

Global Telepoiesis at Work: A Multi-Sited Ethnography of Media Mobilities

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Introduction: Shapes of Mediation and Things to Come

Multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1998; Burawoy, Blum, George, Thayer, Gille, Gowan, Haney, Klawiter, Lopez, & Riain, 2000; Ingold, 2014) is not merely preferable but rather indispensable in arguing against the prevalence of banal global narratives. In the present paper, different calendar times in the three cities of San Diego, Hong Kong, and London will be focused upon as sites for the diasporic life of Japanese overseas. My aim here is to illuminate how these local sites presuppose potential contexts and constraints for actions that agencies would take and, in turn, how people endeavor to create emergent spaces by bridging and fixing together multiple global flows (Ogawa Nishiaki et al., 2010; Ogawa Nishiaki, 2007, 2008, 2017b; Lynch, 1979; Zukin, 1989, 2010).¹

In media and communication studies, uses and gratifications research still exerts a strong influence that contributes to a change of the central concept of investigation away from one which views the audience as a passive recipient. Audience ethnographies emphasize a more positive approach in focusing on the agency of the audience. Cultural studies and social theory are not an exception to such an orientation towards fieldwork and description *in situ* (McQuail, 2006).

Moreover, experiences are regarded as a focal point of research into service design for users. John Urry undertook research on automobilities as an early phase of mobilities studies. He does not hesitate to refer to Raymond Williams' notion of "the structure of feelings" that was also applied to the analysis of mobile media artefacts exemplified by the Sony Walkman (Urry et al., 2005; Williams, 1992; Du Gay et al., 1997). In order to capture the mobilities in media and infrastructures, Scott Lash devotes his efforts to clarifying the experiences that result from massive transportation, cargo mobilities, and human flows (Lash, 2018).

Acknowledging the above-mentioned contributions of my predecessors, the inspirations I draw from are more classical works in psychology and sociology that bridge practices in different time-spaces. Tentatively, I name the concepts that enable me to write a multi-sited ethnography of media mobilities as follows: chronic amnesia, double exposures, time slips, and stumbled footings. These

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conceptualizations of Japanese diasporic calendars, I hope, will illuminate a variety of materialities and textures of mediation in San Diego, Hong Kong and London.²

As Urry emphasizes in his analysis of global complexities, “gravity” is regarded as one of the most perceptible forces that shapes and coordinates different objects into specific directions (Urry, 2003, 2016). In the present paper, I attempt to develop Urry’s idea regarding attractors in order to propose the possibility of some new phases of ethnographic research, especially in terms of a focus on shapes of global media mobilities.

In discussing my ethnographic observations, I turn, first, to classic examples of religious practices in calendar time and, second, to the analysis of film scripts. First, a classic example of calendar is epitomized in the entanglement of the sacred and the profane observable in both religious and secular spaces (Durkheim, 1912=2008). Not only the spiritual but also the human and non-human elements, namely interaction and mediation with and by other things, artefacts, animals, and plants become salient in time with regards to ethnographic observations of collective life forms in global media mobilities (Ogawa Nishiaki, 2007, 2008, 2017a, 2017b, 2018; Knorr-Cetina & Bruegger, 2002; Lash, 2001; Latour, 2005). This is what I define as “global telepoiesis”.

Pierre Bourdieu’s attention to coordinated life in time in Kabyle village, Algeria seems to substantiate Urry’s suggestion of gravity as an attractor for a unified center of the collective and specific communities *in situ* (Bourdieu, 1990). However, in the process of searching for a multi-sited ethnography (Ogawa, 1994a, 1994b, 1996, 1997; Ogawa Nishiaki, 2001), we must seek the repositories of more effective schemata that enable us to convey phenomena that distinctively highlight the global mobilities and mediation occurring before our eyes.

Second, I analyze scripts of Hollywood films, and focus on expert ideas concerning film narrative. John Truby (2007) looks at shapes in nature and applies them to film storylines that represent possible time-spaces: namely, a world where collective life designs are interwoven (Stevens, 1974; Ogawa Nishiaki & Ohta, 2016). As Truby details, a story shows a story world that appeals to audiences by condensing and emphasizing specific aspects of life (Truby, 2007).

Truby (2007), then, goes on to argue that stories themselves are not artificial but have some natural elements that share a similar design with animals, plants and wilderness. Linear patterns in film synopses follow one character in a chronological order that entices an engagement with the audience by tracing the character’s personal development. Meandering patterns are observed in rivers, snakes, and the structure of the human brain. The main characters in films who follow such patterns have more ad hoc tendencies that allow them to go astray and communicate with others in a different class or society. This type of film is strongly rooted in myth and is exemplified by works such as *Odyssey* (Homer, B.C.8=2008), *Don Quixote* (Cervantes, 1605=2003) and *David Copperfield* (Dickens, 1850=2008).

Spiral patterns in film present introverted characters. Examples of such patterns in the natural world include hurricanes, animal horns, and seashells. Films such as *Vertigo* (1958) directed by Alfred Hitchcock, *Blow-Up* (1967) by Michelangelo Antonioni, and *Memento* (2000) by Christopher Nolan share a reflexive quality whereby the characters recursively come across similar events and experiences. Branching patterns can be observed in trees, leaves, rivers and brooks. The storylines of their equivalent deal with different social strata of the societies or different communities where the characters struggle with their fates. Among them, *Gulliver's Travels* (Swift, 1726=2008) can be listed as a classic example.

Explosive patterns incorporate multiple venues that develop at the same time. Flowers such as dandelions and natural structures like volcanoes display this explosiveness in the natural environment. In literature, James Joyce succeeded in creating a multi-characteristic world in *Ulysses* (Joyce, 1922=2008), while Alain Resnais directed his masterpiece film, *L'Année dernière à Marienbad* (1961), with the mesmerizing effect of multiple story worlds presented without any explanation.

Although Truby's adoption of natural design in the analysis of film synopses are tempting (Ogawa Nishiaki & Ohta, 2016), I take further steps to write a multi-sited ethnography in the present paper. I endeavor to stick to the calendar metaphor while I give vivid descriptions of media mobilities (Ogawa Nishiaki, 2017a; Pavel, 1986) in these sites.

Put differently, this paper deals with the same issue in a new way: its aim is to illuminate the global and local dimensions of diasporic action in three cities, and how unexpected events and happenings in calendars invite unintended consequences to the urban sites where diasporas are spatially fixed. Instead of turning to urban sociological theories, I would rather refer to classic theorists of practice and will view urban sites as specific spatio-temporal constraints for agencies who are already global in their outlook (Ogawa Nishiaki, 2002).

Given that gravity waves reshape time-spaces (Urry, 2003, 2000a, 2000b), the entanglement of the manes of the horses as unexpected forces of sea and wind most accurately denotes to my analysis (Law & Mol, 2002; Urry, 2002a, 2003). However, my focus is directed to psychological and sociological experiences of media mobilities that are shared by Japanese diasporic and tourist communities.

It is my hope that this research will back up the analysis of global telepoiesis that I have been undertaking (Ogawa Nishiaki, 2001, 2017a, 2018). Eventually, the present paper attempts to explore the capabilities (Sen, 1992; Garnham, 1999; Ogawa Nishiaki & Ohta, 2016) of multi-sited ethnography of media mobilities mainly giving new shapes analogous to the experiences of members of Japanese diasporas and visiting tourists.³

Lost in a City, but Discovered in Another: Calendars on the Move

In order to re-formulate the ripples of arguments we have been observing, let us explore turbulent relations between actions and calendar times in three urban sites in the sections below. In this section, I explore the ambivalence of the consequences to the processes of bridging and hanging on the edges of multiple diasporic times: more specifically double or triple calendars that Japanese diasporas in San Diego experience.

Calendars are most likely the device that organizes actions among community members who locate themselves in specific urban sites. How is this coordination among members of a concentrated diaspora made possible? According to Bourdieu's observation of life in Kabyle, it is because calendars provide imaginary synthesis and synopsis which evoke the feeling in villagers of what to do, and, above all, specify when to do it in an annual cycle of events (Bourdieu, 1990: 202-210). We thus assume that the more coherent and denser the society is, the more the members share the same calendar.

We may also understand that calendars form a memory device that prevent us from forgetting the timing and spacing of routinized actions (Connerton, 1989). Elsewhere I have already argued that names, cinemas, biographies and trajectories of reflexive self-talk provide the sites of collective memory for Japanese diasporic communities (Halbwachs, 1941=1992; Elster, 1989) and, more importantly, that such shared memories are recursively refereed through and mediated by these sites (Samuel, 1999; Ogawa Nishiaki, 2017a).

If we accept Bourdieu's point, we may add calendars to the inventory of memory-sites. The only difference from other sites is that calendars are more stretched in form and more involved in regulating actions, rather than just remembering (Zerubavel, 1985, 1997; Suchman, 1987).

Yet, as far as the Japanese communities in San Diego are concerned, their calendars are not like the one in Kabyle. They are far from complete or unitary. And metaphorically speaking, diasporic calendars are full of holes and blanks, namely absenteeism and memory loss. More precisely put, each family tends to dismiss some key experiences in the annual sequence of local events. That is not entirely their fault. It is more likely the result of the travelling that Japanese in San Diego are destined to do.

In this section, I emphasize the uncertainty of the consequence of bridging the edges of multiple diasporic times: specifically, the double or triple calendars which members of Japanese diasporic communities in San Diego experience. It is not my intention to apportion blame to such people in that they are not ready to accommodate themselves to the environment and schedule in San Diego. However, in effect, though not intended, absence from local events and national commemorative ceremonies sometimes becomes detrimental for them in terms of

being accepted as a full-fledged member of the local community or (national) society (Connerton, 1989).

Rather than blaming, my emphasis is to re-cast our eyes on the implication of amnesia among diasporic populations in San Diego in relation to action and time. There are two key points: firstly, why some portions of the Japanese diasporas seem to suffer from memory losses and yet survive fatal risks, and secondly, what are the uses and abuses of calendar times (Ogawa Nishiaki, 2017a).

Firstly, we feel lost in a city if we are unaware of the calendar time of the place. Suppose one has a diary with a Japanese calendar and flies to London. Most of the shops are closed and cash tellers are not working even though it is Monday. We have no idea where to go or what to do. Until we are told from local people that it is a bank holiday, it is as though we have travelled London with a map of Tokyo. In this way, calendars order time just as maps do for space.

If we are lost in urban spaces, we can turn to passers-by and ask for direction. However, if one is “lost” in city calendars, it is more complicated to find one’s way. We may not even know whether we are lost or not. The reason may be due to the fact that calendars usually stretch up to twelve months. It takes a certain duration of time to memorize the set of actions and events that are articulated in time. And a sense of loss and redundancy will not usually be recognized until one successfully experiences a cycle of annual events.

Holidays are most likely the “in-between” time-spaces of actions in diasporic life (Granovetter, 1973). In the case of Japanese diasporas in San Diego, discrepancies between their actions and local calendars often happen in both the summer and winter holidays. As articulated by a source who took their guest to San Diego Sea World (Ogawa Nishiaki, 2018), it is this timing when not only the member of the diaspora but their distant relatives, friends and even unknown guests take the chance to travel.

Diasporas are sometimes treated separately from tourists and viewed as solitary in contrast to the latter who are perceived as consumeristic (Rojek & Urry, 1997; Urry & Larsen, 2011). As far as the case in San Diego is concerned, the two groups are not separate. Rather, the diasporas act as attractors which regulate and induce a global in-flux of tourists from Japan (Byrne, 1997).

Secondly, the mobile seasons characterized by long vacations also result in accelerating global flows of commodities and information in both speed and amount (Granovetter, 1973; Knorr-Cetina & Bruegger, 2002; Urry, 2007; Elliot & Urry, 2010; Urry & Larsen, 2011). It is especially so since such goods and knowledge, for example embodied in the form of popular magazines, are usually inaccessible or unaffordable for those of Japanese diasporas. These exchanges themselves may be one of the reasons why members of diasporas are distracted from local events and calendars. I will touch upon this issue again later in my discussion of the relationship between the London calendar and diasporic actions (Boyarin, 1993).

Eventually, collective memories are destabilized by the exposing of blanks and the saturations of signs in mobile seasons. Summers and winters are festive moments of the annual cycle when people recollect and reflect on the past year (Kawatake, 1991). In other words, various occasions for remembering are concentrated before a new year or new academic term begins. And people often encounter new dimensions of life during the act of remembering with other guests and relatives from Japan usually absent in their daily life.

Living with a Chronic Amnesia in San Diego

In order to discuss redundancies and blanks of memories, I will refer to my own experience including an incidental stay I had with one Japanese family in San Diego. First, concerning redundancies, we once observed greeting cards marked with hexangular stars and letters which read “HANUKKAH” in a local card shop. These cards had been decorated in the red, green and gold of Christmas, and filled with stars, snow, and other depictions of the season. Our purpose was to hunt for Christmas cards that we planned to send instead of the New Year's cards more common to Japanese custom (Miller, 1995; Schudson, 1986). Such cards usually depict guardian animals, pine trees, bamboo, Japanese plum, and other symbols of celebrations.

I did not know what the marking nor the word meant until I recognized later that they denoted David's Star and a Jewish holy festival. In such a way, we felt a sense of being schizophrenic when faced with a saturation of iconoclastic and religious juxtaposition (Machimura, 1999). I considered this experience to be the result of a proximity—indeed an overlapping—of different calendar times.

Contrary to that experience, a further example concerns calendrical blanks and amnesia we encountered on New Year's Eve. Media events, as well as festivals, memorials, parks, parades and other projects (Bodnar, 1992; Couldry, 2012), are often cited as moments for fabricating and nurturing collective memories (Hobsbaum & Ranger, 1983; Dyan & Katz, 1994; Yoshimi, 2000). Yet how memories or the act of remembering relate to people's actions may not have been explored in depth.

In order to approach the dynamics of both, I will focus on a Japanese song festival called *NHK Kou-Haku Uta Gassen* (The NHK Red-White Song Battle) (1951-). It is a high-budget program produced by Japanese National Broadcasting Services and is broadcast to attract not only domestic but also diasporic and overseas audiences by ethnic satellite channels.

While my temporary host family and I were watching the program for three to four hours, we felt as if we were amnesic. The show features songs of the year performed in an entertaining style. In that extravaganza, a collection of singers, both young and old, were separated into a Red Team and a White Team according to their

gender, and selected celebrities of the year voted to decide which team performed better.

The problem for my host family and I was that neither of us had spent the whole year in Japan. The former came to San Diego in summer and the latter spent more than half a year in London. So many faces were unfamiliar to us that we were busier being surprised rather than recollecting the year passed. Thus, the media highlighted our sense of absence from Japan rather than our connection to our home country and, moreover, it highlighted our lost calendar times.

In sum, surrounded by our blanks and redundancies and confronted by the sense that there were other calendar times that we may have been disconnected from, what kind of actions did we take? First, the feeling of bewilderment came. Second, we just tried to figure out when and where we had missed out.

Thirdly, we gradually came to understand our calendar times were not linear, or, more precisely, our trajectories of life were not linear. Lastly, we discovered in ourselves that we were lost in one city but actually hung on a different calendar time in another place. That is one way of reflexive processes (Lynch, 2000) diasporic communities tend to encounter and what I would call “living on the edges of times” (Ogawa Nishiaki, 2002).

Of course, there are structural forces (Sassen, 1999, 2014) that encourage newcomers to adapt to the annual schedule in San Diego. The International House, for example, plans events for foreign students and researchers who come to the University of California. These introductory programs officially aim to initiate foreigners who have little knowledge of the city. In fact, the careful construction of the programs may serve to aid diasporic communities in memorizing master narratives of the area by suggesting when and what to do.

Two characteristics of the program should be identified. First, the target participants of the events are quite diverse. Due to the university’s reputation as a world research center of medicine, biology, neuroscience, oceanography, cognitive science and international relations, participants include medical doctors, international scholars, corporate researchers and their families.

There are also opportunities which are organized by groups who share ethnic, national and religious backgrounds. Academic scholars who are affiliated to the university are often willing to attend the meetings which relate to their interests. It is especially the case if they specialize in area studies and language teaching, or if they used to be diplomats who engaged in foreign offices services.

Local elderly people—often wealthy and retired—are also involved in hospitality programs and tutoring of English conversation on voluntary bases. In a sense, these volunteers are generally knowledgeable of, or at least have an interest in, foreign and “exotic” cultures thanks to their experiences in the international business world, as well as through their travels.

Inside and outside of the university, you would also intermingle with

missionaries and other people who share diasporic moments away from their home countries by their own will. Due to its location as a Navy base, some ex-Navy forces resumed studying at the university, and some veterans were using the nearby veterans' hospital. You would further encounter illegal immigrant workers if you took buses that drove near Tijuana and the U.S. - Mexico borders.

This list of people may seem a perfect combination and remind us of the original agencies of globalization: ethnographers, missionaries, colonialists, and adventurers. If we take a closer look, we may find gendered subjects, too (McNay, 2000): flight attendants, base women, diplomatic wives, entertainers, bankers, nannies, chambermaids, babysitters/au pairs, and domestic servants (Enloe, 1990; Jokinen & Veijola, 1997; Parreñas, 2001).

It is true that in San Diego, more specifically in the vicinity of La Jolla and University City, the people you would meet are more or less a “hybrid” of what I mention above (Pryde, 1984). Yet it should be noted that when we meet them in cultural exchange programs, it is often the case that they are willing to take the role of guardians of “American culture” and to teach foreign newcomers the proper English language. In a sense, they are well aware of their “mission” as educators for new residents of the city.

Second, in terms of “international” events entitled as “International Evenings” and “Lunch Meetings”, they range from formal welcome parties to more casual barbecue parties. In so-called potluck parties, everyone brings a gift, often one that emphasizes one’s ethnic and cultural background. Yet when they come and bring “potluck”, newcomers also learn how to prepare sandwiches, tacos and other easy-to-cook American and Mexican foods, the ingredients of which are available at a low cost.

More importantly, these events are arranged with a strong reference to local calendar times, and painted with specific colors: Halloween with yellow-orange pumpkins, Christmas with red, green, and gold ornaments, Valentine’s Day with red, and Easter with a pink bunny and eggs to celebrate fertility. Basically, the tone is Christian with an American accent.

Calendar times, thus, are initiated without any difficulty if we continuously attend the series of events throughout the year. One of my host mothers, whose family eagerly organized a local branch of the International Exchange Program, once told me that she intentionally dressed herself in colors to celebrate each occasion though the climate in San Diego was almost the same regardless of the seasons: a red dress for Valentine's Day and a pink dress for Easter. She believed that her attention to these seasonal outfits would facilitate foreign students and their families to accommodate themselves with local culture as well as with local calendar time.

One would not be lost in San Diego calendar time and the synopsis of the city if they followed her in due course. Yet the difficulty of global trotting is that we travel in terms of space as well as time. You may be celebrating Easter events this year not

in San Diego but in Japan where your neighbor would not know much about it. In that case, you may be located in the center of the San Diego calendar, but in the periphery of a Tokyo or Osaka calendar if you are not in any Christian communities of the cities.

Double Exposures and Time Slips in Hong Kong

In the following sections, I will limit myself to providing snapshots of diasporic moments in two more cities. Rather than introducing new concepts, I will re-interpret how actions interact with and serve to consolidate calendars in metaphoric terms. Thus, my discussions in earlier sections, I hope, can be observed through a slightly different lens; one which is specific to a particular site: namely, Hong Kong and London.

The city of Hong Kong was considered as one of the most reasonable locations for research into Japanese diaspora. On the one hand, after interviewing in London and San Diego, I was struggling to escape from the logic and dichotomy inherently associated with West/East, or more exactly Japan/West (Ethnic Communities Oral History Project, 1994). At a glance, these binary oppositions seem to be tempting, but in fact are too deterministic, and insufficient to understand the actions and discursive practices of Japanese women in two Anglo-American cities (Ogawa, 1994a).

On the other hand, the material I used for screening sessions also featured Hong Kong and Singapore where colonial British women enjoyed a luxury life before they became captive of the Japanese Army.³ Hence, it seemed appropriate to explore how the city of Hong Kong could be refereed and experienced by those of the Japanese diaspora as real sites of residence as well as fictional and historical time-spaces.⁴

In fact, just before its transfer to China, the global-scape of Hong Kong was more colorful (The Hong Kong Tourist Association, 1995a, 1995b). It was attracting people, investments and media attention from Japan more than ever. As numbers of Japanese residents increased, Yaohan Ltd., once a symbol of Japan's commercial success in the global market, launched supermarket shops targeting both Japanese and local customers. Due to the fluidity of the society and the speed of flows and exchanges at that time, I unfortunately did not succeed in conducting enough interviews for analysis, in spite of visiting Hong Kong about 20 times between 1985 and 1997.

It was partly because I was more intrigued by the flows and calendar times that conditioned the diasporic life of Japanese residents, sojourners, temporary workers, visiting scholars, students and tourists. Instead of visiting the residents of the Japanese diasporas, I preferred to interview more institutional bodies like city authorities, the embassy of Japan, and academics. Further to this, I concentrated, just

as Benedict Anderson did, on museum exhibitions, media reports and other festivals (Anderson, 1983; Samuel, 1999).

Again, conjunctures and disjunctures would recursively appear when I sketch out a picture of life in Hong Kong (Bowker & Star, 1999). Yet, in this section, an emphasis will be placed more on the intensity, unevenness and fluctuating speed of calendar times. Rather than drawing on the punctuated equilibrium of evolution (Gould, 1987), I will coin and reappropriate two notions with a hope to capture the dynamics of cyclic and non-cyclic times, (dis)placement, (half)placement, and (re)placement (Mackenzie, 2002): namely, double-exposures and time slips. And I would again argue that Japanese diasporic communities in Hong Kong would certainly experience these two since they are placed on the edges of times (Ogawa Nishiaki, 2002, 2018; Giddens & Hutton, 2000; Urry, 2002a).

First, “double exposures”, I would argue here, suggest a specific sense of an optically mesmerizing experience relating to flashbacks and a mediation of the experiences of *deja vu*. In the month of August in Hong Kong, we would most likely encounter news reports that cover people in different locations in Asia celebrating the anniversaries of when they were liberated from Japanese occupation during WWII. Members of Japanese diasporas in Hong Kong could usually enjoy terrestrial, cable and satellite broadcasting and other media flows in Japanese, English, Cantonese and Mandarin languages.

However, the abundance of information channels would turn into a nightmare in summer time. After commemorating victims of atomic bombs dropped in Nagasaki and Hiroshima and the end of the WWII, Japanese in Hong Kong would be soon be overwhelmed by the celebration of Victory over Japan Day and anti-Japanese events in Hong Kong and other regions of Asia. It is especially the case as these recur hour after hour and day after day. The time difference of the same event commemorated in several locations worldwide is a double exposure that would act as a specific and overwhelming mediation of cultural memory.

In that case, it would be almost impossible for those of Japanese diasporas to evade exposures to war memories that are contradictory unless they could evacuate from their own sites in Hong Kong. It can be argued that those who suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder syndromes may encounter similar kinds of symptoms. Moreover, Yoneyama (1999) discusses in her analysis of testimony concerning the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in WWII that “hibakusha” face a serious dilemma. In this case, “hibakusha” means those who were subjected to the atomic bomb and the survivors who faced exposure to the resultant radiation.

Yoneyama then continues that some survivors use their experiences to publicly display (in the media) the harmful effects of the bombs upon human bodies, while for others the very same seems shameful. It is because if they expose their experiences the mass media’s coverage would result in the sensationalizing, trivializing and indeed, commodifying of the survivors’ stories, and thus the

experience of nuclear devastation would follow the same way (Yoneyama, 1999: 85-87).

My definition of double exposures shares Yoneyama's claim that survivor, or witness/storyteller, constitute a contestatory site of interpellations and self-references (Yoneyama, 1999: 86). Yet the difference from these examples I would emphasize is the location of double-exposures: mine is more to do with actions as well as memories, and the relation of whether one is labeled as either the victim or the center of the power is more ambivalent according to the city in which we are placed.

Moreover, if compared to my own arguments of mediated signs in San Diego, depicting faces of singers or religious icons, double exposures can also be considered as a version of saturated memories. However, in the case of the latter, the double exposure is located more in calendar times and results from the mediated flows of times repeatedly coming into our location.

Second, "time slips", as I define them, may suggest the phenomena that have resulted from a conjunction of solar and lunar calendars. A further example can be found in the colonial history of Hong Kong where old Chinese calendars and objects survived the Cultural Revolution that eliminated local customs in Mainland China. In "slips of the tongue", or "Freudian slips", through mistakes in speaking, mispronunciations, misplacements of words and stammering, people are said to disclose their own hidden feelings (Freud, 1938; Giddens, 1997, 2001). Similarly, "time slips" reveal underlying links cutting across diasporic and local calendars that are apparently distant.

Let me list the national holidays in Hong Kong in 1996 and 1997 before I refer to two examples of time slips: the New Year Holiday in January; Chinese New Year in February; the Ching Ming Festival, Good Friday, Easter Saturday, and Easter Monday in April; the Birthday of Her Majesty the Queen, a national holiday, and the Tuen Ng Festival in June; a further unspecified holiday and Liberation Day in August; the Mid-Autumn Festival in September; the Chung Yeung Festival in October; and finally Christmas Day and Boxing Day in December.

The first thing to note is that in Hong Kong, major department stores and hotels use the same ornaments in differing arrangements from Christmas and New Year to Chinese New Year. In that case, members of Japanese diasporas in Hong Kong would celebrate several events articulated by different calendars as if they were continuous. Second, in autumn seasons, Japanese in Hong Kong would witness objects that may appear familiar to themselves: in the Mid-Autumn Festival, special lanterns are lit that welcome and guide the souls of dead ancestors home, and in the Chung Yeung Festival, chrysanthemum flowers announce the coming of the season.

We, thus, conclude that double exposures and time slips would both display how those of the Japanese diasporas relate their actions and experiences to calendars in Hong Kong. If the former is considered to relate to encounters with an oversaturation of contradictory signs in a plurality of calendars, the latter is more to

do with going beyond the normal calendars into a conjuncture of a multitude of rhythms that lead to a re-articulation of holidays and celebrations in different calendars.

As a result, time slips redefine these moments that nature-culture coordinates, and thus de-naturalize and de-familiarize the objects of local culture of the places where diasporic communities come from. Eventually, both cases, I believe, illuminate how diasporic actions on the edges (Ogawa Nishiaki, 2018) relate to calendar times of Hong Kong.

Footings and Stumblings: Troubled Times in London

In this section, I will focus on three examples of what I call “footings” and “stumblings” in London, and will deepen my discussion by concentrating on various styles of communication practices *in situ* located in London.

What I will reappropriate in this section is the term “footing”. The term originally highlights a positional sense in dialogue that transforms according to the situation, for example, whether we are speaking from a podium or not, or whether we are located in the front region or in the back (Goffman, 1981; Clayman, 1992; Drew & Heritage, 1992).

Put differently, footings and stumblings are pragmatic tools: they refer to how we situate our actions and to whom, and how our intended actions can be betrayed by spontaneous local happenings that are not inscribed in calendars beforehand.

The following examples are related to the centers of power and illuminate how they affect agencies located in distant cities in different ways. First, when Emperor Hirohito passed away early in 1989, those of the Japanese diaspora in London were somehow annoyed by media reports. It was not because of the content of the news, but by the fact that its consideration as the top news was soon taken over by coverage of the Lockerbie disaster (one of the worst airplane disasters in British history).

Most of the Japanese diaspora had phone calls from their families in Japan and heard that New Year’s celebrations in Japan were cancelled due to the national mourning of the Emperor who had been in his position for more than fifty years. At that time, the footings of those of the Japanese diaspora were positioned toward Japan and were ready to observe British reports which finally failed them. It was natural for the British press to cover the Lockerbie disaster since their footing was positioned towards British people whether they were home or abroad.

Second, a different type of footing was observed regarding the reactions by a Japanese department store located in London when faced with the death of Princess Diana in 1997. In this case, the people involved in regulating opening hours were far more diverse than in the first example: tourists from Japan, customers from Britain and Europe, shop managers from Japan, a local manager, and shop attendants hired

in London, and the local association of the shops that were located in the high street.

As I had been conducted fieldwork at that shop for about four years, the administrative staff kindly disclosed the trouble they had in determining whether and how long they should open their shop for on the weekend. In the case of the funeral of Diana, the British monarchy themselves stumbled in front of the public reaction before they reached their decision (Couldry, 1999). Yet this Japanese department store had more footings and positions that allowed them to offer a mid-way solution: that is their decision to open for half a day.

Lastly, a time-space represented in media reports sometimes reveals a different footing in a multi-sited ethnography *in situ* (Japan Satellite TV Program Guide, 2002). The VJ Day was also an opportunity where my own footing was stumbled. This is a memorial holiday celebrating the British victory over Japan. As I had been interviewing members of the Japanese diasporas in London, their ambivalent feelings and repugnant reactions to anti-Japanese media reports were obvious.

Especially, I found that this type of (nationalistic) media content overwhelmingly increased during special occasions such as those I have mentioned in earlier sections. Poppies were the symbolic artefacts that express respect to the soldiers of wars. Media personalities usually wear these flower-shaped brooches on their collars. And at the park where the ceremony was conducted, the veterans assembled dressed in red and black. Naturally, I felt out-of-place simply by being at the site. I even feared that I might have been attacked or scolded as my informants told me that they had on these occasions.

It was a totally unexpected view that I witnessed at the park: a veteran dressed in a tartan-kilt skirt was smiling with young Japanese girls who were visiting London as tourists. One of them was shooting a photo by screaming “*Kawaii!!*” (cute) and the male veteran with white beard was posing with another girl. Thus, my own footing regarding the anti-Japanese sentiment from the British veterans was an unnecessary consideration at the scene.

In this paper, I have aimed to contest the notion of linear descriptions (Goldthorpe, 2000; Urry, 2016; Ogawa Nishiaki, 2018) of the Japanese diasporas. By adopting a specific approach, namely a multi-sited ethnography, I hope I have illuminated the turbulent relationship diasporas have with calendar times in three cities. The concepts such as chronic amnesia, double exposures, time slips, footings and stumblings were discussed in the process. Thus, I hope that the calendars of the Japanese diasporas in San Diego, Hong Kong and London were most accurately envisioned.

Conclusion: How to Design a Multi-Sited Ethnography of Global Telepoiesis

The present paper has attempted to explore new dimensions of global

telepoiesis with special attention to forms of multi-sited ethnography. Multi-sited ethnographies are considered effective to capture and describe media mobilities in specific local phenomena relevant in a “global” sense. This paper, first, turned to literature as a classic example of calendar times embodied by religious practices, and then examined the forms of synopsis deduced from Hollywood film analyses.

Second, the paper discussed the findings from a multi-sited ethnography in San Diego, Hong Kong and London. In that process, the paper referred to concepts inspired by psychology and social theory. The present author named them as chronic amnesia, double exposures, time slips and stumbled footings. Lastly, the paper concluded that these descriptions of global telepoiesis substantiate the experiences of members of diasporas and tourists triggered by media mobilities. This paper, thus, has presented the calendars and ethnography of talk and actions with the finest attention to capture the feelings and experiences of diasporic communities.

Finally, global telepoiesis finds its shapes and designs when it is expressed in the form of multi-sited ethnography: what is said and what is done are observed and described by the researchers most effectively when they explore through the lense of globalization of media, people and things. Eventually, by taking a closer look and paying more attention to experiences and feelings, media mobilities in various time-spaces are investigated in their finest sense. Alternatively, ethnographic research enriches the field of inquiry and the investigation into global telepoiesis that is inherently entangled with the emerging phenomena regarding media mobilities.

NOTES

1. A part of this paper was given at the World Congress of International Sociological Association (Ogawa Nishiaki, 2002) and also reviewed by John Urry and Anne-Marie Fortier. The present author’s deepest gratitude goes to Roger Goodman for his insightful comments on the previous works that he read at Hitotsubashi University, and St. Catherine’s College and St. Antony’s College, University of Oxford (Ogawa, 1996; Ogawa, 1997; Ogawa Nishiaki, 2001). According to his suggestions regarding ethical issues related to specific parts of the ethnographic research, the present author has rephrased and omitted certain information personal to the participants, as the author did in other articles published in *Keio Communication Review*, No.39 and No.40 (Ogawa Nishiaki, 2017a, 2018).
2. The research consists of initial contacts, ethnographic observations, screening sessions, intensive interviews, focus group discussions and surveys of background information of the informants’ daily schedule. Comparative field works were conducted with 120 female members of Japanese diasporas in London (1988-1989) and in San Diego, California (1990). The informants were recruited by snow-ball sampling with attention paid to balance three age groups ranging from twenties to fifties. The follow-up research and more participant

observations *in situ* were conducted during a period from 1990 to 2002. For the details of the research, see Ogawa (1994a, 1994b) and Ogawa Nishiaki (2017a, 2018). More than 20 visits to Hong Kong were made with a purpose to establish ethnographic data sets that enabled the author to investigate knowledge among those of diasporic communities according to different timings of an entire year.

3. Nicholas Garnham, John Dower, Daizaburoo Yui and Michael Schudson provided the author with implications that helped the author to refine the research design.
4. The present author chose the material for screening sessions from a BBC drama series called *Tenko*. The show describes the confrontation of European POWs with the Japanese Army in East Asia (Warner & Sandilands, 1997). *Tenko* and *Tenko Reunion* have been broadcast and have been widely known in both the United Kingdom and the United States since the early 1980s. *Tenko* is available as a classic war-time drama content in various media forms. For the novelized versions, see Masters (1981), Hardwick (1984), and Valery (1985). The present author would also like to thank Richard Collins, John Dower, Christine Gledhill and Paddy Scannell for the selection of (and justification for using) the materials, as well as introducing the author to the British Film Institute and media experts in other institutions. John Dower also provided the author with the history of the U.S.-Japan mutual images and suggested the material, *Song of Survival* (1985) as an American counterpart to the war epics depicted in *Tenko*.

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