers are already subject to much discrimination in general society, and are yet to have full recognition of their rights, and within this lack of recognition foreign sex workers, including those from the Philippines are placed in a particularly vulnerable situation, with significant lack of “visibility” and representation.

In recent years there has been observed a rise in female Filipinos migrating to Okinawa through marriage. Their children are therefore of mixed Philippine-Okinawan heritage, but being brought up in Okinawa and attending local schools they perhaps do not face the same challenges as those who have moved back to Okinawa at later stages in their lives. Zulueta pointed out however, that many marriage migrants are under pressure to send money back to their parents and families in the Philippines and in some cases this takes priority over the financial upkeep of their own family in Okinawa leading to family disputes.

Zulueta's report touched upon the many layers of language, culture, marginalization, discrimination, conflict and alliance which may be observed in Okinawa. As a land which may still feel colonized by Japan and occupied by the US, Okinawa in itself is what may be termed a marginalized presence in Japan, but for those whose identity does not fully relate to Okinawa or Japan, whose first language does not accord with the local region, or whose occupation is not accepted by other local residents, then there becomes a daily negotiation to

carve out one's place and to assert one's own presence. At the same time, as so many minorities exist in Okinawa it may be claimed that there may be a higher potential for mutual-empathy and solidarity between different groups and identities which remain situationally fluid.

We each hold our imagined community, but the power to imagine beyond the categories assigned by nationality, ethnicity, language, occupation etc. is what may expand our creativity and possibilities.

## 持ち寄りパーティ

## Poetry Corner

### 1. まえがき

今年の年明け、コンタクトインプロビ  
ゼション(即ダンスのような身体活、以  
下略して「コンタクト」)のジャムセッ  
ションに行こうと思いついた。

だけど、それまで一年余りひきこもって  
いて、  
いつのまにか、人前に出るのが恥ずか  
しくて、  
すっかり臆病になっていた僕。

前の日も、当日の朝も、  
家を出る前も、家を出てからも、  
電車に乗ってからも、駅を降りてからも  
「やっぱりダメだ、行くのはよそう」と  
何度も何度も引き返そうと思った。

そんな風に今にも逃げ帰りそうな僕を  
地平線の彼方から呼びかける優しい声

例えてみると、こんな感じ。

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1979年 沖生まれ、京都在住  
2015年冬から ひきこもり中

小投稿サイト「星空文庫」にて作品  
<http://slib.net/a/9877/>

### 2. 持ち寄りパーティ

何を持ってきてもいいのよ  
それぞれ持ってきたいものでいいの

何か特別なものでなくてもいいのよ  
別に手の込んだものでなくても  
普段のもので全然かまわないの

みんなが好きそうなものでなくてもいいの  
みんなに食べてもらおうと気負う必要はないわ  
食べたい人が食べたい分だけ食べてくれ  
ば、それでいいじゃない  
気に入る人もきつというわよ

たとえ残ったっていいのよ  
残ったら持ち帰ればいいんだから  
それに、その場で、一人でも、一口でも食べて  
くれれば、  
それだけで、この宇宙の奇跡の出来事なんだ  
から

仮に誰も一口もしなかったとしても  
そこにあなたのものを並べてくれただけで十  
分

それじゃ何のために持っていったの?  
そんなの、あんまりじゃないって?

*To Continue Turn to page 20*





នលើពេលដីលែពួកគាត់ ហ្នាភាគ ការងារធ្វើលើនោះទ្បើតៗបង្កើន ឆ្លុំរាចរំ ឲ្យខាង  
ជប់"ន គឺជួយសង្កេតនោះ ន ជួយសម្រួលក្នុងគប យល់ដឹង ដឹង ដឹងពេញពេញ  
បំបាចសេចក្តីអោយមានចរលើនដឹង។ ខ្លាញ់ ន យាយបែបនេះគឺ ម នមិនខ្លាញ់ ជា  
អ្នកចេះដឹង ដី ចរលើនជាដឹងអ្នកទាំងអស់ គុណនោះទេ ខ្លាញ់ ក៏ ជាកម្មករសំណង  
មួយរូប ដូចជាអ្នករាល់គ្នាដឹង។ គ ខ្លាញ់ រល្អឃាត ចតុចប ផុត ។ ខ្លាញ់ ឆ្លុម  
អោយអ្នករាល់គ្នា អញ្ជើយសរយ ដល់ ការន យាយ នូវពាក្យសមដី លើសលូស  
របស់ខ្លួនខ្លាញ់ ដំណើរការ ណាមួយដឹង។ ហ្នឹងណាមួយទ្បើតសម្រាប់ អ្នករាល់គ្នា គឺធ្វើ  
ចេញ ក្នុងប្រតិបត្តិការបន្តការធ្វើកែតានលើទ នេះវាម នវាយសរសេរនោះទ្បើយ។ គ  
ការព តណាស់ ដីលែពួកគាត់ ក្នុងរូប ណាយសរយ" វាដីចរលើន ទលើអោយអ្នកដីលែឆ្លុយ  
សម្រួលដល់ ពួកគាត់ ។ ដីលែយលើនទាំងអស់គ្នា ហានហោ (កាត់ ថា អ្នកខ្លាញ់ក្នុង រូប ក៏  
ជាមខ្មោយ ) ដីលែហាន សន្តយាថា ន ដីរកការងារបអោយពួកគាត់ ធ្វើលើ ហើយន ដី  
រល្អប្រច រត់ ការរកសារ ផ្តល់ដឹង ជាតិ សសេត ការធ្វើក្នុងសាយដីវានធ្វើទស្តីនោះ នលើ  
ន ដីជុំនពួកគាត់ ៗ ហើយន ដីរត់ ការ រកសារ ទាក់ ទងន ដី ការងារធ្វើសង្ខេប  
ទលើញ ការ រ ក្នុង យាយ ដីជុំនដីចរលើន អនុញ្ញាតបរិសេន ។  
ហើយតាមការយល់ដឹង ដី ដីន ដីការដីលើន ហើយសត្រាប់ ដី ដីទាល់ ក្នុងច្បាប់ក្នុង  
ខ្លាញ់ គឺ ពួកគាត់ អ្នករាល់ មក ក្នុងរូបខាងក្នុង មខ្មោយ ទាមទារលុយ យ វាដីចរលើនគ  
ចាប់ ៣ 300000ម ន យ ទលើ 350000យ នៃនេះហើយតាមខ្លាញ់ ហានដី ដី គ អោយទលើ  
មខ្មោយ ដីលើជាអ្នកទទួលបន្ទុក។ ខ្លាញ់ ចរលើន យាយចរលើន គឺប្រើ យកលុយពួកគាត់  
ក៏ ក្នុងក្នុងខ្លួនខ្លួនមលើន ជួយសង្កេតនោះពួកគាត់ ដំណើរការ ត្រូវទុកដាក់ ដឹង ពួកនោះ  
លុយគ ពួ ហ្នា រកណាស់ ម នមិនយកហានហើយទុកពួកគាត់ ចលើននោះទេ។  
បង្កើតសិ ហើយ ហ្នានយកលុយពួកគាត់ ស្នូមមត្តតាមជួយសម្រួលដល់ ពួកគាត់ ដឹង។  
គ ក្នុងរូបដីលើ ពាតិ មាន ក្នុងរូបយល់ដឹង ដី ដី ដី បញ្ញាហា ដីលើខ្នាត ទងពួកគាត់  
គ ជួយផ្តល់ ភាពកក់ក្តៅដល់ ពួកគាត់ ដឹង គ ខ្លាញ់ ចរលើន យាយថា គ ការទទួល  
ខ្លួនក្នុង គ (ហ្នាន ស្នូ ក្នុងរូប ហ្នានសង ហើយដីលើសរសេរ ក្នុងរូបហ្នានសរយត្រឹម )  
ម នមិនហានលុយហើយ សមត្ថ អត្ថខ្លាំង ដី ហើយដីលើនយកក្នុងខ្លួននោះទេ។  
យលើនជាដីដាក់ ខ្មែរដីដីចគ្នា គ ក្នុងរូបចេះ សរសារញី ន អញ្ជើយសរយ គុណណា។  
ដីចេះហើយទលើខ្លាញ់ ហ្នា អញ ដី បញ្ញាហ្នា ពួកគាត់មួយចំនួន គ លុយ បង្កាង  
ក្នុងប្រតិបត្តិ នលើ ស្នូកខ្មែរ ដី ដីនលើ ម នទាន អស់ ដឹង ក្នុង មកទទួលបន្ទុក  
បន្តដីមទ្បើត។

គ ដំណើរការត្រឹម ហានលុយខ្ញុំចែល ក្នុងរូប ភាសខ្លួន ក្នុងរូបដីលើអោយមខ្មោយល់  
ក្នុងរូបការ ជួបបញ្ញាហាដីសង្ខេ មានអ្នកខ្លះ ទ្បើ ទ្បើដីហាន  
ក ក្នុងរូប ទលើប្រទេស ញី ទ្បើ ដីការ ហាត់ បង ការងារ លុយកាក់ ក៏ គុណ ហាត់ដី  
ទទួល លុយ បង ចង្កក រូបកែ ទ្បើត។

ន យាយព ការស្នូមស ទ្បើ ជីវកក្រលើន នេះតាមព គ ពួកគាត់ អ្នករាល់ ក្នុងដាក់  
រកសារនលើ ក្នុងស្នូមអនុតលើបរិសេន ដីលើខ្លួនដឹងសញ្ជាត្រឹម។

ហើយអ ដីលើសំខាន់ ដី ផុតនោះគ ការស្នូន អាសារ យ ក្នុងរូបមាន  
អាសារស្នូនធ្វើនលើអោយច្បាស់លាស់ ។ ចំណុចនេះហើយដីលើធ្វើឲ្យ ពួកគាត់ ខាង  
មខ្មោយ រក លុយ រក រហូតដល់ រាប់ ម នយ ទលើ ។ ខ្លាញ់

ខ្លាញ់ ម នសាន យាយច ពពោះ មខ្មោយ ដីលើល ដីលើន ដីលើន ។ គ ខ្លាញ់ ន យាយច ពពោះ  
គឺមខ្មោយ ពពោះ ដីលើអាក្រក់ ផុត គឺប្រើ ណាណោះ។ គ មខ្មោយ បពេកយកតលើលុយ  
ហើយទុកពួកគាត់ ចលើន ធ្វើលើឲ្យពួកគាត់ ទ ដំណាត់ ទ ណាដី ខ្លះភាពកក់ ក្នុងលើ។

បន្តទាម មកការរត់ គចេខ្លួននេះ គ ពួកគាត់ខ្លះ ហានជួបន ដីបញ្ញាហា  
ធ្វើ ៗជាច្បាប់ ។ ដីដី ការស្នូន ដីលើ បក្នុង ក្នុងដី រស់នលើ ម នច្បាស់ លាស់  
ដំណើរ ម នយកច ត្រូវ ទុកដាក់ នេះហើយគ ជាបញ្ញាហាចលើទ។ មានជំនុំ ប្រទេស  
ជាច្បាប់ ហាន រស់នលើដំណើរ អត់ ទ ដីហាការ គ រស់នលើ ដំណើរ អ្នកលើសត្រូវ (over  
stayed)

ជាព សសេមនុស្សមានលុយនោះនលើទ នេះ ខត្តនេះ បដីទលើរស់ នលើខត្តនោះ



# Technical Intern Training Program

## One Cambodian Trainee

For decades the presence of foreign technical trainees in Japan has been almost completely disregarded. As early as 1985 the Japanese government was foreseeing severe labor shortage in the country especially in the primary and secondary industries of farming and production which involves high demands of manual labor. Being loath to encourage any form of immigration to Japan as a long term policy, instead of creating visas for so-called low-skilled workers, a neo-colonial system of “traineeships” for young people from China and South East Asia was implemented. With echoes of the New Prosperity Sphere, Japan has been extending its economic and political influence throughout the region by the promise to train the next generation of emerging economies in the ins-and-outs of Japanese modern technology which they can then bring back to their home countries and contribute to the national development. This very concept is questionable in itself but the reality is bleakly disturbing.

The country is dependent upon nearly quarter of a million of such trainees. Rather than being trained in highly skilled technical expertise these young people are being forced to take up work in the failing small-scale businesses of Japan – fisheries, farming, factories, construction etc., undertaking manual labor with little specialist skill attached. The system designates a trainee to a company for 3 years (now extended to 5 years from November 2017) without the choice of the trainee themselves, and up to now without the ability to change company if they are dissatisfied by the conditions. Despite the gaping hole in the labor force, especially in the provinces of Japan, these trainees are given no recognition as workers, they have no opportunity to work long-term in Japan, and are often isolated from Japanese

society. Many trainees are working in rural areas of Japan where their contact with local people is severely limited and their presence is removed from the metropolitan public eye, but this is further aggravated by the host-companies which have not been unknown to confiscate the passports and phones of trainees, and impose strict conditions of use of often very poor accommodation.

The pride of “Made in Japan” in fact masks a system of sweatshops, forced labor and human trafficking. The notion of outsourcing is being engineered in reverse, with cheap labor imported to Japan but with employers believing they can pay the same wages as in the home countries of the trainees. The abuse of trainees is rampant amongst host companies, with over 70% having

been identified as being in breach of the government regulations for TITP. Unpaid wages, ridiculous overtime demands, denial of holidays, physical and verbal abuse are frequent examples of these breaches, which have been allowed to continue for years due to the lack of voice of the trainees themselves, clear racial discrimination and a hesitation of the media and authorities to draw attention to the situation for fear of breaking the COOL Japan brand. However there are those who have attempted to shed light on the dark side of Japan's industry. One Cambodian trainee, Nay, came to Japan in 2014, sent through his Japanese language school in Siem Reap. Arriving in Tokyo he began to work for a construction company in the west suburbs of the city. Within the first few weeks of his traineeship he was regularly being made victim of verbal and physical violence. Even sustaining considerable damage to his protective hardcase helmet when hit over the head by a fellow worker. In addition to this, due to working in dangerous conditions, and lack of communication provisions, Nay's finger was severed in an accident resulting in partial amputation. Nay's case is not unusual. This is a daily reality for many trainees. But what was rare about Nay's situation was the fact that he had family connections in Japan, with his sister being settled in Saitama for several years already. It was due to this family connection that he was able to do something to challenge the treatment he had received. Being introduced to a local labor union and an NGO supporting the rights of migrants in Japan. Through this network he was able to bring a labor tribunal against his host-company and gain recognition and compensation for his work-place accident and depression which resulted from his abuse. Such

legal achievements are few and far between for most trainees.

The plight for most trainees who are suffering from bad treatment and poor conditions is the fact that they have no one to turn to for help or advice. In some cases they are all but completely cut off from the outside world due to the confiscation of their cellphones etc. Even if they seek help from the public labor inspection offices in many cases the office is unable to provide interpretation services and the trainees mostly lack the confidence to explain their situation in Japanese. For groups attempting to support trainees their only chance to distribute information on helplines and labor unions etc. is often through the Japanese language course which the trainees attend at the beginning of their program. By building understanding with the teachers of these courses, some groups have been able to inform trainees of their rights and what to do if they feel their rights are being violated, either being told directly by the language teacher or through the handing out of leaflets etc.

Realizing how lucky he was to have access to support and interpretation help from his sister, Nay was determined to help others who were in a similar predicament to himself. He spent the year which he remained in Japan journeying across the country to meet other technical trainees and Cambodian migrants who were struggling with exploitative working conditions and perplexity at the language barriers and cultural differences which prevented them from being able to access certain services. Often it would take just one message on facebook and then he would be preparing for his next long-haul bus trip to Yama-

guchi, Nagoya, Gifu etc. Even though he himself did not have as much command of Japanese as he would like, he persevered in trying to aid others who had even less mastery of the language and attempted to share any information that would be of use to them.

The very system of TITP denies the recognition of foreign laborers for the fundamental work that they do and dresses Japan's cheap solution to its labor shortage as "social responsibility" and "international contribution". This

is a case of hidden labor, a thoroughly invisible presence which is used to make another problem invisible. A kind of magic trick, the invisible cloak which enables the creaking, dilapidated wheels of global capitalism to appear a smooth, well-oiled cycle whose eternal grind we may place our full trust in. Nay has attempted to create holes in the fabric of this cloak from the inside out and utilized the device of Radio Kosaten in order to convey his experience to other Cambodians/trainees in Japan as well as the wider public.

From page 13

新しい出会いに感と祈りをめて 2017年2月5日 てつろう  
©YUASA Tetsuro, 2017

そのときは、こう考えて：  
あなたのはお供え物だったのよ  
お供え物は下げてから自分たちで食べる  
でしょ  
それが無意味だなんて誰も悲しまないわ  
それに、「残り物には福がある」って言うじ  
ゃない

だから、あなたも恥ずかしながら  
あなたのを持って気軽にいらっしやい

きつと、あなたが来たら喜ぶ人がいると思  
うわ  
だって、あなたが来てくれることが、奇跡な  
んだもの  
わたしも待っているわ

### 3. あとがき

それから一か月。  
隔あるコンタクトの集まりの日以外は、  
依然、ひきこもりの日だけど、  
完全にひきこもっていた去年とって、  
コンタクトした人たちから受ける刺激で、  
二ごとに生まれ変わるような、  
そんな日々。

それは、触れ合ったことに感謝する日々。  
そして、自分の中の「残り物」を味わう日  
々。  
これは同じひきこもりの一日でも去年と  
は全然違う。  
相変わらず、目隠しされたように先は全く  
見えないけど、  
優しく手を引かれて導かれている感じ。

それでもコンタクトに行くときは、  
毎回、歪んだ自己イメージに悩まされ、  
帰りは、羞恥心と自責の念に苛まれること  
も度々。

過剰な自信で勇み足になることなく、  
過小な自信で二の足を踏むことなく、  
等身大の自信を持って歩み続けるって、  
ほんと難しい。

将来への予期からも過去への囚われから  
も解き放たれて、  
地平線からの呼び声に向かって、  
いつでも素直に歩いていけたらなあ。  
それも、できれば、ルンルン気分♪

みんなも好きなことを楽しんでますよ  
うに。

## Keigo, Japanese Honorifics

Coming back to Japan for the first time in 10 years wasn't that easy after having spent my formative years in the US. I've been trying to reinserting myself into the culture, but my attempt hasn't been successful to say the least. Living as a minority in America was a difficult experience but it simultaneously taught me vulnerable conditions of the underrepresented, misrepresented, discriminated, undocumented, etc. Now I have attained different values, which seem to be incompatible with Japanese populism, and I desperately needed a place where I can express myself freely. I came across the existence of Kosaten on Facebook and I instantly recognized that it would be the place I must check out and see what they are doing. And I was right. When I walked into Kosaten, I saw a basket full of snacks (for the record, the basket has been always full of snacks!) on top of a table, and foam mats in different colors. At first, I thought I just walked into a kindergarten, but after a couple of visits to Kosaten, I realized that this rather childish atmosphere of the space makes me comfortable to participate in the discussions on social issues such as migration, immigration, racism, sexism, xenophobia, homophobia, misogyny, people with disabilities, etc. There are many intriguing programs at Kosaten and Radio Kosaten is the one I've been taking part in the most and even hosted an event discussing Keigo/Japanese honorifics.

I consider Keigo/Japanese honorifics show I hosted at Radio Kosaten was successful, albeit there were many things that could have gone better. Some people plan their events way ahead, but I didn't do it for mine since I thought it didn't seem necessary to do so. When you communicate in Japanese, you are expected to use Keigo all the time unless you are with your family members or close friends. Considering the majority of participants is somewhat familiar with Japanese language, it seemed that there was no need to explain what Keigo is in detail and its sheer technicality.

Even though one is not too familiar with the language, one can share other languages' honorifics and honorific speeches. I also wanted others to actively participate throughout this event by sharing their thoughts and questions, so my plan was not to bring too much information to the table. In the actual event, I kept the intro/historical background section as short as possible, for about 15-20 mins, and then I moved onto the discussion. Everyone at the event participated well and we were able to share what we think of Keigo, which derive from our personal experiences with the form of speech.



## APERTURES!

*Apertures! is a photo and image essay corner featuring image makers who poke many openings to expose reality that is otherwise ignored by society. For the first issue of the Journal we feature Tobias Zielony.*

*Turn to page 40*

The discussion included, but not limited to, the following quotes: “We always have to be careful not to be rude.” “Using excessive Keigo cannot convey what you really want to tell” “Keigo can also weaken expressions” “Keigo can build up a wall between people in a conversation.” “I used to get discriminated from people who live in urban areas because a certain honorific word in Tagalog is not used so much in the countryside.” We also had a 30-mins non-Keigo session in small groups right after the discussion to see if this could bring us relief, bliss, confusion, hesitation, unnaturalness, etc. The event ended with a little follow up of the non-Keigo session. I am glad that I could provide an opportunity for the participants to reconsider how Keigo is affecting our lives even though I had some untouched topics due to time constraints. And most of all, everyone in the space participated well.

As I mentioned a bit earlier, Kosaten makes one feel comfortable to sit down and talk about social issues in Japan. Partly it’s because of its physical setting but also the attentive audiences who always listen to others and share their constructive criticisms. Radio Kosaten is broadcasted/livestreamed in each event, but, unlike regular radio programs, it’s a rather slow paced program so that everyone can jump into the conversation whenever they want without being rushed. Even though this radio program is usually held at Kosaten, it has potential to be held at any locations. In the future, it will be interesting to go visit a different place and broadcast from there to make the conversation physically relatable to the actual site. In that way Radio Kosaten can acquire a wide range of audience and provide more opportunities for the listeners to think contemporary issues critically.

Radio Kosaten #10

Kosatenラジオ 4月23日

17年後のだめ連の本

井口かおり

1992年東京、「だめ連」が結成されました。就職した後、4カ月で会社を辞めて暇になった神長恒一さんが、大学時代の友人、ペペ長谷川さんと作りました。その後、1998年から2000年ごろの日本のテレビ番組や雑誌でだめ連は盛んに紹介され、テレビでは、神長さんが4畳半の自分の部屋で昼過ぎに起きるところから始まり、安く自炊したり人と交流したりする様子が描かれました。ビートたけしは彼の番組で「だめ連なんて夢のようじゃないか。俺あれやりたくてしょうがねえんだ」と言っていました。

ラジオkosatenでは、私の編集した『だめ連の「働かないで生きるには?!」』（2000年刊 品切れ）を中心に、刊行から17年後の今、だめ連の生き方はどうか？ を、著者・神長さん、ペペさんと共に語り合いました。

この本が出た頃は、フリーター、非正規がまだ少ない頃で、就職して、結婚して家庭を持つ、というのが当たり前の時代でした。だめ連はそのようなルールを降りて、あまり働かないで、好きなことや社会運動をやったりしていました。そして、非正規が増大した今の時代でもこの本はますます有効になっています。

「あまり働きたくない」ということは誰もが一度は感じる普遍的なことだし、もしも働くことが楽しい場合も、あまり働かない生き方もあるんだと知るだけでも視野が広がる、と私は思い、その意味では時代を超えて有効だと思います。

ラジオでは、だめ連の界限の人々がやっていた仕事として、参考までに次のような仕事が紹介されました。障がい者介助、老人介護のヘルパー、水道検針員、針灸師、生活保護など。また、路上のギター弾き、絵描き、グッズや食べ物を売る、ミミズの養殖なども！

そして、この本を愛読してきたというアキさんの言葉も録音で流しました。

いま、神長さんはパートナーのイカさんと「さよならアペパーティー」という路上飲みでの活動やスタンディングなど、ペペさんはロバートDEビーコでの歌など、平和と音楽のために活動しています。

『だめ連の「働かないで生きるには?!」』のこと 神長恒一

自分があの本が重要だと思うのは、やっぱり少なく働いて少なく消費するというライフスタイルが今後よりいっそう重要だと思うからです。

資本主義の世の中でよりお金をたくさん得ることばかりが幸せになることだと思わされすぎているがそれは間違っているし、そう駆り立てられることで多くの人が不幸になっていると思います。またみんながある程度物質的に豊かな暮らしになると地球の環境資源的になりたないということもよく言われている。また多くの人は働きすぎてことで立ち止まってものを考える時間や余裕がなく、社会について考えたり人生を楽しむ時間もない。

資本主義社会が世界に行き渡りつつある今、今後人類がどう生きていけばいいのかというのは、あんまり資本主義的な労働をしない消費をしない、そういうこととは別のこと、物質的なことよりもこころの豊かさなどに幸せの基準を置くということが重要だと思います。

また非正規が増大した今こそ、昔以上にこの本やだめ連は重要だとも思います。

1つには、非正規や無職、ニートの人は増えましたが、まだまだそういうあまり働いてない人々に対しての世間からのプレッシャーが強いからです。つまり今現在そういうプレッシャーや劣等感に苦しんでいる非正規、ニートの人がたくさんいるということです。この本はそういう人にたくさん働いてなくてもいいんだよと、気持ちをらくにしてくれると思います。

また理由の2つ目は、この本ではそういう非正規の人が労働問題に直面したときに会社とどう戦うかということが書いてあること。現在非正規の人でクビ切りやパワハラなどで悩んでいる人はたくさんいると思います。でもそういうときに会社とどう戦えばいいかという情報は少ない。この本は当時まだフリーター労組ができる前だったけどその辺の非正規の人の闘いかたの話をしているので、非正規の人には参考になると思います。



NO LIMIT SEOULの「あれこれ反対するデモ」

今年の9月15日から24日まで韓国のソウルで、「NO LIMIT SEOUL」というフェスが行われました。2016年9月に東京で1週間行われた「NO LIMIT 東京自治区」に続いて、今回はソウルの人々の手でソウルで行われたものです。

去年も今年も、韓国、台湾、中国、日本などアジアや、ドイツ、アメリカなど世界各地の人々が集まりました。

ラジオでは、東京での主催者の一人、松本哉さんから、東京でのこのイベントのきっかけや、その内容などを聞きました。そのあと、ちょうど来日していたソウル的主催者たちと、谷保のかけこみ亭の人々のトークを流し、ここではソウルで行われた10日間の内容や、なぜやろうと思ったかなどを聞きました。そして最後にソウル的主催者とスカイプでつなぎ、会場の質問に答えていただきました。会場からは、なぜアジアなのか、なぜ貧乏人のつながりなのか？ 金持ちは参加できるのか、などの質問がありました。最初のきっかけ的にアジアだったこと、金持ちを排除するというよりは、資本主義の競争社会のなかで貧乏人がつながる大切さなどが答えられました。

## Wednesday @Tully's Cafe Shinjuku

Emma, Toppie, Jong, Ion, Shimada

Jul 19, 2017

### Note:

*Process is important to our radio practice. Our radio programming includes series of discussions prior to the actual radio program. The following account is based on my subjective understanding of what occurred that night in our meeting. The language used in the meeting was a mixture of Japanese and English. My Japanese listening comprehension skill is not fluent as the level of my comprehension with English. However, to understand and make sense of what occurred on that night I have to open all my sensibilities. But I would like everyone to know that my understanding, using all my senses, was not accurate enough to capture the correct meaning behind the messages. I encourage everyone to correct and make comments of the account for accuracy.*

## I. Meeting Minutes Becoming Ethnographic

Because there was a scheduled event at Cafe Lavanderia that evening we decided to look for another meeting place. It was relatively close to Cafe Lavanderia. In the meeting we were joined by two new people namely, Toppie and Ion. Both were given a briefing about the radio project before they participated in the meeting. However, three other radio members were unable to join due to some circumstances. But, we continued anyway with the three of us in the beginning, Emma, Toppie, and me. Later that evening, Ion and Shimada joined in.

The meeting started with the discussion on the problematics of Hikikomori, especially how to discuss it on the next radio show. Should it be in a form of an interview with a person who categorically belong to a Hikikomori revealing his/her background for the reason of investigation? Or should we focus on the issue of Hikikomori as to why society has produced reclusiveness among young people in Japan. The former is about transparency of the subject while the latter is more of a reflective exercise towards the issue. Toppie, who considers herself a Hikikomori suggested that it's important to talk about the matter, however, without revealing any personal informations that may further cause harm to the victims. Later on the discussion segued to another topic, which is important to the scrutinization of Hikikomori as a social issue. It segued to the perspective of gender looking in relation to Hikikomori.

Toppie claimed that Hikikomori is a male privilege. From this claim I realised that it is crucial to problematise social reclusiveness from the perspective of gender and see how far it can go to deeply understand the phenomenon and how we can move into action together at the same time. Because I think everyone, especially the marginalised, are pushed towards the boundaries

of social reclusion by neoliberal society, however, in relation to gender the critique against male privilege, which is the unconscious of marginalisation, is mostly ignored. During the exchange I feel there was a significant discussion, especially together with Shimada and Emma's commentary and questions, but I was not really able to access the complexity of it due to my language limitation. Again this segued to another related topic which is care. The concept of care came out upon from the topic of Midori Miyakawa's scheduled radio show this August. Midori's topic is marginalisation, which she is trying to problematise together with university students from overseas who possibly experienced marginalisation due to their status as a foreigner in Japan. However, during our engagement with a classmate who is from China, she responded differently from it. She upfrontly declared to both me and Midori that she doesn't feel being marginalised. She had valid reasons and I thought that maybe the dialectical term "margins" and "center" only affirms the inescapability of marginalisation. To change marginalisation is to completely reject and withdraw from it.

Photographer Nan Goldin according to media is known for her photographs on the "marginalised" specifically sexual minorities. However, she declared that her photographs has nothing to do with marginalisation and her subjects do not consider themselves marginalised. She said that her subjects simply does not care about mainstream society because the mainstream in fact do not care about them. Thus, Goldin would describe that her photographs and subjects are simply different because she and her subjects considers mainstream society as alien to them. This idea of difference in replacement to marginalisation is powerful. It tore down the binary that keeps marginalisation as something that is there to exist forever.

But how did the idea of care relates to difference? I mentioned the concept of care as a segue from the discussion of Hikikomori and gender because it is the element that inter-connect differences. In Goldin's case care is translated as intimacy expressed in a form of sexual dependency among her socially reclusive subjects, thus, her infamous photo book is titled, "The Ballad of Sexual Dependency". However, as an element that perhaps bridge the gap between differences, this empathic gesture of care can also be limiting in terms of dependency. No wonder Goldin in her photographs examines critically the notion of intimacy that is operative in the relationship among her subjects. She questioned whether intimacy could be liberating or oppressive.

So I wonder how this idea of care, which is crucial to the concept behind the radio project can be liberating and useful to people of differences that it tries to interconnect with. And at the same time how care can be destructive to them and to us as well.

## II. Meeting

After the long discussion on Hikikomori, gender, and care that was part of the production process for the proposed next topic scheduled for September with Kotaro Shimada and hopefully together with Toppie, another topic was raised. Ion was asked by Emma about his topic interest for the next radio production. Ion mentioned postcolonialism as an interest.

The first half year of radio programming ends on October with Iguchi Kaori covering the No Limit! Seoul festival in South Korea. The second half year is about to be programmed collectively. I expect Ion's radio show on postcolonialism to be included in the next radio programming. There is still time to develop his topic and relate his interest to the general concept of the radio project.

The concept of the radio project has to be reminded to everyone in the meeting because sometimes it slips away as we intensively talk about respective topics of each radio shows. For the purpose of coherence it's my obligation to tell everyone that the concept of the radio is a laboratory space that functions as a transit point for "fugitives and marauders" whose bodies, despite deemed as illegitimate, are also considered potent terminals and transceivers in decoding their respective spaces of exception. In other words Radio Kosaten is not mass media but a shared space for differences (especially foreign migrant workers, freeters, and "hikikomori" or NEET) to come together and articulate/exercise their difference and most importantly to affect each other.

## III. Follow-ups

The more or less four hours meeting at Tully's Cafe ended because the shop has to close at 23:00. We left and bade farewell to each other.

The next meeting and convivial exercise is set on August 16 Wednesday 19:30 at Cafe Lavanderia. This scheduled meeting is to discuss the feedback of Midori Miyakawa's August radio show and Nay Ng's Cambodia radio. Moreover, it is also expected that in this meeting the September radio show will be final and ready for execution.

Hopefully, in this meeting the collective will agree on the final deadline for their contribution on the proposed journal. Further, I hope in this next meeting the collective will also come up for an idea and agree for an event on December.



## LEAVE YOUR NOTEBOOKS, BUT YOU CAN'T LEAVE THE FACTORY

In September 2017, I performed the inefficacious feat of travelling over 1,000 kilometres from Hong Kong to Wuhan, a large urban metropolis in the centre of China, to oversee the printing of a new publication.

During the course of approximately one week in Wuhan, more intercity travels ensued, as a trail of outsourcings led me from one large factory to smaller ones, from suburb to industrial zone, and in the end—at 11:00 pm in one grimy workshop not much larger than a garage—with a single worker.

The others had been clocking out one-by-one from 8 o'clock as they finished their tasks for the day, and the industrial roar of this gated block of wholesale paper vendors and print-related workshops quieted down in turn as their respective machines were powered off. I was still there because our small print run of 500 books had been finished off poorly. Some were graced with Pollock-like splashes of glue drying slowly on their covers, others disco-cut into parallelograms rather than rectilinear shapes, with the covers bound to the pages at strange angles.

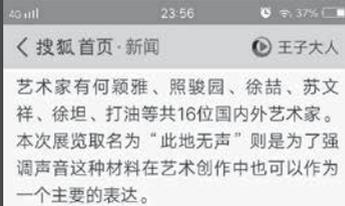
Having already outsourced myself to Wuhan after sadly having to say no to the triple-price of printing locally in Hong Kong, I knew that I could not expect a perfect production, yet these results were somehow boundary-breaking in a stunning way. As I was frantically messaging back and forth with the boss, whom had not been present all day, it slowly dawned upon me that the primary overtime job of this one remaining factory employee, whom the others had called Fatty, was to keep me from leaving the premises until I paid the remaining amount of money owed.

After twelve hours crouched over books at Wang Jie Binding Factory, a final resignation and sympathy for Fatty, the singular labourer who had to suffer in this dispute while the boss was probably sprawled out at home in front of his television, led me to handing over the cash and finally going home. Maybe it was my own weariness or maybe it was a bit of Stockholm Syndrome, but actually, Fatty, whose real name is WANG Zuyu, and I somehow became friends that night. The following is a transcript of our WeChat messenger conversation in the evening after we parted.

photo // 王祖裕 WANG Zuyu

Elaine W. HO: Thank you for your help today. I really hope you'll get the opportunity to go back to Shenzhen one day!

WANG Zuyu: You're welcome.



WZY: So it turns out you are an artist.

EWH: 🤔

Artists can't get involved with printing?

WZY: That's not what I mean

EWH: Just joking, haha

WZY: I read what you wrote about the *Black Rim* publication, the writing doesn't seem like you.

EWH: How does it not seem like me?

WZY: Not careful for one second, and now I've run into an artist, feels a bit shameful.

EWH: Huh?!

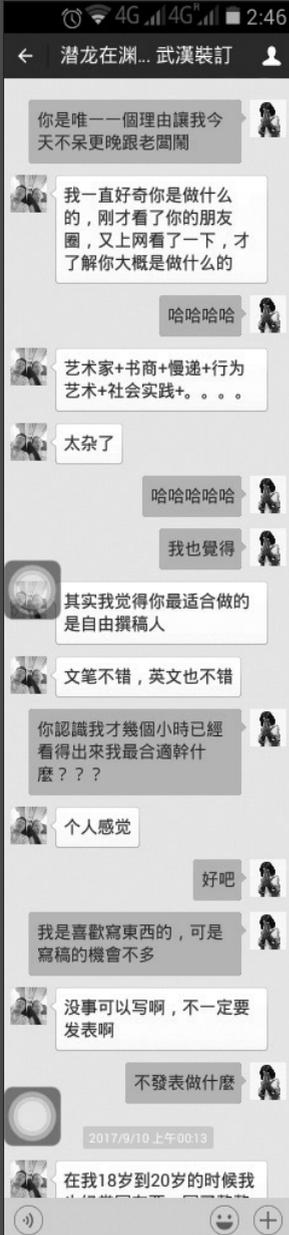
Why would you be ashamed?

You are the only reason why I didn't stay longer making a fuss with the boss today.

WZY: I was really curious what you are actually doing, and it wasn't until just now that I had a look at your WeChat "Moments" postings and searched online that I realised what you are doing



EWH: Hahahaha



WZY: Artist + Bookseller + Slow  
Courier + Performance Art +  
Social Practice + ...

Too much all over the place

EWH: Hahahahaha

I think so, too

WZY: Actually, I think you'd be most  
suited as a freelance writer

Your writing is not bad, and your  
English not bad either

EWH: You've only known me for a few  
hours and you can already see  
what I would be most suited to  
do???

WZY: Just a personal feeling

EWH: Okay then

I do like to write but  
don't have so many  
opportunities to do so.

WZY: You can write whenever there's  
time, it's not necessary to  
publish everything.

EWH: What do you do with it  
if you don't publish?

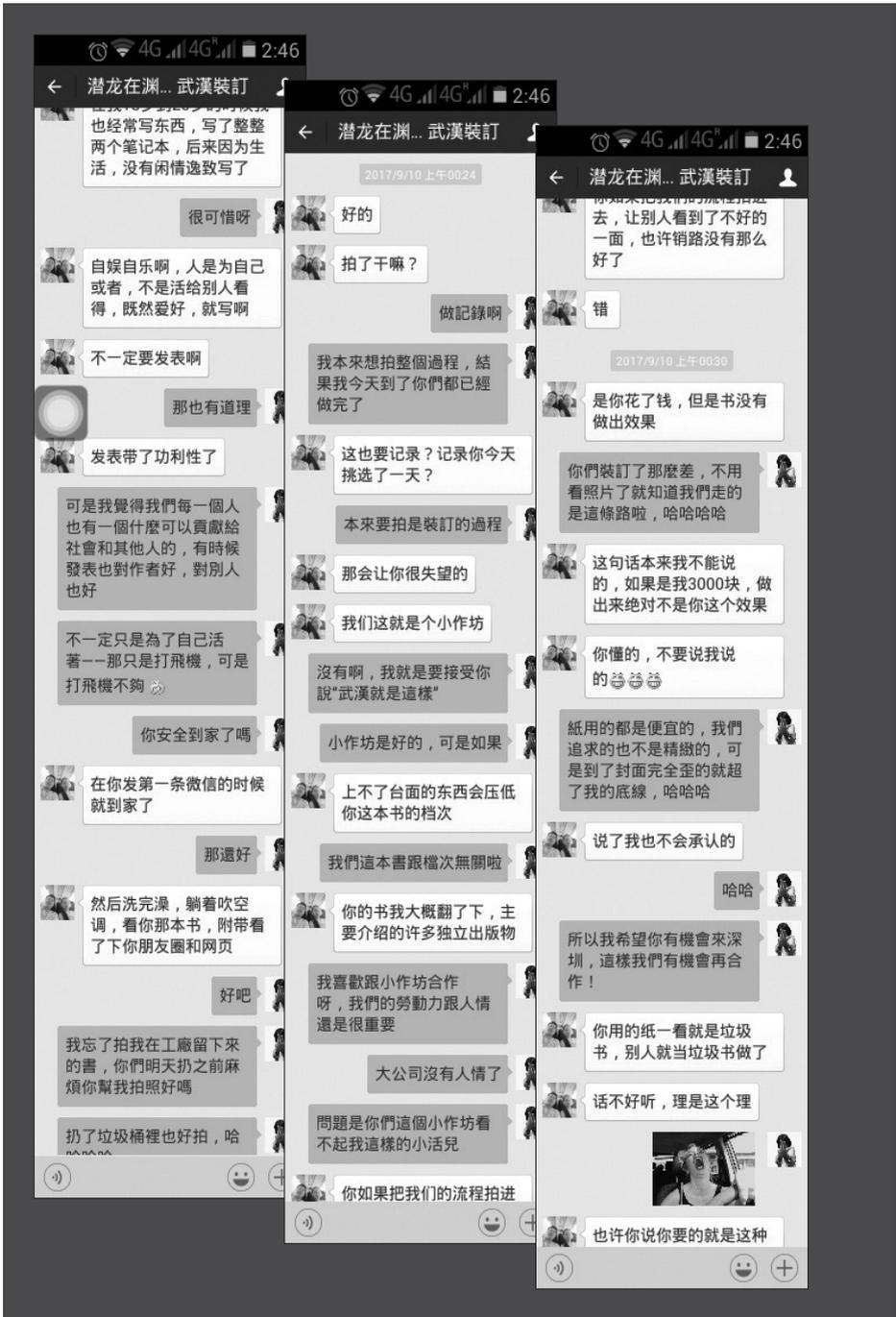
WZY: When I was between 18 and  
20 years old, I also often  
wrote. I filled up two whole  
notebooks, but later because  
of the goings-on of life, I  
didn't have the free time and  
mood to write anymore.

EWH: That's really a pity.

WZY: It was just something for my own  
amusement. Just as people live  
for themselves, not for showing  
their lives to other people. It  
was a hobby, and I just wrote.

You don't have to publish.

EWH: You have a point there



WZY: The need to publish becomes a kind of personal gain

EWB: But I think each person has something to contribute to society and others. Sometimes publishing is not only for oneself but also something positive for others

It's not only for ourselves that we live, that would just be masturbation, but jerking off is obviously not enough 🤔

Have you reached home safely?

WZY: I had already arrived when you wrote the first message

EWB: Oh, that's good

WZY: And then I took a shower, layed down and relaxed under the air conditioner, looked through a copy of your book that I brought back with me, your "Moments" and website

EWB: Okay

I forgot to take a photo of the books I left at the factory, could you take a photo for me tomorrow morning before they throw them away?

It will also look good thrown in the rubbish bin, *hahahaha*

WZY: Sure

Why do you want to take a picture of that for?

EWB: For documentation.

Originally I had wanted to photograph the entire process, but today when I arrived at the factory you all had already finished everything

WZY: You want to document that, too? Like you sifting through the books all day?

EWB: I wanted to document the binding process

WZY: That would only make you disappointed

We are only a small workshop

EWB: Not at all, I've accepted what you said was "the Wuhan way"

Small workshops are good, but if—

WZY: These under the table things just degrade your book

EWB: Our book doesn't have anything to do with level or class

WZY: I browsed though the book, mostly it's introducing independent publications

EWB: I like to work with small workshops. Our labour is still strongly related to personal relations and human sentiment.

Big companies don't have anymore of that.

The problem is that this small workshop of yours looks down on a small job like ours.

WZY: If you had documented the whole process and let people see this ugly side of things, it would probably negatively effect your sales

Wrong [about us looking down].

It's you who spent the money, but the book didn't come out as it should.

EWB: You all did the binding so badly, nobody would need to see documentation photos and they'd know we did it this cheap way, *hahahaha*

WZY: I wouldn't ordinarily be able to say this, but if it was 3,000 *yuan* for a job that I was in charge of, for

sure it wouldn't have turned out like this.

You know what I mean, don't tell anyone I said it 🙄🙄🙄

EWH: The paper we used is really cheap, we weren't looking for some kind of fine-grade result, but when it got to the binding part it really went beyond my lowest expectations, *hahaha*

WZY: Even if you told my boss I wouldn't admit it

EWH: *Haha*

So that's why I hope you get a chance to come to Shenzhen, then we'd have a chance to work together again!

WZY: You can tell at a glance that the paper you used is trash, so other people will treat it like trash.

This doesn't sound nice, but it's the truth.

EWH:



WZY: Maybe you wanted this kind of result

EWH: LMAO

So what you're saying is that people have treated us based upon their judgement of our outer appearance

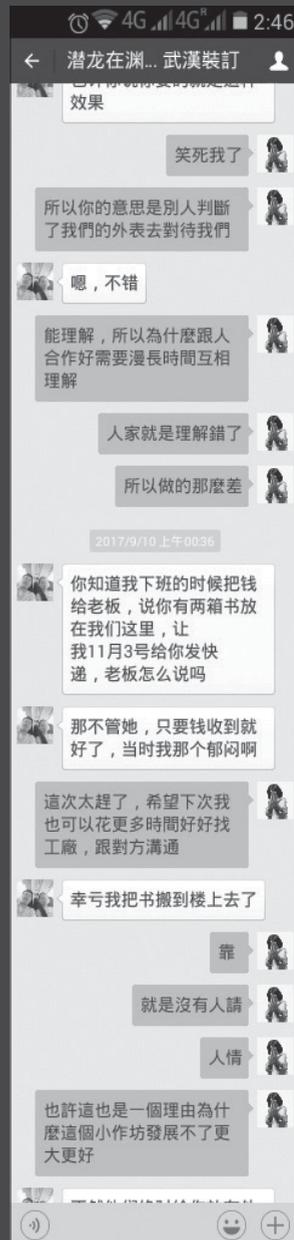
WZY: Yes, that's it

EWH: I can understand that, and that's why it actually takes a long time to understand one another in order to collaborate together well

Because obviously we've been misunderstood

So they did a terrible job.

WZY: You know when I got off work and gave your money to the boss, I told him that you left two boxes with us and asked us to courier it to you in November. You know what he said?



WZY: "Don't worry about her then, as long as you got the money then it's done." It made me really depressed.

EWH: This time everything was too rushed, I hope that next time I can spend more time to find a good factory and communicate better

WZY: Thank goodness I stored the books upstairs.

EWH: WTF  
Really no feeling.  
This is probably a reason why his little workshop hasn't been able to develop further or expand.

WZY: Because for sure they would have otherwise just left your books outside even if they get rained on or scorched in the sun. Then after two months' time you'd really get the final result you wanted: that mouldy and aged look.

EWH: I'm tearing up here

WZY: It always rains here, so if books are left here for a period of time they take in the moisture, that's why I moved the books upstairs for you.

This is the real meaning behind that English phrase of yours which I just posted onto my "Moments" page and tagged you

EWH:

跪跪跪



WZY: Don't worry about your books, you can count on me

EWH: I haven't seen your "Moments" posts yet, *haha*  
*Hahahaha*  
See it now.

WZY: People from Wuhan really don't have any sense of responsibility, not really any kind of refinement, just fighting against one another. Thinking about Wuhan life already makes me exhausted.

EWH: Ayy...  
Sounds really tough.  
Tragic.

WZY: Dealing with them even makes me tired. Your books clearly could be done well, they still had to make a big mess of it.

EWH: Well, I know it now...

WZY: All the work you did to prepare was probably as perfect as you could get, but then down to the last step he had to screw it all up, so basically all the work you did before is pretty much a waste.

When I first came to Wuhan I worked as a factory manager for three years. But I couldn't go on with that anymore, I've had enough with managing, it just gives me pain. I just want to be a simple labourer.

EWH: Why?

WZY: Wuhan people are too lazy

"To open a shop is easy, to keep it open is an art"

取消 评论

1

EWH: But can't you earn more money being a factory manager?

that for your whole life, right?

WZY: It's totally different here compared to Shenzhen

WZY: I couldn't make it [as factory manager] in Guangdong. The factories over there are bigger and my skills are limited

EWH: Oh

WZY: In Shenzhen, efficiency and quality are top priorities. In Wuhan, a factory manager only makes 500 *yuan* more than a skilled worker. It's bare bones.

EWH: What are your limitations?

EWH: Goodness! 🤔

WZY: Even if I can't go on like this my whole life, what other choice do I have? For now I can only go on like this.

WZY: Unbelievable, *huh?*

If I tell you about my family background, you'd understand.

EWH: Yeah

WZY: For example, now I work as a skilled labourer, with a minimum salary of 5,500 a month. Overtime gets 25 an hour, and rent, electricity/water bills and meals are all covered by the boss. If you go to another factory and work as a manager, you'd only get 6-7,000 a month, and you'd have to pay for all your expenses yourself.

EWH:



Are you from a farming family?

So now my boss covers pretty much everything. Every month I only have to spend for cigarettes and topping up my phone.

WZY: My family come from the countryside. I was the only one in our whole village that even went to middle school, and I had to work part-time to pay for it.

Wuhan is really shocking, *eh?*

EWH: You are quite special then

EWH: Your rent is also paid for by the boss?

WZY: That year our school had over 3,000 students, and I was one of the top three.

WZY: Yes

EWH: Wow

EWH: Would it be better to be a factory manager in Shenzhen?

WZY: But I couldn't afford to go to high school.

WZY: The washing machine and fridge and everything all belong to the boss.

So later I went to Shenzhen, ended up staying there over ten years.

He covers utilities, too.

Came back to Wuhan in 2013 completely broke.

EWH: Wow

EWH: Were you happy during those years?

But you can't keep on like

不然他们绝对给你放在外面风吹日晒的，等两个月后书肯定达到你要的效果了，发霉变旧了

哭了

我们这里老是下雨，书放这里时间长就受潮了，所以我才给你搬楼上去

这就是我才发在朋友圈里转自你的那句英文的意思



不要担心你的书，我做事，你放心

我還沒看你的朋友圈呢，哈哈

哈哈哈哈哈

看到了

武汉人真的没有责任心，没有什么素质，勾心斗角的，活着都累

2017/9/10 上午00:44

哇

聽起來很慘

悲劇

我跟他们一起做事我都觉得累，明明可以干的好的一件事，非给你干的乱七

八糟

現在知道了

你在前面把准备工作做的堪称完美了，他能到最后临门一脚给你做的一塌糊涂，你前面做的努力都白费了

我刚来武汉给人家做厂长，做了三年，我不做了，我就只干活，不管事了，心累

为啥

武汉这边的人太懒散了

廠長不是能賺更好的錢嗎

跟深圳那边完全不是一个概念

哦

深圳的品质和效率是放在第一位的

在武汉厂长只比我做技术工多500块钱

鸡肋

天啊

天啊

不可想象？

2017/9/10 上午00:54

是呀

潜龙在渊... 武漢裝訂

打比方，我现在做技术工，底薪5500，加班25/H，房租水电，吃饭喝水什么的，全是老板的，你在别的厂做个厂长，也就六七千封顶了，开支还全部是自己的

我每个月除了抽烟，充话费意外，其他开支基本都是老板的

被武汉吓到了吧

房租也是老闆給的？

嗯

在深圳的話，做廠長會好一點嗎

洗衣机冰箱都是老板的

水电也是他的

天啊

可是你那樣不能一輩子吧

广东那边的厂大一些，我能力有限，做不下来

你能力有什麼限度

不能一輩子又能怎么样呢，目前只能是这样的

说一下我的家庭背景你就明白了



WZY: Not happy

EWH: *Oh*

You always make it sound like Shenzhen is better, I thought you liked it.

WZY: I do like it.

But all the money I made got spent in Shenzhen, too.

After moving to Shenzhen, I stayed for four years before ever going back home to visit. And in total I stayed there for seven years.

EWH: You couldn't save any of the money you earned there?

WZY: I just got married last year during Spring Festival. Actually I met my wife here.

EWH: So you will have to think about making better conditions for your family, too, then.

WZY: I'm 33 now, not so young anymore

EWH: That's still young

WZY: I spent everything when I was single in Shenzhen, didn't start to save money until coming back to Wuhan. Last year we built a three-storey house in my wife's hometown and spent everything. I still owe more than 70,000, so this year the plan is to continue working for a year in order to repay the debt before thinking about doing something else. My wife is pregnant, too.

EWH: What other plans do you have?

WZY: I don't know.

My ex-girlfriend had wanted me to become a web programmer, but later she

went to Hong Kong and the idea was shelved.

EWH: Are you interested in programming? Good at it?

WZY: Actually I have no idea what web programmers do.

EWH: *Hahaha*

WZY: I just like to tinker with computers.

EWH: You've been working in printing for so many years, you must be pretty good with it. You shouldn't waste all your knowledge and experience, you just need to find a better factory.

WZY: Don't you think that I'm already completely trapped here?

EWH: I have a friend from Wuhan who also is also in publishing, I can ask for you.

Maybe you are, but Wuhan must surely also have other [possibilities].

WZY: I think that I won't be able to change jobs for at least another three years.

EWH: A different company, with other people.

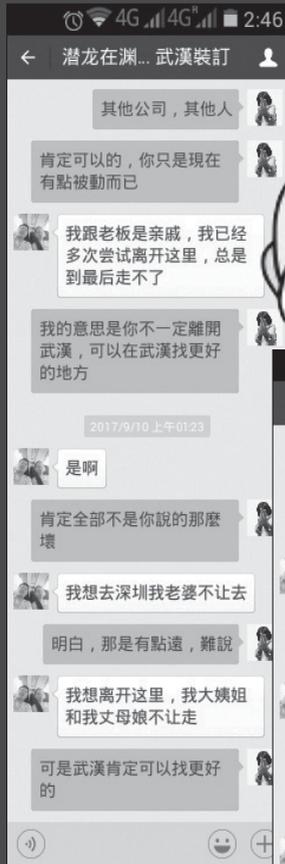
For sure you can, you're just at a bit of a disadvantage right now, that's all.

WZY: The boss is a relative of mine, I've already tried to leave several times, but in the end it never works.

EWH: What I mean is that you don't necessarily have to leave Wuhan, but maybe you can find somewhere better in Wuhan.



Elaine W. Ho  
 born 1977, boynton  
 beach, usa. currently  
 living and working  
 in beijing and hong  
 kong. art, design,  
 theory.



EWH: I have to get ready for bed, sorry...  
 Tomorrow morning I have an early plane to catch

WZY: Yeah, it's about my bedtime, too

EWH: You have to work early in the morning, too.  
 Thank you

WZY: Good night!

EWH: Good night.



**Tobias Zielony** studied *Documentary Photography* at the *University of Wales, Newport*, before he continued with artistic photography at the *Academy of Fine Arts Leipzig* under *Timm Rautert* in 2001. Tobias Zielony is known for his photographic depiction of juvenile minorities in suburban areas – a subject he already set out with during his studies in Newport.



## Refugee Resistance in Berlin

In 2014 refugees mobilized together and formed a larger protest network resulting to an occupation of a school building in Berlin. They demanded for freedom as authorities and German society in general increased their hostilities and restrictions towards them. Photographer Tobias Zielony covered the event not as a photojournalist but an ally. His active engagement with refugees is shown in the photograph capturing their image neither from the inferior nor superior framing.

*Text by Jong Paiez*

## ある一時代からの迷子

野田光太郎

それは離人感から始まった。突然、自分の周りの景色が遠く感じられて、分厚いガラス越しのように、音もくもつてるみたい。まるで現実じゃないみたいだけど、夢のように不鮮明じゃないし、自分が目の前のものと遮断されて閉じこめられているようだ。そんなことが高校生の頃に何度かあった。

その頃、学校にはどんだんはじめなくなっていたし、意味もなくつるむだけの友達との時間にも飽きてきて、無気力さだけが強まっていた。当時の筒井康隆や高橋源一郎が書いていた前衛的な言語実験の小説を読んでいた。読んでるうちに言葉の意味が蒸発していくような、言葉とそれが指し示すものとの関係が崩れていくような、そんな作品。その流れでアバンギャルドなジャズを聞くようになった。

大学に入ってからにはクラスメイトや担任というものもないので、完全に孤立状態になった。授業にも他の生徒にもほとんど興味が持てなかった。むしろ恐れや嫌悪だけが募っていく。学内の誰もが、真剣に勉強するわけでもなく、派手にはみ出すのでもない、ただ無為な空気だけが充満していた。「ここは自分がいるべき場所ではない」と思ったが、そこから別の場所を探して、飛び出すような気力はなかった。

閉塞した、うつとうしい日常から逃れるため、わたしは本を読み、音楽を聞き、アニメを見ていた。手塚治虫に「紙の砦」という自伝的なマンガがあったと思うが、わたしには自分で何かを創作する能力はなかったのだから、他人の作品を集めては、それを砦のように自分の周囲にめぐらせて、現実を遮断しようとしていた。離人感はずっと起こらなくなっていたが、代わりに空想にふけることが増えていた。

宮崎勤の幼女殺害事件は衝撃的だったが、その犯行よりも、無数のビデオに囲まれて彼が棲んでいたその部屋が、自分を写す鏡のようで怖かった、と竹熊健太郎が言っていたが、「おたく」という言葉を、その本来の否定的な意味で「引き受ける」べきだと大塚英志が書いていたのも、宮崎勤の病理を意識してのものだった。わたしは一時期彼らの文章を読みあさった。

アニメは、「エヴァンゲリオン」には強く影響を受けた。わたしは同級生たちのようにキャラクターのグッズを集めたり、声優のイベントに行く気にはならなかった。つまり「アニメオタク」にはなれなかった。わたしが一番惹かれたのは、あのアニメに出てきた廃墟だった（後に監督の庵野秀明が作った実写映画では、廃墟に住み着く精神疾患の少女がヒロインだった）。宮台真司が「映画に屋上や廃墟が出てくるのは、それが『意味』を失った空間だからこそ、世間から退避した主人公の居場所になりえるからだ」と解説していたのには、共感した。それ以外の、売春を社会的に認知して合法化しろというような言説には、共感しなかったが。

わたしには、お金を通じて物を売り買いするという行為に、どうしても違和感が消えなかった。最初、見ず知らずの人間にあの紙切れやコインを渡して、代わりに品物を受け取ることが、何だか芝居じみて、嘘みたいな気がした。その感覚がなかなか抜けなかった。自動販売機はそうでもなかったけど。結局、未知の人間というのが問題だった。

大学のゼミで「飲み会」に連れて行かれて、そこで酒を注ぎ合ったり、女子学生が「先生、先生」と呼ぶ声とか、ベタベタした雰囲気、わたしには生理的に受け付けなかった。好き嫌いではなく、耐えられなかったのだ。ゼミには行けなくなった。最終的にはゼミを変えてもらい、かろうじて卒業した。

新しいゼミの発表では、夏目漱石の「草枕」を題材にした。この小説の主人公は画家になるために修行している若い画工で、「この世にあるすべてのものを、絵の中の風景のように見なすことができれば、心

理的な苦惱から逃れられるはずだ」と考えて、これを「非人情」の境地と呼んで、自ら目指していた。その画工が片田舎の温泉宿にやってきて、「嫁ぎ先から離縁されて気が触れた」と言われている女性に出会う、というのがこの小説のあらすじ。わたしは、この画工が言う「非人情」を、離人感を意図的に作りだそうとする試みだと捉えて、それに似た感覚をもたらす音楽として、前衛的なジャズの中から、エリック・ドルフィーの「アウト・トゥ・ランチ」、高木元輝と富樫雅彦の「アイソレーション」、阿部薫の「彗星パルティータ」を選んで、ライナーノートを紹介し、曲の一部をかけた。

「アイソレーション」は「略称・連続射殺魔」という映画の音楽で、この映画は永山則夫という実在の無差別殺人犯をテーマにしている。犯行を重ねながら逃避行を続ける犯人の心理状態を、ほとんど風景のカットの積み重ねと音楽だけで表現した、特異な作品だ。この映画もその他の音楽も、1960～70年代の、かなり昔の作品である。

わたしが物心ついた時には、すでに「バブル景気」の時代が始まっていた。テレビでは「地上げ屋」が「土地転かし」をするために住人を嫌がらせて追い出し、「ジュリアナ」というディスコでは若い女が半分尻を出した服装でハデな扇子を振って踊っていた。それらはとても異様な風景に見えたが、しかし世間にとっては単に新奇で物珍しだけで、これからはそういうものが当たり前になっていくのだ、わたしはちやそういう社会へ入っていったうまくやらなくてはならない、と言われているように感じた。

実際には、バブルの後にやってきたのは大不況であり、神戸の大震災やオウム真理教のサリン事件であった。わたしにとってそれはテレビの向こうの出来事だったが、「この国は徐々に滅びつつあり、お前たちに明るい未来はない」というメッセージは確実に伝わってきた。しかも、「この社会は完成された、人類の進化における最終的なものであり、歴史はすでに完結している」というメッセージもまた、すでに受け取っていた。バブル経済と相前後して、社会主義圏の崩壊・消滅が大きく報じられていたからである。

破局は近づいているが、出口はない、しかし今いる場所を少しずつ改善するというには、あまりに否定的で、閉ざされた意識。一方で、万事がうまく行っており、その恩恵にあずかれないのはお前の甘えのせいだ、という世間一般の常識。そのはざまでの立ち往生と、他者への嫌悪と恐れ。社会へのいら立ちはあっても、何かを行動に移すエネルギーはない。意識は内側へ、内側へと入り込んでいくようでいて、そこには深さもない。宙ぶらりんの上滑りしたまま、破裂しそうなわだかまりだけが募っていく。そんな人間はわたしだけではなかったらう。

いろいろなことがあって、今では他人と接することも以前のように苦痛ではないし、時にはこちらから積極的に交流を求めて出向くことさえある。しかし初めての場所にはやはり緊張するし、顔見知りの中にも「よそ者」感覚はなくなる。集団の中に個を解消することへの警戒心、というか違和感は根強い、「異物」としてその場に身をおくことが、むしろ自分にできる貢献なのではないか、という思いもある。自分が何者かという問いには、常に分裂した答えが出てくる。その一方で、自分は自分だ、という確固とした感覚もあるが、それは自分が何が好きかという外部の「モノ」に対する嗜好の羅列でしかないようにも思う。

野田光太郎 Noda Koutarou

マンガ評論を発表するため「文学フリマ」参加をきっかけにミニコミ活動を始める。ミニコミ「誰ソ彼」発行。2010年からフリーペーパー「勝手にぶんがく新聞」発行。詩、音楽評論、小説などを執筆。

併行して本郷文化フォーラム・ワーカースクールの「戦後文学ゼミ」に参加。冊子製作、朗読会をおこなう。

パースペクティブ・エモーション、即興表現ワークショップに断続的に参加。

2011年から友人と原発・平和・環境問題の勉強会を始める。沖縄の米軍基地反対運動に参加。

## 【私の複数】

「私は私たちである」

そう言いたい。だが私に私たちを代表することはできない。同時に、私たちに私を代表することはできない。あるのはただ、私である。

ただ、私は同時に存在することができる。複数がそこに生まれる。私としての、あるいは私たちとしての場。その場において私は私たちに、私たちは私と重なっていく。

一瞬間間において、両者はすれ違っている。

残されるのは音。イメージ。文字、影、光。あるいは。先取りすることはない。何も奪うことはできないのだから。だから何が奪われることもない。

複数。私。私の複数。あるイメージ。そうではないイメージを可能にするイメージとしての場。丸めて閉じて、そうして、あるいは。

「子に含ませる女の胸で花綱は、金貨と魔除けに繋がれている。遊牧の民の女は、持てる財産すべてを身に纏うものだ。

さて。この遊牧の子は一体、世界とどう出会うのだろうか?揺れる乳首と、降り注ぐ黄金の雨と」



たとえば繰り返された  
大文字の「インドネシア」などかつて存在しなかったが、そこをスキップして始めよう。

Djam Karet/伸び縮みするある時間。その土地の時間は伸び縮みし、所有されてしかるべきことごとくは共有に纏足される。違いによって分断されるのではなく、持ち寄る単位のための他者。互いの作品を知らずとも、互いそのものは分かちがたく馴染まれている。作品と人の地続き、たとえ一つのコレクティブ/集団が五つの大陸に別れて活動を行なっている、たとえ活動が形の残らない形式だとして、形跡のアーカイブはweb上に開かれてあり、作品の終わりは共有の始まりに尾を食んでいる、あなたとあなたたちはわたしを呑み込んで消化し、揮発するように渦を描いてあなたに結露していく、急に/とある必要から、そこから切り離され穿たれた。この。私は。一体何。は言っているのかは。？。

今、あなたが読んでいると思ったのが言葉であるなら、それが過ちの始まりだった。死の確からしさで言葉は常に、他者の言葉であった。だからあなたは「何を見ても何かを思い出す」と「言葉」で言うことができる。2017年より半世紀遡ったある現場、「革命とは、自分の言葉で問うことだ」と呟かれる言葉を私は知っていた。言葉で言うことができると思っていること、と、わかること、の私、は、乖離、し、続ける。シンプルで遠い景色に、垂直を水平に変換するための複数のアイデアが仄揺れる。私は知っている言葉。「対話」。正気か？でなければ言葉か？書く言葉としての私が、また一つ更新されるように想起されつつある。「自由とは、選択のないことである」

黒い筐体に跨がって震える体のまつわりつく抵抗をひきつれ別景色へ移動していくのを見送る眼。

text: VS?Collective

translation from 『The Songlines』 / Bruce Chatwin. Penguin Classics p182  
and image from a film by: Aki iwaya ( VS?Collective: <http://vscollective.club/> )



# Metatext of Yoshitaka Mouri's "Culture=Politics: The emergence of new cultural forms of protest in the age of Freeter (2005)"

Jong Pairez

In early 2000 Sociologist and Cultural Studies scholar Yoshitaka Mouri wrote an analysis and case study about the emergent movement of young Japanese who categorically belongs to *Freeters* generation. They introduced a new form of cultural and political protest that undermines the coded language of political action performed mostly by social activists. Their political language is unfamiliar to Leftist politics of the 60s. Thus, in this analysis and case study Mouri argues for a new language relevant to the politics of the future spoken by this emergent movement.

The importance of this particular text provides the reader a deep understanding not only of the changing environment of postwar neoliberal Japan but also the emergence of a new approach of speaking truth to power. The text was published in an anthology of writings gathered by Inter-Asia Cultural Studies in 2005.

The condensed essay begins with an ethnographic context background. Mouri wrote a general overview describing the protests around the world condemning the war during the invasion of Iraq by the U.S. led coalition forces in March 2003. And then he stated that in Japan, an estimated number of 50,000 people gathered in Tokyo's Hibiya Park responding to the worldwide call to stop the war. It was the biggest political demonstration since the last two decades, Mouri remarked. Further, this demonstration in Japan, besides being the biggest turnout of protesters, Mouri

also added that it introduced emerging forms of political protest that was distinctly different from the previous political demonstrations in the 70s Japan. In this text Yoshitaka Mouri – citing Bell, Jameson, and Harvey – argued that the emergent political expression he noticed in the anti-war demonstration in Hibiya park has a strong cultural element. Moreover, he claimed that it dissolved the incompatibility between politics and culture in the history of protest movement since 1970s Japan. According to Mouri, the reasoning behind this emergence and new development in protest was the resulting impact of post-modernization processes in Japan and the world.

For instance, in his accounts of the anti-war demonstration, what he noticed from the Korosuna group composed mostly of young people – a minority in the amalgam of political groups that comprise the coalition World Peace Now

(WPN) - brought sound systems and dancing on the streets. Which according to Mouri is unimaginable in the traditional protest movement, the same way it is unthinkable to bring in politics in popular dance/club culture. Politics and culture in Japan are completely set apart, however, the introduction of a sound system and street dancing by Korosuna group during the biggest anti-war demonstration in Japan changed both the tradition of protest and popular dance culture respectively.

Mouri's analysis to this phenomenon revealed the restructuring processes of Japanese capitalism, which according to him is embracing a new ideology that operates accordingly to the neoliberal approach to economy which liberalised public industries and services. This ideology adapted perfectly well during the Japanese economic recession in the 90s resulting to a change in workplaces and the employment system. From this development, a new type of workers emerged and they are the *Freeters* (translated as a combination of two foreign words: *Free* in English and *Arbeiter* in Deutsch). However, the *Freeters* is not really new, according to Mouri it has its origins from the heyday of Japanese miracle economy which, back then every population attained middle class statuses. The postwar economic abundance tolerated a work lifestyle among young people that does not require full-time work. But, many decades later neoliberalism appropriated it to introduce flexible labor along with its radical potentialities. Nowadays, Mouri noted, "*Freeters* are seen not only as part-time workers or potentially unemployed people but also as those who choose to be free from any corporate business and

who want to make their own business, often being involved in creative works, such as musicians, DJs, and artists."

From my understanding, this ambivalent characteristics of a neoliberal worker represented by the *Freeter* carry with them a certain ambiguity that is difficult for classical Marxists to categorize simply as a proletarian class. Mouri even argued that *Freeters* are no more than a petite-bourgeoisie in advanced capitalist society. That is why he is hesitant to categorize *Freeter* as a representation of Hardt and Negri's concept of the Multitude(s) – an ambiguously defined new type of workers who produces immaterial labor in the 21st century.

However, I understand this hesitation as a way to outline its local context and its difference despite the approximate global similarity with the precarious workers around the world. But as the marginalisation of *Freeters* has become more and more pronounced I agree from this realisation why Mouri finds an element of radical possibility among *Freeters*. In other words, this lifestyle characteristics of *Freeters* find its way towards radical activism especially to those who were forced towards marginalisation. To describe this radicalisation Mouri studied another group known as the Dame-ren. This group is translated in English as "free association of useless people" that according to Mouri, "started in 1992 when the *Freeter* appeared as a social problem." The association are mostly composed of unemployed young people.

The importance of Dame-ren group especially their contribution to the radicalisation of *Freeters* as identified by

Mouri are the following: First, it radically critiqued the doubtless belief of work in Japanese society. Secondly, it brought down the once abstracted notion of politics towards its practicability in the everyday life and enabled its affective element by engaging other people who commonly share their marginal condition without necessarily having to organise a political movement together. Lastly, it valued creativity by rendering it inoperative. Meaning, they subverted the grim and determined political attitude associated to traditional Leftists by introducing the practice of “the adverbial word *mattari*, which means not-too-seriously, slowly and lazily.” A pessimist may ask, how can all these elements contribute radically in the development of social protest movement in the post-industrial 21st century Japan?

First of all, Mouri’s then fresh analysis of the emergent feature he noticed in the 2003 anti-war protest surmounted the ambivalence between culture and politics in the history of protest movement in Japan. The merging of radical cultural practice and politics by *Freeters* such as the Dame-ren, Korosuna and many others, from my understanding, provided a new imagination that can prevent the transformation of society under the mould of neoliberal globalization. Of course, I am being too careless and positivistic in my understanding but Yoshitaka Mouri in his closure of the text left the conclusion open without any final analysis. But, reading this text after a decade, I wonder how this emergent cultural/political movement of the precarious has evolved today. How do they sense precarity now?

**Yoshitaka Mouri** is a Professor of Sociology and Cultural Studies in Tokyo University of the Arts. His research interests include sociology, media studies, cultural studies and contemporary art.

## ラジオ公差転

### List of Contributors

- +Elaine W. Ho
- +Aki Iwaya
- +Ion Yamazaki
- +Jong Pairez
- +Kotaro Noda
- +Tobias Zielony
- +Midori Miyakawa
- +Yuasa Tetsuro
- +Keiko Sei
- +Kaori Iguchi
- +Ema Ota
- +Yoshitaka Mouri

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