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An Inquiry into the Dramaturgy of Inclusion and Exclusion in the Shikoku Pilgrimage

Kazuki Goto（後藤一樹）

1. Subjects and Achievements of My Research

The most famous pilgrimage in Japan, the 'Shikoku pilgrimage' is a hard journey. In the past, poor and sick pilgrims as 'asylum seekers' were sometimes dying on the 1200 km walking road through 88 temples in the Shikoku island.

During the post war period, it has transformed to 'pilgrimage tourism' consumed by 'tourist gaze' [Urry 1990＝1995] related to the development of mass media and transportation facilities.

Nowadays, the Shikoku pilgrimage is changing dramatically in the age of a post consumed society. 'Wandering pilgrims' are increasing as non-permanent employees, retirees, and people who do not live in a modern family system are increasing in Japan. On the other hand, public institutions, private companies, temples and local residents in the Shikoku region are calling for pilgrims as not only tourists but also 'settlers', facing problems of decreasing birthrate and aging population.

In the such social context, 'pilgrims' and 'local residents' are exchanging their goods, having a conversation, and interacting on the road of the Shikoku pilgrimage. My research focuses on their interactions in the following two methods. (1) in-depth interviews with pilgrims and residents, (2) a visual ethnography of their 'encounters' [Goffman 1961＝1985] in the way of video shooting.

Achievements of my research are summarized in the following three point.

(Ⅰ) To clarify "The Polyphony of the Shikoku Pilgrimage" (in the academic conference presentation of the Japanese Association of Qualitative Psychology, October 19th 2014).

I gathered stories of the Shikoku pilgrimage by interviewing with 8 persons (pilgrims and residents), and analyzed them.

It was clear that interviewees told of their experiences by the use of 'direct discourse' echoing intonations and accents of narratives of others who they met and talked with in the Shikoku pilgrimage. In the direct discourse, story-teller's words and others' words are interpenetrated [Bakhtin 1930＝1989].

Their intersectional narratives were closely connected to folk stories of the Buddhist monk Kūkai (774–835) who was the first Shikoku pilgrim. He thought a great deal of the multiple meaning of

words that represent the universe [Kūkai, *The Real Existence of Voice and Word*, early 9th century].

（Ⅱ）To investigate "The Life Story of Wandering" (in the paper, *Japan Oral History Review*, Vol. 11, September 2015 / also in the academic conference presentation of the Japan Oral History Association, September 7th 2014).

Conducting in-depth interviews with a walking pilgrim (Mr. Kaga), the paper explored his life history and the process of reconstruction of his 'self' through the Shikoku pilgrimage.

In the period of high economic growth, Mr. Kaga migrated from an agricultural community in his native Akita to urban areas in Yokohama and Tokyo. In the city life, he drifted from job to job. He came to be alienated from a capitalist society where the medium of social relations was money [Marx-Engels 1962＝2005].

Since he reached Tokushima accidentally, he had walked around the Shikoku island six times. As a prayer/player, he was interacting with local residents who made voluntary contributions to him. After getting a warm reception from a temporary resident in Shikoku who was a nuclear power plant refugee from Fukushima, Mr. Kaga left for Fukushima to carry out the nuclear decontamination work. Now, he is living in Fukushima.

In the paper, I clarify that the Shikoku pilgrimage rearranges social relations by 'performative acts' [Butler 1990＝1999].

（Ⅲ）To theorize "The Relation-Image" (in the academic conference presentation of the Japanese Association of Qualitative Psychology, October 4th 2015).

I applied the Deleuze's theory to analyze 'movement-images' [Deleuze 1983＝2008] of videos I shot in Shikoku. From my point of view, the 'relation-image' is generated by the 'symbolic interaction' [Blumer 1969＝1991] between 1) the cameraman and the object, or 2) the object A and the object B. I showed that 'relation-images' of the Shikoku pilgrimage were made of the intersectional movements of me, pilgrims and residents.

2.　Toward Refugee and Migration Studies

The aim of my research is to investigate acts of 'wandering' that would change a social system based on the condition of 'settlement'.

Why do human beings move to strange places away from homeland? The Shikoku pilgrimage shows an example of the experiences of 'mobility'.

My research clarified that most of the walking pilgrims (except mere tourists for sightseeing) started to go on a pilgrimage triggered by 'cutting the connection' [Amino 1996] with their family and job, because of death of immediate family, divorce, losing a job, retirement, and having a serious illness (until the mid 20th century, many lepers had done the Shikoku pilgrimage).

For the past two years, I have conducted interview surveys of more than 20 pilgrims. I have also made videos of pilgrims' walking journey, encounters with local residents, and their interactions in the field of the Shikoku island.

Now it is clear that the Shikoku Pilgrimage is a drama of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion'. On the one

hand, pilgrims are welcome visitors. They bring knowledge, labor force, and new culture to a local community. Residents give them water, food, and bed. But on the other hand, pilgrims are dangerous strangers who would take resources in the region and destroy the identity of a local community. Residents sometimes discriminate and drive away them. From the Middle Ages until now, residents in Shikoku have faced pilgrims in double ways.

I am going to expand my research into the dynamics between 'wandering and settlement'［Amino 1996］in global context from the point of view of refugee and migration studies. I would focus my research on the relationship between the "migrants themselves" and the "host societies where they relocate"［Collier 2013］.

It is clear that Japan should accept more refugees and migrants from the perspective of not only humanitarian consideration, but also the social situation in which Japan's population expected to fall dramatically in the coming decades.

The problem is how we interact with outsiders in everyday life. I would find the solutions. I assume that wanderers are not outsiders for us when we literally walk together with them. My research will verify the hypothesis.

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