Twentieth Century Travels: Tales of a Canadian *Judoka*

by

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ABSTRACT

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In 1960, Doug Rogers, my father, travelled to Japan to study the martial art of judo. In Japan, Rogers was able to hone his abilities in judo, which enabled him to succeed in competition at both the national and international level. Using photographs belonging to Rogers that were taken during the time he went to Japan (1960-1965), I was able to enter into a series of conversations with him about his reasons for travelling to Japan and his experiences during his stay there. Rogers' early life provides an opportunity to not only explore the unique experiences of an important individual in Canadian and Japanese sports history, but a chance to investigate specific examples of how large-scale, 'global' processes (the circulation of media, culture 'flows', and historical processes and events) can influence at the level of the individual. I examine how Rogers' original decision to travel to 'traditional' and 'exotic' Japan, and his actual stay in Japan, were contingent upon a revised cultural heritage that Japan was trying to project after the Second World War, which displayed Japan as a peaceful, proper, ethnically homogenous, and aesthetically-oriented nation. Being that Rogers' early life, from the ages of nineteen to twenty-four, was composed of travel and cross-cultural encounter, I compare and contrast Rogers' journey to travel practises in the West between the late 18th century and the early 20th century, and the current work being done in anthropology on travel and mobility. Rogers' travel experiences parallel some of the ideals associated with early romantic, masculine leisure travel, but his experiences were found to elide easy classification; and Rogers' positive review of his time in Japan contradicts anthropologists' perception and reportage of travel as a principally disorienting and tumultuous event. Given the complexity of Rogers' experiences – his life in both Canada and Japan, his reference to elements both 'near' and 'far' – and my own interest in simultaneously examining the messiness of lived reality and overarching historical, cultural and theoretical processes, I have had to rely on a creative research strategy to both investigate and represent Rogers' travel experiences. Specifically, one that juxtaposes his words, photographs, history, theory, analysis, and a short video that I have created for this project.

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INTRODUCTION

During the middle part of the 20th century the exchange and reproduction of

cultural forms and ideologies between Japan and North America intensified as a

result of the Second World War (1939-1945) and the American Occupation of Japan

(1945-1952). This increased 'culture contact' between Japan and North America

nurtured an environment of mutual curiosity – inspiring dreams about an exotic

'other', and even encouraging some to travel overseas.

As a young boy living in St. Catharines, Ontario, Doug Rogers (b. 1941), my

father, became interested in Japan and the martial arts. Captivated by "all things

Japanese," as he says, Rogers would actively seek out 'Japanese culture' in Canada,

whether reading comic books which emphasised the mystical powers of 'super

jujitsu', eating family dinners with chopsticks or taking judo lessons at the local

YMCA. His fascination with Japan and the sport of judo ultimately resulted in his

travelling to Tokyo, Japan in 1960 in the romantic pursuit of 'Japanese culture' and

an 'authentic' training experience. Rogers lived in Tokyo for a little over five years

(1960 – 1965), where he was able to hone his abilities in judo, enabling him to

succeed in the sport at both the national (Canadian heavyweight champion ['72, '67,

'66, '65, '64]; '65 All Japan University Games – gold) and international level ('67

Pan American Games – gold and silver; '65 Pan American Games – gold; '64

Olympics – silver).

Using photographs belonging to Rogers that were taken during the time he went to Japan (1960-1965), I was able to enter into a series of conversations with Rogers about his reasons for going to Japan and his experiences during his stay there (photo elicitation, see Harrison 2002; Banks 2001; Collier 2001; Pink 2001; Okely 1994; Collier and Collier 1986). Rogers' early life provides an opportunity to not only explore the unique experiences of an important individual in Canadian and Japanese sports history, but a chance to investigate specific examples of how large-scale processes (the circulation of media, culture 'flows', and historical processes and events) can influence at the level of the individual (Appadurai 1991, 1990). I examine how Rogers' original decision to travel to 'traditional' and 'exotic' Japan, and his actual stay in Japan, were contingent upon the revised cultural heritage that Japan (and the West, to a degree) was trying to project after the Second World War, which displayed Japan as a peaceful, proper, ethnically homogenous, and aesthetically-oriented nation (Lie 2001; Igarashi 2000; Creighton 1998; Hendry 1997; Wright 1996). Being that Rogers' life in his early twenties was composed of travel and cross-cultural encounter, I compare and contrast Rogers' journey to Japan to travel practises in the West between the late 18th and early 20th centuries, and contemporary work being done in anthropology on travel and mobility. Rogers' travel experiences parallel some of the ideals associated with early romantic, masculine leisure travel (Baranowski and Furlough 2001; Duncan and Gregory 1999; Withey 1997), but his experiences were found to elide easy classification; and Rogers' positive review of his time in Japan contradicts anthropologists' perception and reportage of travel as a principally disorienting and

tumultuous event (Carey 2003; Masquelier 2002; Gungwu 1997; Sarup 1996).

Given the complexity of Rogers' experiences – his life in both Canada and Japan,

his reference to elements both 'near' and 'far' – and my own interest in

simultaneously examining the messiness of lived reality and overarching historical,

cultural and theoretical processes, I have had to rely on a creative research strategy

to both investigate and represent Rogers' travel experiences. Specifically, one that

juxtaposes his words, photographs, history, theory, analysis, and a short video that I

have put together for this project (Stoller 2002; Olwig 1997; Devereaux 1995).

        *   *   *

My interest in the five years Rogers spent in Japan between 1960 and 1965

began when I came across a shoebox filled with old photographs in my parents'

basement. In the shoebox were more than eight hundred photographs that belonged

to Rogers. The majority of the images were taken when he was living in Japan;

though some were taken during his teenage years (1954-1959), before he went to

Japan, and some were taken soon after he returned to Canada in 1965. Until Rogers

and I started this project, Rogers had never spoken to me about his reasons for going

to Japan nor the experiences he had while he was there, but subtle references to his

time in Japan marked my childhood. For example, Rogers would sing Japanese

songs to my siblings and I before we went to bed, each child in the family would

have their turn taking Rogers' Olympic medal to 'show-and-tell' during grade

school, and we would play 'dress-up' in *judogis* (judo outfits) that we found in the

basement. I do not think he was trying to consciously hide his past from his children, rather the silence surrounding his experiences in Japan had more to do with the fact that this time in his life did not fit into the life he created after he returned to Canada. "You just move on with your life," as Rogers has said. Soon after he came back from Japan to live in Vancouver, he met his wife, Jane, and began his career as a commercial airline pilot for Canadian Airlines (and Air Canada, after Air Canada took over Canadian Airlines). In the decade after he returned, he practised and taught judo at various *dojos* in Vancouver and at the University of British Columbia, but he told me that his life altered quite a bit after I was born in 1977. He became less involved with the 'judo scene' after this time. He and his wife had three more children in the following eight years and, according to Rogers, "you just get very busy raising a family, and your priorities change."

It is not surprising that Rogers' old photographs were tucked away in the basement. Rogers' five years in Japan, and the photographs that were taken during this time, simply did not mesh with the narrative of domesticity that had marked his life for the past thirty-six years (Poddiakov 2002). The photographs displayed in our house reflected what Hirsh calls the "familial gaze" – "the powerful gaze of familiarity which imposes and perpetuates certain conventional images of the familial and which 'frames' the family in both senses of the term" (1997:11). The photographs on display in our home were primarily school pictures, formal photographs taken of the family, photographs of events (e.g. vacations, sports events, birthdays, and graduations), and photographs of other family members that

had been sent to us. Many of these photographs were hung on the wall or tacked to

the bulletin board, and hundreds of others were stored in albums on the bookshelf,

which were accessible to all in the home. The content of these images, and their

location in the home, reflected the normative production, circulation and

consumption of familial photographs in a middle class Canadian home (Harrison

2002; Langford 2001; Hirsh 1997). Rogers' old photographs fell outside the

expectations of the 'familial gaze'.

When I found the photographs I decided to write a paper for my cultural

anthropology seminar on the relationship between personal narratives and

photography, using Rogers' story of his travel to Japan and his personal

photographs as an example. Rogers did not seem to mind that I was going through

his photographs, and I did not face any resistance when I asked him a few questions

about his time in Japan and the reasons why he decided to go there. But he did not

really understand how his early life (from about age eight or nine, when he first

became interested in Japanese culture, until the time he returned to Canada at the

age of twenty-four) would be of any anthropological import. During the time I was

writing this paper, though, he gave me a copy of a short documentary film that he

thought might help me with my work. This film, *Judoka* (1965), was directed by

Josef Reeve, who worked for the National Film Board of Canada. The film was put

together to illustrate a couple of days in Rogers' life in Japan: Rogers is shown

training, socialising and eating with his team mates on the Takushoko University

judo team, relaxing in his apartment and walking through the streets of Tokyo. I

had never seen this film, and like the photographs, it too seemed to be a part of

Rogers' past that had no real place in his everyday life that revolved around his

career and family responsibilities. After completing my paper for this seminar and

having watched *Judoka* a few times, I was still curious about Rogers' travel

experiences. I thus decided to carry through with my interest and craft a thesis

proposal based around why he went to Japan and the experiences he had in Japan.

In my thesis proposal I outlined that I wanted to answer the following (very broad)

questions:

> How did images, items and ideas related to 'Japanese culture' that
> appeared in North America after the Second World War influence Doug
> Rogers' imagination, desire to go to Japan and identity as a young man?
> How did he experience living and training in Japan between 1960 and
> 1965, and how did the reality of Japan compare to the version of Japanese
> culture he constructed in Canada?

Before Rogers and I started our work together, I needed to quickly impose

some sort of organisation on the more than eight hundred photographs I planned to

use during the interview process. After looking through the photographs for a

couple of days, I moved the photographs into six categories and arranged them in

four binders: judo tournaments and practices (185); Rogers with other individuals

(230); Rogers by himself (105); unknown individuals (90); landscape (140); and

family (35). At the time, I was not conscious of why I choose these categories, but

upon reflection, I seem to have organised the photographs so we would be able to

talk about Rogers' 'judo life'; the social relationships he had with others while he

was in Japan; how he 'fit in' in Japan; the people he met in Japan ('unknown individuals'); how he experienced the environment (or 'landscape') in Japan; and his life just before and after he travelled to Japan (through reference to the 'family' photographs). Prior to our work together, I also became anxious about our research dynamic. I felt it might be difficult for me – in the role of the researcher – to start asking Rogers questions about his life, given that I am his daughter. We would not normally interact this way; normally we would discuss, argue and laugh about what is currently going on in our day-to-day lives. Fortunately, the photographs played an important part in limiting the awkwardness of our unusual research dynamic. The photographs acted as a kind of 'neutral third party'; instead of Rogers having to answer a series of predetermined questions put forth by me, we were able to talk about his memories through the photographs (Collier and Collier 1986).

During the fall of 2003 Rogers and I conducted three open-ended interviews in the kitchen of his home. These interviews were recorded on digital video. From the inception of this project it was intended that I would make a short video that would document our work together at the kitchen table with his photographs, and our subsequent 10-day field trip to Japan, to revisit people and place from his past. While a great deal of information was gleaned from these three sessions and our trip to Japan, ongoing data has been collected from various conversations since the fall of 2003. This is not surprising given the frequency that I see Rogers (about once a week), the nature of our father-daughter relationship and the fact that I routinely share my analytical developments with him.

In the interview sessions at the kitchen table I attempted to follow what Dowdall and Golden (1989) refer to as a 'layered analysis'. Using this method, one begins by going over the photographs in the preliminary 'appraisal' stage, paying attention to the historical context of the images and the overall impressions they elicit. This is somewhat comparable to Collier's (2001) 'first stage' of photographic analysis, where the data is observed as a whole to distinguish its overtones and subtleties, and to discover relevant patterns. Following Dowdall and Golden's analysis, one is then expected to proceed towards the 'inquiry' stage, to determine the themes that can be observed in the entire collection; and, finally, 'interpretation', which involves examining certain photographs in detail, focusing on how they represent specific themes. I also anticipated utilising Collier's 'fourth stage' which requires a return to the complete visual record in order to respond once again to the data in an open manner, so that details from the more structured analysis can be place in the context that defines their significance.

As with most fieldwork, Rogers and I did not entirely proceed according to the methodological design that I had originally envisioned. Following a 'layered analysis' proved quite difficult given the sheer number of photographs that we were working with. Moreover, early in the interview process it became apparent that Rogers had minimal interest in my research agenda, for the most part because my academic line of inquiry was unfamiliar to him. And whether the nature of our relationship or his penchant for verbosity, I found it difficult to follow through with

the few questions that I had prepared prior to the interview. The first ten minutes of footage shows Rogers speaking at length with me positioned beside him in silence, slowly becoming frustrated at my inability to question him. I did not handle this situation well, though. After the initial ten minutes of Rogers speaking, I am shown on videotape explicitly trying to impose my own research agenda on him, with each of us talking over one another.

MR: Okay Dad. We can't go into stories about…

DR: That's fine, but you're asking me about…

MR: I know, but if you're going to talk longer about certain things, talk about Japan, judo, Japanese culture, perceptions of it, things you did to get there, how you felt about judo and Japan. Keep it to those…

DR: It's hard to do that about pictures that are…If I look at this picture [Fig.1], I think it has nothing to do with Japan and my perception of Japan. It's just that I was in the navy. I don't know how I can relate that to Japan. Yeah, I was eighteen and wanting to go to Japan.
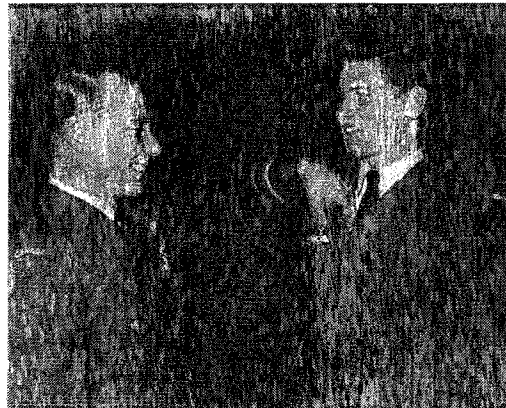
Fig. 1

At this stage, I decided to move behind the camera, to have just Rogers in the frame, and to simply record his commentary as he openly responded to the photographs; though at certain times I would ask him to either clarify or elaborate on a point that he was making. By literally taking myself away from the kitchen table I was able to diffuse some of the tension that had started to build up between us. Working this way I was able to observe that his initial perusal of the photographs would elicit a flood of 'facts': people's names, dates, specific locations, etc. Whereas later, after he had looked at the photographs for a while, he would discuss overarching impressions, which touched upon his feelings about living in Japan and the people he met there, and address the historical period in which he decided to travel to Japan. Often a story he would tell would take off from the original context of the photograph, engage with ideas, sentiments and 'moments' beyond the photograph, and return once again to situate itself in the image (Harrison 2002; Kracauer 1993). Moreover, specific examples of social relationships or cultural forms depicted in the photographs would become the basis for his discussion of broader abstractions and generalities; and conversely, vague memories were given sharper focus (Banks 2001). Though we did not end up systematically working through the analytical steps set out by Dowdall and Golden (1989), and Collier (2001), Rogers did manoeuvre back and forth between detail and impression, a continuum that formed the crux of the proposed methodological format.

The photo elicitation process placed under a microscope the fragile and sometimes difficult process of going over the memories of his life. The

photographs amplified this process in their ability to unleash a stream of memories, feelings and insights that were sometimes overwhelming, and at times hard to pin down and articulate. The excerpt below and the accompanying photograph provide a sense of what the photo elicitation process was like for Rogers, and his feelings about this process.

> **DR**: It's amazing, I haven't seen a lot of these pictures for years and years, and they were just thrown in a box and probably would never have been organised if you hadn't put them together. But it sure brings back a lot of memories. Of course, it's hard for me, sometimes I just look at them, I mean I recognise them, it's hard to, it jogs my feelings. It takes a while to kind of get into it. I can't think about the time, the totality of what I'm looking at. It takes a while to reflect on it. Sometimes later on I'll realise there are some other emotions or things I should say – a certain picture, or group of pictures. But at the time it's just hard with everything else that has gone on in my life and at my age now to reflect totally on it. It takes a little while. I think I could go through these books three or four times and I would come up with different stories of situations of how I relate to these things. And just depending on the mood at the time, it brings up a different emotional response, but it was such a major part of my life. When you see it like this, all together, not just a pile in a box where it can't be looked at like this, it looks full, like something actually did happen. Amazing. All these things went on. I remember this picture right here, it's interesting, we were down in Kyushu and there was a typhoon coming…
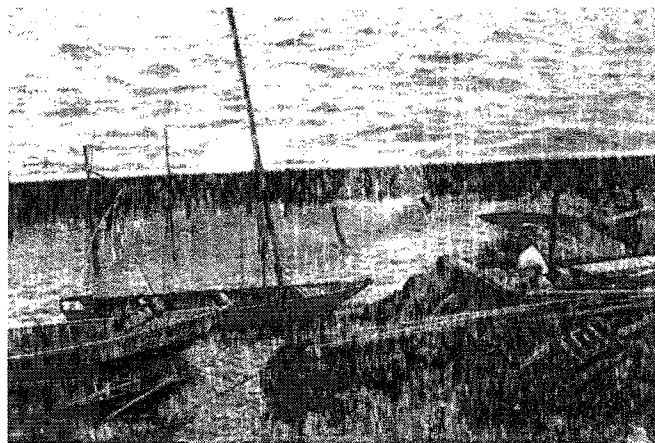
Fig. 2

Working with the photographs also released Rogers and I from the temptation to record the events in his life in a strictly chronological order. Okely (1994) describes this process eloquently in her work on the changing conditions and experience of the aged in rural France. Okely articulates how her informants' own photograph collections became an important part of her research, where the collaborative research with the images allowed her and her informants to work together to create a particular version of the past that extended beyond the limitations set by the linearity of a verbal or textual narrative.

> Both of us pieced together the memories from whatever was picked up from the box, and created a synthesized whole. In reacting to the visual images…the woman was freed of linear chronology, and set piece for a life history and a purely verbalised description. The images did some of the work for both of us in ways which adjectives and other vocabulary could not supply (1994: 51).

Similarly, Rogers worked back and forth between different photographs and, consequently, different periods in time. This was sometimes confusing, but the rich, detailed stories that the photographs provoked most likely told me more about his time in Japan, than if I had tried to undertake a month by month, year by year chronological account of the time before, during and just after his stay in Japan.

To continue our work together Rogers and I embarked on a 10-day field trip to Japan (November 1 – November 10, 2003) to revisit places that were significant

to him and to spend time with his friends. I was excited to leave the kitchen table and our work with the photographs, and to actually visit all the places and the people that had become familiar to me through the photographs and our conversations. Alternatively, Rogers admitted to me before we left that he had reservations about returning to Japan: he was concerned that people and places would have changed entirely, that he could no longer speak Japanese as well as he once did, and that he would basically no longer 'fit in'. In the first couple of days of being in Tokyo, Rogers quickly seemed to overcome any hesitancy. There was really no time for him to feel uncertain. We only had ten days in Japan, so we started visiting people and places almost immediately. In Tokyo, Rogers and I travelled to the Kodokan (the official judo training centre where he first practised judo); the Budokan (the hall where he competed in the Olympics in '64); Takushoku University (where he was a member of their judo team); and various districts in Tokyo, such as Ginza, where he once spent a great deal of time. We also spent three days in Morioka, a small city 300 km north of Tokyo, to visit friends. Being that we were in Japan, a highly technologically advanced country, I drew virtually no attention with my frequent use of the digital video camera in public. I was able to record Rogers' first thoughts upon arriving at a place, and often he would elaborate on how something had changed or not changed. For example, when we arrived at the Kodokan, he entered the building and started explaining how the layout of the building had altered from the time he had been training there; and later, when we went into the main practising area there, he commented on how the demeanour of the judo players was much less serious than when he was practising

judo in Japan in the early 1960s. Later in the evening, I would use the camera at the hotel or inn we were staying at to record his thoughts on the day's events, and often this material would be more emotional. In this sense I was fortunate that I was his daughter, and with him almost all of the time. This dynamic allowed me to record his immediate impressions upon arrival at a particular location, and then, also, the more sensitive material that came when he had a chance to reflect on the changes he observed and how they related to the passage of time in his own life.

At times I found the trip difficult because I was with Rogers throughout the day and evening; but I quickly initiated the routine of going to a coffee shop by myself, first thing in the morning, while Rogers was still asleep, to collect my thoughts, write notes and put on paper any questions that I wanted to ask Rogers that day. There were a few times during the trip when Rogers became rather melancholic, and, according to my field diary, my thoughts were less than sympathetic. On Nov. 5, 2003, I wrote: "Dad and I have had a few 'discussions'. To be expected. The same topics: his life, his miseries, his regrets, his aches and pains. I feel for him, but this is getting rather exasperating." I am now able to better understand how his return to Japan forty years later, as an older man, would throw into sharp relief the oftentimes unwelcome reality of ageing. After he demonstrated some judo techniques, he said to me that he worried that he might pull a muscle; and his hip constantly ached while we were walking around Tokyo – an acute, ever-present reminder that he was no longer the agile twenty-year-old he once was. Overall, though, he expressed to me that he had enjoyed the trip very much.

On the final day of our stay in Japan, while we were waiting for our bus to take us

back to the airport, he disclosed to me how he felt about the changes in Japan, and

how the trip had been a great experience for him.

DR: I have to admit the thought of coming to Japan...I was a little concerned about it. Initially, I was not that eager.

MR: Why? Why?

DR: Initially, I was a little bit leery about coming to Japan with you, sort of going back forty years, knowing that things have really changed. It has been a really great experience for me, especially doing it with you. Old friends are still there and we are able to enjoy the company of new friends. The past and the present came together. Japan's changed, but a lot of things are still the same. I know I fit in here still pretty well. I really enjoy the country. It's interesting to see the changes and on the whole I think the changes have been a real plus. The Japanese seem much more relaxed. Relationships between the sexes, that has noticeably changed. I don't think I ever saw a husband wielding a stroller with a child in it. The mothers would always be carrying their child on their backs, whereas now it's not uncommon to see Dads pushing the stroller, adults walking hand-in-hand. They seem to be much happier; more people are smiling...It's just really a great place. I was really taken aback. Some nice changes, but you can turn around the corner and the present becomes the past so to speak. It's like walking down memory lane, just a very good time.

     *   *   *

  A central concern for me in this thesis has been trying to find a way to

connect Rogers' words (his thoughts, feelings and memories associated with his

initial desire to go to Japan and his experiences there in the early 1960s) and actions

(his facial expressions, his movements on the judo mat, the way he interacted with

his photographs and places and people from his past), to my own anthropological

analysis of his travel experiences. In particular, my interest in how his experiences

compare to travel practices in the late 19th and early 20th century, and ideas of travel

in anthropology; and also how his travel experiences were influenced by the fact

that he went to Japan between 1960 and 1965 to practise judo. This is not an

original concern. Over twenty years ago Bruner (1984) remarked that the call had

been put out to 'open up' anthropology. He emphasised that anthropologists should

focus on the need to relate their informants' first-order interpretations to their own

second-order ethnographic accounts; and elaborated on the necessity to blur 'theory'

and 'field', to take into account the spontaneity, improvisation and innovation

inherent in social life (Bruner 1984). Keeping Bruner's ideas in mind, I have tried

to work towards these goals in this project.

Photographs, as I have used them throughout the text and the video for this

thesis, are not meant to proclaim, in the name of objectivity, 'this is how it is',

rather they were sites around which questions were formed, and shifting issues,

memories and meanings posited (Edwards 1997). In the text, where Rogers' words

are included, I have also included the photograph that was the catalyst (if there was

one) for that particular memory or thought. Similarly, in the first six minutes of the

video I put together, parts of Rogers' stories from our work in the kitchen are heard,

while his photographs are simultaneously being shown on the screen. (Though I

need to be transparent about the fact that I have also included additional images in

the video [beyond the one or two images that directly inspired a particular story] for

the purposes of visual continuity.) It is my hope that the juxtaposition of the

photographs against the stories they connect to will provide the reader of the text or

viewer of the video with a sense of the powerful relationship between storytelling,

memory and personal photographs (Harrison 2002; Banks 2001; Collier 2001;

Langford 2001; Pink 2001; Spyer 2001; Hirsh 1997).

Working with photographs during interview process, and using both

photographs and video in the presentation of my research, I hope to add to the

growing discussion that aims to settle the quandary best articulated by visual

anthropologist David MacDougall: "Anthropology has had no lack of interest in the

visual; its problem has always been what to do with it" (1997: 276). Distancing

myself from a visual methodology grounded in a positivistic, unmediated realist

frame – one that detracts from the very qualities of expressivity and multivocality

available through imagery – I was able to observe how Rogers and I have

reflexively engaged with these visual materials in the effort to explore and describe

his time in Japan. One aim of the video, in particular, is to show that a linear

chronology of an individual's life often does not accurately represent the way in

which an individual's life was told or even experienced. A great deal of what

Rogers was saying about his life and who he was had little to do with an ordered

progression of events. Most of what I learned about Rogers and his travel to Japan

comes across in his talking about his relationships to people, places, activities, and

memories of the past. The lives and the themes uncovered through fieldwork are

rarely the organised products portrayed in written ethnographies and some

ethnographic films (Folkerth 1993). Anthropologists have usually operated as if the stories of people's lives existed "out there" and "needed only to be 'collected,' recorded, and transcribed" (Hoskins 1998: 1). In reality, personal narratives, such as Rogers', are not so easily 'discovered'. While narration was an intimate act in which Rogers was able to express his individuality and agency, it was also a site of interaction that was structured in part by my expectations and responses to his statements, the photographs that were introduced into our interviews, and our travel back to Japan.

In addition, film and video by their nature are resolutely concrete and particular, and most effective in representing the performative aspects of culture. In my video there are scenes of Rogers in the *dojo* demonstrating judo techniques and relishing the fact that he is back 'on the mat' forty years later. This visual material displays a degree of intensity and physicality that would be difficult to translate to the page (Devereaux 1995), but is nonetheless relevant in the context of Rogers' attraction and devotion to the sport of judo. Even anthropologists as diverse "as Johannes Fabian, Kirsten Hastrup and Maurice Bloch have insisted that there are vast areas of culture that are not amenable to linguistic description, however 'thick', polysemic, or open-ended" (Taylor 1998: 537). Mixing and juxtaposing genres such as video and text represents one way of capturing the rapidly shifting forces that shape everyday life (Lavie and Swedenberg 1996; Marcus 1995a), drawing attention to the fact that human culture is not only thought, but felt, embodied and experienced. Moreover, some of the same material (Rogers' words and

photographs) appear in both the text and the video, which provides the audience of both parts of my thesis with two different angles from which to grapple with the same information. In this way, I can draw on what each medium is able to do best: text's capacity for abstraction, analysis and the delivery of extensive background information; and the visual's affinity with specific and concrete instances of social life and landscape. Placing text and video alongside one another will likely result in a discussion of the weaknesses inherent to each medium; but, I hope, it will also result in talk of how they may be used together to draw attention to the rich complexity of informants' lives and the lived field experience (Pink 2001).

As anthropology tries to untangle and describe the interconnectedness of people, places, things, and ideas, and establish its axis as a questioning movement, attention is now directed towards the specific and the particular. This signals a return to the ear and the eye as the politics of listening and seeing are invoked in an effort to grasp experience. This focus on individual lives and experiences invites anthropologists and subjects to experiment with news ways of exploring and representing personal narratives. As anthropologists pull apart, reconstruct and debate the foundational concepts of 'culture', 'identity' and, more recently, 'globalisation', there has been a sense that something is missing: essentially, what *actual* selves are doing – their talking, thinking, performing, emoting, and carrying on with daily life. Reluctance to include voices and bodies stems from the habit people have of smudging the clean lines of academic exposition. To carry this line further, Lock (1993), Farnell (1994) and Sharma (1996) have pointed out that the

body's explicit appearance in the canon of social and cultural anthropology has been sporadic at best. A fact that hinges on the fundamental difficulties inherent in the objectivist separation of mind from body, reason from imagination, cognition from emotion, and verbal from nonverbal. We are now realising the consequences of resorting too quickly to abstraction in search of generalisation, and as such there is an eagerness to locate a means of sticking close to experience and representing social reality in all its multiplicity (Clifford 1988). The camera provides a means for recording moments that are easily lost in verbal translation (MacDougall 1995). It is the camera's special virtue – "its direct relation to the personal and the particular" (Devereaux 1995: 71) – which has become the condition for its affinity with anthropology.

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In the textual portion of my thesis I feel that Rogers' 'voice' can be heard, and that his stories have influenced the direction of my investigation; but I have also contextualised and analysed his words, organising Rogers' stories and my analysis of these stories into three chapters: (1) Twentieth Century Travelling; (2) The 'Specifics' of Travel: History, Place and Experience; and (3) Lives in the Global Context.

In the first chapter, "Twentieth Century Travelling," I am interested in the act and the idea of travel: not only Rogers' experiences of travelling to Japan, but

also how his experiences intersect with the evolution of travel practises in the West between the late 18th century and the middle of the 20th century, and the manner in which 'travel' has been reviewed and reported in anthropology. I found that Rogers' travel to Japan paralleled some of the ideals associated with 'romantic' travel undertaken by men, for the most part, during the latter half of the 19th century in Europe, which celebrated unconstrained impulse, individual expression, the creative spirit and the desire to experience 'exotic', local colour (Baranowski and Furlough 2001; Duncan and Gregory 1999; Withey 1997). As Rogers said to me, there was a certain amount of "wanting to get out on my own." He wanted to travel to a Japan that, from his vantage-point in Canada, appeared "mystical," "exotic," "special," "natural," and "superior." I also believe that his travel experiences were a turn away from modern, organised travel practises in North America during the early and middle parts of the 20th century (Dubinsky 2001; Shaw and Williams 1994).

In relation to the work being done in anthropology on travel and tourism, I found that my interest in Rogers' travel was not congruent with some of the more prominent concerns in this field, such as the moral discourse on travel (related to travel between 'first' and 'third world' nations) (Butcher 2003; Strain 2003; Lanfant 1995b; Wilson 1993), and definitional concerns that attempt to determine who is a 'tourist' and who is a 'traveller' (Cohen 2001; Risse 1998; Cocker 1992; MacCanell 1976; Boorstein 1961). Rogers' travel experiences elide easy classification. To demonstrate this point I illustrate how his experiences are in some ways consistent

with the image of the heroic, masculine adventurer-traveller, who attempts to escape

the mundane everyday (Ravi 2003; Clark 1999; Williams 1998; Featherstone 1995;

Minh-ha 1994) – but how, at the same time, Rogers really did not prize 'the

journey' above all else. The stories he tells, some of which are presented in this

chapter, recall his everyday struggles of 'getting by' in Japan and highlight the

intense bonds he formed with individuals while he was there. Overall, Rogers feels

that his travelling to Japan (1960-1965) furnished him with a myriad of positive

experiences and memories. And I go on to review this against the fact a great deal

of the theoretical work being done on travel in anthropology (which draws on

refugee, migration and diasporic studies) frames human movement as an unnatural

and tumultuous event (Carey 2003; Masquelier 2003; Gungwu 1997; Sarup 1996).

The second chapter, "The 'Specifics' of Travel: History, Place and

Experience," is written in an effort to understand and report why he desired and

decided to go to Japan, and to contextualise his experiences within the historical and

sociocultural developments that were unfolding in and in relation to Japan between

the late 19th century and the middle part of the 20th century. In the late 19th century

Japan was an 'exotic' playground for the West, a land of tea ceremonies and

tranquil gardens (Hendry 1997; Wright 1996; Boniface and Fowler 1993), but

during the early and mid-20th century North American relations with Japan became

increasingly antagonistic, particularly during the Second World War when Japan

was explicitly 'the enemy' (Roy 1989; Ward 1978). After the War, though, Japan's

quick transition to American ally was orchestrated though the government and

media channels in both countries, and Japan soon focused on projecting a revised

cultural heritage that displayed the country as a peaceful, proper and aesthetically-

oriented nation (Lie 2001; Igarashi 2000). It seems that Rogers' was incited to

travel to 'exotic' and 'traditional' Japan in 1960 because this was an image that was

being used and reinforced by Japanese and non-Japanese individuals, both inside

and outside Japan at that time (Wright 1996).

Rogers' experiences in Japan were influenced by the fact that he travelled to

a place that was deemed by many to be 'monoethnic' (Lie 2001). Though US

culture was being absorbed after the War, this only incited further discussion about

what it meant to be Japanese. Rogers arrived in Japan at a time when the discourse

surrounding the identity of the nation and its inhabitants was is full swing – where

ethnic purity, 'belonging', and insider/outsider divisions were becoming

increasingly important conceptual divisions in Japanese society (Creighton 1998;

Hendry 1997). Through Rogers' stories, it is apparent that Rogers eagerly desired

to 'fit in' in Japanese society and took great pride in living a Japanese 'way of life':

speaking the Japanese language, eating Japanese food, practising the sport of judo,

and attending the Japanese University, Takushoku. This was a particularly salient

act of 'belonging' for Rogers, because in Japan in the early 1960s the belief that a

foreigner would never be able to understand the 'essence' of Japan was beginning to

gain momentum (Goodman 2000; Matsunaga 2000; Creighton 1997a; Teigo 1981).

The third and final chapter, "Lives in the Global Context," aims to address some of the struggles and benefits of examining and representing the experiences of individuals whose thoughts, actions, beliefs, identifications, dreams, and so forth transgress the local-global binary, and simultaneously reference elements both 'near' and 'far' (Leach 1997). I open the chapter with the fact that one of the articles that prompted me to write about Rogers' travels was Arjun Appadurai's (1991) "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for the Transnational Anthropology." In this article Appadurai charges that "ethnography must redefine itself as that practise of representation which illuminates the power of large-scale, imagined life possibilities over specific life trajectories" (1991: 200). I relate how I have drawn on this emphasis on the imagination and the constructed nature of locality to inform my own work, and go on to discuss how my work intersects with conventional life history research in anthropology. I outline how Rogers' experiences mark a departure from earlier life history work, which equated an individual's life with the concrete daily activities in one particular location, which was assumed to have one particular culture (Behar 1990; Shaw 1980). Alternatively, Rogers' life and the stories he tells about his life are not yoked to a single local area, culture or history – Rogers' experiences reference both Canada and Japan, and he often compares and contrasts these two places.

My interest in situating 'the individual' in reference to larger social, cultural, historical and theoretical processes originally led me think about Rogers' travel experiences through the theoretical work being done on 'identity' in anthropology.

I anticipated that this line of inquiry would move me closer to understanding how his travel to Japan influenced him and his perception of himself. As we continued our work together it became increasingly difficult to link what he was saying (or not saying) about himself to the rather abstract and ephemeral 'identity' discourse, which often depicts the individual as fragile, fluid, fragmented, or multiple (Rosenberg 1997; Morley and Robins 1995; Gergen 1994; Jameson 1994). In the idea of 'identification' I found a more promising mode to articulate how Rogers identified and manipulated identity markers (such as language and citizenship) in different contexts for different purposes (Mitchell 2003; Bauman 2001; Gordan and Anderson 1999; Jenkins 1996). For example, I relate how Rogers aligned himself with his Canadian citizenship in Japan to avoid the censure of being thought to be American, but how in the context speaking about the support he received from Canada during the 1964 Olympics, he minimised his relationship with Canada, declaring his success to be an "individual effort." To end this chapter, I return to some of the ideas that I have raised in this introduction, namely the representational challenge of sticking close to the messiness of lived experience, while simultaneously utilising a layer of analysis that considers factors international in scope and scale (Stoller 2002; Olwig 1997). I briefly describe how I have juxtaposed photographs, Rogers' words, theory, analysis, history, and video to represent that quality of Rogers being in and of the world (or, more specifically, in and of Japan and Canada) (Devereaux 1995).

CHAPTER ONE: TWENTIETH CENTURY TRAVELLING

To begin this exploration of Rogers' travel experiences to Japan I will start

with the term 'travel'. At the most basic level travel can be understood "as the

movement between geographical locations and cultural experiences" (Ravi 2003: 1);

or simply, "movement from one place to another" (Robertson *et al*. 1994: 2). These

minimal descriptions, though, belie the fact that travel is a far more complex and

unsettled matter, for travel depends upon one's reason to move; one's position of

gender, race, class, and ethnicity; and one's relations to place, power and identity

(Roberson 2001). Under the umbrella of 'travel' such disparate experiences as a

seaside vacation, a shopping trip to the mall, political exile, and immigration have

been theorised and reported. At one end we have travel as movement between fixed

locations with self-arranged departure and arrival points, and the intimation of an

eventual return. Whereas the other end is marked by variations of migrancy,

suggesting that neither departure nor arrival are immutable or certain, and the

privilege of "domesticating the detour" is all but an impossibility (Chambers 1994:

5). This being said, it is difficult to slot Rogers' travel to Japan at one point on the

spectrum – one's experience of travel, particularly one's freedom, can shift

markedly over the course of a trip – but, for the moment, Rogers' experience can

readily be compared to Clifford's (1997) definition of travel. One that sees travel as

a set of more or less voluntarist practices of leaving 'home' to go some 'other' place

for the purpose of gain: material, spiritual, scientific. A process that involves

obtaining knowledge and/or having an 'experience' – that is often exciting,

edifying, pleasurable, estranging, and/or broadening. This is a description that is built upon a classic understanding of travel that is predominantly Western-dominated, strongly male and middle or upper class.

Leisure travel prior to the late 18th and early 19th centuries in Europe was principally the prerogative of aristocrats and other wealthy elites. Privileged young men participated in the embodiment of leisure travel, the Grand Tour, which enhanced their cultural education, health and pleasure (Baranowski and Furlough 2001); and furnished them with a "socially acceptable form of escape" (Withey 1997: 3). Rather than a necessary evil and the source of great suffering – a burden to be borne by pilgrims, merchants and explorers – travel came to be seen as an end in itself, a form of pure pleasure. Later on travel was no longer an exclusively aristocratic preserve. As the 19th century progressed it was increasingly construed as a quintessentially bourgeois experience that had its origins in the combined development of romanticism and industrialism. Romanticism effectively marked a severance with the sovereignty of Reason and, instead, glorified unconstrained impulse, individual expression and the creative spirit (Duncan and Gregory 1999). At the heart of 'romantic' travel lay a celebration of the wildness of nature, cultural difference and the desire to be submerged in local colour. Travel of this type was considered to be most effective if it was unhurried, unregimented and solitary. Even the very indeterminacy of wandering, which the ancient Odysseus found an ever-present burden, became the ultimate source of freedom the Romantics valued in travel (Leed 2001). Thus by the 19th century, travel's most characteristic figure was

the young male "fleeing the dull repetitions and the stifling mundanity of the bourgeois" (Duncan and Gregory 1999: 6). Parallels can be drawn if Rogers' experiences are compared to the formal Grand tour-type excursion and later 'romantic' travel. There exists the voluntariness of Rogers' departure; the experienced indeterminancies of his movement; the pleasure of travel free from strict necessity; and, perhaps most importantly, the autonomy provided, which nurtured a sense of independence from one context or set of defining associations.

Rogers' voyage needs also to be considered against the backdrop of travel practices in North America during the early and middle parts of the 20th century. Within North America the initial wave of mass tourism took place during the 1920s and 1930s, as transportation costs dropped, tour companies expanded, leisure time increased, paid holidays became more common, car ownership expanded, and motel chains made lodging more affordable (Shaw and Williams 1994). Baranowski and Furlough's examination of tourism and vacation policies at this time reveals an "emphasis on tourism and vacations as a means toward social and national harmony, as well as their potential to mitigate conflict and promote the 'democratisation of leisure' through expanded access to leisure practices connoting social prestige" (2001: 16). The advantages of tourism and vacations were touted for workers' health, hygiene and, ultimately, productivity upon return to the workplace. The Second World War furthered this enthusiasm for moving outside one's home, as millions of North Americans had earlier left the boundaries of their community to assist in the War effort. After the War, popular magazines and newspapers filled

their pages with helpful advice aimed at assisting uninitiated travellers, highlighting

and debating the benefits of travel for both the individual and the family unit. With

nation, commerce and sentiment intersecting, "Holidays had become almost a

marker of citizenship, a right to pleasure" (Dubinsky 2001: 325). Ultimately this

(illusion of) freedom supplied by the regime of commodified leisure was a precious

thing during the early and middle part of the 20th century as the "shades of the

modern prison-house [were] closing in, when the passports and queues and guided

tours and social security number and customs regulations and currency controls

[were] beginning gradually to constrict life" (Fussell 2001: 106). But just like the

paint-by-numbers kits that flourished during the rigid McCarthy era, one was

expected to travel within the lines.

Rogers did not navigate entirely within the lines. The general furore and

acceptability of travel during the 1950s played on his thoughts about going

elsewhere, but his voyage to Japan marked a step outside the boundaries of the well-

worn, pedestrian journeys to such places as the National parks or Niagara Falls.

Rogers' conservative, religious parents were particularly concerned about and

opposed to his declaration to go to Japan, for Japan was an alien territory to them, a

place populated by a people that had been 'the enemy' in the not-so-distant past.

Rogers did not talk at length about his parents' disapproval of his decision to go to

Japan; it was rather Rogers' wife who informed me that Rogers' parents were

worried and disturbed by his plans to travel there. I did not push Rogers to talk

about his parents' disappoint or concern, as I was not sure if the issue was too

personal and still possibly upsetting for him. In sum, Rogers' decision did not fall in line with the Canadian identity-reinforcing travel practices of the time. It was instead a choice steeped in the romantic desires of exploration, experience and 'other'.

Seen broadly, Rogers' romantic turn to Japan can be considered a rejection of some of the described features of modernity. Modernity has typically been identified with the emergence of the nation state as the most important sociopolitical unit, along with advanced urbanisation, expanded literary, generalised health care, rationalised work arrangements, and economic mobility – all of which are thought to have their origins in the enlightenment period of the late 17th century (Hall 1996; Giddens 1991, 1990). It has been suggested, though, that these are merely the surface features of modernity, the deep structure of modernity being the totalising idea, "a modern mentality that sets society in opposition both to its sown past and to those societies of the present that are premodern or un(der)developed" (MacCannell 1976: 8). Modernity is a time when the ordering of nature, the social world and the self and the connections between all three are foremost and reflected upon, but this mediation also encourages a consideration of (and even quest for) what modernity is not: chaos, incoherence, irrationality, ambiguity, confusion, tradition, and so on (Bauman 1991). Therefore beyond all the gains associated with modernity – order, progress, structure, and reason – it is believed, by some, to not entirely satisfy (Featherstone 1997). To speak of the modern worker, specifically, he or she is bound to a position that is marked by specialisation, with little to integrate the

jobholder into a synthetic social perspective or worldview. Consequently the job repulses, aggravates and alienates, sending one away to search for their identity or soul in off-the-job activities. Mandatory vacation time attempts to mend the problem by supplying a hint of freedom, the chance to partake in the nation's essential pastimes and the opportunity to commune with one's national landscape (Dubinsky 2001). But the development of a specific tourism space/time is seen by some as simply an extension of the differentiation inherent in modern life (Baranowski and Furlough 2001; Meethan 2001; Wearing and Neil 2000); and thus inherently still restrictive and a disappointment. In turn, this encourages further disillusionment with the modern emphasis on progression, control and regulation, which ultimately results in the romantic dreaming and seeking of origins, authenticity, disorder, and tradition.

While the above description of modernity is brief and formulaic, it is still possible to glimpse in Rogers' travel a rejection of certain facets of 'modern' life in Canada during the middle part of the 20th century. Rogers was not yet netted into the daily grind of employment by the time he left for Japan, but he was well aware of limitations and responsibilities afforded by such circumstances. His father was a United Church minister and, at one time, a chaplain onboard a Canada naval ship during the Second World War; thus Rogers was privy to the social, economic and political obligations that were part and parcel of Canadian church and military life. Dreaming of Japan – an 'exotic' land of 'authentic' traditions – offered Rogers an escape from the expectations of his parents and peers at school in Montreal. His

parents expected him to pursue the routine, respectable and economically secure

existence of either a doctor or lawyer. Yet he found organised student life at McGill

University tedious and bland when compared to the excitement of training in the

dojo and the allure of participating in the sport of judo, something that felt outside

the rules and habits of his everyday life in Canada. He mentioned that his

attendance at McGill during this time was "not what it should have been" because

he was "trying to practise at *dojos* all over Montreal."

Over and over again in our conversations Rogers would use such adjectives

as 'unique', 'traditional', 'special', 'pure', 'superior', 'mystical', and 'artistic' to

describe the Japan that he imagined as a teenager living in Montreal. Compared to

Canada, Japan was 'authentic'. This is consistent with MacCanell's belief that "for

moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical

periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles" (1976: 3). It also speaks to

Chambers perspective that "to go elsewhere to find such 'authenticity'" perpetuates

that drive "to return to the beginning, no longer our own, but that of the other who is

now requested to carry the burden of representing our desire" (1994: 71). There is a

general yearning to return to a utopian space of freedom, abundance and

transparency (Robertson *et al.* 1994). The version of Japan that Rogers constructed

for himself in Canada was a Japan that was 'natural' or 'traditional', that existed for

its own sake – a Japan that lay in opposition to life in North America where almost

everything appeared devised and structured for profit, and under market control

(Strain 2003). The important point to note here is that the 'authenticity' Rogers

assigned to Japan was not necessarily 'real', but created by Rogers based upon

contingent circumstances and ideas. In truth, it was the Japanese who actively

revised their own history, articulating and practising 'authentic' traditions for self-

serving reasons – and not to quench the desire of Western travellers in search of the

harmonious, simple life (Lie 2001; Igarashi 2000). Japan could also be described as

'modern' by the time Rogers arrived there in 1960 (Minear 1980). To analyse

Rogers' experience entirely in relation to the simplistic authentic/inauthentic couplet

is theoretically unsound, but this fantasy image of Japan as 'the land of tradition'

remained a consistent theme when Rogers spoke of his early reasons for travelling

there.

Rogers pieced together an image and understanding of Japan and the sport of

judo in Canada based on a variety of sources: comic books, movies, books about

judo, advertisements, and participating in judo in Montreal – all of which played

upon his imagination and fuelled his desire to travel to 'exotic' Japan. It should also

be noted that these sources often did not come directly from Japan, but were

mediated through non-Japanese individuals who had (some) knowledge of Japan

and its customs, and in turn packaged this information in one form or another for

consumption outside of Japan.

> **DR**: When I was in Victoria – I think I was there when I was four-and-
> a-half, sometime after that – I used to read comic books, and on the
> backs of these comic books there would be advertisements, secret jujitsu
> or combat judo. Sometimes in the comic books themselves the
> characters would have knowledge of this mystical Asian fighting art.
> This really intrigued me, so at an early age I started thinking about the

martial arts as something very spectacular, very mystical, and it was something that the Japanese had knowledge of. I think even then I was determined to seek out and learn as much as I could about it...I used to go to the library, whether it was the city public library or the school library, and search for as many books as I could on Japan and the martial arts. And then sometime in the early fifties there were a few publications starting to come out, which you could buy at the news stand. Some of them were specific to judo – some were written by the Japanese, some by Europeans, and some were the result of Caucasians who had come in contact [with the martial arts] because of the War. You just started to see this interest...Most of my information was second hand; I had no firsthand information...I remember one movie I saw before I went to Japan called *Sayonara* (1957) with Marlon Brando, and again there was just an idea that almost everything Japanese had to be good, and I guess it was because I got so caught up in judo, this system seemed so perfect. I was having such a good time competing and practising. I just knew I had to go to Japan.

From Rogers' commentary on his early interest in judo and Japan it is possible to glean the singular importance that the imagination plays in the lives of people in the 20th century. Writing elegantly on this point, Appadurai argues that there is a peculiar new force to the imagination in social life today.

More persons in more parts of the world consider a wider set of "possible" lives than they ever did before. One important source of this change is the mass media, which present a rich, ever-changing store of possible lives, some of which enter the lived imaginations of ordinary people more successfully than others...That is, fantasy is now social practice; it enters, in a host of ways, into the fabrication of social lives for many people in many societies (1991: 197-198).

Visual imagery and literary texts are particularly salient in this process of imagining other lives and places. In reference to film, Strain argues that certain films can fill in empty slots on the world map with visual and aural plentitude,

where "the films [seem] to insist upon their indexical links to actual geographies and to paint a world with greater vibrancy" (2003: viii). Moreover, what is absorbed from either image or print about a foreign place has the potential to shape how that foreign locale is perceived if one has the opportunity to travel there. For example, in describing colonial Bengali visitors' first impressions of England, Mukhopadhyay (2002) suggests that the visit was shaded by a sense of *déjà vu*. For the Bengali tourists, travel to England was not so much a journey into the unknown, it was rather "a confirmation of what was already known about England, thanks to 'print capitalism' and 'travel capitalism'" (2002: 293). These Bengali travellers were not so much on the lookout for the marvellous and the bizarre, instead their gaze scrutinised whether the real England measured up to the hyperreal version of England they imagined back home. In a similar way, Rogers recalled how his impressions of Japan during his first days there were mediated through the knowledge of Japan he acquired through films back in Canada.

MR: What did you think of Tokyo when you first arrived there?

DR: I arrived; the boat docked in Yokohama. It was a bright, sunny day and I was very excited. It's a stark contrast. Everyone is speaking another language. I didn't know what the heck they were talking about. I was with this girl. The girl had made arrangements to be met, and so they took me into Tokyo, so I was lucky that way. I got a ride into Tokyo. I think they put me up for the first night and then they took me to the Kodokan the next day. I think the thing that impressed me, just walking around initially in the streets, was the custom of saying 'is that so? – *a so deska*?'. That really stood out to me. It was something that in any Japanese movies I had seen, or if anyone would do a take-off of the Japanese over here [in North America] before I went, they would emphasise that, *'a so deska'*. It seemed that that was always a part of

every conversation – obviously it wasn't – but it stood out to me at the time.

It has now become something of truism to say that people are on the move in today's world. At the end of the 20th century the tourism industry was touted as the largest industry in the world, having an economic impact estimated at 3.6 trillion dollars, or 10.6 percent of the gross global product (Baranowski and Furlough 2001). Needless to say, international tourism is a powerful operating lever that forces the integration of people on a world scale (Lanfant 1995a, 1995b). Moreover, other mechanisms of mobility such as immigration, work, war, and political exile, which are of a much more serious and dramatic nature, have also accelerated the shifting of peoples and cultures around the world. There is currently an overarching sense of deterritorialisation as transnational corporations, money markets, sectarian movements, and political formations operate in ways that transcend specific boundaries of national borders and identities (Appadurai 1991). At the time of Rogers' departure in 1960, though, the monolithic force that the international movement of peoples, ideas and items presently exerts on humanity was in its relative infancy. Yet global processes *did* act upon Rogers, and particularly his imagination, which resulted in his dreaming about Japan as a boy in Canada. Specifically, connections between Japan and North America intensified as a result of the immigration of thousands of Japanese to the West Coast of North America over the first few decades of the 20th century and, later, the Second World War. These events encouraged a curiosity and critical consciousness of the Japanese people and their customs in Canada (Roy 1989; Ward 1978). As the

general regard for the Japanese before the 1950s was one of fear and uncertainty, after their defeat in World War Two, North Americans became increasingly intrigued by this foreign nation (Wright 1996).

*   *   *

My interest in Rogers' travel to Japan is a departure from some of the more popular concerns of anthropologists who study travel and tourism.

Up until the 1970s anthropology largely ignored travel and tourism (Wilson 1993). The reason for the lacuna in the analytical development of travel was partly a function of leisure travel being considered a side issue to the more serious business of industrial production (Meethan 2001). Yet a few scholars were successful in establishing leisure travel as a topic worthy of serious investigation during the 1970s, demonstrating its social, economic and political significance in contemporary life. For the most part, though, the discussion of leisure travel has continued to circle around moral and definitional concerns.

Travel and tourism are frequently determined to be either 'bad' or 'good' (Butcher 2003). Travel is either a fatuous interaction between the privileged 'first world' and an objectified class of 'third world' others; or it is reviewed positively because tourists are confronted with a radically different culture that confounds and challenges their Western epistemologies (Strain 2003). In the first case the 'third

world' performs a degraded form of their native culture for a moneyed audience,

perpetuating economic dependence, stunted industrial development and power

relations smacking of colonialism. In this perspective the traveller is condemned as

a harbinger of globalisation, sweeping away diversity in his or her wake (Butcher

2003). Think of Lévi-Strauss writing:

> What travel has now shown us is the filth, our filth, that we have thrown
> in the face of humanity...All that is over: humanity has taken to
> monoculture, once and for all, and is preparing to produce civilization in
> bulk, as if it were a sugar-beet. The same dish will be served to us
> everyday (1964: 39).

Alternatively, the second 'utopic' model argues that tourists' dollars provide

an economic impetus for preserving indigenous traditions and staving off the

encroachment of homogenising forces (Strain 2003).

It cannot be ignored that the tourism industry is often a transmission belt of

post-industrial 'sending' societies and developing 'receiving' nations on the end

(Lanfant 1995a, 1995b; Kinnaird *et al.* 1994; Wilson 1993), but this type of unequal

exchange did not occur between Japan and Canada. These two nations have never

been involved in an unequal, hierarchical tourism dynamic, as both countries have

progressed industrially, militarily and technologically over the past century (Lie

2001; Minear 1980; Nitobe 1931). This makes a moral discussion based on the non-

developed – developed binary, in this case, theoretically unsound.

Anthropologists interested in travel have been equally concerned with who is a 'tourist' and who is a 'traveller', and how their journeys differ. The preoccupation with this distinction has early roots. Tourists were thought to be more socially diverse than their elite predecessors on the Grand Tour, and were instead marked as part of the modern mob or crowd. European tourists stimulated class anxieties in the wake of the French Revolution about the mobility of the lower orders of society (Buzard 1993). The perceived inundation by tourists visiting continental capitals, viewing the Alps and touring the favoured destinations of the elite Grand Tour, prompted 'travellers' to assert their cultural superiority. Elite travellers proposed that they possessed an 'authentic' (as opposed to passively received) knowledge about these locations, and had an originality and self-sufficiency in judgement that tourists lacked (Baranowski and Furlough 2001). Leaning on this early distinction between tourists and travellers, Boorstein argued that the traveller was working at something, but the tourist was a mere pleasure-seeker: "The traveler was active; he went strenuously in search of people, of adventure, of experience. The tourist is passive; he expects interesting things to happen to him" (1961: 85). For Boorstein, tourism was diluted, contrived and prefabricated, and it lay in opposition to the sophisticated pleasures sought by the well-prepared, intellectual man. Yet MacCanell (1976) later reasoned against Boorstein's strict dichotomy, finding that many tourists also actively demanded and searched for authenticity, just as many travellers do.

Consistent among most definitions of a 'traveller' appears to be an emphasis on the discomfort with the journey. Cocker writes that "travellers thrive on the alien, the unexpected, even the uncomfortable and challenging" (1992: 2); and Fussell (1980) remarks that travel is to work and suffer. For etymologically a traveller is one who endures *travail*, a word that is derived from the Latin word *trepalium* – a torture instrument consisting of three stakes designed to rack the body (Robertson *et al.* 1994). According to Risse (1998), differentiating between travellers and tourists on the basis of physical toughness is one of the most popular means to solidify the boundary between the two groups; however, she suggests that there are four other ways: how much a person knows about a country visited, how much money the person has, where the person is travelling, and when the person in travelling. Risse wanders into the definitional thicket when she declares that "travellers make all the logistical decisions about their trip; tourists don't. A traveller, thus, is the active creator of the journey…Tourists, as I use the term without negative implications, follow someone else's agenda" (1998: 48). Cohen (2001) expands the tourist-traveller division, offering instead what he describes as the five main modes of touristic experiences: recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental, and existential. They are ranked so that they span the spectrum between the experience of the "tourist as the traveller in pursuit of 'mere' pleasure in the strange and the novel, to that of the modern pilgrim in quest of meaning at somebody else's centre" (Cohen 2001: 34).

Rogers was not overly concerned with whether he thought himself a traveller or a tourist, but he did on one occasion declare that he was *not* a tourist. This occurred when he came upon a series of photographs of the Tokyo Tower taken by his father who came to visit him in Tokyo during the 1964 Olympics. It was these images that prompted him to identify himself as a resident of Tokyo – and set himself a part from the denigrated figure of the camera-touting tourist – based on the fact that he had never been up the Tokyo Tower, a well-known tourist site in the city. Rogers' perspective builds on the idea that "no one is exempt from the obligation to go sightseeing except the local person" (MacCannell 1976: 43).
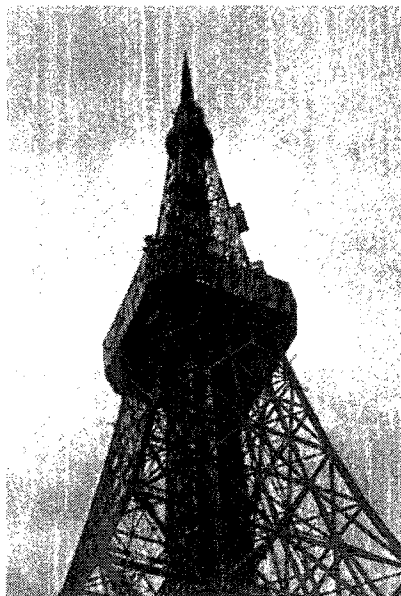

Fig. 3

DR: Some these pictures here are of the Tokyo Tower. Actually, I think my Dad took these. In all the time I was in Tokyo, I never went up the Tokyo Tower.

MR: Why not?

DR: I don't know. There are probably things in Vancouver I've never done. Sometimes when you live in a place – I suppose there are a few New Yorkers that have never been up the Empire State building. We used to make jokes about it; even the Japanese used to joke about it, because they'd figure it was going to fall down in an earthquake or something like that. But if you go as a tourist, it's probably like going to Paris to visit the Eiffel Tower...There's things in Vancouver, the gondola on Grouse mountain, things like that. It's not something that's on your mind when you live there, but tourists are like 'oh, let's go see the sights'... Not being a tourist [in Japan], there are lots of places that I haven't been to, but not being a tourist there are lots of places I have been, that they would never go. Living in Tokyo, I didn't always go to those spots that would be of the greatest interest to tourists.

Pulling away from these directions in the study of travel and tourism, I do not want to examine Rogers' narrative in an effort to determine whether his travel experiences were 'right' or 'wrong' or to conclude whether he was a 'traveller' or a 'tourist'. Personal histories of travel offer a chance to explore the specific factors that motivate people to go abroad and their experiences once they arrive in a foreign place. What is of interest to me in Rogers' story was his desire to travel to Japan, that was based on his construction of Japanese culture in Canada, and the unique experiences that he had in Japan that were contingent upon his decision to stay and train in this country between 1960 and 1965. To work towards tidily determining whether Rogers was a tourist or a traveller would ignore the complicated reality of his experiences and how they elide easy classification. To demonstrate this point, I outline in the next section how Rogers' travel experiences were, in many ways, heavily steeped in a romantic, masculine travel rhetoric. But how, at the same time,

his travels defy such a simple reading. He was not the steady, observing adventurer; oftentimes he was uncertain and lonely, especially during the first year he was there.

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It could be argued that Rogers travel to Japan was an escape from the quotidian, mundane routine of everyday life in Canada. It could also be said that his journey was a quest for greatness in the area of judo, signalling a dash of the 'heroic'.

> **DR**: I had not done judo all across Canada before I left, just in Montreal, and I had gone up to Toronto a few times…and I had won a few championships locally against some reasonably good fellows. I was determined to go to Japan to outstrip them all, to learn judo. It wasn't to go to the Olympics, it was to become really, really good at judo. Otherwise I could have gone anywhere, I suppose. I suppose I wanted to leave home too. There was a certain bit of that, wanting to get out on my own.

As Rogers sailed away from Canada he was leaving behind the comforting, cosy environment of home. In mid-20th century, middle and upper class Canada, 'home' represented civility and the social contract, not to mention compromise: home, for most, was associated with monogamy, propriety, respectability, 'the law', organised religion, and cleanliness. Alternatively, the open road and the sea "all bespeak something 'strange', perhaps 'wonder-ful', not 'settled'; liberty, movement, sometimes even lawlessness, in the wilderness wild" (Williams 1998: xxi-xxii). The inclination to travel can be strong, for there is the pull of the unknown and the push to extricate one's self from the well-trodden paths of domestic life. Despite the physical and existential difficulties travel often entails, it deeply satisfies the

desire for detours and displacements in our new global circumstances (Minh-ha 1994). The dialect of travel – "the affirmative sense of groundlessness and the negative pleasure of displacement" (Ravi 2003: 2) – emerges as a desired space to inhabit. The 'time out' of travelling works to delay the otherwise irrevocable passage of time; one can escape the present and choose to bask in the unhurried and traditional pleasures of the 'other'.

There can even be an oedipal resonance to 'the journey'. The moment of departure represents the son's refusal to stay within the household and so he defies paternal authority by embarking on a rite of passage from adolescence to adulthood. "Travel might thus be seen, in highly abstract terns, as a refutation of the father, and a denial of intimacy with the mother" (Clark 1999: 19). Lévi-Strauss (1964) suggests that Western adolescents feel compelled to get clear, by one means or another, of civilisation: some climb mountains, some go far below the ground, and others escape horizontally and penetrate some foreign land. This outer journey of physical and spatial mobility can function as a metaphor for the interior journey of the soul, mind or consciousness that is said to mark the maturation process of the adolescent. Freud, speaking of his own desire to travel, writes:

> My longing to travel was no doubt also the expression of a wish to escape from that pressure, like the force which drives so many adolescent children to run away from home. I had long seen clearly that a great part of the pleasure of travel lies in the fulfilment of their early wishes – that it is rooted, that is, in dissatisfaction with home and family. When first one catches sight of the sea, crosses the ocean and experiences as realities cities and lands which for so long had been

distant, unattainable things of desire — one feels oneself like a hero who has performed deeds of improbable greatness (1973: 247).

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Intimately connected to this masculine, adolescent adventuring is the idea of the 'heroic life'. To talk of the 'heroic life' is to risk sounding dated, as scholarship in the post-colonial era has long sustained strong counter-cultural traditions favouring an anti-heroic ethos. Recent scholarship leans more towards a valuation of the popular and the detritus of everyday mass and consumer cultures, than the idiosyncratic and the exceptional. Yet strands of the 'heroic' appear to be woven through Rogers' story. If everyday life is principally aligned with the taken for granted, common sense pursuits of wealth, property and earthly love, then the heroic life points to the opposite qualities: extraordinary deeds, virtuosity, courage, endurance, and the capacity to attain distinction. The heroic life points to a life "fashioned by fate or will, in which the everyday is viewed as something to be tamed, resisted or denied, something to be subjugated in the pursuit of a higher purpose" (Featherstone 1995: 55). Nietzsche went so far as to label as 'genius' the quality of energy, endurance, seriousness, and single-mindedness with which the individual may approach the project of living a fulfilled, authentic life; where one thinks and acts in a particular direction, using everything he or she experiences to that end. In this way, we can see how Rogers turned away from ordinary life in Canada in his singular effort to pursue excellence in the sport of judo, which ultimately led to success at the international level, affording him a degree of fame both in Japan and Canada.

If Rogers' experiences are read as a compact overture they could be viewed as an unfolding of the poetic travel narrative: the departure, the crossover, the wandering, the discovery, the return, and the transformation (Minh-ha 1994). In this tale, Rogers departs from the everyday sphere of care and maintenance, only to return the hero of his chosen quest – but such a closed reading as this would be incomplete and simply incorrect. If the heroic traveller's space is marked by a reduction of everything and everyone to raw material – "an existence of temporary pick-ups and friendships, of people dropped as soon as met, of indifferent, deep egoism of moving for moving's sake" (Raban 1986: 183) – then these are circumstances that *cannot* be found in Rogers' story. I would not characterise Rogers as the categorising onlooker who subordinates all interests in others to a kind of primal narcissism: a fellow that prizes 'the journey' above all other human attachments (Clark 1999). If his original reasons for travelling to Japan are glazed with the romantic, his *actual* stay in Japan is marked by an acute sense of the day-to-day logistics of getting by and stories that involve the friends he made during his stay there. During our stay in Tokyo, Rogers recalled his first days in Tokyo, forty-three years earlier, as we stood in front of the Kodokan, the official judo training hall. This memory emphasises that he was anything but a swaggering adventurer.

> DR: After I arrived at the Kodokan, my second day here, I was feeling a little bit lost. I didn't know where to go. All the surroundings were strange, etc. I started out really timidly by just going out across the street from the Kodokan to the coffee shops...For a couple of weeks I would be in there every day. They took pity on me and a couple of the girls would come over and sit down and try to cheer me up. Later on

one of the girls and her boyfriend took me to see a baseball game…They knew I had just come over and I was only nineteen.

Admissions such as this suggest that instead of searching out the obvious

moments of arrogance and self-assured chauvinism in travel stories, post-colonial

critiques might also address points of unravelling, conflict and uncertainty in the

travelling subject (Musgrove 1999). Here we see Rogers in his first days in Tokyo

rather lonely and even searching for some type of stabilising routine through his

repeat visits to the coffee shops. Travel can also have its oddly passive aspects; it

can be boring at times, requiring tolerance or repetition, as much as the ability to

surmount enormous ordeals. Life elsewhere can be much like life at home, filled in

with "insipid details" and "incidents of no significance" (Lévi-Strauss 1964: 17).

Most trials are of the minor variety and one slowly becomes accustomed to a

slightly different rhythm of life – literally, in the case of Rogers having to adjust to

the frequent occurrence of earthquakes.

> DR: I remember the first night I was there, sometime during the night there was this tremendous rumble like the streetcar going by. I didn't know what was happening. I found out that it was an earthquake. The room had the odd cracks here and there caused by earthquakes. It was quite an experience, and one that was almost a daily occurrence. Earthquakes were so frequent, but I got used to them.

Looking at a photograph of a futon in one his apartments, Rogers was reminded of

the familiar presence of cockroaches in Japan.

Fig. 4

DR: This little picture here, it brings back memories. That's my futon on the floor. I had a little apartment that was four-and-a-half, five *tatamis* [Japanese mats] and I had a little gas burner in the corner for cooking, a Bunsen burner. And I shared this with a lot of cockroaches. You can't find an apartment without them. Even some of the best hotels, if you look hard enough (actually, you don't have to look very hard) you can find the odd cockroach. We'd often find, sometimes, a little bit of a leg in our soup in some places, some places more than others, but we'd always consider it a little bit of extra protein. It's a funny thing, once you're living in Japan – I think this goes for any country – you kind of get used to the standard and no big deal. But I can remember at this place I had, there were some huge cockroaches. I can remember I had this spray and I put some paper sometimes down on the floor because that's the only way I could hear them. So they'd be rustling and I would jump out of bed with my spray can and chase them around the room trying to nab a few.

For the most part, when Rogers reflects upon his time in Japan, he tends to relate stories about the relationships he formed while living in Tokyo and how much he enjoyed his time there, especially when he was 'teaching' English conversation.

DR: It's interesting, I once taught – in fact it went on for quite a while – the secretary to the president of the Kirin beer company, a Mr. Fujita. We would meet at the Kirin beer hall in the middle of Ginza. I already knew a lot of the fellows there (of course, when I was in there on my own I had to pay). But I got this job, but I really think he was more interested in seeing how much I could eat, rather than learning English. But he just enjoyed sitting there and he just loved to order for me. Oh, I would have two or three steaks in a row, and we would get these big steins of beer and we would just sit there. I don't know what we were doing; I guess he would learn a little English. He would learn a little English and I would learn a little Japanese. But I could go into the Kirin beer hall at anytime, if I was walking in Ginza, and get a little 'R and R', some nourishment. I would pop it there, and I had known them quite a few years, and the guys would all wave to me. But from then on, anytime I would order anything, I ate for nothing. It was great. Beer, shrimp, whatever. But, anyway, I had that job pretty well until I left Japan. And then, in another situation, I taught downtown at the main store of the Seiko watch company and that was very nice...You know everyone always treated me very, very kindly. And when I worked for Shiseido [the cosmetics company] they always had parties and I got to know everybody. I would also, from some of these jobs I had, I would also meet other people who wanted to learn English. They knew people, they would have a brother or sister or whatever. At one time, I had quite a few interesting jobs teaching English conversation. I don't know if I set them ahead or set them back, but we had a lot of good times together, that's for sure.

It is apparent that his time in Japan was not composed of a series of fleeting accidental encounters, in which the journeying ego removes all alternate ties. Japan was a place where he came of age, developed important and lasting bonds with other individuals, and intensely practised the sport he loved. Even his attachments to his routines in Japan and his friends there made his transition back to life in Canada all the more difficult. He was reminded of the difficulties of leaving Japan when he saw a photograph of himself at the airport about to leave Japan.

Fig. 5

DR: When I left Japan to come back to Canada the judo team came to the airport to see me off. I had to give a little speech in Japanese. I think they gave me a big bottle of sake to take home with me. I was supposed to go back to Japan. I couldn't do it.

MR: How come?

DR: I was torn. It was very difficult. I had some opportunities [in Japan]. They weren't really in areas that I thought of myself doing long term. In the back of my mind I perhaps had the idea that I would like to get into flying and I realised if I didn't get back and start at that I would have a difficult time getting employment. As tough as it was, I made that choice. They phoned me a lot and wrote me, waited for me to come back. They were still looking at me as one of their big guns.

Rogers also spoke about the importance of his relationships in Japan and how

leaving Japan effected him while we were relaxing at an inn in Morioka, Japan after

we had spent the day visiting the *dojo* at Fuji University.

MR: It was interesting when you said you grew up in Japan to that fellow.

DR: Oh yeah; well, it's true. I came at nineteen and, of course, I had always moved around in Canada. I had never lived in a place for more than six or seven years because of my Dad's – your grandpa's – work. We kept moving so it was difficult to get life-long friends. I was nineteen when I came to Japan, so I made a lot of friends while I was here and they were very formative years for me, so when I went back to Canada, off to Vancouver where I had never lived before, it was difficult. I met people in Vancouver through judo, but all my real friends for the last five years were Japanese, even those that weren't Japanese, were living in Japan. I really felt out of place for quite a while, and then I missed the activity of judo because I was used to doing a very high level of judo and everything was geared towards that. Practices weren't challenging and I missed the high level of physical activity. To have to back off from that kind of physical conditioning was kind of traumatic for me. It was hard to handle at times. I started teaching eventually, but it wasn't the same. Where you're aware that you're losing your edge, it's kind of difficult. At a time when I could have been getting stronger, that was difficult. I was always looking back to Japan, and there I was at twenty-five or twenty-six thinking of the 'good old days'. But anyway, that worked its way out. Eventually I started coming back a couple of times a year. Of course you could never go back; it was never the same. But I would manage to get back and visit a few friends around Tokyo who were associated with the University. I was always able to come back and get in the odd practice. A couple of times I came back for a couple of weeks and trained. When I was just starting to get the benefit of it, I would leave though. It was such a big part of my life, plus it was a lot of fun too. Training was good. Training was hard, very enjoyable. It was its own reward, training and the fellas that I was with. Just to leave that cold turkey was difficult.

And later, standing on a Tokyo subway platform, after we had had a wonderful

dinner at his good friend Iwatsuri's restaurant, he spoke again about the special

relationship he had with many people in Japan.

> **DR**: I dare say you will never have an experience like that again in your
> life, Michelle: all that food. Even after forty years, the guys [on the
> University judo team] calling up from all over Japan to say 'hello' and
> wanting us to come and visit them. Even calling back two or three times
> to make sure we wouldn't forget to come and see them next time. That
> was really impressive. I also broke up myself when I saw Iwatsuri
> going up the stairs with his bad leg. I think we could have been co-
> joined. So funny. I don't know if judo at our level could be justified on
> a health basis, but we sure had a lot of fun and trained hard. A lot of
> good memories – really special people, very kind, very genuine. I had a
> unique relationship with them, and it's still there today, obviously. It
> was a great time.

There exists a human tendency to review the past through a rose-tinted lens,

but I think it is accurate to say that Rogers felt that his stay in Japan was a positive

experience for him. But he did have difficulties when he was there. The first year

Rogers was in Japan was not easy. He was injured for most of that year and he had

to sell his return boat ticket back to Canada in order to have money to pay rent and

buy food. He told me how he often could only afford to eat the cheapest food, such

as scraps of fried fish. Frank Moritsugu, on assignment for Maclean's magazine at

the time, later detailed Rogers' rather humble existence in Japan.

> In 1962 I made my first-ever visit to Japan, on assignment for Maclean's
> magazine. I had most of the month of August to spend there, so along
> with my reporting, interviewing and travelling, I did some judo
> things…The other judo business in Tokyo was looking up Doug Rogers.
> I had first met him a few years back when he and Joe Tanaka came from

Montreal to compete in an Eastern Canada *mudansha* (below black belt) tournament in Toronto. In Japan Rogers was eking out an existence while training at Kodokan on money from home and by teaching English part-time and picking up other odd jobs allowed for a foreigner on a student visa. So on my C.K.B.B.A. expense account we went out for dinner at a Japanese steak house...Before that we went from the Kodokan to his suburban apartment so he could drop off his gear. "Apartment" may be somewhat exaggerated. Doug was living in a standard 4 1/2 x 4 *tatami* room in a small two-story house with shoji (sliding paper) doors. At every entrance he had to bend over not to hit his head and looking at the floor space of his tiny room, I asked him if he had to lie diagonally to sleep (2003, webpage).

Living in Japan was not effortless for Rogers: he was lonely at first, learning a new language, becoming acquainted with a different way of life, struggling with injuries, trying to establish new social relationships, and attempting to find ways to make money so he could eat and put a roof over his head. Yet the majority of the time when he concludes a story about his time in Japan, he references how his stay was such a positive experience for him: "We had a lot of good times together, that's for sure"; "Good times, really good times"; "I had a good time. It was really interesting"; "A great experience"; " A lot of fun"; "Judo was such a big part of my life, plus it was a lot of fun too"; "It was a great time. I really enjoyed the county." He was able to travel to Japan and enjoy the pure freedom of choice, and was made to feel welcomed by the majority of the people he met while he stayed there. The idea that he perceived his time in Japan to be, for the most part, a positive experience, can be reviewed against the fact that a great deal of the work on human movement in anthropology frames mobility as a tumultuous and painful event.

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After reviewing the current literature on travel and human movement in anthropology – outside the self-described 'smaller circles' of tourism and leisure studies in anthropology (Meethan 2001; Lanfant 1995a; Kinnarid *et al.* 1994; Wilson 1993) – I was struck by the degree to which the theoretical work on mobility is analysed and presented in principally negative terms. A situation that led Featherstone to remark, "it is difficult to encounter positive images of mobility and migration, although they doubtless exist" (1997: 258). There is a great deal of excellent ethnographic work on mobility, most of which focuses on migration (Coutin 2003; Guarnizo 1997; Gungwu 1997; Kearney 1986), and refugee (Malkki 1995, 1992; Kismaric 1989; Pellizzi 1988) and diasporic experiences (Stoller 2002; Foner 2001; Sullivan 2001). These studies bring to our attention the harrowing experiences of those who are often stunned and traumatised by events that propelled or forced them from their place of residence. I would argue, though, that this type of work has had an impact on the theoretical developments in study of human movement in anthropology. It has influenced anthropologists' conception of travel, reinforcing the belief that travel is a generally unnatural and disorienting event (Barber 1997). To talk of human movement is to talk of the "crippling sorrow of homelessness" (Minh-ha 1994: 12); the "agonies of isolation, loneliness, and alienation that most migrants [share]" (Gungwu 1997: 6); "the road as a part of a complex economy of violence, power and blood" (Masquelier 2002: 829); and to believe that the new arrival feels him- or herself a 'burden', a 'disturbance' and an 'embarrassment'. Narratives of home and displacement reflect a "global drama of

violence and misery" (Robertson *et al.* 1994: 2); "where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds" (Anzaldúa 2001: 235). It has even been suggested that the deviant has been replaced by the immigrant: "In traditional folklore, there were demons, witches devils. Now we have visible deviants: the foreigners" (Sarup 1996: 12). This is a climate that has lead Said to remark upon the fact that the phenomenon of untimely massive wandering remains "strangely compelling to think about but *terrible* to experience" (1990: 237-8, *emphasis mine*). Even the leisure traveller on an extended trip suffers from a certain negative evaluation: estranged from her native soil the traveller is thought to lose her original sense of place and acquire other loyalties, subsequently putting her at odds with her 'home' society upon return (Carey 2003).

In pointing out anthropologists' attachment to the most dramatic and upsetting modes of mobility, I do not mean to suggest that anthropologists and others should ignore this focus. To determine the negative effects of (often compulsory) relocation on individuals and groups – particularly those who are poorly educated, maintain lower-incomes and have strong attachments to their homes, land and livelihood – is deeply important work (Scudder 2001). What I am suggesting is that we aim to untangle the specifics of *all* types of movement experiences – travel, exploration, migration, tourism, refugeeism, pastoralism, nomadism, pilgrimage, trade, exile, war, and so on – in an effort to establish a theoretical base of greater nuance from which to grasp the motivations and effects of moving around in the world. For many, mobility is not a violent disturbance, but

simply a contour of everyday life. For example, de Bruijn *et al.* argues that mobility in its ubiquity is fundamental to any understanding of African social life:

> Another crucial element of the present approach is how to move away from the interpretation of migration or mobility as a 'rupture' in society, as the result of a social system in disarray. Many forms of mobility are a part of life and making a livelihood. In some societies, not being mobile may be the anomaly...What we argue is that sedentarity, i.e. remaining within set borders or cultural boundaries, might instead by perceived by some as an act of escaping from social obligations. Through travelling, connections are established, and continuity, experience and modernity negotiated (2001: 2).

Echoing this perspective, Rasmussen (1998), who works among the Kel Ewey Tuareg, a seminomadic society who predominate in the Air Mountains of north-eastern Niger, illustrates how home spaces are as important as travel spaces. She explains how these spaces cannot be rigidly separated, and understanding one requires an examination of the other. The central point being that travel should be viewed not solely through the recent modernist, transnational lens of current upheaval and crisis, but also the lens of long-standing local notions about travel, strangers and distance. While the work done by de Bruijin *et al.* (2001) and Rasmussen (1998) differs markedly from my own work on Rogers' travel experiences, these anthropologists do highlight the importance of understanding travel from the position of the local actor(s) and how travel can be a normal part of life.

Part of the reason for anthropologists' viewing mobility negatively stems from the fact that the movement of people and their cultural baggage disrupts earlier definitions of culture, nation, home, and identity. These are definitions that were founded on the presupposition of a radical difference between self and other, here and there, the West and the 'third world' (Lavie and Swedenburg 1996). Travel has since complicated anthropology's most prized concept, 'culture', in that the early 20th century image of this institution was highly localised, settled, holistic, and boundary-oriented (Hannerz 1992; Appadurai 1990). This image drew upon a nostalgic construction of a community-based preindustrial collective where there was minimal reference to the leakages of people and culture (Gungwu 1997; Geertz 1995). All elements of social and cultural life were thought to hang together, with groups possessing distinctive cultures that needed to be interpreted in their own terms (Gupta and Ferguson 1997a, 1997b). But individuals have undoubtedly been more mobile and cultures less attached to particular territories than static, categorising approaches would suggest. The recent technological explosion, largely in the domains of transportation and information, has encouraged "a new condition of neighborliness – even with those most distant" (Appadurai 1990: 2), which subjects older conceptions of culture and identity to strain and fatigue. This necessitates anthropologists having to become increasingly sensitive to disunities, fragmentation, contestation, pluralism, and the processual nature of culture and social life (Wolf 1983). Many theorists have since revelled in this postmodern state, celebrating travel's provocation of new concepts and new ways of seeing and being. It is here that the desert metaphor functions as the ultimate postmodern dream: "as a

place at the end of the world where all meanings and values blow away; the place without landmarks that can never be mapped; the place where nothing grows and nobody stays put" (Hebdige 1993: 275). In this desert landscape theory blossoms, but actual people are believed to have a hard time of it.

Anthropologists have now, for the most part, accepted that it is an oversimplification and a misreading of history to assume that people have only ever had one home and one culture in a single location/nation (Settles 2001). Yet they continue to fret over peoples' homelessness, their lack of attachment to particular territorial locations, and to worry about their getting lost in an increasingly face-paced and disorienting global space (Braudrillard 1989, 1983; Jameson 1984). It is true that this space can be lonely and even violent. bell hooks (1995) is correct to remind us that privileged travel is not an idea that can be easily evoked to talk about the Middle Passage, The Trail of Tears, the landing of Chinese immigrants, or the forced relocation of Japanese Americans; but this does not mean we should ignore the lives of the growing number of individuals, such as Rogers, who are able to be comfortably 'at home' in more than one location (or in transit itself!), practising a different or mixed cultural set. Having recognised this "multiplication of secondary residences" (Butor 2001: 79), the questions now become: how do people make themselves comfortable or 'at home' under such circumstances, and what, specifically, encourages individuals to live elsewhere? I believe part of the answer to the first question regarding 'comfort' connects to the idea that culture is primarily a thing of relationships rather than territory (Hannerz 1992). If one is *able to* (and

desires to) engage in a particular constellation of social relations that meet and weave together at a particular locus, then one is able to minimise the negative feelings frequently associated with isolation and alienation (Massey 2001). Remember that most of Rogers' stories concern the friends he made while he was in Japan, and refer to his participation in activities (e.g. judo practice, teaching English, attending the Japanese University) that would have encouraged his involvement in Japanese social life.

This chapter has placed Rogers' travel experiences in relation to ideas of travel in anthropology and travel practises in Europe and North America, but to further understand Rogers' experiences it is necessary to elaborate on Japan's history and culture, and the relationship that Japan and Canada have had over the last century. Rogers' travelling did not occur in a historical vacuum. Rogers' desire to travel to Japan as a teenager (1954-1960) was influenced by the image that Japan was trying to portray after the Second World War and North America's perception of Japan at this time. What Rogers now describes as his "unique" and "special" relationship with the Japanese people was in part a function of his decision to travel to this particular county to study the martial art of judo. These are threads of inquiry that I follow in the second chapter.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE 'SPECIFICS' OF TRAVEL: HISTORY, PLACE and EXPERIENCE

In my effort to elucidate Rogers' journey – both his early coveting of 'all things Japanese' and his subsequent 5-year stay in Japan – it was necessary to review his experiences through the wide lens of history. Before travelling to Japan, Rogers' beliefs about Japan were influenced by the manner in which the West perceived Japan after the Second World War. His time in Japan was shaped by the fact that he arrived in Japan in 1960, a time when the Japanese had recently ceded defeat in the Second World War and were looking favourably towards the West in an effort to modernise. In addition, Rogers' initial ideas about Japanese culture, that were fashioned in Canada, and his stay in Japan were both influenced by the manner in which the Japanese revised their own history and articulated for themselves and the rest of the world who they were.

Japan and the West have shared a long history of (mis)perceiving one another. This gap between Western and Japanese attitudes and behaviours and the perception of one held by the other has remained wide and deep over time. Old representations persist, which sometimes appear as new discoveries, but they are in fact recycled versions of existing stereotypes (Nagatani and Tanaka 1998; Wilkinson 1990). Models of Japanese society, erected on such stereotypes, also prove resistant to change. For example, frameworks that purport to encapsulate Japanese society – such as the 'group' model which underscores harmony and

communal interconnectedness or the 'vertical' model which maintains that Japan is a strictly hierarchical society – remain popular reference points for the West's image of Japanese society. It has even been thought that the essence of Japanese society can be glimpsed at through the metaphor of the Japanese garden.

> Like the water flowing through a Japanese garden, Japanese society is fluid, changing yet retaining its essential character...The garden itself serves as a reminder of the centrality of nature to the development of Japanese society, religion, art, and aesthetics (Gannon 2001: 37).

Contemporary Western academics have begun to challenge and examine these simplistic perceptions, but some continue to rely on certain Japanese ideas and expressions to support these singular, static versions of Japanese society (Bestor 1989). And there are still scholars of Japan who stand guilty of buttressing the common idea that the Japanese lie in diametrical opposition to the West, or what Ruth Benedict (1946) once referred to as the folklore about Japanese society which says whatever we do they do the opposite. What complicates matters is that the Japanese, particularly after the Second World War, became complicit partners in this 'othering' process. The Japanese have eagerly engaged is this process of self-exoticisation, articulating for themselves and the West their position as the unique, quintessential and transcendental 'other' (Lie 2001). The Japanese are guilty of essentialising also, and locating Westerners within the terms of two extremes – "objects of either unqualified abhorrence or unequivocal admiration" (Tsuruta 1998: 49). For example, the early 17th century the Edo officialdom organised the

systematic eradication of all things Western (Matsumoto 1998), yet after the Second

World War individuals from the West came to represent the epitome of beauty and

physical superiority (Tsuruta 1998), and the embodiment of modernity and rational

knowledge (Creighton 1997a).

During the latter half of the 19th century the West leaned on positive

stereotypes of the Japanese and perceived their island to be an exotic playground – a

land of geisha, tea ceremonies, tranquil gardens, and other aesthetic

accomplishments (Hendry 1997; Wright 1996; Boniface and Fowler 1993). This

changed, though, as the West witnessed Japan's rapid modernisation, industrial

expansion, technological development, and education, bureaucratic and political

reforms that took place from the 1870s onwards. Initially the West reviewed this

process as a curious combining of the traditional and the progressive, but Japan's

growing military strength soon became the source of great alarm – particularly for

those living on the West Coast of British Columbia (Roy 1989). The Japanese

victory over Russia in 1905 was a sobering event. Japan was subsequently regarded

as a modern, aggressive, expansionist power – propelled by overpopulation and

hungry for international prestige – that posed a threat to Western military

dominance in Asia. In British Columbia, attitudes towards Japan underwent a

fundamental shift at the beginning of the 20th century. The threat of an attack on BC

by the Japanese became a recurrent theme in local newspapers, periodicals and

fiction, cementing in the West Coast mind an image of an aggressive, militaristic

Japan. Negative assumptions of the Japanese on the West Coast also occurred as a

result of Japanese immigration. The most durable stereotype associated with Japanese immigration was the belief that they jeopardised the economic interests of White BC by competing with the working White man through their acceptance of low pay, long workdays and low standards of living.

Anti-Asian sentiment manifested itself explicitly in 1907 when mobs of angry White BC residents expressed their contempt with the general Asian presence in BC by rioting in Vancouver. After the riots, the Canadian government refused to ban Japanese immigration outright, but they did negotiate a 'gentleman's agreement' with Japan, which limited the number of Japanese immigrants that could enter Canada to only four hundred males per year. And this number dropped further still in 1928, when the Canadian government decided to allow only one hundred and fifty Japanese individuals to enter Canada each year (Adachi 1976). Negative feelings towards the Japanese continued to escalate between late 1937 and early 1942, and reached a feverish pitch with the attack on Pearl Harbour, as many in BC believed that Japan was bent on a program of conquest that would sweep the entire north Pacific Rim. BC nativists believed Japanese immigrants to be a subversive threat and a group whose only loyalty was to the new Japanese Empire – assumptions that were essentially variations on the longstanding popular belief in Asiatic unassimilability. Had BC residents perceived their Japanese neighbours clearly, they would have instead observed "an isolated, defenceless minority, gravely alarmed by its plight and anxious to demonstrate its loyalty to Canada" (Ward 1978: 162).

After the Second World War overt public opinion of the Japanese in Canada changed relatively quickly. This came about as a result of Japanese people resettling east of BC; the revelation of the German war atrocities, which cast racist doctrines into unprecedented disrepute in Western society; and Japanese acculturation, which minimised the social distance between Whites and Asians, particularly among the second generation (Ward 1978). Yet a general uncertainty of the Japanese still lingered in the minds of those who had lived through the Second World War, a mild fear that resulted in Rogers' parents' reluctance to allow him to practice judo.

> **DR**: When I was thirteen I moved to Montreal and it was at this time that I was able (well, it was actually a few years later, when I was fifteen) to start judo...I can remember going by in the streetcar, past the YMCA, and seeing the advertisement in the window. Actually, I went in and I didn't tell my parents. I think I lasted a few weeks there before my parents found out. They were a little upset. I think they were a little afraid that I was getting involved is some type of cult, or what have you. Memories of World War Two were fresh in everyone's mind. We didn't really have any contact with Asians. It was something that people in Canada didn't really know anything about, especially in Eastern Canada.

For those who were not born, not old enough or did not care to remind themselves of 'the enemies' who fought against Canada in the Second World War, Japan once again appeared the alluring, exotic 'other' soon after the War. Films, such as the popular Hollywood film *Sayonara* (1957), were an appealing cinematic introduction to Japanese culture, showing scenes of *kabuki, noh* and *bunraku* theatre, the tea

ceremony, and numerous examples of Japanese scenery, native costumes and traditional architecture (Wright 1996).

At the same time, Japan survived its devastating defeat in 1945 by reinventing itself as a peaceful nation. The Japanese government and media employed narrative strategies to create a continuity that masked the historical disjunction of defeat (Igarashi 2000). The United States was a defining factor in Japan's self-invention, as Japan essentially reconfigured its defeat as a necessary condition for its post-War peace and prosperity under US hegemony. This narrative cast Japan's defeat as a drama of rescue and conversion: "The US rescued Japan from the menace of its militants, and Japan was converted into a peaceful, democratic country under US tutelage" (Igarashi 2000: 13). In the effort to construct a new national image many Japanese emphasised culture, but not politics. To assert Japan's political sovereignty in the international political arena would require Japan to face the traumatic reality of her defeat. In this way, Japanese cultural traditions became a convenient medium through which to project a continuous historical lineage extending from an ancient past. This swept Japan's speedy transition from American enemy to loyal ally under the mat. The alliance between Japan and the US proved to be mutually beneficial. American military leaders stood to gain a great deal from links with Japanese intelligence experts who had specialised in the study of Soviet affairs, and Japan provided the US with invaluable bases in the Far East. The Japanese, in turn, saw their economy surge for two reasons: the generous treatment of Japanese goods on the US market and

because Japanese military expenditures were now minimised as a result of their reliance on US forces (Daniels 1986). In addition, each nation provided the other with a stable anticommunist partner, which further cemented their ties to one another.

The US occupation of Japan officially ended in 1952, but its effects left an indelible mark on Japanese society. During the Occupation, US consumer culture seeped into everyday life in Japan: "As a result of mass media, the impact of American culture was unprecedented. Things American flooded Japanese society" (De Vos and Wagatsuma 1995: 265). The signs of material wealth of Western society fascinated the Japanese, but this integration of Western elements was not entirely easy. The inherent contradiction between Japan's history and geography, which were Asiatic, and her political economy, which was now dominated by North America, manifested a state of unease in many Japanese minds. To alleviate the discomfort some Japanese claimed hybridity or in-betweenness as a cultural component unique to the Japanese (though it must be noted that Japan had already absorbed many Western elements prior to the Occupation) (Igarashi 2000). Rogers was also a part of this heterogeneous milieu. His presence was literally the embodiment of those desired Western characteristics: he was tall, White and blue-eyed; and he spoke English and was educated in the West. In speaking of his time in Tokyo, he also referenced the fact that he spent time at American establishments with American friends, many of whom were at one time or another in the US military.

DR: I arrived in Japan at such a time, it wasn't that long after World War Two. The Korean War was still fresh in some people's memories. Some of the clubs that the Americans had left behind in Tokyo were still there, military clubs and bases. It was a very interesting time in Japan. The Occupiers were still there, though some of them were starting to move out. It was really a Japan in transition.

MR: So where was this picture taken?

DR: This is taken, I believe, up at the 'Stars and Stripes', the US military newspaper in Tokyo. And that's the manager of the club. He was an Indonesian gentleman. That's Frank Kernan; he's from Boston. He was a real character. You look at him, and he looks like John Kennedy. We used to kid him a lot. He spoke like him too; he had a real Bostonian accent. Oh, of course, that's Gary, my friend from Reno. The fellow became a paratrooper. Frank went down also, to Vietnam, prior to the heavy fighting down there. We all hung out together at this club. We were good friends with the manager, so that didn't hurt us. We had good times there. We could get American food. On Friday or Saturday night they'd have a show. After the Vietnam War really got going, a lot of the shows, they'd do a circuit. They would come here and go to Vietnam, so we saw many of the same shows they were doing down there.

Fig. 6

At the same time, though, many of his day-to-day activities revolved around the

Japanese martial art of judo, particularly after he started attending Takushoku

University.

> **DR**: The longer I stayed there the closer I became to the Japanese, and
> particularly after I started going to the University, Takushoku, to train. I
> became a team member and from that point on I was pretty well
> associating primarily with the Japanese. I would often stay at the school
> dormitories, and that sort of thing.

Throughout all of our conversations, Rogers did not mention experiencing

any internal, emotional conflict or any major external conflict with other Japanese

individuals in his travelling between spheres that could be classified as either

'Western' (e.g. Stars and Stripes) or 'Japanese' (e.g. the *dojo* at the Takushoku, a

Japanese university). This is not to say that relations between Japan and the West,

and with the US in particular, were tension-free (Daniels 1986). In 1952 the US-

Japan Security Treaty was ratified, which allowed the US military to continue to use

important military bases in Japan for the defence of the Far East and to intervene in

Japan to put down internal disturbances should the Japanese government request

such assistance. While the Japanese government and a sizeable portion of the

Japanese public supported the ratification, many Japanese did not, and even some

pro-American Japanese felt that the Treaty comprised Japan's independence

(Langdon 1985). Moreover, many Japanese, especially those living in Tokyo, were

beginning to resent the Occupational forces interfering in their domestic lives, and

there had also been some unfortunate incidents involving troops and Japanese

civilians (Chapman 1991). In 1960 the US-Japan Security Treaty was revised and renewed, and at this time there was a resurgence in opposition, particularly from the Socialist Left, to Japan's official affirmation of her relationship with the United States.

The fact that Rogers' experienced minimal internal or external conflict with regard to being a foreigner in Japan was partly due to the fact that the Japanese individuals he practised judo with were, in his words, "not very political" and that he personally felt outside any tension between Japan and the US, being a Canadian citizen. Furthermore, in reference to the few occasions Japanese strangers assumed he was with the US military and made some negative comments to him, he said it did not bother him because he had an "easy-going personality," which enabled him to just "roll with the punches."

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After the War it became deeply important to the Japanese to popularise, through informal and official channels, a revised cultural heritage (De Vos and Wagatsuma 1995). For the Japanese, the belief in a continuous cultural lineage, extending unbroken from an ancient past, suppressed painful memories associated with the War. This also allowed the Japanese, through various cultural markers and practices, to showcase itself to the rest of the world as a peaceful, proper and aesthetically-oriented nation. This strategy was aimed at erasing the pre-War image

of Japan as a nation of irrational, cruel militants (Lie 2001; Igarashi 2000).

Japanese culture once again appeared exotic, steeped in mystery and ripe with

ancient insight, which infinitely appealed to the modern West who longed for a

traditional, romantic 'other'. Japan came to be identified with bonsai, flower

arranging, origami, tea ceremonies, ink paintings, ceramics, calligraphy, cherry

blossoms, kimonos, haiku, and, of course, the martial arts. Such organised practices

and easily identifiable symbols allowed for Japanese culture's ready

transportability, permitting its flow into other countries without the necessity of an

actual Japanese individual mediating this process. Japan increasingly came to be

referred to by outsiders as the 'land of culture': "the image that arises is of a vast

shop, which offers 'culture' on its various shelves, from which each 'cultural

visitor' takes whatever necessary and leaves" (Goldstein-Gidoni 2003: 372).

Though care should be taken to remember that this is not simply another case of the

West's proclivity for objectification and essentialism. That Japan came to be

thought of as an exotic and mystical land of culture is partly the result of outsiders

coming into contact with a particular image of Japan that was produced by the

Japanese. The growth of judo within Japan, judo's travel overseas and its

absorption by non-Japanese individuals outside Japan demonstrates this process.

The development of judo exemplifies Japan's revisionist impulses and the

process of exotification by sources both inside and outside Japan. The idealisation

of classic warriors (*bushi*) and the killing art of jujitsu are relatively recent

constructs. Jujitsu originally referred to empty-hand fighting systems that use a

minimum of direct strikes, which were developed after 1600. These systems were

modernised by Dr. Jigora Kano in the late 19th century to become the martial art of

judo. When the modern form of judo evolved it was claimed that the original *bushi*

warriors followed a '*do*' or spiritual path that intimately linked their fighting arts

with Zen Buddhism. Dr. Kano nudged history and supplied judo with a

philosophical and moral bent; thus in judo a great deal of attention has since been

paid to proper form and execution, and concepts of courtesy and etiquette. But, in

truth, most tales of the *bushi* from the Edo period (1603-1868) speak of the

warriors' treachery, disloyalty or cowardice, not their following of a pure spiritual

path to enlightenment. In reality, empty-handed combat held only a minor position

in the overall canon of fighting techniques and it was only used as a last resort

(Draeger 1973).

In the 1860s, Dr. Kano argued that his martial art was a method of moral

development. He took several small parts of the broader Zen concept and applied

them to judo (Maliszewski 1992). According to the Zen-infused judo system,

perfection of the self was foremost: the ideal was to be self-reliant, self-denying and

single-minded, and this was thought to be more important than the actual perfection

of technique (Frager and Rohlen 1976). Originally the Japanese government

welcomed the idealisation of the warrior's way. It was a time of early contact with

the West, and there was a felt need to defend and glorify Japan's cultural forms, and

simultaneously suppress its bloody martial history. But with the rise of the Meiji

government and the 'opening of Japan' in 1868, there came an intense period of

industrialisation and modernisation, which sparked a backlash against anything that appeared inefficient and antiquated in Japan (Carr 1993). On Feb. 15th, 1882 Dr. Kano discretely founded his own school, the Kodokan (Tegner 1967). It was a tiny room with only ten mats and the practioners had to pretend they were taking English from Dr. Kano. Dr. Kano's techniques and ideology soon became more popular when he outlined that judo would bring Japan up to speed with the West by overcoming Japan's perceived military and physical inferiority. Moreover, he explained how he wished to disseminate the ideals of judo internationally to benefit the welfare of the world. By 1911 the Japanese Ministry of Education had made judo compulsory for all middle-school students.

For most of the US Occupation the martial arts were prohibited, but in 1951 judo was revived once more and interested American servicemen began to learn judo and transport the martial art back to their homes; and in 1952 the international judo federation was established with seventeen member nations. Judo thrived overseas in part because its mysticism was emphasised by both Japanese and non-Japanese practioners.

MR: Do you think that maybe when people took judo outside Japan they played up the romantic, mystical elements to attract people to the sport?

DR: Certainly. You would have had a very hard time getting people interested in judo if you had presented it to parents and the general public as something equivalent to wrestling. Judo, kung fu, karate – they all grab the imagination because they do something that seems superhuman. The teachers were able to use that idea of judo as

something spectacular, mystical; they'd tell stories about it to get a chuckle out of the students. And then the people practising felt they were so special when they walked through that door. There was a camaraderie, a certain fraternity.

The martial arts appeared to tackle fundamental questions of human existence: the search for identity, the relationship of the individual to the group, and even the divide between life and death. In the West, judo's romantic, spiritual elements – its association with Zen, enlightenment, meditation, and power – seemed to offer solace and possibly answers. Membership in the *dojo* meant being a part of a group with a well-defined sense of identity, with strong historical and ideological roots. Training with the group supplied the practioner with a sense of belonging, a sense of being special, compared to the anomie and marginality perpetuated by modern life in North America (Donohue 1994, 1991). In the *dojo* one set the tedium of 'normal' life aside; it was a special place where ritual etiquette, protocol, symbolism, formal organisation, and hierarchical structure were paramount (Frager and Rohlen 1976). Judo satisfied both the body and the soul: students not only enjoyed the elated exhaustion of a physically demanding workout, they belonged to something that had a supernatural dimension, which set them apart from those around them in their everyday life.

Judo was also appealing because it was thought to supply a degree of control over violent situations. It was thought to be combat-effective. The narrative of the small boy who is able to defeat the larger bully, or the old man who is able to

challenge the younger brute, as a result of the empowering magic of the martial arts,

became common knowledge. It was also an idea that initially attracted Rogers to

judo.

> **DR:** Sometimes the teachings of the martial arts were wrapped up in a very idealistic way. Not necessarily truthful, but I didn't know that at the time. Within the sport, there was a certain code. I used to think there was something magical about judo. The books we had back then always pictured someone older throwing someone bigger and stronger. There was a mythology: old men could beat young men. You learn later that it's not totally correct, but it certainly got me interested.

The psychic and physical attractions of judo played on Rogers' imagination

and drew him further into the sport; and after he had seen two individuals who had

trained in Japan handily win their matches at a tournament in Montreal, he decided

that he had to go to Japan to improve. His decision to go to Japan played into the

idea that 'real', 'authentic' judo only existed in Japan (Donohue 1991). But after

training at the Kodokan (in the Japanese section, not the foreigners section), with

various Japanese police teams and later with Takushoku, a Japanese University

team, Rogers realised that judo, as it was practised in Japan to win competitions,

was essentially a game of speed, strength, efficiency, and technique. The mystical

component was not a part of the daily training routine in the best *dojos* in Japan.

The evaluation of a match was always relatively straightforward: what technique did

you use and, more importantly, was it effective? Judo at the highest level was a

question of bodily mechanics, not the path to enlightenment.

DR: I once asked a famous judo teacher what the relationship was between judo and Zen (and supposedly the Zen philosophy runs throughout some of the ideals of judo, the philosophy of judo) and he replied, "Zen Zen." And the phrase 'Zen Zen' in Japanese would mean 'there is none'. Obviously he was taking a very practical approach towards the game.

Yet the 'romance' of judo still held the popular imagination in both Canada and Japan at that time.

DR: When I came back from Japan I had a great deal of difficulty with the judo establishment in Canada. One of the main reasons was that I was big and strong.

MR: Why would that be a problem?

DR: Because of the way they had learned judo, the way Canadians had learned judo…When the US military went to get judo teachers, they took these older teachers, and I'm saying fifty-plus, as their instructors. And so these teachers, if they came to Canada, generally speaking, promoted the style of judo that was found in publications put out by the Japanese or the Kodokan, which featured, in most cases, gentlemen in their fifties and sixties.

MR: It was almost a romanticised version that you encountered in Canada?

DR: Yeah, it really was. I had a lot of problems. Competition was not a problem. I got in so many arguments with other teachers and students. That is why I eventually retreated to the University of British Columbia [to coach there]. I could teach my own, not my version, but the way it was taught in Japan.

MR: Didn't they see that your technique was more efficient in competition?

DR: Yes, but people tend to like what they already do. They were limited in their exposure. They would treat my judo as something that required a lot of strength and wasn't real judo technique, but that's so far from the truth. That's just the way it is. At least at UBC they were academic enough to say, "well, let's look at the results empirically and, well, Doug Rogers won these ten matches, and he won this and that, and he can't be that bad." It made sense, right. I won matches against legitimate judo players world-wide. There was a skill level attached. I mean you are never strong enough. You never have enough technique. I was always encouraged by my Japanese teachers to get stronger.

MR: Did you find in Japan people that believed in a more romantic system of judo? That the same sort of dynamic that was happening in Canada was happening in Japan?

DR: Oh yeah. A lot of people [in Japan] only had a fringe idea of judo. They knew judo, but they hadn't practised judo. As you got further away from the actual people practising it, it became more mythologised... In movies there were mythical characters that knew judo, the samurais who always saved the damsels in distress.

DR: (looking at a photograph) This is Toshiro Mifune. He might have been in his late seventies or early eighties. I was invited out to a garden party... It was given for one of the ambassadors, I can't remember whom. Even in Japan if they wanted a judo demonstration, if they wanted to present the 'real' spirit and meaning of judo, this is the kind of image they would try and portray. They wouldn't send out a judo team or a national champion of Japan to have a match in the garden...[Toshiro Mifune] would come out and do some arranged moves and have some prearranged matches. He would throw the larger opponent...There is a mythology about him. But I can still remember at that match, that demonstration, they introduced him as someone who could have developed in any field that he wanted. He was the original student of the founder of judo.

Fig. 7

The same theme resurfaced once again when he spoke about his Japanese sponsor's

desire for him to understand the 'spirit' of judo.

> **DR:** So I became a good friend of this gentleman. He owned a restaurant outside of Tokyo, a noodle shop or a noodle restaurant; it was rather a classy place. And his brother was a wealthy contractor, so his brother became my sponsor. And I remember once when I had to come back for the Canadian judo championships, he paid my way. It's very interesting, very Japanese. Before he gave me the ticket or the money he wanted to make sure I really understood the spirit of judo, etc. So he had some judo songs, so he put them on his record player and we sat and listened to several songs about judo. All the good things that good judo practioners are supposed to exhibit, and I guess once he was convinced that I had all those attributes he gave me the money. But I thought that was interesting. It just showed how with judo – and this fellow didn't do judo – there was still that, 'judo, yeah, there's something special about it'. In Japan there's such a historical, cultural tie that comes out of the old martial arts.

The revisioning of judo's martial history, to have the *bushi*, the classical warrior, embody the ideals of respect, kindness and a steady presence of mind, was another way by which the Japanese celebrated and projected a particular image of themselves. Before World War Two judo was a programme by which the Japanese could 'catch up' with the West and after the War it helped to showcase Japan as a thoughtful, graceful and exotic nation. The Japanese encouraged even competitive judo at the highest level, given that the parallel ideals of the Olympics – international friendship and peace – were consistent with the image that Japan was trying to portray. At the top *dojos* in Japan, though, minimal time was actually spent on judo's mystical components. Strength, agility and technique were foremost in the elite judoists mind – even if others relied on their success to project an image of romance and tradition.

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After the Second World War, Japan also revised its past to imagine itself as what Lie (2001) refers to as a 'monoethnic society'. Rogers travelled to a place where race, ethnicity and nation each functioned to define the parameters of the other, and where all were regarded as naturally occurring phenomena (Weiner 1997). Though US culture was being rapidly absorbed after the War, this only incited further discussion about what it meant to be Japanese. Rogers

arrived in Japan at a time when the discourse surrounding the identity of the nation and its inhabitants was in full swing – where ethnic purity, belonging and insider/outsider divisions had become extremely important.

The belief that Japan is a monoethnic society is an idea that is widely accepted both inside and outside Japan, and by both Japanese and non-Japanese individuals (Tsuda 2000). In Japan, a continuous historical and cultural lineage was deployed to signify the existence of an immutable and homogenous Japan. This narrative line was evident in Japanese films, comic books, academic research, popular literature, and official statements released by the Japanese government. Consider that Japan's initial submission to the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations in 1980 denied the existence of any minority populations within its national borders (Weiner 1997). But this is simply not the case. History and geography do offer the Japanese compelling arguments for homogeneity: for instance, the State's policy of seclusion (*sakoku*) during the Edo period, and the natural isolation of the Japanese archipelago. But Japan has never been entirely closed to foreign contact, whether to ideas, goods or people. Even during the Edo period there was a well-developed discourse on Asia and over two hundred books on foreign countries had been translated (Jansen 1992; Toby 1991).

> Japan's much discussed policy of *sakoku* should not be interpreted to mean that there was a complete lack of travel, either within Japan or between Japan and other countries. Indeed, by the time it ended its policy of *sakoku* in the nineteenth century, Japan already had a rich tradition of travel and travel writing (Jones 2002: 44).

Moreover, 'outsiders' have existed in Japan since the beginning of recorded history. The Burakumin, or the outcastes, have occupied the lowest rungs of Japanese society for centuries (De Vos and Wagatsuma 1995). The formation of the Burakumin is not entirely clear, but two broad occupational categories seem to have distinguished their discriminated set. The first group were composed of the Kodai (350 BC – AD 794) who were diviners, itinerent priests, artisans, and entertainers, and Korean artists and craftsmen who came to Japan during the Tomb period (AD 250-650). The second category involved those who worked with death and dirt – major pollutants as defined by Japanese culture – such as butchers, makers of leather goods and executioners (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984). The emancipation of the Burakumin officially happened in 1871, but marriage outside the group remains extremely rare due to their presumed 'dirtiness'. Other ethnically distinct groups also exist in Japan. The Ainu people originally inhabited the northern part of the Honshu, Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and Kurile islands; and the Okinawans, of the southern Ryukyu islands, had an independent kingdom until the Meiji State annexed it in the late 19th century (Lie 2001). Japan's imperialist designs also brought her into close contact with her neighbours. Taiwan became a Japanese colony after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), and after Japan's success in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) Korea was recognised as a Japanese sphere of influence (and was later annexed by the Japanese [1910]). In addition, Japan invaded and took over Manchuria in 1931(Lie 2001). Residents of these colonised areas came to Japan

where they occupied secondary and informal labour markets and lived in segregated areas.

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These military accomplishments accentuated Japan's sense of superiority over her colonised population. Furthermore, by the late 19th century European imperialist perspectives on 'race' and culture had reached Japan. Armed with the 'science' of Social Darwinism the Japanese believed that some societies were more advanced than others, and used this argument to buttress the idea that the Japanese were unique and superior to other Asians, thus justifying their ascendance in Asia. In Japan the Meiji State abolished status distinctions and sought to transform townspeople and peasants divided by regional and status differences into loyal national subjects. The modern Japanese State greatly accelerated national integration by developing mass education and enhancing nation-wide circuits of transportation and communication. Encounters with the West also promoted an increased national consciousness, as the novelty, shock and difference of the West superseded any differences among the Japanese population, furnishing the Japanese with a heightened awareness of their own unique identity (Lie 2001).

Yet during the early 1900s the ideology of 'one nation, one people' was not as pervasive as it was to become after the Second World War. The major reason that the rhetoric of monoethnicity did not dominate pre-War Japan was because Japan was an imperial power – and whatever else empires may be, they

are not monoethnic. The post-War belief in monoethnic nationalism served a blatant purpose: it allowed the population to remember their past as if there had been no history in which they had once tried to expand the unity of the Japanese nation beyond the territory of the post-War State (Sakai 2000). Having the pre-War belief in their superiority somewhat dismantled and having experienced rapid Westernisation, many Japanese were confused as to who they were.

In the post-War period many rallied around the desire to preserve peace, and Tokyo urbanites generated an appetite for nostalgia, i.e. a longing for lost local communities or 'the mountain where I played as a child'; but these concepts proved too nebulous to form the foundation of the Japanese identity (Lie 2001). Monoethnicity – the idea that Japan is defined by a people having the same colour hair and eyes, speaking the same language, and living the same way – arose as Japan's essential feature, and few questioned it. Nationality, as it also appeared to be an extension of the household registry, was therefore a native and natural construct: one belongs, organically as it were, to a nation as one does to a family.

Rogers arrived in a place where the distinction between inside (*uchi*) versus outside (*soto*) and marginality versus belonging were becoming increasingly salient conceptual divisions in Japanese society (Hendry 1997). The social atmosphere was saturated with a general concern for ethnic identification, egalitarianism and pacifism, which encouraged the importance of establishing

and maintaining harmonious relationships (Creighton 1998). To belong, to be on

the inside, to be woven into Japanese society through relationships with other

Japanese was deeply important, and it played on Rogers' desire to feel included

by the Japanese.

> **DR**: I can remember one day when I was practising at the University club. Several newspaper reporters were up there - from time to time they would come. They wanted to know how Doug Rogers was doing with regard to Japanese customs, language, food, etc. I remember I was practising, but I could kind of hear them talking about me; and when the director of the club (who just happened to be an ex-fighter pilot during the War), when they asked him how I got along in Japan with all these cultural things, I can remember him saying, "*Are wa Nihonjin da.*" And that means, 'that's a Japanese'. I remember how I got a real rush out of that, how proud I felt, because I think all the time there's that wanting to be like the Japanese. I had so immersed myself, going to the Japanese University, being one of the Japanese players. I felt I had really accomplished something, knowing how they felt about me in this way.

Rogers also expressed his pleasure and pride at doing things that were thought to

be typically 'Japanese', such as eating Japanese food.

> **DR:** I don't think I ever had any Japanese food before I went to Japan and that really surprised me, because for several years I used to use chopsticks at home. Not all the time, but from time to time. Obviously I ate Chinese food...Chinese restaurants were just getting popular, just starting to come in when I was in high school in Montreal. But as far as I know, there were no Japanese restaurants. Of course, if there had been, I'm sure I would have gone. Once I arrived in Japan, I think from day one, I had sushi – raw fish. I was hooked on it.

> **MR:** You took to that?

> **DR:** Oh yeah. It wasn't difficult for me to live off the land.

MR: Live off the land?

DR: Live off the Japanese diet.

MR: Raw fish, rice?

DR: Yeah, and that's not the major part. Noodles, a little beef, fish, rice, a lot of veggies, eggs. Anything like that, but I took it...I loved Japanese food...I never turned down any Japanese food. Sometimes some of the larger snails, they didn't really turn me on too much. By and large I ate whatever was put in front of me.

Becoming more proficient in the Japanese language also excited Rogers.

DR: I like languages. I never had too much trouble picking them up. My only experience would have been with French. I really enjoyed trying to speak Japanese. With Japanese I really knew I was starting to pick it up, and I met friends who commented on how poor my English had become - of course this was partly because I wasn't speaking it a lot. I was talking with the Japanese...It took actually a couple of years before I realised, and one day I remember I was on the phone and I was getting instructions from somebody and I realised I was thinking in Japanese. There was no conscious effort of having to translate from Japanese, thinking that means such and such. It was just that the Japanese registered right with me, and that made me really very happy. I thought, 'oh, I'm making progress'.

That Rogers was thought of as 'a Japanese' because he was skilled at things that were typically Japanese, such as judo or the Japanese language, speaks to the relevance of such cultural markers in the process of identifying one's self as a national member. That Rogers relished this inclusion speaks to the importance of

'belonging' in Japan after the Second World War. Rogers' acceptance by his Japanese friends as a sort of honorary Japanese was a great source of pride for him. Certainly it is not unusual for individuals, seasoned travellers and anthropologists especially, to delight in their success with foreign customs and ways of life, but to 'belong' in Japan was a particularly salient inclusion. In the early 1960s in Japan, the belief that foreigners would never be able to understand the essence of Japan was gaining momentum (Matsunaga 2000). Yoshida Teigo (1981), exploring the ambiguous attitude of the Japanese towards strangers, writes about how the Japanese, on one hand, are extremely hospitable to outsiders, but also how it is commonly understood that Japan is essentially closed to foreigners. Indeed, "Every Westerner has been told in Japan that they cannot and will never be able to understand the Japanese" (Goodman 2000: 156). This belief has become so pervasive that recent Japanese advertisements poke fun of White foreigners by having them attempt traditional Japanese arts or customs, only to have them flail in their ineptitude. This awkwardness with Japanese practices is projected to reinforce a feeling that there is something about these cultural identity markers that is solely for the Japanese (Creighton 1997a).

As I have already mentioned, Rogers was welcomed by many Japanese he met because Japan, in general, was looking favourably towards North America to modernise, but he was also more easily accepted because he was White. He was a 'pure' *gajin* (foreigner). In Japan, with its highly developed ideas of purity and pollution, and emphasis on social forms and boundaries, clean categories of

belonging are extremely important. There is a deep distrust of ambiguity in belonging in Japan, which does not allow one to easily inhabit a hyphenated space (Valentine 1990). For example, a Korean individual would be considered in between a Japanese person and White foreigner in terms of ethnic identification, but being on the border, or not properly outside, would in fact make him or her more marginal in many ways. Ohnuki-Tierney (1984) in her work on Japan explains that belonging to the clear-cut 'outside', the opposite of the Japanese 'inside', affords one a dual power (to be both lucky and beneficial or dangerous and destructive); whereas being on the outer margin simply means that you are impure. Rogers' clear outsider status may have allowed him to travel more easily within the inner circles of life in Japan and to be accepted more readily by other Japanese.

The idea that a White Canadian was spending years in Tokyo trying to better himself at a Japanese martial art also resulted in him being a source of curiosity – "a novelty," according to Rogers – and even confirmed for the Japanese that their traditions were inherently special. Photographs of Rogers published in Japanese newspapers and magazines showed Rogers as a functioning member of Japanese society: eating with his team mates [Fig. 8]; running alongside his team mates during training [Fig. 9]; or posing in his Takushoku University uniform [Fig. 10]. Rogers' story is not unique, as other clearly non-Japanese people, such as the sumo wrestler Akebono (Hawaiian), have also been embraced by the Japanese because of his putative adherence to Japanese behaviours and ways of living (Lie 2001). We would do well to remember that it is not enough to choose to belong – one must be

included to belong: "You may never be local, in the sense of being born and raised,
but fitting in and contributing to a community may be rewarded with acceptance and
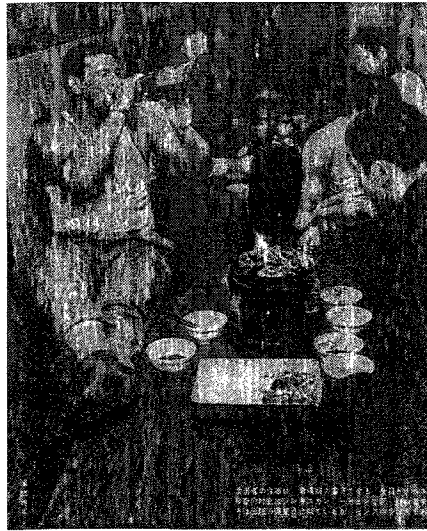belonging" (Settles 2001: 631).

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Even Rogers' 'story' – being a foreigner training and competing in judo at such a

high level – and the fact that he had established many social contacts in Japan,

helped him to remain in the country.

> **DR**: I was supposed to leave Japan because my visa was up, and in fact I didn't report. I guess you could say I was in Japan illegally for about 6 months, and then I finally went down. I think I had to go to the immigration officer at the old airport. He looked at my visa and he hissed and said a few things. He shook his head and drew in his breath…He wasn't really sure quite what to do. He was talking about me having to go to Hong Kong or Taipei to have to renew my visa. And I was telling him I really couldn't do that, so I can't really remember if my sponsor got me in to see the right political people. I just can't recall. Buy anyway, I remember going down to the officer of immigration at the Japanese Diet, which is the main parliament building, the main offices in Tokyo for the government. When I went in there they invited me for some tea and then I explained that I was probably going to be representing Canada in the Olympics and I gave them a bit of a sob story (which wasn't really that necessary). He was really quite interested in judo. I can still remember, it was so funny, he was looking at the papers. (Had it been really for most people, I mean the Japanese didn't suffer foreigners who misbehaved.) So anyway, he looked and then he said, "I don't really see any problem with any of this." So he just wrote a little letter…But anyway, he got really interested in my story and I could see he liked judo…The idea, and the Olympics were coming up, etc. But it was so funny, just the way he looked and said, "I don't think there's anything wrong with this." Really, of course, there was. I had certainly got to the right guy. So, I took the letter, or whatever it was, and went back to the airport and then the fellow there, who I had seen before, opened it up and 'wow'. His eyes got wide and 'bam'; he got out his stamp. I think I got my visa updated indefinitely. I'm not sure that sort of thing would happen today. I had had that happen on several occasions, that I knew somebody or got to somebody that knew somebody.

    *   *   *

Situating Rogers' travel experiences in relation to historical processes in Japan has been a sobering reminder that anthropology is no longer simply the recording of the daily habits and rituals of a non-literate society during a single field season. Often cultural comprehension requires attention to processes that unfold over long periods of time and local understandings of such historical processes. In the case of the Japanese, they have recorded their history and who they are for centuries – Japan did not wait "for the West to discover its own past, its history, its identity" (Minear 1980: 515). Information about Japan has been interpreted not only by lay people within the country, but by native scholars, native historical schools and native intellectual traditions (Ohnuki-Tierney 1990a, 1990b). Rather than having their culture 'discovered' by outsiders, the Japanese have actively and reflexively worked to project a reified or naturalised image of themselves (Creighton 1997b). This alerts us the fact that cultural wholes are not given – though they may be presented as such – but are dynamic processes of self-understanding, where people are deeply involved in constructing their cultural 'selves' (Hastrup and Olwig 1997).

The Japanese have had a long history of using others reflexively to self-define: in the 5th and 6th centuries, in relation to China; and the West after the reopening of Japan in 1868 (Ohnuki-Tierney 1990b). At times the Japanese have enthusiastically welcomed the 'other' and used their presence to energise their collective self, but at other times this presence was officially shunned, e.g. during the Edo period, to protect and preserve Japan from external influences. For over

one hundred and thirty years now the West, and particularly the United States, has

provided Japanese society with a model against which it can differentiate itself and

develop its own unique identity (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984). No more is this evident in

the Japanese literary genre *Nihonjinron* (literally, 'theories of Japaneseness') which

became popular in 1970s and 1980s during Japan's international economic triumph.

Nihonjinron is an explicitly comparative exercise championing 'traditional'

Japanese values (e.g. exclusivity, monoethnicity, conformity, harmony, mutual

dependence) over perceived Western values (e.g. openness, heterogeneity,

individuality). The idea of what it means to be Japanese, this continual process of

reflexive national mythmaking, has in turn exerted a three-way force – on Japan

itself, on those who study Japan and on Western consumers of Japan (Moeran

1990).

Japan has practised on the West a similar kind of Orientalism from which

the entire Orient has traditionally had to suffer at the hands of Westerners. In other

words, Japan's discourse on Japaneseness is a form of Occidentalism, or rendering

the West as the other, while remaining, at the same time, a form of auto-

Orientialism (Moeran 1989). Orientalism, as it is presented in Said's (1978)

foundational text, focuses on the ways by which the West processed knowledge

about the East. Ways that asserted and maintained the power of the West over the

East by continually presenting them as inferior, depraved, fallen, childlike, and

'different' – representations which perniciously played into the East's conception of

itself (Roberson 2001). But the historical relations between the West and Said's

Orient have been different than those between the West and Japan. The abiding

cultural ties which bound the West to the Orient did not exist between Japan and the

West: Japan held virtually no interest for philogists seeking the roots of Western

languages, nor did it represent any particular religious appeal or threat. Overall, the

"West had very little to teach Japan about itself" (Minear 1980: 515). Japan has

always been literate, as some of the most widely read books on Japan have been

written by the Japanese. It did not fit to label the nation 'backwards' or 'pre-

modern' after 1868, as it rapidly developed a modern military, economic, political,

communication, and educational infrastructure. There have been times when the

West's perceived rationality and progressive nature have enamoured the Japanese,

but they have always remained in control of defining who they are.

Given Japan's ambiguous place in the East-West discourse – its calling into

question the supposed centrality of the West as a cultural and geographical locus for

the project of modernity – and its propensity for reflexive self-creation, it is

interesting that many early anthropologists failed to consider Japan in a comparative

light. As a result, anthropologists studying Japan have "suffered from a seeming

obsession for detail and a curiously myopic view of general anthropological theory"

(Moeran 1990: 3). The academic studying Japan is commonly characterised as a

"highly specialized scholar who pursues his or her esoteric studies unmoved by

intellectual currents and profane daily business" (Hijiya-Kirschnereit 1992: 171).

The 'very nature' of Japanese society – as maintained by sources both inside and

outside Japan – has invited those studying it to form their own 'unique', closed-in

social cliques, and the result of which is that most Japanists fail to look beyond the Japanese archipelago. They are cultural 'particularists' who have wrapped themselves up in Japanese society. As such, we have a plentitude of studies on aesthetic forms and the hierarchical or 'groupish' nature of institutions such as banks, schools, clubs, and companies (Goodman 2000). Many anthropologists studying Japan are more interested in cultural differences than similarities, and, partly because few speak Japanese very well, they unwittingly reproduce facile generalisations of the Japanese culture (Befu 1992). Scholars neglect to consider the staged nature of much Japanese traditional life and how it has been constructed to serve different purposes over time. Moreover, the image of Japan as 'the land of tradition', its particular resonance in Western fantasies, has rarely been addressed; leading Morely and Robins (1995) to remark that the West's absorption of Japan is inconclusive and rarely described.

I do not mean to suggest that we should entirely ignore these single, one-shot conceptions of Japanese society. We cannot, for these ideas hold the public imagination captive in Japan and elsewhere. They exert real power. Rogers was incited to leave Canada and travel to Japan because he believed Japan to be 'special', 'unique' and 'mystical'. What remains important is to understand how specific individuals relate to, experience, use, challenge, and modify these cultural idioms, artefacts and practices. To examine how Rogers lived through, influenced and was effected by the internal cultural debates that were taking place after the War in Japan is a way to ground these historical processes and connect them to a specific

person and the minutia of his daily life. This is a method by which we can wrestle with these significant historical processes at the experiential and emotional level. At the same time, engaging with history allows us to grasp why Rogers was able to make himself 'at home' in Japan.

To close this chapter I would like to point out that Rogers' travel to and experiences in Japan in some ways disrupts the idea that 'travel' is the sub-story of the grand narrative of Western imperialism. Post-colonial theories tend to solely focus on travel to certain inarguably 'othered' territorial contacts, such as Africa, the Caribbean, India, the Middle East, and sometimes South America. Post-colonial theories have relied upon a poetics of travel which might not necessarily account for the broader field: "what, for example, did it mean *specifically* for a Briton to visit Iceland or Sardinia, take the Grand Tour through France to Italy or, indeed, to explore the extremities of the rural United Kingdom?" (Musgrove 1999: 36, *emphasis in the original*). Musgrove argues that social scientists interested in travel have primarily studied travel through the lens of post-colonial theories, which has resulted in scholars presuming a colonial agenda to exist at the heart of most travel experiences over the last few hundred years, when this might not actually be the case.

> To apply a critical trope in this way however, amounts to something close to high structuralism, whereby situations remote from each other in time, geography and cultural context are brought together in a single and splendidly coherent intellectual field. In terms of scholarship, that kind of cross-troping is at best a short-hand and, at worst, an evasion of historical engagement: to sniff out a colonizing tendency in travel to

Capri (which, if one reads them, are frequently homosexuals dodging the law) because it seems to appear synchronically in the Cape of Good Hope (land of missionary, freebooter and official administrator) is a highly problematic matter (1999: 36-37).

This being said, it would not necessarily be theoretically expedient to locate in Rogers' travel experiences a colonial project at work. An imperialising psychology did not motivate Rogers to go to Japan, nor was he driven by those sorts of impulses once he arrived there. Furthermore, Japan never bowed to the West, agreeing to be its passive, silent 'other' – the Japanese labelled themselves 'exotic' and 'unique', while using the West as a mirror to self-define. Japan strains the notion that, "They are over there. We are over here AND over there. They are simply being. We, in the West, are being and becoming" (Robertson *et al.* 1994: 4). By the 1860s the Japanese government had sponsored fact-finding missions to the West: to the US in 1860 and Europe in 1862, and the famous Iwakura Mission to the US and Europe between 1871-73 included a fifty member party that explicitly catalogued social, economic, technological, cultural, and political differences (Jones 2002). It would serve us well to remember that other people, besides Westerners, have travelled to expand their horizons for a plethora of reasons. In sum, to engage with the particulars of location and history are of the utmost importance in grasping travellers' experiences and their original motivations for going abroad.

CHAPTER THREE: LIVES IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

The article that initially prompted me to write about Rogers' travel

experiences was Arjun Appadurai's (1991) "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and queries

for a transnational anthropology." In this article, Appadurai charges that the new

task of ethnography is to unravel the conundrum – to determine the nature of

locality, as lived experience, in a globalised, deterritorialised world. This

programme emphasises the fact that 'locality' can no longer be a reified, taken for

granted concept. It is a feature of social life that people react to, identify with,

challenge, and experience, where cultural elements from different levels mingle and

clash (Rapport and Overing 2000). Appadurai further states that "ethnography must

redefine itself as that practice of representation which illuminates the power of

large-scale, imagined life possibilities over specific life trajectories" (1991: 200). I

disagree that *all* ethnography must be carried out in this vein, but his words

nonetheless have resulted in much of my thinking about how Rogers was influenced

by (and possibly influenced) processes that were global in reach. This 'life in the

global context' approach, with its emphasis on the imagination and the constructed

nature of locality, is a departure from a great deal of earlier life history-type

research in anthropology which equated an individual's life with concrete, daily

activities in one particular location, which was assumed to have one particular

culture.

Conventional life history definitions tend to share several common elements: they emphasise the sociocultural milieu of the teller; they focus on the perspective of one, unique individual; they have a temporal depth; and they relate the *local* history from the point of view of the indigenous narrator (Shaw 1980). Though my work with Rogers does maintain parallels with earlier approaches, Rogers' life, and the stories that he tells about his life, are not yoked to a single local area, culture or history. Demonstrating that personal narratives can reveal that people have lives that go well beyond the common set of attachments, feelings, commitments, loyalties, identities, and practices that have traditionally been thought to exist among a concentration of people living in one geographical territory (Minar and Greer 1969).

Early critics of life history work nestled their discontent with this style of research around issues of reliability and the belief that it was too subjective a tool. According to Crapanzano, "the life history has been somewhat of a conceptual – and emotional – embarrassment to academic anthropology and has remained on the periphery of the discipline" (1984: 954). Life history work did gain a foothold in the field of linguistics after the 1970s, though, where most of the attention was soon directed towards pragmatics, story structure, sociolinguistics, and discourse analysis (Agar 1980). The turn toward the lived experience of individuals did not occur in cultural anthropology until the 1980s, when a healthy distrust emerged of represented peoples, institutions, communities, and classes as coherent entities (Frank 1995). This interest in life histories arrived with the new poststructuralist

world order, but for the most part it has remained "a field of unrealized potential" in cultural anthropology (Behar 1990: 223).

Work in this area has thus far aimed to untangle and honour the intimacy that is involved in life history work (Bertaux and Kohli 1984). Where much of the analysis connects to ideas of 'self' and 'identity', issues between the narrator and the listener in the field, and the act of representation itself. Through 'telling their lives' people are thought to not only be providing information about themselves, but also fashioning their identities and constructing a 'self' for public consumption (Hoskins 1998; Rosenwald and Ochberg 1992). Anthropologists believe that the coherent story a person tells about him- or herself presents a unified image of the self out of the disparate, messy fragments of daily experience. At the same time, they recognise that personal narration is never a finished project, as people continuously rewrite, erase and develop the meanings of their stories. For even as a story is crafted and edited, and given form and finality, researchers have become cognisant of the fact that it is to some extent always fictional (Rapport and Overing 2000).

Social scientists have also demonstrated that the stories people tell are largely a bricolage of inherited forms, as the categories people use to organise their biographies are cultural and social constructions like all the other parts of a social stock of knowledge (Byron 1992). Julie Cruikshank's work with three women of Athapaskan and Tlingit ancestry demonstrates this point:

When they talk about their lives, these women use narrative genres familiar to anyone sharing their cultural background but not always clear to cultural outsiders. They may, for example, explain an event by telling a story in which a protagonist suffers complex repercussions because he behaved rashly, a point easily lost on a Western audience (1990: ix).

The storytelling dyad itself is no less complicated, as the ethnographic interview is always a complex co-creation that is in part structured by the listener's questions and expectations. For instance, the story may be altered depending on whether the informant wishes to be admired, understood, forgiven, and/or believed by one's listening audience. Frequently this relationship between the listener and the teller, or what in anthropology has been described as the encounter between the 'self' and the 'other', forms the central axis of the ethnographic investigation (Field 2001; Eastmond 1996; Dossa 1994; Byron 1992; Tedlock 1991). Consider Ruth Behar's *Translated Women* (1993), where 'power' was one of the primary tenets of inquiry, based on the fact that Behar was a middle-class, American *gringa* compared to her unschooled, Mexican street peddler informant. Finally, when it comes to the creation of the final ethnographic product, coherence is imposed on the story. A good part of what the anthropologist does in writing up her material is to try to devise a coherent story line that will craft fragmentary episodes of experience into something intelligible to an academic audience – and it is this process that has become a source of great anxiety and, as such, the catalyst for a prolific amount of writing on this topic.

In the following paragraphs I discuss my work with Rogers in reference to the life history genre in anthropology. The first point I raise is that my project does not match the schema of what anthropologists would typically consider a life history project to be. It differs markedly, in both style and focus, from well-known life histories written by such anthropologists as Behar (1993), Cruikshank (1990) and Shostak (1981). Rather than tracing Rogers' life through birth, childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, I concentrate my efforts on exploring Rogers' fascination with Japanese culture, which began at about age eight or nine, through to the time he spent in Japan, which ended when he returned to Canada in 1965, at the age of twenty-four. Rogers made it explicit to me that he did not want to embark on a project that explored his early relationship with his parents and siblings, his career as a commercial airline pilot, nor his experiences with his wife and four children. He did not see the relevance in such lines of inquiry and he felt that these areas were too personal to address. Even my initial interest in his time in Japan was treated with indifference and slight confusion. He did not understand how his life could be of anthropological import. It was only when he read three papers that I had written for different graduate seminar courses – that connected his experiences of going to Japan to discussions of personal photographs, narrative and travel – that he was able to grasp how his experiences might be of some academic interest.

It is my impression that he felt more comfortable, and possibly less 'exposed', when I analysed and wrote about his life using formal academic language and theories. I remember showing him the 60-page typed transcript of our

interviews, and he became quite upset. He believed he sounded ignorant and that the English he was using was very poor. He asked if we could start over again. At that point, I briefly explained that the way people speak is often quite different from the way they write, and I showed him some passages in the transcript that were particularly interesting to me. This discussion appeared to make him feel more comfortable with the transcript, but even after this conversation he did ask me a couple of times when we were working together, "Do I sound foolish?" I do not think he cared if I thought he sounded foolish, I feel this question, instead, related to his concern over the possibility that those who would later read my thesis would think he was foolish.

The second point is that I do not take the relationship between Rogers and myself, neither before nor during the fieldwork process, as the central part of my inquiry. Rogers made it clear to me that he did not want our father-daughter relationship nor our informant-researcher relationship (and how they overlapped) to be dissected, for anyone to read. My father and I have shared many experiences working on this project that have elicited in each of us a wide range of emotions – hurt, anger, love, frustration, and pride – towards the other, but he did not want me to work through these issues formally on the pages of my thesis. Moreover, the fact that there are no boundaries of power connected to race, nationality nor class between Rogers and myself – which have traditionally shadowed many anthropologists' work (Brown 1999; Gengenbach 1994; Behar 1993) – was another reason why I decided not to make an analysis of the context of our interaction my

first priority. In many ways, I did not have to wrestle with the ubiquitous question in anthropology of the epistemological relationship between the culturally defined and discrete world of the subject(s) and the ethnographer from a foreign culture (Dossa 1994).

If the question of power were to be raised, it would be in the context of our father-daughter relationship. We each brought significant levels of power to the project: my father brought his status as a male, parental figure and I brought my specialised knowledge and authority as an academic researcher. I felt the strain of trying to navigate the role of the daughter-researcher most prominently when we first sat down at the kitchen table with his photographs (and I talk about this in the introduction). To alleviate the tension I had to literally remove myself from the table, and, instead, observe Rogers interacting with his photographs, rather than trying to intervene with my scholarly agenda. When we were in Japan, I now believe that using the video camera probably limited the friction that could have potentially erupted between us. The camera acted as a kind of buffer. Rather than bombarding Rogers with questions upon arrival at each new location, I was more focused on holding the video camera steady and recording, which actually allowed Rogers to respond in a more natural way to each place we visited. When I watched the video footage, I did sometimes feel as though Rogers was purposefully ignoring some of the questions I did ask; but I now believe that this had more to do with the fact that his hearing is not very good, and that he might not have been able to hear my questions. Thus it is hard to discern whether issues of power were involved at

times, or whether there was a simple biological explanation for his failure to respond to some of my questions.

Instead of focusing on my relationship with Rogers, I chose to focus my analysis on Rogers' perceptions of Japan and his experiences once he travelled there – his life 'as lived' (what actually happened to him) and his life 'as experienced' (the images, feelings, sentiments, desires, and meanings he ascribed to the events) (Bruner 1984). Interestingly, Tedlock makes the point that "the likelihood that an ethnographer might unselfconsciously take centre stage when representing the fieldwork experience is, I think, in direct proportion to the spatial, temporal, and cultural distance of this individual from the host community at the time of such representation" (1991: 81). Put another way, the more culturally 'other' the field experience, the greater likelihood the authorial figure will be dominant. Rogers and I, in many ways, share the same sociocultural environment: we are more 'same' than 'other'. This, combined with the fact that he has remained a continuous presence during the entire ethnographic process, has provided me with the confidence that I know his story well enough to analyse it and write about it, especially considering he will have seen and read everything by the time this project is finalised.

Rather than making Rogers and myself the ethnographic centrepiece, I chose to contextualise his perceptions and experiences within a larger historical and sociocultural milieu. By doing this I attempt to escape the critique that

'multiculturalism' has been voguishly treated as a sufficient explanation to examine an individual's life; where despite the allusion to culture in the rubric, the individual's experiences are explained without much depth of analysis of the specific forces operating (Peacock and Holland 1993). Life experiences that have been explored under the banner of 'multiculturalism' – conceptually alluring in its suggestion of happy human diversity – tend to bypass important issues such race/racism, history, gender, and class (White 1998). Anthropologists such as Peacock and Holland, and Eastmond have rallied around this need to contextualise individual lives within broader cultural and theoretical frames of reference.

> Rich narratives really do seem to create their own world, as when the psychoanalyst, encountering his client/patient only in his office learns of the narrator's world only from the narration itself. But in ethnographic fieldwork, as in much clinical work, the data about this world comes from sources additional to the subjects' or informant's narration, hence, *the need to confront the dialectical interplay between this contextual world and the narrated world* (Peacock and Holland 1993: 375, *emphasis mine*).

> Life histories seen as texts, then, are not transparent, cannot stand on their own but call for our interpretation, and to do that, must be placed in a theoretical or cultural context. As such, they offer an opportunity to analyse the interplay between culture and the individual, the cultural themes in which a social actor, from a particular social position and vantage point, makes of her world (Eastmond 1996: 234).

Another criticism directed at the life history genre in anthropology is that it is frequently associated with 'third world' female informants, where representations tend to utilise one of two possible tropes: the first represents the female as immobile, secretive, passive, and either an idol or a victim (read: sexually

constrained, ignorant, poor, tradition-bound, and family-oriented); the second, conversely, treats the female as an extension of Western feminist self-representation (read: educated, modern, and in control of the body, sexuality, and decision making) (Behar 1990). My project does not directly disrupt these two frames because my informant is male, but my project does allude to the fact that life history-type studies can move beyond a singular examination of the daily, the domestic and the local, which are often framed as tragic and full of suffering. My project is also a departure from work, like Shostak's *Nisa* (1981), that uses one individual to metonymically represent an entire group of people. Shostak uses Nisa, an articulate, intelligent !Kung woman, to provide Western readers with a vision of the ideal of sexually liberated womanhood in !Kung society. It is important to move beyond life history work in anthropology as a project limited to pre-theorised representations of third world women, or as means to articulate the reality of some larger social group that has not been investigated. Anthropologists need to consider lives, such as Rogers, that are formed from elements that come from elsewhere, which inspire travel out into the world.

Rogers' experiences question the traditional anthropological notion that settled life in a particular place is a 'normal' state of being. "People have undoubtedly always been more mobile and identities less fixed than static and typologizing approaches of classical anthropology would suggest" (Gupta and Ferguson 1992b: 9); but in the last century this is a reality that must be addressed as the rapidly expanding and quickening mobility of people combines with the refusal

of cultural products to 'stay put'. For too long anthropology has held fast to the

belief that "to move, unless part of regular nomadic patterns, [implies] uprootedness

and hence the loss of a firm cultural foundation" (Olwig 1997). Indeed, movement

and travel have been seemingly mistrusted in anthropology to the point of hatred

(Augé 1995), but are nonetheless facts of life that form a strong parameter in the

self-definition of many people (Hastrup and Olwig 1997). Rogers' early life was

one of travel and cross-cultural encounter, and as such his life presents an

opportunity to examine experiences that cut through locality, culture and

nationality.

        *   *   *

   When I began this project I originally wanted to investigate how Rogers'

travel to Japan influenced his sense of himself, his 'identity'. In my proposal for

this project I stated that I was trying to find answers to the following questions:

> Given the sheer array of choice and cultural stimuli available in the last
> one hundred years, how do people 'manage' who they are? More
> specifically, and in reference to my own project, how did Rogers
> conceive of himself given the fact that he drew on a range of cultural
> resources (both real and imagined) to secure his identity? Also, what
> effect did being a Caucasian Canadian immersed in Japanese cultural
> practices have on who he was?

At that time I felt I would be able to both understand and represent his

experiences with greater nuance and accuracy if I analysed his experiences in

relation to the theoretical work being done in anthropology on 'identity' and 'self'. 'Identity', in particular, has become a popular topic for anthropologists (Rapport 2000). "No other aspect of contemporary life, it seems, attracts these days the similar attention of philosophers, social scientists and psychologists...identity has now become the prism through which other topical aspects of contemporary life are spotted, grasped and examined" (Bauman 2001: 121).

Anthropologists' ideas concerning identity have changed over the last one hundred years, and I review some of the major developments in this paragraph and the next. Anthropologists first approached identity principally in terms of origins, as something given or native, as something inherent in place or ancestry (territorially or genetically), or else indirectly through tradition or assignment (Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Wollen 1994). Identity was a disposition of basic personality features acquired for the most part during childhood and, once integrated, remained more or less fixed for the entirety of the individual's life (Sokefeld 1999). 'Identity' meant 'sameness'. But our understanding of identity has undergone a paradigmatic shift: where identity was once synonymous with an essential 'human nature' into which one was born, identity has now become something which one needs to saw up and make fit. Today, particularly in the West, predestination has been replaced with life project, and fate swapped with vocation. Human nature has become a task in which every man or woman has no choice but to face up to and perform to the best of their ability. The quandary

tormenting the individual today is no longer how to obtain an identity, but which identity to choose, and how best to keep watch so that another choice can be made in case the previously chosen identity is withdrawn from the market or stripped of its seductive powers (Bauman 2001). Nowadays 'sameness' and 'continuity' are sensations thought to be seldom experienced by either the young or the adult. 'Sameness' has come to be replaced by 'difference', and even the possibility of more than one identity, thereby emphasising an implicit condition of plurality (Sokefeld 1999).

The contemporary, postmodern individual is frequently depicted as fragmented, fluid, multiple, or many-sided (Rosenberg 1997; Gergen 1994). The world in which we now live, which brings information, objects and images across enormous distances at rapid speeds, has destabilised the conventions of identity as they were traditionally understood during the first part of the 20th century (Kaplan 1987). In the current global space of image, screen and surface, where real and imaginary orders become fused, the individual's experience is thought to be one of disorientation and dislocation (Morely and Robins 1995). Jameson (1984) has postulated that living in this decentred hyperspace results in the breakdown of an individual's identity. The bombardment of fragmented signs and images erode all sense of continuity between past, present and future – and all teleological belief that life is a meaningful project. In opposition to life being a meaningful task, the perspective is that an individual's primary orientation is an aesthetic one. Similarly, Baudrillard (1989, 1983) maintains that we exist in a depthless culture of floating

signs and images in which 'television is the world'; and all we can do is watch the endless flow of images with an aestheticised fascination and without possible recourse to moral judgement. Both theorists, rather dramatically, maintain that identity now suffers from a certain fragility, as it is increasingly called into question by an ever more quickening, ever more mobile universe.

This brief outline of 'identity's' paradigmatic shift in anthropology was also presented in my proposal. But rather than being a source of intrigue for Rogers when he read my proposal, he found the discussion of these ideas quite humorous. When we spent time together (even when we were not focused on the project), he would make remarks such as: "I'm feeling rather fractured today" or "I think I've lost my sense of self." As we continued to work together it became increasingly difficult to connect his stories to some of the more theory-driven discussions of identity in anthropology.

Throughout our conversations I have never had the sense that Rogers felt that his identity was under any particular duress during his 5 years in Japan. I would not describe his identity as fractured, fragmented or in danger of being whittled away. I also do not get the sense that he was ruminating on the 'nature of his being' while he was in Japan, as was presumed to be the pastime of many earlier elite European travellers (Pratt 1992). The experiences he had in Japan, the inclusion of foreign practices and ideas into his personal repertoire, added a unique dimension to his sense of who he was. It must be remembered, though, that this

general lack of concern over his identity or self was partially a product of the fact

that he travelled to Japan in 1960, when relations between North America and Japan

were relatively favourable. He was able to move easily, both physically and

psychologically, between domains that one might classify as 'Western' or

'Japanese'. And even when he did encounter difficulties, as a result of being a

foreigner, it did not appear to bother him a great deal.

> **DR**: Oh, just walking down the street, sure. Once and a while you
> would hear an anti-American comment. If you were close enough you
> could say, "Well, I'm not American, I'm Canadian." A couple of times
> I would feign anger. It didn't really phase me at all that someone would
> say something to me. I would have a couple of choice Japanese words,
> and I would say them in a very colloquial way: "What the heck are you
> laughing at?" I would say it in a very Japanese way...They would
> immediately get very self-conscious and say, "No. You're different." Or
> I would say, "No. I'm Canadian." And they would say, "That's okay,
> then. Canadians are different"...I can honestly say that in all the time I
> was there, even though from time to time I would hear something that
> was anti-foreign or anti-American, I couldn't really say it ever upset me.
> Personally, I just felt I could roll with the punches.

What is of interest in this situation is that Rogers identified and used two 'identity

markers' (language and citizenship) from two different cultures/nations to avoid the

censure of being thought to be an American foreigner. First, he spoke Japanese in a

colloquial manner and, second, he stated that he was Canadian, and therefore not

American. This suggests that instead of focusing on identities, inherited or

acquired, "it would be more in keeping with the realities of the globalising world to

speak of *identification*, a never-ending, always incomplete, unfinished and open-

ended activity in which we all, by necessity or choice, are engaged" (Bauman 2001:

129, *emphasis in the original*).

The manner in which Rogers identified with being a Canadian citizen is

particularly interesting. When he was in Japan, being a Canadian citizen allowed

Rogers to be and to feel that he was somewhat of an apolitical entity, given that

Canada was not a dominant player in the international political arena when

compared to the United States. The people he met through judo or various jobs in

Japan were simply curious about the fact that he was from Canada, a place they

knew relatively little about, but knew not to be a particular threat.

> **DR**: They were always interested...I think I was of interest to them.
> They enjoyed learning English from me because I was a bit of a novelty.
> The fact that I was doing judo. Most of the fellows I taught weren't too
> athletic. They were interested in the fact that I was from Canada. Their
> attitude towards Canada was that we were more of a third world. We
> were wide-open spaces, snow. They would think of us in terms of raw
> material: wheat, hops for making beer. We were a source of raw
> materials for them.

Moreover, Rogers participated as a film extra in more than fifty Japanese films,

usually playing the 'bad' American soldier or cowboy. "It was simply a way to

make ends meet," as he said. When he spoke briefly about making these films, he

mentioned how much fun he had on the set and laughed about how his character

would usually be killed in the first part of the film, but would then reappear later in

the film. He did not seem to mind that the Japanese film directors and producers

simply needed a handful of White men to play the (essentialised) group of American

soldiers or cowboys in these films – for as he stated, "I had no axes to grind with the

Japanese, being a Canadian."

Fig. 11

> **DR**: It was a lot of fun making it…In a Japanese movie, as far as extras
> go, everyone kind of looks the same, and so I had been in movies where
> I had appeared twice. I would be in one scene and then I would show up
> in another scene after I had met my demise. I was supposed to be dead,
> then I'd be in another scene.

Yet his identification with Canada and, in particular, the Canadian Olympic

association and the judo establishment in Canada, was not without tension. There

was friction around what Rogers perceived to be a lack of support from Canada

during the time he was competing in judo at the international level (1964-1972).

> **DR**: (looking at the photograph) This is after the Olympics. That's my
> coach, Hatashita; and that's James Worrall, president of the Olympic
> association; and that's my sponsor. And that's the funniest thing. I was

the only member of the team. I was the Canadian judo team, and the Olympic committee didn't know anything about judo, so they weren't willing to send anybody else. Originally, the only reason they agreed I could go to the Olympics was because I was already in Japan, but I wanted to come back and compete. I didn't want anyone saying I had gone to the Olympics without first winning a Canadian championship. And that caused the problem of, 'how do I get back to Japan?' So initially I was told that I had to pay my own way, and then in the late summer or early fall I competed at the Canadian National Exhibition. I won all my matches handily, and it was after Mr. Worrall saw me compete that they said "okay," they would pay my way over. But they weren't going to pay my way back. So, I'm looking back, and I think how very 'Canadian' – I had a one-way ticket to the Olympics. And then after I won the medal they said, "oh, I think we might be able to get you on a flight now." And, of course, I was one of the three or four medallists who had won [for Canada], the three or four medals that year...I decided to stay in Japan. Yeah, that was very funny. It was really difficult to get on that team, but I ended up paying my own way back.

Fig. 12

This antagonism towards Canada, and various judo officials in Canadian sport, was

also apparent in an article written by Tony Gallagher for the Province Newspaper,

regarding Rogers' induction into the British Columbia Sports Hall of Fame.

You'll have to forgive Doug Rogers for not being all that taken with his induction into the B.C. Sports Hall of Fame. Sure he's happy about it. It's nice "to know that when I'm dead someone will still be seeing my face," he says. But the years of being ignored by Canadian judo officials – which started when he had to pay his own way back from Tokyo where he had just won a Silver medal in the 1964 Olympics – have left him a little bitter toward amateur barons and various Sports Canada people…"These guys (officials of the B.C. Hall of Fame) are all nice guys and I'm glad they're honoring me," said Rogers. "But let's face it, what I did was an individual effort and I had to leave the country to do it and I did it completely on my own…These officials are so concerned with what I call 'chopstick judo' – that is with telling stories of Mt. Fuji and about bowing at the right time – that they are stunting the development of the sport. When Hroshi Nakamura was fired as Canadian coach after the Olympics, that was the funniest thing I've seen in a long while. He was the only guy in the country who had any idea of what judo is really all about" (May 7, 1977: 15).

These examples point to the fact that identification is an ongoing process, and that the context in which this process occurs is crucial to understanding how identification operates (Mitchell 2003; Gordan and Anderson 1999; Jenkins 1996). During the few times Rogers wanted to avoid being thought of as an American in Japan, he explicitly aligned himself with his Canadian citizenship. Being a Canadian in Japan enabled Rogers to disassociate himself from any past or present tension in US-Japanese relations. But when he reflected on the lack of support he received from Canada around the time of the Olympics, he claimed that his success was an "individual effort" – which showed a decisive lack of identification with his 'home' country. To complicate things further, Rogers also identified with a Japanese way of life when he was living in Japan: "I sort of immersed myself, going to the Japanese University, being one of the judo players." He was also proud of

and delighted by the fact that other Japanese thought of him as 'a Japanese'; and he claimed that one of the most emotional judo victories for him was winning the All Japan University Championship (1965) with the Takushoku University team. These examples demonstrate that an individual's sense of who they are and where they belong is complex, shifting, layered, and negotiated, and can simultaneously reference more than one culture (Gordan and Anderson 1999). I believe questions of 'identity' and 'identification' are important in anthropology, but they need to be tackled with reference to individual experience, history, culture, language, and power (Sarup 1996), so they do not become theoretical exercises cut off from the complicated reality of everyday life. At the present time a great deal of the work on identity is highly abstract and esoteric, and divorced from the way most people express who they are, what have they done and how they relate to others (Bauman 2001; Sokefeld 1999).

This turn towards the individual in anthropology (Rapport 2001) – with its accompanying discussions of 'identity', 'identification', 'self', and 'consciousness' – needs to be grounded through a consideration of specific experiences, and specific relationships to culture, history, politics, and society. Allowing the points the informants emphasise in their personal stories to direct the theoretical interpretation that might intertwine with their narratives. We must be alert to the fact that the self and society are always in production, in process; and that one of our tasks as anthropologists is to specify how, in concrete instances and in different cultural settings, this shaping and reshaping takes place (Bruner 1984). This attention to the

individual in anthropology does not have to lead us to indulge in empty

individualism, but can problematise what is otherwise taken for granted: the

relationship between the individual and the social (Cohen 1994). Human beings are

experiencing, reflexive agents, and for all their common and shared forms and

practices, meaning remains individual and idiosyncratic (Rapport 1997). What

comes to the fore is the need to examine the acting individual – specifically,

decision and meaning-making processes, and acts of will, perception and

interpretation – in relation to larger sociocultural events and processes.

Situating the acting individual in relation to the structures of the wider world

also encourages us to consider another popular area of investigation for

anthropologists: globalisation. In brief, globalisation has been written about a great

deal in the social sciences since the late 1980s, but it remains a poorly defined

concept. The presumed conditions of globalisation are thought to include the

increasing velocity of capital, both economic and cultural, and the corresponding

acceleration of transportation and telecommunications. All of which weave together

ever larger, ever more fluid, ever more encapsulating markets and other arenas for

exchange across multiple dimensions (Bestor 2001; Giddens 1990; Alger 1988).

And though globalisation is thought by many to be a relatively recent phenomenon,

its origins are thought to stem from the time of the East India Company (founded in

1600). A belief which marks the strong connection between the economy and

globalisation, recognising that globalisation is in great part about the organisation of

production and the exploitation of markets on a world scale (Morely and Robins

1995). Yet as the economic infrastructure has been foremost in the minds of globalisation analysts for years, the social, cultural and subjective concerns of these processes have been gaining ground, particularly in anthropology.

Anthropologists do not entirely escape criticism, though, for their commanding concern with globalisation has leaned more towards vacuous description, reportage rather than analysis, and has "given over to a dazzling display of neologisms, global techno-speak, glo-babble (or more simply glabble), and a rush to parade sexy new labels" (Kapferer 2000: 195). The fast production of the all-inclusive word or term has taken precedence over considerate building of empirically generated and critically directed analysis and theory. With globalisation itself being the most fashionable word of the last decade – "so portentous and wonderfully patient as to puzzle Alice in Wonderland and thrill the Red Queen because it means precisely whatever the user says it means" (Barnet and Cavanaugh 1994: 13-14). Amidst all this 'thinking', many have unfortunately lost sight of globalisation's powerful performative status, as a discourse that actively constitutes and shapes the very reality it names (Li 2000). Moreover, work under the umbrella of globalisation, tending to be more abstract in nature, often lacks a grounded analysis of gender, class, place, and/or history – factors that are essential to our understanding of how global factors influence individual lives (Leach 1997).

To speak of the research done on the global movement of people, specifically, there is a need to pay attention to gender and class, along with history,

place and experience, to bring us closer to finding out who moves and who stays? Why, and to what end? Anthropologists have reflected on their own travel in and out of the field (Clifford 1997), but they have traditionally assumed that their subjects remain authentically in 'the field'. Anthropologists are now aware that their former conception of 'the field', as local, bounded and normalised in anthropology, enabled certain kinds of knowledge, but blocked off others. A tradition developed whereby the discipline had been (and possibly still continues to be) far more interested in those who 'stay put', and relatively blind to those who move, with the exception of some, such as nomadic peoples, whose movements are limited, predictable and for the most part collective (Olwig and Hastrup 1997). Anthropologists have now become more alert to the movement of peoples, particularly through diasporic, migration and refugee studies, but the reality that people frequently transgress their 'home' communities continues to influence anthropologists' thinking about human movement as a tumultuous and unnatural event. Malkki writes about this issue in her review of refugee studies.

> The more contemporary field of "refugee studies" is quite different in spirit from the postwar literature. However, it shares with earlier texts the premise that refugees are necessarily "a problem." They are not ordinary people, but represent, rather, an anomaly requiring specialized correctives and therapeutic interventions. It is striking how often the abundant literature claiming refugees as its object of study locates "the problem" not in the political conditions or processes that produce massive territorial displacements of people, but, rather, within the bodies and minds (and even souls) of people categorized as refugees...Our sedentarist assumptions about attachment to place lead us to define displacement not as a fact about sociopolitical context, but rather as an inner, pathological condition of the displaced (1992: 33).

Obviously Rogers' travel experiences are very different than those of a person leaving a country due to war or civil unrest, but his stories highlight the importance of understanding why people move (in their own words) and for what reasons (e.g. war, politics, curiosity, famine, boredom), and how they feel about their circumstances in a new place. Labels and categories are certainly useful for scholars – they are a shorthand, and provide reference points for analytic and theoretical investigation. Labels are also claimed and manipulated by people for a variety of reasons (e.g. empowerment, identification, visibility and invisibility, and emotional, spiritual and financial gain). But anthropologists should be wary of pre-labelling or pre-categorising individuals or groups. According to Malkki (1995, 1992) categories can be problematic, especially when the individuals placed in them are presumed to be dealing with the same set of issues and to inhabit the same state of mind.

The complex texture of individual lives has the power to challenge labels and well-worn theoretical avenues, which organise how anthropologists interpret others' experiences. Personal histories are a means "to break the resistance of the anthropologist's own assumptions, prejudices and theories, wherever the site of origin, concerning the nature and reason of lived realities" (Kapferer 2000: 189). For "as a person narrates a life story, and the account winds its way through the accumulated details of a life, social categories are exploded: the subject becomes an actor in simulations, multiple roles that do not conform to easy generalization"

(Olsen and Shopes 1991: 193). This interface between the words informants use to make sense of their lives needs to be more intimately structured in relation to the words researchers use to write and talk about them (Field 2001). We need to find ways of moving past the bloated categories of regime description – feudalism or colonialism, late capitalism or globalisation – to articulate that moment of "coming into the country, virtually any country – experience palpable enough to be felt of the skin" (Geertz 1995: 22). If we return to Rogers' memories about his first days in Japan, we see how his initial reaction was a complex mixture of excitement, confusion and cross-cultural comparison.

DR: I arrived, the boat docked in Yokohama. It was a bright, sunny day and I was very excited. It's a stark contrast. Everyone is speaking another language. I didn't know what the heck they were talking about. I was with this girl. The girl had made arrangements to be met, and so they took me into Tokyo, so I was lucky that way. I got a ride into Tokyo. I think they put me up for the first night and then they took me to the Kodokan the next day. I think the thing that impressed me, just walking around initially in the streets, was the custom of saying 'is that so? – *a so deska*?'. That really stood out to me. It was something that in any Japanese movies I had seen, or if anyone would do a take-off of the Japanese over here [in North America] before I went, they would emphasise that, *'a so deska'*. It seemed that that was always a part of every conversation – obviously in wasn't – but it stood out to me at the time.

There is a need to find ways to connect the messiness of lived experience with overarching global processes (Leach 1997). There is much to be gleaned from joining serious attention to particular histories with a global level of analysis, of bringing together the study of structure, cultural process and human agency. Social

actors reveal how they simultaneously experience the local and the global, how they think and act with reference to both 'near-sight and 'far-sight'. This examination of 'lives in the global context' is made more complicated, though, by the fact that we are dealing with different scales of analysis. At one level we have to manage with the very personal experiences of a conscious individual, while simultaneously having to look at instances of culture, history, politics, and so forth, which can be global in reach and influence. Generally, this is not the easiest of tasks; thus far many of the empirical examples evoked to discuss the nuances of deterritorialisation have been found in literature, not the social sciences.

> [F]ew anthropologists have carried out research on the cultural constructions of such deterritorialized lives, and for good reason − it is difficult for the anthropologist to get at the natives' point of view, when the natives' universe is made up of a wide variety of resources of worldwide dimension, and when it is not embedded in particular places where anthropological fieldwork may be carried out (Olwig 1997: 34-35).

In his review of the studies of contemporary diasporas, Stoller (2002) submits that such work suffers from lack of breadth and limited field commitment: where some authors focus entirely on social theory rather than ethnographic description, while others forego dense theoretical exposition to weave a dense ethnographic narrative. He concludes that the best plan would be to engage in a longitudinal field study and produce representations that link narrative and social theory − good advice, but weak from a 'how to' perspective. Anthropologists are starting to recognise that lives are composed of elements that come from elsewhere, which is reflected to a

certain extent at the theoretical level, but the methodological and analytical implications of this insight are still being worked out.

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Given the lacuna in the research on the methodological front, I believe the opportunity to work with Rogers has been a rather serendipitous research event. Being that he is my father, I possessed a degree of familiarity with his story prior to the start of this project. Furthermore, we belong to the same 'group', which minimised the potentially distancing obstacles of language, society, culture, and class. He was also looking back forty years at his travel experiences during the early 1960s; thus I did not encounter the methodological hurdles that would have been in place had I tried to accompany him (or anyone) on a 5-year stay in a foreign country. And as certain details obviously fade from memory over time, this forty year period had the effect of crystallising major impressions and feelings, which may not have been accessible during the journey itself. This being said, I did only have a year-and-a-half to bring this project together, so it does lack an extensive examination of the time period and the ethnographic detail that would have been possible with a longer duration in the field.

Generally, my methods have been rather eclectic in this project. My efforts to examine and represent Rogers' experiences in Japan have not been restricted to the data we generated in the field through interviews and observations. I have tried to combine information that Rogers and I have accumulated over the past year – excerpts of conversations that had taken place in Vancouver and Japan – with his

photographs, along with a placing or testing of his experiences in relation to late 19th and early 20th century travel practises and theoretical frames of travel and human movement in anthropology; and larger historical processes that were unfolding in Japan and Canada over the course of the 20th century. I have also created a video for this project that I hope will work with and against the textual part of my project, as I discussed in the introduction. Moreover, I did not arrive and then leave the field, in the way fieldwork has been classically understood in anthropology, for in many ways my father is my field site – his impressions, his feelings, his experiences, his relationships. A fact that points to the necessity to define the field not necessarily in terms of locality, but as a field of relations which are of significance to the individual or group involved in the study (Metcalf 2001; Barth 1992). This tracing of a person through different contexts is one way of conducting what Marcus (1995b) refers to as 'multisited ethnography', an approach that has the ability to crosscut dichotomies such as global and local, lifeworld and system.

CONCLUSION

As I reflect on the work I have done on my thesis since the fall of 2003, I have two sets of thoughts. One set of thoughts concerns the academic challenges I have encountered: specifically, my attempt to suture Rogers' memories of his experiences of wanting to go to Japan and his time in Japan between 1960 and 1965 to my own analytical concerns involving ideas of travel in anthropology, and Japan's recent history, including Japan's early and mid-20th century relations with Canada. Part of what I am trying to articulate in my thesis is the importance of individual experience and how it intersects with academic theory, history and place.

In the first chapter I outline how Rogers' travel experiences both reinforce and contradict the rhetoric of the masculine adventurer, and also how his experiences challenge a good deal of the current theoretical writing on human movement in anthropology. Rogers relishes the time he spent in Japan (1960-1965): "We had a lot of good times together, that's for sure"; "Good times, really good times"; "I had a good time. It was really interesting"; "A great experience"; " A lot of fun"; "Judo was such a big part of my life, plus it was a lot of fun too"; "It was a great time. I really enjoyed the county." I argue that to concentrate one's ethnographic interests in travel only on the most dramatic and disturbing episodes and memories perpetuates general theories of human mobility in anthropology that reinforce the belief that moving about in the world is unnatural and dangerous. It is necessary to focus on *all* types of movement experiences – travel, war, exile, study

abroad programmes, exploration, volunteer, migration, tourism, refugeeism, trade, pastoralism, nomadism, pilgrimage – to move closer to understanding why people move and what they perceive this experience to be like. A theoretical base of greater nuance is called for, so anthropologists and others can bypass the all too ready label of 'deviant stranger'. It would serve us well to remember that knowledge is not a series of self-consistent theories converging towards an ideal view (the perfect value-free representation); it is rather an *"ocean of mutually incompatible alternatives"* forcing others into greater articulation (Feyerabend 1993: 21, *emphasis in the original*).

In the second chapter I relate how Rogers' individual experiences were contingent upon the fact that he decided to travel to Japan (and not somewhere else) at a certain period in time (1960-1965) for a specific reason (to study judo). The second chapter was written to examine his experiences in relation to Japan's historical and sociocultural contexts during the early and middle parts of the 20th century, to locate his story in time, place, culture, and society. Moreover, how Rogers lived through, influenced and was effected by the national 'identity' debate that was taking place in Japan after the War is a way to ground these historical processes and connect them to a living person and the minutia of daily life.

Overall, my attempt to represent a time in Rogers' life that was composed of travel and movement has been a formidable challenge from methodological standpoint. Lives shaped by travel and cross-cultural encounter open up the

possibilities and politics of simultaneity where subjects, from a range of social

groups, now "think and act simultaneously at multiple scales" – where social

practice now integrates both 'here' and 'there' (Smith 2001: 164). This

fundamental transformation of place, space and time seems to demand more broadly

based, dynamic research strategies (Yeoh *et al.* 2003; Marcus 1995b), or what

Stoller (1997: 91) has referred to as a "globalizing method." The main points of

Stoller's method being a commitment to long-term research, the use of

multidisciplinary teams of researchers, and "suppleness of the imagination" (Stoller

1997: 91). While my fieldwork was not long-term, I have known Rogers my entire

life, and this supplied me with a degree of familiarity and intimacy with his story

prior to the inception of our work together. Given that this is a Master's thesis, a

team of multidisciplinary researchers is well beyond the scope of this project, but

the underlying aim of a 'multidisciplinary' strategy is to approach a research

question from multiple angles, and I think I have accomplished this to a degree. I

have tried to bring to the fore various ideas of travel and history in relation to

Rogers' experiences by juxtaposing his words, his photographs, theory, analysis,

history, and video. Through my use of Rogers' words, his photographs and the

video I created for this project I also hope to reinforce the importance of

'experience' – the process by which one "enters or places oneself in social reality, a

process of engagement through which one perceives as subjective the material,

economic, and interpersonal relations of social and historical life" (Devereaux 1995:

68). Indeed, almost all ethnographers are painfully aware of the discrepancy

between the richness of lived experience and the paucity of the language used to

characterise it (Bruner 1984). It is here that the experiential field of video has much

to offer, as the viewing of interaction, emotion and movement can reveal new ways

of understanding how people invest, embody and inhabit the world (Devereaux

1995).

> Film is a quintessentially phenomenological medium, and may have a
> different orientation to social life than anthropological monographs. It
> has a unique capacity to evoke human experience, what it feels like to
> actually be-in-the-world (Barbash and Taylor 1997: 74-75).

This type of 'multisited' research strategy destabilises entrenched conceptual

and theoretical grooves, recognising the fact that people's stories and the meaning

they ascribe to them, along with how they do (or do not) conceive of themselves,

often confounds or entirely escapes classification (Field 2001; Kapferer 2000;

Geertz 1995; Olsen and Shopes 1991). Anthropologists have tried to keep up with

the unsettling conventions of globalisation – the rapid mobility of person, idea and

object – by replacing the master concept of 'culture' with such terms as

'hyphenated', 'hybrid' or 'syncretic', but they too remain a part of an essentialising

epistemology (Dossa 1999; Gordon and Anderson 1999). While labels such as

'hybrid' ascribe cultures and identities with a measure of fluidity that is accurate,

"they remain anchored in territorial ideas, whether national or transnational," where

sources of identity and experience remain "pre-given rather than being practice-

bound" (Calgar 1997: 172). This being said, I found it difficult to neatly situate

Rogers' experiences within the highly abstract, ephemeral 'identity' and

'globalisation' discourses that have become so popular.

Rather than analysing Rogers' travel experiences in an effort to determine whether his 'being' was 'whole' or 'fractured', I focused on those intimate activities of desiring, belonging, identifying, and imagining that *he* talked about – activities which transgress the local-global binary. And it is 'intimacy', according to Appadurai, that what some of the best ethnography has been about.

> Intimacy between kin, intimacy between enemies, memories of loss and gain, objects treasured or abandoned because of their raw specificity, and knowledge gained because the best fieldworkers had entered the web of intimate relations in a world not previously known to them (1997: 115).

*   *   *

My second set of thoughts is more personal. These reflections on my thesis have to do with the changes that have occurred in Rogers' life since we started working on this project together. These observations are quite recent, so I have not yet had a chance to mention them to Rogers. When Rogers and I first began this project together he had recently retired from his job as a commercial airline pilot. I do not believe he was happy at this point in time, and I think this was part of the reason he was reluctant to go to Japan with me in the fall of 2003. Yet he agreed to do so, and seemed to become more interested in the prospect of returning once I had purchased the airline tickets. In preparation for our trip he began reviewing some of his Japanese language books from the 1960s. As I stated in the introduction, he

ended up enjoying the trip to Japan – noticing the changes, reconnecting with old friends and observing that he still 'fit in'. In Japan, when he demonstrated judo techniques on the mat, I think he was simultaneously reminded of how much he enjoyed judo, but also frustrated at the passage of time and his own physical limitations. The opportunity to view himself on the video camera later also reinforced how he had changed since his early twenties.

When we returned to Vancouver, Rogers started going to the gym regularly and within a year he had reduced his weight by forty pounds. During this time he also started training his son, Hugh, in the sport of judo. Rogers and Hugh have been going to two different *dojos* in Vancouver to practise, and at each *dojo* Rogers ended up instructing a class or part of a class, which he seemed to enjoy. Over the last year Rogers also continued studying the Japanese language and he now takes Japanese conversation lessons once or twice a week. As I write this conclusion, Rogers and Hugh are in Japan. In the fall 2004 Hugh went to Japan to study judo: first he went to Fuji University (near Morioka) to train for three months and now he is in Tokyo training at the Kodokan. Last week Rogers left for Tokyo to visit Hugh. I received an e-mail from Hugh last night (March 12, 2005) and he mentioned that they had had dinner with Rogers' old team mates from the Takushoku University team. I believe that Rogers would have found his way back to some of the activities and relationships he enjoyed prior to raising a family and maintaining a career, but I believe our work together accelerated this process, and this delights me.

Through our work together, Rogers' memories of the time he was in Japan were brought into sharp relief. His photographs and our return to Japan, in particular, invigorated the past – a past that had been blocked or pushed aside as a result of the more pressing and immediate concerns of family and finance. Interestingly, some of the photographs we worked with have now returned to Japan to be shown to Rogers' friends over there. This demonstrates how photographs "may be put to a range of different personal and 'ethnographic' uses" (Pink 2001: 51). Edwards makes a similar point in that "[m]aterial can move in and out of the anthropological sphere and photographs that were not created with anthropological intent or specifically informed by ethnographic understandings may nevertheless be appropriated to anthropological ends" (1992: 13). In the case of Rogers' original photographs, they were personal, then 'anthropological' and personal, and now they have become primarily personal once again – though they are not personal in quite the same way. Rogers' photographs (and the stories attached to these photographs), once outside the familial gaze, have now been integrated into family viewing practices and conversations. With regard to the video, I do not know at this point where and how it will circulate. For the moment it is still an academic piece of work, but it will soon be shown to family and friends, thus becoming a 'family' artefact in the near future.

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