

## **Laziness, Sabotage, and Outlaws: *Hisabetuburaku* in Post-Subaltern Studies**

**Tsutomu Tomotsune**

**(Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)**

### **1. A framework for post-subaltern studies and theoretical introduction**

In October 1998, a dialogue was held between the Latin American Subaltern Studies Group (LASSG) and the South Asian Subaltern Studies Group at Duke University. This event is well-known, since the LASSG split after the meeting. Ramón Grosfoguel refers to the event and shows that one of the problems LASSG faced was that they could not avoid reductionism to the Westernisation of the theory. Grosfoguel, of course, ensures the rightfulness of the subaltern studies project.

What I am claiming is that all knowledges are epistemically located in the dominant or the subaltern side of the power relations and that this is related to the geo-and body-politics of knowledge. The disembodied and unlocated neutrality and objectivity of the of knowledge is a Western myth (Grosfoguel 2011).

This paper adds the prefix "post" to subaltern studies in order to maintain a continuous dialogue with marginal knowledge to protest Eurocentrism, Western systematisation, and universalisation as the dominant epistemological tendency of Western theories. Subaltern studies are not the exception. We should follow a direction for ‘radical universal decolonial anti-systematic diversity’ (ibid.).

The worst outcome of Eurocentrism, Western systematisation, and universalisation is their reduction of the world into binary oppositions such as culture/economy and agency/structure; instead, the world should be understood through the concept of ‘heterarchy’ (ibid., and Kontopoulos 1993).

This paper aims to examine a series of questions relating to *Hisabetsu Buraku* (hereafter, Buraku), referring to subaltern studies and post-colonial studies. In a conventional historical study of Buraku, it had been dealt with as the issues derived from the ‘remains of feudalism’, a typical argument in classical Marxist discourse, especially in the Disputes on Japanese capitalism in the pre-war period. There are two different standpoints: the modernisation theory, which emphasises the dissolution of the Buraku issue and discrimination against the Buraku in the modernisation process on the one hand,

and the theory-of-still-alive of feudalism as half/semi-feudalism in modern Japan that emphasises the role of the Buraku for ruling and an exploitation of the classes by Japanese capitalism on the other. However, both of these perspectives presuppose the Buraku issues as the feudal remains. In the prewar time, following the Comintern Theses of 1927 or that of 1932, Japan communist Party stressed that the role of Tenno Emperor for the formation of Japanese imperialism based on the Tenno Emperor regime's absolutism. They thought that Japan had not realized as a fully independent capitalism such as Western capitalism, and the existence of the Buraku issue was regarded as one of the signs. Although the dispute remains fruitful achievements for analyzing Japanese society as "Asiatic Mode of Production," such as patriarchist structure and religious-folkloristic ideas based on the rice-cultivation system as a fundamental condition, however, this understanding of capitalism is a typical example of the binary oppositions of Western universalisation and systematisation, and from which it cannot grasp Japanese capitalism as "heterarchy" capitalism (Nagaoka 1984, Sekiya 2016).

This paper presents a counter discourse against the Westernised, systematised understanding of Buraku issues by referring to discourse of Gayatri C. Spivak and Nakagami Kenji. Spivak's idea of 'equivalence' challenges to overcome the binary opposition of culture/economy or agency/structure. 'Equivalence' is not only epistemological logic, but also a nodal point that connects culture and economy, as well as agency and structure.

I want now to share with you a lesson learned from the oral formulaic. If the main thing about narrative is sequence, the main thing about the oral formulaic is equivalence. Equivalence here does not mean value in the sense of commensurate. That was the Marxist definition in the economic sphere. I am speaking of value in a more colloquial sense. The oral-formulaic is equivalence. We learn from narrative by working at the sequence. We learn in the oral by mastering equivalence. Some years ago, Roman Jakobson offered equivalence as the poetic function. In typical modernist fashion, he thought equivalence lifted the burden of meaning. My experience with the oral-formulaic presentation of Sabar women, these groups that I used to train teachers for until the local landlord took the schools away from me and handed them to the corporate sector—even that is gone now—has convinced me that it is the inventiveness in equivalence that makes something happen beyond the tonal and verbal monotony that turns off many literate sympathisers. The Sabar women are members of a tiny and unrepresentative group among India's eighty-two million Aboriginals. They still practice the oral-formulaic, although they will soon forget this

centuries-old skill. The hold upon orality is gender-divided here. The men's access to the outside world is wretched, working day labour for the Hindu villages, and since they don't themselves know that there are twenty-four hours in the day, they are cheated constantly. That is why I used to have these schools, to give the subaltern a chance at hegemony. (Spivak 2009:81, see also translated into Japanese:23-30)

Spivak found equivalence in the Sabar women's practice of the oral-formulaic, in which equivalence works and has a possibility to realize 'a chance at hegemony'. By examining the multi-layered etymological references to 'Mānbhum' in Sabar women's oral-formulaic practices, the names or memories of kings are transferred to other names or signs as exchangeable sign-representation. There is no fundamental attribution for landlords' names. This versatility implies Spivak's definition of equivalence.

Although Spivak defines equivalence in South Asian subaltern women's hegemonic practice, it is situated in pre-emotional epistemology. The community's collective experience also determines this bodily epistemological practice, in which the subaltern culture/agency interrupts the dominant structure and economy.

### ***Urstaat, resentment***

Not all equivalent practices become a community's collective experiences. Spivak's example shows that formulaic oral practices are based on 'mythic geography' (Spivak 2010:82), which cannot be free from the reigns. Especially in the historical discourse of the Buraku, the derivation was always based on the medieval reigns documented or institutionalised by *Kawaramakimono* as an authenticated narrative (Morita 1978). Peasants established the same documents to protect their land or professions, as did the members of other classes such as carpenters, potters, and street performers (Sakurai 2017). I will define this authenticated reference derived from reigns as a deep structure of *Urstaat*, followed by Deleuze and Guattari's *Mille Plateaux* (1980). Although it is independent of the fictional or historically objective existence of the secular state, the *Urstaat* functions in the psychic life of the subaltern class as a fundamental structure that revives a genealogy of the present state and constitutes their psychic experience.

Additionally, this paper emphasises the work developed by D/G (1972) on the Nietzschean sense of debt and *ressentiment*, which captures subaltern people with the state. The moment of debt is a psychoanalytical and economic factor in primitive accumulation. D/G refers to Marx's argument, even though it is not explicit. In chapter 26 of 'So-Called Primitive Accumulation' in *Capital*, volume 1, Marx described 'original sin' as a secret of capitalism that justifies the wealthy's moral reprobation towards have-

nots as laziness (Marx 2001). In terms of the relation to Spinozian affect, some affect is deviated by debt. Spinoza called this deviated affect as *crudelitatis* (cruelty) (Egawa 2021:6-13). This cruel affect alienates subaltern subjectivity/agency from its ideal form.

Affect has positive and negative sides, the cruel side is determined by *Urstaat*, in accordance with the work of *debt* which derived from primitive accumulation as an essential factor of capitalism-formation. I will keep in mind that these two sides of affect are decisive conditions of the subjectivity/agency of subalterns.

## 2. Laziness, Sabotage, Outlaws

The three words, laziness, sabotage, and outlaws in the title of this paper are based on my impression of Nakagami Kenji's work *Sennen no Yuraku* (A Thousand Years of Pleasure). Nakagami reinterpreted the history of Buraku from the perspective of the primitive accumulation of capitalism and rereading canonical Japanese classic literature. Following Nakagami's narrative strategy, I will show the chronological division of the modern history of Buraku.

- 1) The law abolishing the caste system and the discriminatory names of premodern Buraku in 1871: This was the primitive accumulation process of the Buraku through a land-tax reform conducted by the Meiji government.
- 2) *Zenkoku Suiheisha* organised by young Buraku people in 1922: This national movement was composed of an aggressive militant group, especially in the early years, and they radically attacked discriminatory behaviours and tried to release Buraku from patron-client relationships.
- 3) The Council for the Buraku Assimilation Policy Report in 1965: These policies led to another primitive accumulation over the Buraku in the post-war period from above, during which one of the leaders of the post-war emancipatory movement, Asada Zennosuke established a theoretical framework called "Asada Three Theses" as an affirmative response to the post-war policies of primitive accumulation.
- 4) The end of the Buraku assimilation policy in 2002 and the present situation: Although some Initiative programs for improving the Buraku's situations remained in rural areas after 2002, the Buraku were placed in a neoliberal situation in which Buraku people suffered from depopulation, aging, marginalisation, and decreasing socioeconomic conditions.

Nakagami wrote aesthetically sublime narratives of the Buraku, by collecting the memories of old women, including the experiences of forced factory girls or those sold

to brothels (NHK 2016, *The Voices of Roji and Father: Looking for Nakagami Kenji*).

Nakamoto and other cohorts, exhausted of music and dance, deeply soaked into the puddle of blood in Roji, were unacquainted with sweating and working for food. Moreover, he had no strength to do something as if no one hurt him and soon gave up making any effort. However, he wanted to be intoxicated even if he had no food, and tried to indulge in women's bloom as long as possible (Nakagami 2012:36).

Nakamoto, one of the protagonists in *A Thousand Years of Pleasure*, chose to be a hooligan or gangster by turning his back on modern civil society and refusing to work as a reasonable labourer. Sex and violence were the only ways he could represent himself. In contrast to these Buraku youth, Nakagami also described older protagonists who kept conventional morals and admired the Tenno Emperor, while also acting as protectors of the rampaging youth. Nakagami's literary manner shows his intense passion and love for Buraku-Roji and his hostility toward anything that harms Buraku.

However, Buraku was observed differently in civil society. The following is an article from 1963 detailing the Sayama murder case, in which Ishikawa Kazuo (1939-), a young Burakumin, was arrested as a suspect.

Ishikawa Kazuo was born on January 20, 1939, as the fourth son of his father a scaffolder and mother, and grew up with other brothers and sisters in a warren area of Seibu Irumagawa station (...). Such slum-like circumstances strengthened his rebellious and discontented spirit from childhood, and distorted his stubbornness (Saitama Shinbun 1963).

In addition, the article emphasised the association of Buraku themselves with 'distorted circumstances' and crime zones.

As 'a specified district', around ten students were forced to withdraw from the school in the area where Ishikawa lives. It would need teachers' warm supporting hands for them since their parents gave them over. This case demonstrated the existence of many youngsters who would become potential criminals. The case was the inspiration to pay attention to wealthy but conservative rural villages, in which there are slum, base, and tea-producing districts. The murder case happened because of these conflicting and distorted circumstances (Ibid).

The Sayama murder case is known as a false accusation based on the predicted investigation of a Buraku, and Ishikawa Kazuo, a suspect in the case, is still struggling with retrial after his release on parole. During the case's preliminary investigation, around thirty Buraku youth, including Ishikawa and his elder brother Ishikawa Rokuzo, were investigated by the police in a prejudicial manner. Ishikawa Rokuzo reflected on his hardship as Burakumin at that time in the following passage:

After graduating from middle-high school, I became a stall keeper to be a fully-fledged man. This choice was not my preference. Ordinal companies refused to hire me since I was born in Buraku, and my family's budget did not allow me to gain an educational background to break the wall of discrimination. Withdrawing from a noodle stall at night, I realised what Buraku was. After I changed my job to scaffolder, gravel and lumber dealers attacked me. I tried to be patient and keep smiling instead of being furious. I always doubled my fists in anger when my cohorts suffered the same experience. However, it would come to nothing if I doubled my fists, then I would be regarded as an ill-natured *Burakumin* after all (Josei 1963).

The career trajectories of Ishikawa Kazuo and Ishikawa Rokuzo, who worked as stall keepers or scaffolders, show the typical model of a Buraku labourer. They belong to the marginalised urban underclass and lack modern land ownership and educational experience as modern labourers. They could have been the protagonists in a work by Nakagami Kenji who turned their back on modern society if they had not encountered the Buraku emancipation movement.

The discourse that all Burakumin had been alienated from land ownership is not valid. The transition of possession of land or rights based on profession inscribed Buraku's own accumulated fundamental experiences. The next chapter demonstrates the historical conditions of laziness, sabotage, and outlaws as lived experiences through the examples of *Onbo*, an outcast group who dealt with funeral or burial rites, and Minamioji village in Osaka, a community of the Buraku composed of various outcast groups in the premodern period.

### 3. Communities of Outcasts

#### i *Sanmai hijiri*=*Onbo* and the vicissitude of the funeral rite's regime

A recent study by *Hinin*, *Sanmai hijiri*, and *Onbo*, who had dealt with funeral rituals in premodern times, regarded it as a typical secularisation case of decreasing their power

and status (Oyama 2017). However, until the Meiji government's final disposition, activities of purifying pollution, the role of *Kegare-Harae* continued in the modern period. In other words, *Kegare*-pollution, which has cultural connotations with dead bodies, carcasses, or blood defilement, cannot be removed from the modernisation process or governmental policies completely.

There were various classes and professions filled by outcast people in premodern Japan, such as the *Eta* =*Kawata* who dealt with carcasses and leather production, *Hinin* as executioners, and Sarumawashi as street performers who used monkeys or puppets. In addition, many groups dealt with *Kanjin* as soliciting and producing bamboo products, sandals, and garden services.

In Imazaike Mura village in Izuminokuni in the Edo period (now Izumi city in Osakafu), ten *Onbo* had two private servants. It means that they had the land as well as common farmers and ownership of funeral and burial rites in the village (Takahama 2017).

A brief history of the *Onbo* class during the modern period is as follows: through the Meiji government's modernisation policies, cremation was banned as a Buddhist practice in 1873; however, this policy was abolished in 1875 by the *Dajokan*, Great Council of State, and the management of funerals came to be controlled by the government. The business was later replaced by private companies and the government sector. This process is primitive accumulation through the transition of landowners. The Meiji government modified *Onbo*'s land.

## ii Various outcasts in rural communities

Private companies and governmental sectors replaced *Onbo*'s funeral businesses and cremation services during the Meiji period. This does not mean that all the ex-*Onbo* groups left their place; some stayed as proletarians. They maintained their natural relationships and shared their living spheres with other ex-outcast residents after losing their professions. *Shuku* village, which had a *Hinin* genealogy from the medieval period, shared tenants with Minamioji village during the Edo period. The *Onbo* group also maintained a genuine relationship with the *Eta* class.

It is crucial to refer to the fact that Minamiohji village delivered a target of cow skin to the *Hijiri* Shrine, and *Shuku* village was to deliver a bowstring; both items were used for the shrine's annual rites. There was also a *mai-mura* (village of dance) that delivered a dance performance to the shrine. These villages have had ritual roles since medieval times. *Kanjin*, a temple solicitation, was also essential for them in this sense.

In this context, I will refer to gambling in the *Kawata* village as well as ritual but economic practice. Gambling was a widespread but abused practice in these villages

during the Edo period. The outcast villages had the same customs, and many official documents show that Minamioji village suffered from gambling. Gambling customs among outcasts are evidence for some historians' argument of Buraku's tendency to become outlaw-villages (Mita 2018). However, considering that gambling had initially been a ritual behaviour, making a living through gambling would presumably be allowed in the villages. We should pay attention to the historically particular role of gambling in outcast villages in the premodern and modern eras. In fact, this historical condition makes it possible for Nakagami Kenji to imagine his narrative.

In 1780, in Kazene village, Nara Prefecture, villagers submitted an apology letter for gambling to an official. An interesting point here is that villagers who were listed in the letter were almost all sons or younger brothers of the heads of families. These younger villagers were also claimed by their 'egotistic' behaviours as dealing with carcasses with violating rules of *Danna-ba*<sup>1</sup> (Okuma 2011). Moreover, some of them professed horse dealers who conspired with buyers or sellers and distributed caws arbitrarily to Ohomi cow market (1780, Anei 9, "Submission letter of rules for horse dealers' business") (Naraken 1985:17-19).

These behaviours were repeated because of increased commercial demand in the cow market and the impoverishment of no-income classes such as sons or younger brothers among the heads of families. Gambling was an important business for these no-income classes in the village. However, in the apology letter, an endorser wrote that his house was usually a gambling place. This means that other villagers authorised gambling, which was also demonstrated by another letter apologising for gambling in 1810. This recalls Amino Yoshihiko's argument in which he mentioned that private houses used to be

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<sup>1</sup> The word of *Danna* is derived from "dana" in Sanskrit, which meant originally resource, or gift, and later came to be connoted as a patron. *Ba* means a field or a place. *Danna-ba* is not only the term for Buraku, rather it means the territories and activities by the agents of folk religions or traditional street performers. These activities to some extent overlap those of Buraku people. However, I will limit the term as activities and customs of Buraku in pre-modern Japan.

From the end of the medieval period to the early Edo period, *Danna-ba* is thought to be formed as a custom in rural society. In the Edo period, *Eta*, one of the main outcaste class then, had a special occupation of acquiring carcasses without charge, and taking and tanning the hides or skins. And demarcating the territories and arranging by each *Eta*'s right to take materials was called *Shoku-ba* [working-place] or *Kusa-ba* [glass-place], which are as same meaning as *Danna-ba*. At the same time, *Eta*, *Hinin* (as another huge group of the outcaste), and the same kind of outcaste people also engaged into the labours such as a guardian, prison watcher, and executioner in the rural society, as their special occupations. And these activities were also practiced in the same places of *Shoku-ba*, *Kusa-ba*, or *Danna-ba*. In addition, in the *Danna-ba*, outcaste people had a custom to solicit contributions for religious purpose, which is called *Kanjin*. Since the *Kanjin* was originally derived from religious solicitation, it included the activities of religious performances or wondering villages as pilgrim, and interests for controlling show business in the village.



asylums in his work *Muen, Kugai, Raku*, as well as shrines or temples (Amino 1996:214-225).

There were also many debt bonds for land or *Danna-ba* in these *Kawata* villages, and debtors and creditors were both *Kawata*. *Danna-ba* customs, horse-dealing, gambling, and joint activities of debt and credit constituted an exchange circulation to maintain the village economy.

Gambling-living is also related to an increase in *mushuku*, or homeless in the villages. In the case of Mihamioji village, it is called *the mushuku-network* in *History of Izumi City 4, History and Life of Shinodayama area*, as follows:

Based on the network of *Kawata*, it existed *Kawata-mushuku* network. In the 19th century, there happened the cases in which criminals of gambling, being punished as *Mura-azuke*, who were taken to the officers in the village, later dealt with stolen goods, went along with illegal activities with other *mushuku*-outlaws, and finally, they became *mushuku*-outlaws. These outlaws lived around the village by repeating the same illegal activities. They were different from *kakeochi* (people were escaped from the village and never returned). Moreover, it made it possible for them to survive in the village, even they became *Mushuku*-homeless (Izumishi 2015:310).

It could be said that the circulation of exchange included the *mushuku*-network. It is a logic of equivalence that penetrated and guaranteed the circulation of exchange. The network-connected *Kawata* village with the outer market and made *Danna-ba*, carcasses, and land equivalent. This is the basis of the hegemony of *Kawata* over the rural sphere and other classes. Hegemony was guaranteed by the bodily practices realised by *Kawata*'s business of dealing with carcasses.

### **iii Tsujita Ryozen and a Service for Nintoku Tenno Mausoleum**

Tsujita Ryozen (1890-1963), born in Minamioji village, embodies a ritual world (Tomotsune 2019a). He was a professional *Rokyoku/Naniwa-Bushi* reciting performer and a Jodo Shinshu Buddhist believer. Due to the nature of street performers, he drank during the day and stood at the street corner while ordinary people returned home and attended performances at theatres. His way of living would be far from that of the modern proletariat, and it seems to be a life of laziness. However, he had a regular income and was a moneylender to his relatives, as well as a diligent worker and an earnest believer.

On 21 August 1924, Tsujita participated in a lecture held by *Suiheisha*, and eight days later, he engaged in service work for Nintoku Tenno Mausoleum. The following is a citation from his diary (Tsujita 1924):

August 28: I submitted the service for Nintoku Tenno Mausoleum tomorrow to the village official.

August 29, 5:30 am: Around one hundred residents gathered at Ina Shrine to get to the service, and we started at 6:00 am.

I was appointed to a reception role by Higashi Touki village, Tadaoka village, Betsusho village, and our village. We engaged the service from 9:00 to 15:30 with lunch and took a memorial photo. (...) Afterward, I returned home and went to bed at 9:00 at night with a drink. Later the Saikyo Temple women's society gave me a watermelon.

Daisen Tenno Mausoleum, also known as Nintoku Tenno Mausoleum, is located in Sakai City, Osaka Prefecture. In the Ryozen's period, people could enter the place of worship and work by weeding and cleaning. For the Buraku people in the Meiji period, the meaning of August 29 is essential since the previous day, August 28, marks the promulgation of the abolition of the caste regime in 1871. Thus, the service would be planned for its memorial to show its favour to Tenno. During the 1920s, just after the death of the Meiji Emperor, the construction of the Meiji Jingu shrine and the outer garden was established by mobilising one hundred thousand volunteers. Following the arrival of a mass-consumerist society, industrialisation, and urbanisation, Japan reached a peak in nationalism based on the Tenno regime through the Meiji Emperor's celebration, which also resulted in a sharp conflict in social movements (Tomotsune 2019b).

Regarding the relationship between Tenno Mausoleum and Buraku's general modern history, a symbolic case called an incident of Forced Transposition of Hora Village occurred in Nara Prefecture from 1918-1920. In 1913, residents living close to Kashihara Mausoleum submitted a petition to the Minister of the Imperial Household. They condemned Hora Buraku, since the village was in contact with the holy Mausoleum. Moreover, a year beforehand, Taisho Tenno had planned to visit the site and the *History of Mausoleum*, published in 1913, described that 'Hora village erodes the holy mountain'. Circumscribed by this atmosphere, almost a thousand Hora village residents accepted transportation to newly developed land next to the Jinmu Mausoleum. The Ministry of Imperial Household subsidised for five thousand and thirty-one yen (more than one million dollars now) to Hora village (Tsujimoto 1990).

This case has been regarded as a typical incident demonstrating *Kegare*, a sensitivity to pollution, used against the Buraku and assimilationism based on the Tenno regime. It seems to be archaic for an emperor to dominate all land. However, this is a cynical, primitive accumulation process based on modern capitalism. Between the late 1910s and the early 1920s, absentee landlords promoted land speculation and accumulated more through urbanisation and industrialisation. In the Kashihara area of Nara prefecture, the project for the Kashihara Shrine and Holy Capital was proposed in the late 1870s. In addition, a campaign for establishing tourism in Nara and making pilgrimages to the 'Holy Capital', led by entrepreneurs like the Osaka Electric Train Company (now called Kintetsu), was escalated. The transportation project for Hora village was imagined through this urban-rural development project to make a 'holy site'. In other words, by mobilising the mythology of *Urstaat*, capitalism by land concentration demanded the transportation and appropriation of Buraku's land. The process was realised not by direct force but by the 'innocently' cynical logic of the development of rural areas.

Hora Buraku villagers approved the project. However, non-Buraku residents around Hora village pressed for the removal of their polluted and disgraced existence from the holy site. They needed to repay the imperial blessings. Debt, a cruel affect that determines agency's practice, functioned as a non-economic compulsion in this sort of primitive accumulation.

#### 4. Conclusion

In the *Kawata* Buraku practices of *Danna-ba*, the logic of equivalence functions over exchanging process in private and the market fields. It is a bodily practice that deals with carcasses and is a source of value. Gambling and *mushuku* practices are part of bodily practice and contribute to forming the *Kawata-mushuku*-hegemony-network. Some Buraku people wittingly head towards modern labourer careers by entering the primitive accumulation process, and others are excluded from the process and choose to be marginal and surplus labourers. However, values are produced in both cases.

Since the modern trajectory of Buraku was determined by the abolition of the caste system, discriminatory names, and the rights of free treatment of carcasses in 1871, as an imperial command by the Tenno Emperor, they cannot be free from the Tenno regime. As the experiences of Tsujita Ryozen and Hora village show, the practices always evoke debt memories and the effect of cruelty derived from *Urstaat*, which continue to suffer them. The state and *Urstaat* always capture the subaltern to the regime. However, their bodily

practice make subalterns' network-hegemony possible based on the logic of equivalence. The dominant regime is subverted to a source of value by bodily practices.

After the high economic growth and the end of the *Dowa* Initiative, government's project for the Buraku issues, in 2002, Buraku-born people chose to adopt a nomadic status and were diasporatised by leaving Buraku. However, they maintained their relationships with Buraku communities. They perform unfettered and flexible lives by utilising the logic of equivalence. The bodily practice, the modern labour world cannot fully control it, continues there.

### Supplement

In the final discussion of the Symposium, Prof. Inoue and Prof. Awaya pointed out an issue in my reference to Nakagami Kenji since Nakagami's outlaw-ness is based on solid masculism, sexual violence, and hatred against women. It overlaps the masculinity in the conventional discourse of the Buraku issue. To consider the problem, I will introduce a literary work of Nakagami Nori (1971-), a writer and daughter of Nakagami Kenji, as one of the attempts of counter-discourse towards Nakagami Kenji's violent masculinity in his literature and reinterpreted myths. Even though she seems haunted by his father's relationship, it is her strategy to make a critical and creative commentary of Nakagami Kenji, which also shows a possibility of the critical discourse of the Buraku issue.

Nakagami Nori's literary world tries to win back the myths and *Roji* that once her father, Nakagami Kenji constituted by male violence and sexual exploitation of women. She realises women's hegemony instead of men who struggle with the outer world only by using violence against women. Moreover, the subjectivity/agency of her stories is always split into multiple perspectives, subjectivities, and ethnic races. These multiple subjectivities/agencies constitute multiple narratives. It guarantees the subaltern literature, even though Nakagami Nori's strategy does not aim to it.

Nakagami Nori is a writer in the age of financial-moneyed capital during the late 1990s to 2000s. Her protagonists are travelers in Asian countries, even marginalized areas, enjoying the world of floating tourism capital. She describes cruel situations as results of financial-moneyed capital's sweeping over the world and dominant tendency in which capitalists are indifferent to actual material labor. It shows an obvious contrast with her father, Nakagami Kenji's 1970s and 1980s as industrial capitals and dominant labor for Nakagami's protagonists were subcontracted constructing works. However, following the change of capital from industrial to IT-based financial capital, Nakagami Kenji's interest at the same time transited from *Roji* as Buraku of Japan to the abroad. In succeeding his

father, the literary works of Nakagami Nori focus on expanding tourism capital based on the international division of labor, tracing Asian slums or marginalized places like *Roji* in Japan.

“Veda in August” (2006) is a story of a woman who can survive only by communing with the dead.

Chiaki went to Myanmar with her uncle under a pretext to find a legendary golden butterfly. The trip also meant mourning for her sister, Miyuki, who died in the water at Mandalay, Myanmar. Her father was missing, and her mother had already died. She seems to be losing everything. However, when she accidentally dropped into the Irrawaddy River, she encountered her sister and father in her dream. After the incident and recovered consciousness, she became a lunatic.

Furthermore, she did not return to Japan. She continued to stay in Myanmar and lived on an island of the river, digging a hole to look for her sister since Chiaki believed that the sister would hide there with her father. A conventional story of a young Japanese woman traveling in Asia turns a dramatic, mysterious ending. Furthermore, a tale of digging a hole reminds us of *Nezumi jodo*, which describes an underground world of mice and a hole connected to the other side, one of the folkloristic stories Nakagami found on his research trip in Kumano. Nakagami Kenji’s interpretation of the tale should be a reversed story of a loyal court. However, Nakagami Nori’s version is heading toward her intimate relationship with her dead family.

Nakagami Nori chooses a work for commentary literature of Nakagami Kenji. It is impressive that digging holes here is insane but very private and domestic labor. Chiaki’s boyfriend, whom Chiaki met during the travel, became a narrator of the ending part of the story. He had a Japanese mother and lost his elder brother during his childhood. He shares a portion of Nakagami Kenji’s literary protagonists. Moreover, the names of Chiaki and Miyuki also share the Nakagami Kenji’s hero of his Kumano saga, Akiyuki (a Chinese character Miyuki is the same as Yuki). By splitting the name Akiyuki into Aki and yuki, these protagonists share Nakagami Kenji’s narratives by their positions. At the same time, they are de-masculinized. It is a way to survive for the post-*Roji* generation in the present world, who are stigmatized as descendants of *Roji*-children. However, by keeping distance from Nakagami Kenji’s traumatic framework determined by the heterarchical history of the Buraku and instead by situating heterological perspective based on women’s experience, she realises the logic of equivalence in her literature.

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