

SATURDAY MORNING SESSIONS: 10:00 A.M. - 12:00 P.M.**Session 1: Room 5121****Mediated Frontiers of Japanese Culture and Society: Borders Drawn, Translated, or Transported****Organizer and Chair: Andre Haag, University of Hawai'i at Manoa**

To what extent were the political, social, and cultural identities of a putatively insular “Japan” forged through encounters with frontiers real and imagined? A growing body of scholarship has explored how Japanese discourses surrounding culture and nation were formed and deformed through negotiation with liminal spaces and marginalized peoples. This panel begins from a similar premise in order to examine mediated experiences of cross-cultural contact in frontier-scapes ranging from colonial Korea, to tropical imaginaries of the South Seas, to the heart of the metropolis itself. We show that the construction of Japan’s borderlands relied on an array of cultural technologies including translation, adaptation, ethnography, and caricature. Simultaneously, the processes that enabled the center’s internalization of its periphery produced disparate effects and affects within culture: ecstasy, empathy, adventure, romance, conflict, and fear. Andre Haag traces Takahama Kyoshi’s use of haiku-derived prose “sketching” to make space for newly-annexed Korea within metropolitan culture, even as it distorted the limits separating colonizer and colonized. Mark Ombrello contextualizes colonial projects in the South Seas and the creation of an imaginary discursive space capable of affirming modern identities in the 1930’s children’s comic, *Bōken Dankichi*. William Hedberg explores representations of Japan in Chinese fiction—in particular Japan’s transformation from epistemological frontier into a locus of political authority through the act of translation. Kate McDonald analyzes how literary and social policy depictions of rickshaw pullers served as a nexus of critiques for theories of social change and nationhood in Meiji Japan.

1) Andre Haag, University of Hawai'i at Manoa

Blurred Lines: Sketching the Frontier of Imperial Subjectivity in Takahama Kyoshi's Chōsen (1911)

Imperial Japan's annexation of Korea in August 1910 triggered a mass-mediated spectacle in the metropolitan press back home, where triumphalist narratives and visual images commemorated a union that promised--or perhaps threatened--to radically redefine the empire's boundaries and the scope of who was considered Japanese. Largely absent amidst this celebratory boom, however, were expressions of overt criticism of expansion on ideological or ethical grounds. Curiously, writer and poet Takahama Kyoshi's 1911 narrative *Chōsen*, the first Japanese novel to survey the cultural topography of newly-colonized Korea, has been characterized by critics as either a metropolitan intellectual's conscientious objection to his nation's imperialistic enterprise or, alternatively, a literary accomplice to colonial policy on the peninsula. Part of the confusion may originate in the pose of calculated ambivalence assumed by the novel's traveling narrator, which throws into uneasy suspension both nationalist pride and humanistic guilt. Yet, this paper seeks to complicate the narrow interpretative model that pits cultural complicity against principled anticolonial opposition, by examining how Kyoshi's novel works to create a space for colonized Korea within the domain of metropolitan Japanese cultural production. I emphasize how the haiku poet's "sketching" (through *shaseibun*) of this unsettled colonial milieu, marked by depictions of cross-ethnic close encounters and fleeting glimpses of subversive conspiracies, articulates not direct critique but instead anxious apprehension toward the menace that shifting imperial frontiers pose to the integrity of national subjectivity.

2) Mark Ombrello, Kansai University

Welcome to Fantasy Island: Othering the South Seas in Shimada Keizō's Serialized Comic, Bōken Dankichi

From 1933 to 1939, the highpoint of colonial activity in Japan's central Pacific territories (*Nan'yō shotō*), Shimada Keizō entertained children of the metropole with his serialized comic, *Bōken Dankichi* (Adventure Dankichi). The story centered on a boy protagonist, Dankichi, and his trusted mouse sidekick, Kariko, who drifted to a fantastic

South Seas island. Upon landing, the heroes encountered fierce but naive natives and easily persuaded the locals to quickly crown the outsider their new monarch. The island was also home to an assortment of exotic flora and wild fauna as geographically and temporally far removed from Oceania and the twentieth century as lions and dinosaurs. Throughout its six-year run, the illustrations and accompanying text describing Dankichi's adventures echoed overtly racist attitudes and mirrored constructed hierarchies affirming Japanese superiority in the colonial periphery. This paper will explore the representation of islanders and the positioning of protagonists detailed in the comic, paying particular attention to paradigms and iconography reflective of a greater discursive tradition that transformed the South Seas into a malleable conceptual playground where visions of modern Japanese identity formation could find expression and take shape. This paper will also discuss the legacy of *Bōken Dankichi* by tracking the perpetuation of Orientalist tropes lodged in cultural production on the South Seas since the end of World War Two.

3) William Hedberg, Arizona State University

Civilization and Its Discontents: Glimpses of Japan in Meiji-Period Translations of Late Imperial Chinese Fiction

The centrality of *The Water Margin* (*Shuihu zhuan*) in the Chinese canon must be counted among the great ironies of late imperial Chinese literary culture. A work explicitly concerned with popular insurrection, *The Water Margin* was nonetheless positioned at the center of larger discussions of Confucian ethics and political ideology. These debates survived the novel's exportation to Japan, where beginning in the Meiji period, the work was presented as a potential heuristic for understanding the contemporary China newly open for firsthand experience, exploration, and later, colonization. This presentation explores the Japanese translation and reception of Chen Chen's *Sequel to 'The Water Margin'*: an early Qing-period work whose action unfolds on an international stage comprising Siam, the Ryukyus, and most notably, Japan. Although most critical interest has been directed at Siam's significance as a possible allegory for Zheng Chenggong's regime on Taiwan, less attention has been paid to the presence of Japan: a nation that, in the novel, mounts a punitive attack against the Chinese colonizers of Siam that results in a massive (and ludic) defeat of the Japanese forces. My presentation examines the ways in

which the novel's author employs China, Siam, and Japan to explore lines of demarcation between both center and periphery, as well as civilized and barbaric behavior. These issues were complicated further upon the novel's translation into Japanese during the 1880s and 1890s: translations that attempted to use the novel as a way of representing and explaining colonial *realpolitik* during Meiji Japan's expansion abroad.

4) Kate McDonald, University of California, Santa Barbara

Moving Lines: Rickshaw Pullers and the Boundaries of the Social in Matsubara

Iwagorō's Saiankoku no Tōkyō and Yokoyama Gennosuke's Nihon no kasō shakai

This paper examines how the figure of the simple transport worker became the site of the contested boundaries of Japanese society in the Meiji era. Focusing on the representation of rickshaw pullers in Matsubara Iwagorō's *Saiankoku no Tōkyō* (1893) and Yokoyama Gennosuke's *Nihon no kasō shakai* (1898), the paper argues that these works' use of rickshaw pullers to expose the dark side of Japanese modernity illuminates a significant debate over how to understand social change. Matsubara and Yokoyama wrote in dialogue with Booth's *In Darkest England* and Harkness's *In Darkest London* to formulate a critique of industrial society from the perspective of the simple transport worker. Casting an equally global net, social policy experts such as Kanai Noboru drew from the works of German and American social economists to argue that the social problem could be solved by improving the circulation and distribution of jobs and goods. For social policy experts, transport was a social system. In contrast, for Matsubara and Yokoyama, transport was a necessary and precarious livelihood for Japan's growing underclass. The different concepts of transportation led the two groups to formulate radically different proposals for resolving the threat that endemic poverty represented to the future of the Japanese nation. For social policy experts, the simple transport worker constituted a border in time—they represented the edge of Japan's rapidly receding past. For Matsubara and Yokoyama, however, the simple transport worker exposed the emerging boundary between labor and capital in modern Japanese society.

Discussant: Greg Dvorak, Hitotsubashi University

Session 2: Room 5124**The Causes of the Misunderstanding and Conflict between Japan and the US****Organizer: Yoshiaki Katada, Meijo University****Chair: Akira Iikura, Josai International University**

Our panel will examine why Japan entered the Pacific War, which culminated in the devastation of its entire society. In order to do so, we will explore the US-Japanese relations in trade, cultural, and diplomatic terms from the 1910s to the 1930s. In investigating Japan's economic relations with the US, Katada will illuminate US-Japanese trade over the Pacific from the 1910s until the 1920s by focusing on trade between Yokohama and San Francisco via Honolulu. The port of Yokohama played by far the most vital role on the Japanese side in this trade, while San Francisco was the chief port on the US side. In order to comprehend the factors that deteriorated prewar US sentiments towards Japan, Iikura will explore the changing US attitude towards Japan through the 1930s by analyzing the works of John McCutcheon, the current US leading cartoonist of the time. Mishima will discuss why the mutual dialogue and understanding that both Japanese and American leaders had constructed could not prevent future military conflict. For that purpose, he will investigate the role of "Liberal Internationalists" in both countries from the 1920s to 1930s. Fujioka will analyze why "Japan's public diplomacy" could not pacify public opinion abroad regarding Japan's imperial expansion of the 1930s by illuminating the role of Japanese immigrants in the US. Thus, our panel will show why Japan and the US could not avoid the outbreak of the Pacific War even though they shared mutual interests and understanding.

1) Yoshiaki Katada, Meijo University***Japan's Trade with the US over the Pacific from the 1910s to the 1920s***

My paper will examine Japan's trade with the US from the 1910s to the 1920s because the US was the only country with whom Japan consistently got a large sum of trade surplus during this period. However, there are very few studies of this trade. Thus, my exploration of the trade will contribute to further understanding the characteristics of Japan's industrialization. In investigating Japan's trade with the US, this paper will be

particularly concerned about the trade relations between Yokohama and San Francisco because they were the most major ports for trade over the Pacific. In order to examine the trade relations, this paper will see how the harbors of Yokohama, Honolulu, and San Francisco had been developed throughout the 1910s. The important role that the Honolulu Harbor had played is due to the fact that commercial ships sailing between Yokohama and San Francisco usually stopped by Honolulu to resupply water and fuel. Therefore, in addition to investigating the characteristics of trade goods, it is also crucial to explore the development of these harbors, which were major infrastructures of the Pacific trade. The trade relations were also characterized by various factors such as the opening of the Panama Canal, the outbreak of World War I, and the diffusion of heavy oil as a fuel. Sometimes, these factors even affected existing shipping routes. Therefore, my paper will shed light upon the changing nature of economic relationship between Japan and the US by taking these various factors into consideration.

2) Takenosuke Mishima, Waseda Saga High School

The Liberal Internationalists in Japan and the US

Friendship with the US was vital for Japan in its industrialization during the early Twentieth century because the US was its largest trade partner. Despite its importance, Japan waged the Pacific War with the US. My paper will explore why Japan could not avoid such a tragedy. In order to do so, it will investigate why the mutual dialogue and understanding of Japanese and American leaders did not come to fruition. In so doing, the paper will focus on the role of “Liberal Internationalists” in Japan and the US. Actually, there existed liberal internationalists in both countries. Sometimes, they played leading roles in foreign policy making and international finance. For example, the Washington Conference of 1921–1922 owed its success not only to their consensus that naval curtailment would contribute to both economic prosperities but also to their mutual trust. However, their mutual understanding started to flounder. The Exclusion Act of 1924 stirred up anti-American sentiments in Japan while Japan’s military expansion in China caused US antipathy towards Japan. These events undermined the consensus that both Japanese and US liberal internationalists had shared. Finally, the Marco Polo Bridge Incident and Tripartite Pact of 1940 put a complete end to the US liberal internationalists’

hope that their Japanese counterparts would take control of domestic politics and restore their previous consensus. Based on my aforementioned understanding, my paper will examine why the mutual understanding of liberal internationalists between both countries could not withstand the rise of “Japan’s Monroe Doctrine.”

3) Akira Iikura, Josai International University

The Deterioration of US Sentiments toward Japan in the Prewar Period: Analysis of Cartoons by John T. McCutcheon, the ‘Dean of American Cartoonists’

John T. McCutcheon (1870–1949) was one of the leading American political cartoonists in the first half of the 20th century. Working at the *Chicago Tribune* from 1903 to 1946, he published several cartoons now considered iconic, won the Pulitzer Prize in 1932, and was called the ‘Dean of American Cartoonists’ of the day. More than a few of his vast number of cartoons featured Japan and her relations with the US as it was a period when the two countries relations turned from being favorable to ones of rivalry and then to antagonism. This paper will examine how the image of Japan in McCutcheon’s cartoons deteriorated in the course of history. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, he made a special short visit to Tokyo and published a dozen cartoons favorable to Japan. Yet his works became more critical toward Japan after the war. The author will explore the reasons why such a pro-Japanese cartoonist began to turn against Japan and analyze what landmark events like the immigrant problem, conflicts and wars most influenced the change of his sentiments toward Japan. Differing from his contemporaries’ works viciously attacking a hostile nation, his gentle humoristic cartoons showed more moderate views of the public. And it can be said that no cartoons were more influential than his to the public opinion in the US at that time. Therefore, an analysis of his works featuring Japan will clarify the factors affecting the deterioration of US sentiments toward Japan in the prewar period.

4) Yuka Fujioka, Kwansai Gakuin University

Japan’s Public Diplomacy and Immigrants

From the conclusion of the Pacific War to this day, Japan has received scant support from Japanese Americans on major issues in US-Japan relations, as was especially

poignant during the trade friction of the 1980s. However, Japanese Americans were not always so aloof. During the pre-Second World War period, the Japanese government enjoyed a “special relationship” with immigrants in the United States. The 1930s, in particular, witnessed a period of intense support among *Nikkei* for Japan’s increasingly militaristic foreign policy. Realizing that adroit public diplomacy by Western powers and China was a contributing factor to Japan’s diplomatic isolation following the Manchurian Incident, the leaders in Tokyo understood the need to bolster efforts in public diplomacy to improve the prevailing international sentiment against Japan. This was the Japanese government’s primary objective when it decided to mobilize and utilize Japanese immigrants in the United States and in other parts of the world where Japan’s sphere of influence prevailed as the country’s thought war strategy. But, in the end, public diplomacy failed to produce the desired outcome and Japan was unable to convince public opinion abroad to support its cause. Using untapped primary sources including diplomatic records across the Pacific, this paper aims to reveal and analyze Japan’s public diplomacy towards the United States during the prewar era with a particular focus on the 1930s leading to the outbreak of the Pacific War, and illuminates the role of Japanese immigrants in the context of Japan’s imperial expansionism.

Discussant: Go Itō, Meiji University

Session 3: Room 5223

Imperial Female Archetypes: the Disciplined Colonial Girl, the Sexually Ambivalent Student, and the Grotesque, Old Shōjo (少女)

Organizer and Chair: Helen J. S. Lee Yonsei University

This panel investigates three female archetypes from imperial Japan: the malleable (or resistant) colonial girl, the sexually ambivalent student, and the aged *shōjo*. The birth of the colonial girl as an organizing category of calling on young females dates back to late Nineteenth century Japan, when public attention was fixated on producing the *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother) in order to serve the great cause of the Empire. Focusing on the 1930s, a period of escalation towards world war, Kyung-sook Shin’s paper pays attention

to the *sushin* curriculum, cultural representations of girls in magazines, along with compositions written by school girls in colonial Korea. Shin's paper primarily focuses on the processes of internalization and negotiations with the injunctions imposed on the colonial girl. While Shin's focus is on the girl in the making, Bong-gwan Jun's and Su-yun Kim's papers look at the female students who were engaged in cultural consumption and of same-sex love. In other words, the female students in Jun's and Kim's papers claim ownership of their lives and navigate themselves in intimate quarters of romance. In contrast to the three papers addressing young female subjection to surveillance and supervision, Sohyun Chun's paper narrates the story of the girl fifty years later, through a 1974 story by Enchi Fumiko. Chun highlights the aged woman's unleashing of her sexual desire and gives a diagnostic analysis by employing the trope of a "grotesque rōjo (老女)," or a grotesque *shōjo* (少女), who may be the outcome of the (self-)disciplining colonial girl.

1) Kyung Sook Shin, Yonsei University

Living as a Colonial Girl: The 'Sushin' (Self-Disciplining Curriculum) of the 1930s and Formation of the Colonial Girl in Korea

In postcolonial studies on colonial Korea the "colonial girl" has largely been imagined as a victim of violence or object of sexual desire. Until she is called on to serve the Empire in a wide-ranging capacity, her development into a young adult was closely supervised by the State through school curricula such as *sushin* (修身) classes. In spite of such a presence of the colonial education of the girls, "girls" (少女) were largely absent in the popular imagination about the future of (colonial) Korea at the time as the icon of future Koreans was the boy. In an effort to explore the processes through which the colonial girl grew up to register her place within colonial reality, this paper is shaped by addressing questions such as how the *sushin* curriculum may have affected the formation of gender identity, the diversity of the colonial girl's experiences, and how those experiences were represented. This paper, in other words, aims to scrutinize the discursive formation of the "girl" in colonial Korea. I engage with representations of girls as depicted within colonial Korean (girl's) magazines, as well as essays penned by girls themselves, all within the larger context of the imperial *sushin* curriculum during the 1930s. I show how

the *sushin* curriculum informs and dictates the colonial girl's life as she develops her gender identity and negotiates with the official edicts of nation and state while pursuing her aspirations.

2) Bong Gwan Jun, Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology

Recalcitrant or Obedient? Same-Sex Love and Female Students

Same-sex love was a discernible feature, a fad, among female students during colonial Korea. Intimacy between female students, as long as it did not involve sexual acts, was considered a healthier form of love than intimacy with male students. Some archival sources from the era go as far as stating that most female students had experienced same-sex love at some point in their school life. Even those female students who disclosed their same-sex relationships in the newspaper and magazine, upon graduation, would pursue heterosexual marriages and dedicated themselves to the making of a “sweet home.” That is to say, same-sex love was not necessarily tied to sexual identity (although we cannot eliminate the physical dimension altogether), but rather, it was more of a socio-cultural phenomenon. By engaging with newspapers, magazines, essays, and literary texts during colonial Korea, this paper seeks to examine the social and cultural meanings of same-sex love among female students. Recent studies in disciplines such as women studies, anthropology, and sociology indicate that same-sex love was rampant across gender, age, and class, and it was largely overlooked without any stigmatization or restrictions. I contextualize same-sex love within the imposing feminine ideals of the era which centered on virginity, chastity and the prejudices against free love stemming from feudalistic oppression. That is to say, same-sex love was driven by two irreconcilable impetuses: while defying the heteronormative ideals, it was an offshoot of feudal ideology that upheld virginity and chastity as women's foremost important virtue and duties.

3) Su Yun Kim, University of Hong Kong

“Modern Youth” and Gender in Romance Literature in the 1930s Colonial Korea

This presentation explores the theme of “modern youth” and gender in the popular novel, particularly romance literature from the 1930s in colonial Korea. I will focus on a newspaper-serialized novel *Sarang ūi sujokkwan* (The Aquarium of Love) (1939–1940) by

Kim Namch'ŏn (1911–1953?) and the role of young women—elite girl school graduates and working class women—in the narrative. In the past, critics identified *The Aquarium of Love* as an example of post-conversion and lowbrow popular (*t'ongsok*) novel by Kim, a former KAPF (Korea Artista Proleta Federacio) member. Recent scholarships, however, paid attention to the long novel for its representation of colonial reality, Korean modern youth (*hyŏndae ch'ŏngnyŏn*) within the Japanese Empire, and suggested that Kim leaned to supporting the Japanese imperialism. This presentation argues that *The Aquarium of Love* novel fits well with the trend of the contemporary popular romance novel of the 1930s. While some elite male writers continued to feature modern and enlightened female figures as embodiments of “pure” or romantic love, popular literature tended to portray modern but immoral or even licentious women who are in conflict with emerging capitalist culture. In the case of Kim Namch'ŏn, he combines both trends. In the novel, Kim suggests idealized gender roles for both men and women in romance relationship, which is participated by educated urban youth and upholds patriarchal social values. I will also discuss how this (un)match with Kim's other essays on popular and mass literature, especially considering his proletarian activist past.

4) Sohyun Chun, Oita University

The Grotesque Shōjo

Regardless of their age, some women never abandon their adolescent (*shōjo*) identity, which grants them a certain freedom to express their true desires and emotions. This unending girlhood signifies a state of mind unconcerned with maturation—both physical and psychological—and the cultural expectations meant to circumscribe age-appropriate behavior. Fumiko Enchi's 1974 story of a shockingly indulgent old woman (*rōjo*) who gleefully devours a cactus's crimson blossoms portrays the *rōjo* in a grotesque, rebellious, and even childish manner. As a reflection on the patriarchal prescriptions for women in the Taisho and early Showa periods, this story of a flower-hungry old woman exposes the suppression and denial that accompanied the aging narrator's girlhood. As a shameless purveyor of desire, the *rōjo* prompts the narrator to confront the youthful sexuality she once suppressed, thereby reliving her juvenescence even as a mature woman. This paper treats the old woman's ability to identify and reinvigorate the *shōjo* within her

aged body as an expression of unfulfilled desire, love, and passion. Through the *rōjo* who internalizes the *shōjo*, Enchi not only criticizes restrictive social standards, she also reimagines the function of *shōjo* culture as practiced by aging women who seek empowerment against oppressive norms that force women into certain constructed images of proper female bodies.

Discussant: Rebecca Copeland, Washington University

Session 4: Room 5224

Science, Literature and Differential Mobilities in Modern Japan

Organizer and Chair: Ryuta Komaki, Washington University in St. Louis

Scholars of globalization argue that the “flow” within the globalized world has not been steady for everyone or everything. The cross-border movement of people, material objects and ideas has been differently enabled and delimited by the place of origin, materiality, and political and economic conditions. The speed at which they can cross boundaries has also been regulated by the mode of transportation or communication they take, as well as checkpoints they go through. The transnational history of Japan and Asia is similarly interlaced with stories of differential mobilities. Human bodies, goods, knowledge and thoughts moved across—and sometimes with the expansion of—national borders at different rates, creating uncertainty, conflicts, as well as opportunities. The papers and presenters on this panel explore niches and disjunctures opened up by differential mobilities in Meiji, Taisho and early Showa Japan through the intersecting lenses of literature and the history of science. The first two papers discuss how “ideas” of Western origin—mountaineering and meteorology—have moved into and across Japan and the Japanese Empire, with specific materiality, artifacts, and human ambassadors associated with them. The third paper looks closely into the lives of people who have been ascribed different mobilities because of leprosy—and frictions they encounter. Together, papers in this panel showcase people, objects and ideas in motion at different rates of movement, and how differential mobilities are sometimes utilized to define, and sometimes to complicate, national and regional boundaries.

1) Aaron Jasny, University of Tokyo***Japanese Mountains on the World Stage***

This paper will explore the border crossings between Japan and the west that were facilitated by the burgeoning sport of mountaineering during the Meiji and Taisho periods. Walter Weston, an English missionary who was based in Japan on and off between 1888–1915, was central to the popularization of the sport of mountaineering in Japan. He introduced Japan to readers abroad in writings such as *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Japanese Alps* (1868), and influenced Japanese climbers who were trying to establish their own climbing tradition. Kojima Usui was especially impressed by Weston. The founder of the Japanese Alpine Club (JAC) and the forefather of Japanese “mountain literature,” Usui’s interactions with Weston introduced him to John Ruskin’s romantic approach to alpine landscapes, modern climbing equipment and techniques, and the idea of establishing the JAC as a hub for alpine pursuits. During his tenure abroad working for the Yokohama Specie Bank in California from 1915–1927, Usui explored the Sierra Nevada and Cascade mountains and discovered the writings of John Muir. My paper will use the writings of Weston and Usui to consider Japan’s experience of international mountaineering around the turn of the century. I will argue that while the introduction of mountaineering and mountain literature from the west was instrumental in establishing a Japanese tradition, Japanese alpine exploration and literature were by no means wholesale imports, but were the product of efforts by Usui and other Meiji-Taisho alpinists to create their own mountain culture.

2) Ryuta Komaki, Washington University in St. Louis***One Weather Station at a Time: Japanese Meteorology and the Boundary of the Empire***

Meteorology has simultaneously been an international science and a science of the Empire. While the former prioritizes collaboration, the latter prefers a domination over - and domination by - knowledge. The coupling of meteorological observation and the colonial ambition of the British Empire is well documented by historians of science. This paper argues that, similarly, the development of modern meteorology in Japan was deeply tied to the nation’s Imperial agenda, at the same time being a science dependent on a cross-border exchange of ideas, goods and data. Using a digital archive of *Kishō shūshi* (Journal

of the Meteorological Society of Japan, Ser. I, published 1882–1922) and the 100-nen Tenkizu Database, a database of official daily weather charts published since 1883, the paper traces the movement of the European science of meteorology into Japan accompanied by its own network of weather stations, meteorologists and communication technology, which then moved onto Taiwan and Korea following - and sometimes preceding - the expanding boundary of the Japanese Empire. Meteorology, in addition, was an Imperial sibling to geographical survey, in that they were both means of extending power over the Empire's then-new territories by way of knowledge. Yet, the “mobility” of the science of the weather was not the same as that of map-making, as they interacted with different faces of nature with different instruments. This paper shows how they each made differently paced progresses into the Empire's new colonies ahead of, along, and behind military and administrative frontiers.

3) Walter Hare, Washington University

Fenced Off: Hōjō Tamio and the Loss of Humanity

Now a relic of the early Twentieth century, Japan's national quarantine of people with leprosy spanned nearly fifty years, interring thousands within one of five leprosaria spread throughout the country. Despite the scope of the effort, which grew to the point of being an inter-prefectural competitive effort of who could get rid of their lepers most thoroughly, the legacy of this program has not endured, likely a result of the minimization of leprosy as a legitimate health concern in most places around the world. However, the forced isolation and separation of people from their homes and lives left behind a niche literary domain, mostly comprised of poetry and essays written by sufferers, and amidst this narrow margin shines one man in particular, Hojo Tamio. Having died in his 20's after a relatively short period of production, Hojo's work captures the immobility of the people suffering from leprosy at this time. This paper will show that leprosy represented a hard border in time, separating a pre- and post- germ theory Japan, in space, with the restriction of movement and isolation of a large number of people. But it also represented a border in the conceptualization of humanity, a line once crossed could never be retread. Hojo's literature gives us insight into these borders and the pain that one experienced in crossing them, and the stark impossibility of moving beyond them ever again.

Discussant: Kazumi Nagaike, Oita University

Session 5: Room 5322

Re-reading Three Japanese Filmmakers

Organizer: Earl Jackson, National Chiao Tung University

Chair: Patrick Noonan, Northwestern University

This panel is an experiment in close readings of the work of three Japanese directors considered “company men” or “contract workers” during much of their careers: Kinoshita Keisuke is associated closely with Shochiku Studios, Masumura Yasuzo with Daiei, and Kawashima Yuzo as a kind of itinerant yeoman at Shochiku, Nikkatsu, Toho and Daiei. A closer reading reveals a startling range of creativity, innovation and theoretico-practical engagement with cinema, the studio system, and the role of art in the social order. Hasumi Shigehiko characterized post-silent era directors, beginning with Kinoshita as identifying technology with cinema; he saw Masumura as one exception in maintaining a clear distinction between the two. Assuming that Kawashima falls somewhere between the two and bracketing the criticism implied in this categorization, our re-readings will explore the relations among technology, technique, and representational practices in the three directors.

1) Yutaka Kubo, Kyoto University

Keisuke Kinoshita Reconsidered: the Confinement of Queerness in the Flashback

Keisuke Kinoshita was one of the most prominent filmmakers of the postwar Japanese film industry. His works tended to put an emphasis on (sometimes strong) intimacy between same-sex characters often in the form of adolescent friendship, best illustrated in *Yuyakegumo* (1956) and *Sekishuncho* (1959). These films help us understand how Kinoshita’s sensibility played an important role in incorporating possibilities of queerness within the narrative. However the male-dominant communities of film critics and scholars have virtually underestimated these films and failed to recognize the multiplicity of Kinoshita’s aesthetics. This paper sets out to investigate Kinoshita’s use of the flashback in the genre of home drama as a film technique that enables the auteur to

explore a queer relationship. As Maureen Turim (1989) defines it precisely, “the flashback concerns a representation of the past that intervenes within the present flow of film narrative.” Either consisting segments or most of the narrative, temporality created by the flashback represents a closed realm that no outer force can change what has happened in the past. Following the concept of queer temporality and space by Judith Halberstam (2005), if we suppose that a flow of time from past to present as a symbol of heteronormativity, it may be arguable that the flashback is a key film technique that allows a protagonist, who most likely has to obey heteronormative values at a present temporality, to re-immense in memories of a friendship that evokes queerness.

2) Luke Cromer, Waseda University

Kawashima Yūzō: The Alternative Spaces of a Japanese Cinema Modernist

In the Golden Age of Japanese cinema of the 1950s the masters of Japanese filmmaking, namely Mizoguchi Kenji, Ozu Yasujirō, and Kurosawa Akira, brought Japan to the international stage presenting images of traditional Japanese spaces and humanist themes. In this paper I discuss Kawashima Yūzō who, working against the grain in the 1950s by rejecting the humanist tendency, subverts the few traditional settings he used and rather worked with alternative spaces such as apartments, bars, restaurants and inns—spaces of frequent mobility and exchange with characters negotiating modern day dilemmas against a backdrop of the sociopolitical concerns of the time. In these spaces satire functions as a playful criticism of Japanese tradition and postwar modernity. With a modern cinema aesthetic that displays an understanding of film history and theoretical concerns, I see in the director an auteurship that locates him in a similar context to directors such as Ichikawa Kon and Masumura Yasuzō, renowned for their use of satire and modernist approaches to cinema. In examining definitions of auteur and auteurship within a rigid studio system, I demonstrate how Kawashima can be defined as auteur and discuss the significance of space in; *A Room to Rent* (1959), *The Elegant Beast* (1962), and *The Sun in the Last Days of the Shogunate* (1957), a film that Sato Tadao declared in 1970 to be a turning point in Japanese comedy launching a trend that dismissed sentimentalism themes.

3) Earl Jackson, National Chiao Tung University***Realism and Representation in Masumura Yasuzo***

Masumura Yasuzo (1924–1986) was a maverick who carved a niche in Japanese cinema history that is at once unique and conversant with his contemporaries and predecessors in Japan and around the world. Perhaps the lucid ironies of Masumura’s films derives from the contradictions he lived through, having earned a law degree from Tokyo University during the final years of World War II and then studied film and filmmaking for three years at the *Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia* in Rome. Working through the restrictions of studio production, Masumura’s films are impressive for their range, scope, and variable depths. He wrote copiously and eloquently on film in general, on his own work, and on the work of other filmmakers. Masumura’s concerns with a balance of theory and practice is evident in his May 1959 Eiga Geijutsu essay in which he writes that a “technique is thought transformed into perception. A true technician is a true thinker. Conversely, a mode of thinking that has not yet been able to realize itself in technique is a rather vague assemblage of concepts that does not possess a clear enough framework to be called a way of thinking. This is because true intellect is a two-phase structure—both perceptual and conceptual.” This paper will explore the implications of this two-phase structure as articulated in his writings and realized in films such as *A Wife Confesses* (1961) and his 1957 remake of Yoshimura Kozaburo’s *Warm Current*.

Discussant: Patrick Noonan, Northwestern University

Session 6: Room 5323**Individual Papers I: People in Motion**

Chair: Tanapoom Ativetin, Srinakharinwirot University

1) Akadet Chaichanavichakit, Waseda University***Perpetuating Migration Cycle of Low-skilled Workers from Myanmar to Thailand: Generations to Generations***

Thailand has successfully implemented export-oriented policy to drive its economy since the 1980s. Precisely, Thailand’s export-driven policy focuses on manufacturing sector, which requires a large number of low-skilled workers with strategy to produce

goods at a minimum cost. However, with declining birth rate and expanded education, Thai low-skilled workforce has been steadily shrinking. In 2015, Myanmar was the largest source of low-skilled immigrant workers in Thailand with more than 1.4 million individuals, 62.43 percent share of total low-skilled foreign workers. However, the large share of Myanmar immigrant workers in Thailand is not unheard of; workers from Myanmar, in fact, has surged into the country even before they were regulated in 1992. This study aims to investigate this decades-long continual flow of immigrant worker from Myanmar into Thailand. As modern studies in the field of migration suggested strong influence from certain socioeconomic determinants on migration decision, this empirical research originally applied perpetuation of international movement framework, an inclusive socioeconomic framework, together with a comprehensive addition of economic perspective, to conceptualize migration decision of Myanmar immigrant workers with the case study of Myanmar workers in Thai seafood processing industry, an industry with the highest level of immigrant worker dependency in Thailand. In-depth interviews with 18 immigrant workers and three key informants reveal that immigrant workers' social ties as well as changing socioeconomic conditions in their origin areas play crucial role influencing perpetuation of migration cycle from Myanmar to Thailand.

2) Robert Winstanley-Chesters, Australian National University

Navigating Geo-Politics at the Mouth of the Amnok/Yalu: Sindo and its Fisherpeople

From Pyongyang's urban landscape to Mt. Paektu's sacred architectures, North Korea's topography is vital to its politics. While the coastlines are by their nature a little more liminal than urban/political terrains, reclamation projects such as Taegyedo have been important to drive forward politico-developmental narrative, forge new 'socialist' landscapes and geo-political connections. However past research has demonstrated that North Korea's developmental projects, even large ones, have a habit of slipping from institutional focus, becoming peripheral objects/sites of disinterest. To investigate the impact of such political diminution and peripherality this paper examines the case of the fishing community on Sindo Island. Once a focus of political commitment Sindo was forged from the bed of the River Amnok/Yalu, downstream from Sinuiju/Dandong and a fishing cooperative (important enough to be visited by Kim Il-sung in 1976), was formed

on reclaimed land from coastal communities elsewhere in North Korea. Sindo has since slipped off Pyongyang's developmental radar becoming a marginal, half-remembered site. Yet its resident community continued their work. The paper explores the topographic, social and (geo)political landscapes now inhabited by island residents. The paper considers the fact that Sindo's working community are now subjected not only to local institutional indifference, but also to challenges brought about by global environmental crises. Finally analysis of the contestation and restriction of Sindo's maritime access by a newly muscular China and wider regional political reconfiguration leads the paper to a determination of the community's place in newly activated, dynamic political and economic spaces of sovereignty and exchange.

3) Yuko Yamade, Meiji University

Translation and Exophonie in Yoko Tawada's Migrant Writings

Yoko Tawada left Japan and immigrated to Germany in the 1980s. Since then, Tawada writes literary works in Japanese and German, and in both languages, her works are highly regarded. In Tawada's early works, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, she often translated one culture into another language, which means, she translated Japanese culture into German or German culture into Japanese. By so doing, she created a cultural hybrid space in Japanese and German literature, and such a space was named 'The Third Space' by postcolonial scholars. Then in 2003 she published an essay entitled *Exiphonie: A Trip to Escape from Mother Tongue*. In this work, Tawada described another space which she found by escaping from mother tongue. For example, in Tawada's works from this period, such as *A Night Train with Suspects* (2002) and *Traveling Necked Eyes* (2004), her protagonists are often searching for their own space in the foreign cultures without speaking their mother tongues. Thereby, Tawada's protagonists are creating an exophonic space in their new cultures. Thus, in this presentation, I would like to define the meaning of "Exphonie" using Tawada's essay and some theoretical works, such as Susan Arndt's *Exophonie: Anders-Sprachigkeit (in) der Literatur* (2007) and from there explore the characteristics of exophonic space in Yoko Tawada's works.

4) Andrew Wolman, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Humanitarian Protection in East Asia: Reviving a Neglected Framework for Asylum Advocacy

This paper is comprised of three sections. First, through an examination of the current academic articles and journalistic reporting on forced migration policy, I demonstrate that current legal discourse and advocacy regarding asylum in East Asia (specifically, Korea, Japan and China) is focused disproportionately on the international refugee law framework (rather than a humanitarian protection framework), considering the limited importance of refugee law on the ground, as judged by the number of individuals granted refugee status. Second, I argue that this disproportionate focus on refugee law matters has deleterious consequences for the development of robust asylum protections in the region, in a number of different ways. I furthermore show that future policy reforms are more likely to result from the adoption of a humanitarian protection framework than a refugee law framework. Third, I sketch the outlines of how international legal norms regarding humanitarian protection can provide a coherent legal advocacy strategy that can be used to supplement—not replace—the current emphasis on refugee law. I conclude that international norms in the field of humanitarian protection do provide an under-utilized framework for asylum advocacy in East Asia with the potential for advancing productive reforms in the region.

5) Elim Yee Lam Wong, Chinese University of Hong Kong

Inheritance and the Life of Cantonese Migrants: A Case Study on Shatenki and the Xie Family

Ever since the opening of the port of Yokohama in 1859, the area has been attracting Chinese residents to move to the city, especially Chinese from the Guangdong area. Guangdong migrants became the dominant group in Yokohama and the early Chinatown was set up by them. Within the small area, under the leadership of Cantonese migrants, set up clan associations to settle internal matters and functioned as a self-help community to help the new migrants out in settling in the new foreign land in Japan. Economically, Cantonese migrants set up Chinese restaurants, grocery stores and many other kinds of shops that contributed in consolidating a sophisticated overseas Chinese community.

Although Cantonese migrants are no longer the majority in the overseas Chinese population in Yokohama Chinatown since 1980s, until today, most of the major overseas Chinese associations are led by Cantonese migrants, including the Developmental Association of Yokohama Chinatown. Given the important history and contribution on the development of Yokohama Chinatown by Cantonese migrants, however, there are little written materials that recorded the historical facts of Cantonese Chinese residents. The research focuses on a Cantonese migrant family (The Xie's family) as to trace how the first generation adopt to the life in a foreign land and to understand how Cantonese migrants set up family restaurants in the Chinatown, promote traditional Chinese cultural activities and uphold ethnic Chinese identity in Yokohama Chinatown. It will be a cross-disciplinary project utilized oral historical and anthropological methodology with oral narratives, archives and participant observation in Yokohama Chinatown.

Session 7: Room 5210

Individual Papers II: Twentieth Century Politics, China and Korea

Chair: Linda Grove, Sophia University

1) He Le, Cornell University

Illusionary Victory: Shanghai's Propaganda Posters in the 1950s

The propaganda poster is an art instrument of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to publicize its political claims and mobilize emotional participation of the masses on economic construction and political involvement. In the early 1950s, propaganda posters were designed by art school students and artists ranging from woodcut, traditional painting, oil painting and cartoon. It was until 1954 that it became institutionalized with the first propaganda poster team founded in Shanghai under the East China People's Art Publishing House, led by Cai Zhenhua. As China's publishing center in the Republican years, Shanghai was also the base for propaganda poster production. Hence, focusing on Shanghai, the CCP was endeavored on cultivating professional propaganda painters by reforming their ideology and, in effect, the style evolved from New Year prints to socialist realism in reflecting the correspondent policy shift. However, I argue that the popularity and impacts of the propaganda poster on mobilizing both propaganda artists and the masses

was overstated by government, which I called it the “illusionary victory.” In fact, the market share of the propaganda poster was relatively low from 1949 to 1956 in comparison with non-political posters produced by private publishing houses like *Caihuayilian*, *Xushengji*, *Lushan* and *Sanyi*. The urbanites, who were still largely unfamiliar with Communism, were more inclined to traditional new year prints and calendar posters. Despite CCP’s mandatory reform and acquisition of private publishing houses, such situation was not changed until 1956 when the CCP gained total control of the commercial publishing industry and eradicated other old forms of posters.

2) Jiayi Li, Columbia University,

Special Political Zone: Political Reforms in Shenzhen, 1978–1990

Many scholars who have studied the history of Reform and Opening Up notice the role that Special Economic Zones (SEZs) played in pioneering China’s economic development. Shenzhen is among the first four SEZs that were established in the early 1980s. However, beyond its economic success and urban development, other facets of the history of Shenzhen have not been fully examined, and, therefore, the role that Shenzhen played in the 1980s has not been thoroughly comprehended. This paper argues that Shenzhen was much more than a SEZ in the 1980s. Shenzhen also served as a “special political zone” where the possibility of political reforms was seriously explored. By the end of the decade, Shenzhen had made great strides toward significant political reforms; it planned to establish a brand new legislative body—*Shenzhen Lifa Weiyuanhui* (Shenzhen Legislative Committee)—outside of the existing constitutional framework. The local People’s Congress—the legislative body defined in the constitution—was not established in Shenzhen during the 1980s. In comparison, the other three SEZs were all administered under the established constitutional framework during the same period. The political reforms in Shenzhen came to an end in 1990—one year after the June Fourth Movement. Based on local archives, newspaper articles, and oral history materials, this paper enriches our understanding of the impetus for political reforms coming from inside of the Communist Party along with its economic reforms and broadens our comprehension of China in the 1980s.

3) Peter Banseok Kwon, Harvard University

Puguk Kangbyōng: Park Chung Hee's Defense-centered Heavy and Chemical Industrialization, 1973—1979

Based on empirical study of newly declassified sources from South Korea, my research examines the Park Chung Hee regime's (1961–1979) policy of *chaju kukpang*, or “self-reliant national defense,” from the late-1960s through the 1970s. In response to North Korea's provocations in 1968, the Park regime masterminded an independent military modernization program in which citizens and civilian industries, functioning as the *de facto* engine of domestic arms production, propelled the emergence of a military-industrial complex. There remains a gaping need in scholarship for more thorough analysis of military modernization during the Park Chung Hee era, since this topic is integral to explaining South Korea's socio-economic transformation over the last four decades. My dissertation argues that a distinctively Korean military-civilian convergence enabled the Park regime's Heavy and Chemical Industrialization Plan (HCIP; 1973–1979) through which the nation built its own defense industry, amid reduced US military aid for Korea in the 1970s. In this work, I have demonstrated how the state mobilized diverse domestic actors and agencies to modernize the Korean military in ways that launched an industrial revolution in South Korea and fueled the country's unprecedented development from the 1970s onwards. The total mobilization effort proceeded through complex mergers, tensions, and negotiations of state goals with civilian material and ideological interests, ultimately forging *chaju kukpang* as a *bona fide* national movement supported by powerful Korean agency.

4) Jiyeon Choi, Korea Legislation Research Institute

Regulation Far-Fetched, or Necessary Evil? Review on the Improper Solicitation and Graft Act of South Korea

South Korea scored 56 on the Corruption Perception Index published by Transparency International, placing 27 among 35 OECD member countries. Hong Kong Political and Economic Risk Consultancy survey result also evaluated South Korea as the most corrupt country among developed countries in Asia. These records show prevailing corruption in the public office and political sphere in South Korea, and discussions arose

on the need to enact a new law specifically regulating improper acts by public officials. As a result, the Improper Solicitation and Graft Act was enacted in 2015 and became effective in September, 2016. The implication and application of the law have brought significant changes to not only public officials but also to people in everyday life, probably more than anticipated by the legislators. This paper provides review on the procedure of the enactment of the Improper Solicitation and Graft Act of Korea, and introduces key provisions that may be unique in their applications. Along with the review of the law, this article also evaluates the procedural validity of the enactment of the law, and offer amendment of the law to remedy the already-apparent pitfalls of the law. Examination on regulations in a much-too-detailed level of conduct by public officials as specified by the law will present a case worth to study from other Asian countries in relation with their research on legislation against corruption.

LUNCHTIME SESSION: 12:15 P.M.-13:15 P.M.

Film Preview: Room A203, Building 11

“Until the Invisible Handcuffs are Removed”: The Legal Scapegoating of the “Hisabetsu Buraku” Community

Organizer and Chair, David Slater, Sophia University

Director, Kim Song Woong (Interpreter, Matsumoto Chie)

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSIONS I: 1:15 P.M. - 3:15 P.M.**Session 8: Room 5121****Rethinking Sinocentrism in Early Modern Asian Literature****Organizer: Clarence I-Zhuen Lee, Cornell University****Chair: Suyoung Son, Cornell University**

This panel reconsiders the specter of Sinocentrism in early modern East Asian literary studies. Many scholars have hitherto highlighted the inadequacy of Sinocentrism as a framework in understanding the circulation, production, consumption and influence of literary Chinese texts. Despite this, the practice of assuming “China” as the center continues to be a point of departure for new researches. Nonetheless, this panel does not attempt a direct critique of this framework; enough has been done. Instead, we hope to present an approach that recognizes the multiple cores of “Chinas” figured by “peripheral” literature at each historical context. It is therefore no surprise that the subject matter of this panel will cover a range of works from different regions, fields, and media. Son’s paper reconsiders the relationship between center and periphery in the Sinographic sphere by reading an eighteenth century Chosŏn writer’s historical record of Ming loyalists. Ling follows up by discussing the ways in which a form of vernacular Chinese was imagined by Chosŏn Confucian scholar Yi Ok in his production of a variety play (*zaju*). Yamamoto’s paper highlights the local specificity of poetic composition in Edo Confucian scholar Murō Kyūsō’s exchange of Sinitic poetry with the Chosŏn mission in 1711. Lastly, Lee examines a case of production of medical knowledge driving the ways literary Chinese texts were read and catalogued as specific examples of universal local illnesses. Concluding with Goyama’s comments, this panel hopes to highlight how versions of “China” were constantly reimagined and renegotiated in early modern East Asia.

1) Suyoung Son, Cornell University***Literary Chinese and Reimagining China in Yi Tŏng-mu’s (1741–1793) Noeroe nangnak sŏ***

This paper considers how local and peripheral writers read and created text in literary

Chinese, the so-called central and cosmopolitan language of East Asia's Sinographic sphere. The conventional dichotomy between literary Chinese and local vernaculars is often premised on the antithetical perception that the development of local vernaculars is the expression of an emerging national consciousness arising from the increased independence of the peripheral areas, whereas the literary Chinese continues to serve as a universal written medium without such a strong implication of a discrete distance from the center. Reconsidering literary Chinese as a medium of cultural commensurability, this paper examines the eighteenth-century Chosŏn writer Yi Tŏng-mu's compilation of Ming loyalists "Noeroe nangnak sŏ" and explores the ways in which the specific condition of temporal and spatial differences created the center that was constantly redefined by references to its peripheral contexts.

2) Xiaoqiao Ling, Arizona State University

Inventing the Vernacular: Yi Ok's (1760–1812) Imagination of a Northern Variety Play

This paper studies ways in which a Chosŏn scholar steeped in Chinese classical learning created what he imagined to be a variety play (*zaju*) in plain classical and vernacular Chinese. The Chinese performance tradition of variety plays traces back to the thirteenth century in the Mongol Dynasty, and disappeared from the stage after the second half of the fourteenth century. However, woodblock imprints of variety plays, often richly annotated and commented, figured prominently in commercial printing throughout late imperial China. Some of these books, together with Chinese vernacular fiction, traveled to Chosŏn Korea in the eighteenth century. Yi Ok, a well-known Confucian scholar who was somewhat controversial for his predilection for unconventional writing styles, composed what he imagined to be a four-act variety play by alternating between arias in plain classical Chinese and lengthy monologues and dialogues in vernacular Chinese. This paper will examine how the Chosŏn scholar, who was well versed in classical Chinese but never had exposure to spoken Chinese, drew upon a variety of lexicons and syntaxes to conjure an idiosyncratic experience of vernacular Chinese, thus shedding light on the vernacular as a coded writing system that aims at capturing an imagined version of spoken Chinese.

3) Yoshitaka Yamamoto, Osaka University

Poetry as a Non-Universal Medium: Muro Kyūsō's Literary Exchange with the Chosŏn Mission

Muro Kyūsō (1658–1734) was one of several students of Kinoshita Jun'an who were selected to exchange Sinitic (i.e. classical Chinese) prose and poetry with the Chosŏn Mission of 1711. This paper will focus on one of his poems, in which he uses the second-person pronoun *nanji* (J. *jo*, Ch. *ru*) to address Hong Gyoko, the Chosŏn emissary to whom he dedicated the poem. Worried that this pronoun may seem overly informal and offend Gyoko, Kyūsō added a Sinitic prose text explaining that he used this pronoun as part of a “set phrase” (J. *seigo*, Ch. *chengyu*) borrowed from a poem by Du Fu, and that his intention was not derogatory. Around this time, it was standard practice among Japanese Confucian scholars, including Kyūsō, to ostentatiously lift words and phrases from Tang or earlier Chinese poets and reuse them in their poems, in line with the compositional method of the Ming-dynasty school of Ancient Phraseology (J. *kobunji*, Ch. *guwenci*) as well as Japanese *waka*. The fact that Kyūsō felt the need to explain himself suggests that he recognized very well the possibility that his compositional method was not necessarily common among his contemporaries in Chosŏn Korea. While Sinitic prose functioned more or less effectively as a lingua franca in early modern East Asia, the case was not so simple for Sinitic poetry, since poetic compositions and their interpretations could vary significantly according to the specific styles of composition that happened to be in vogue at a particular point in time across different locales.

4) Clarence I-Zhuen Lee, Cornell University

Reassessing Sinocentrism in Early Edo Medicine: Literary case studies and Local diseases

This presentation considers how medical knowledge and Chinese literary texts intersected in the context of early Edo medicine. Studies on Chinese medicine or *kanpō* in the early Edo period often highlight the universal authority in which Chinese medical texts such as Li Shizhen's *Bencao Gangmu* (*Honzō Kōmoku*) amongst medical specialists. This approach assumes the one-way flow of cultural capital in which the Edo medical knowledge consisted mainly of the reapplication and eventual authentication of the

universality of these Chinese texts. What is not considered in such a view are the instances in which non-medical Chinese literature as non-universal knowledge could have contributed to the formulation of a “local” kind medical knowledge. It is in response to this problematic that this paper focuses on the text *Kishitsu Benran* (A Quick guide to the treatment of Odd diseases). Written by Shimotsu Jusen in 1715, the form of *Kishitsu Benran* is predicated on producing a practical knowledge by means of collecting “case studies.” Even though most of these “cases” were taken from Chinese literary texts, the text directs our attention away from these sources as ultimate truths towards the ways in which they were mere examples to elucidate the reality of local illnesses. Using *Kishitsu Benran*, this paper explores the possibility of envisaging a different kind of relation between Chinese texts and medical knowledge in the early Edo period, one that is not simply bound by the framework of Sinocentric universality.

Discussant: Rintaro Goyama, Keio University

Session 9: Room 5124

Collective Action in Asia: Social Psychological Studies in Japan, Hong Kong, and the Philippines

Organizer and Chair: Danielle P. Ochoa, University of the Philippines, Diliman

Collective action refers to the intentional actions of members of a particular social group, for example, women in Japan, to create social change and raise their collective, as opposed to merely individual, status in society. This panel highlights recent research by Asian social psychologists working to understand collective action in diverse Asian contexts, particularly in relation to gender and sexuality. The first paper looks into the role of emotions in influencing women’s collective action intentions to eradicate gender discrimination, taking into consideration variations in cultural expectations on emotional expression. The second paper examines the interplay of traditional Chinese values and sexism in predicting men’s intentions to engage in collective action for gender equality. The third paper integrates sense of place and mindfulness with civic engagement to elucidate links with ally collective action for lesbian and gay individuals. Finally, the

fourth paper compares ally collective action for stigmatized groups, while examining the impact of anticipated stigma by association with these groups. In considering such a range of variables in understanding collective action within Asian contexts, these studies provide further directions for both research and social change initiatives distinctly designed for our respective cultures.

1) Danielle P. Ochoa, University of the Philippines, Diliman

Angry, Ashamed, or Hopeful? Comparing Emotions in Mobilizing Collective Action in Japan, the Philippines, and Australia

Anger has been tapped as the emotion most associated with collective action; indeed, it is considered an important predictor of collective action in the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; van Zomeren, 2013). However, the acceptability of anger expression varies across cultures. For instance, its role in collective action has been seen in some Asian countries such as the Philippines (Liu & Conaco, 2011). In contrast, in East Asian cultures, anger is an emotion that one is socialized to suppress (Mauss, Butler, Roberts, & Chi, 2010). Given such cultural differences in anger expression, the study examined whether other emotions, particularly shame and hope, can also mobilize collective action for gender equality in different cultural contexts. Women from Japan, the Philippines, and Australia were asked to recall an experience of gender discrimination that triggered either anger, shame, hope, or no particular emotion, and subsequently answered measures of the SIMCA variables (identification, moral conviction, and efficacy) and collective action intentions. Indeed, country differences were seen in both baseline levels of emotions, as well as responsiveness to emotion prompts. While anger consistently predicted collective action intentions across the three countries, shame and hope played variable roles across these contexts. Implications for the study of emotions in relation to collective action will also be discussed.

2) Randolph C. H. Chan, Chinese University of Hong Kong

Collective Action as a Means to Eradicate Gender-based Oppression in Chinese Culture

HeForShe is a global solidarity movement for gender equality launched by the United Nations. The campaign focuses on men in younger generations as the game-changers for gender equality. It has sparked growing awareness and action to promote women's rights around the world. Nevertheless, it has limited ramifications in the Chinese community. The present study investigated whether and how the endorsement of Chinese traditional values influenced men's attitudes and collective action for gender equality. Results of path analysis of survey data gathered from 120 male emerging adults in Hong Kong showed that the adherence to traditional Chinese values was associated with heightened hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Only hostile sexism was negatively related to the intention to participate in collective action for gender equality. Social mobilization for men's action toward gender equality should take culture into consideration by debunking maladaptive traditional beliefs (e.g., fatalism, male dominance) that underpin sexism and impede collective action.

3) Gloria Y. K. Ma, Chinese University of Hong Kong

Supporting Collective Action for Sexual Equality: Sense of Place and Mindfulness

SIMCA suggested that identification with groups advocating for collections actions for social equality is an essential antecedent of collective actions. Apart from focusing on the cause-specific factors for promoting group identification with advocacy groups, a more non-specific approach to enhancing the group identification might be useful to a wider range of causes. The present study examined an integrated meditational model from sense of place and mindfulness to intention of participating in collective action for reducing stigma toward lesbian/gay individuals. It recruited 375 college students in Hong Kong to participate in a cross-sectional survey. Structural equation modeling results showed that the proposed meditational model had satisfactory fit to the data. Sense of place and mindfulness indirectly and positively predicted collective action intention via positively predicting active engaged citizenship and then group identification with groups advocating for sexual equality sequentially. Results suggested that active civic engagement in broad

range of social issues would be effective in promoting identification with the advocacy groups and then collective actions for reducing stigma toward lesbian/gay. Findings also highlighted the importance of a multilevel approach for supporting ally collective actions for sexual minorities, namely promoting sense of place toward our living city (the macro environmental level), active and engaged citizenship (at the societal level), and mindfulness (the individual level). Recommended further research directions on extension from the SIMCA and implications on community work will be discussed.

4) Eric Julian Manalastas, University of the Philippines, Diliman

Ally Collective Action and Stigma in Japan and the Philippines

Though it can go against their interests, members of advantaged groups may at times act to uplift the conditions of a disadvantaged group. This is called being allies. But what if acting as an ally might lead others to mistake a people as members of the stigmatized group, thereby subjecting them to the same stigma in question? The goal of our cross-cultural study was to investigate a potential barrier to allyship in Asian contexts, namely, the threat of being misperceived as a member of the stigmatized group. We used the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren, 2013) in the context of allyship for four stigmatized groups in Asia: sexual minorities, people with HIV, the obese, and in Japan, the Zainichi Koreans. University students in three countries (two Asian countries, Japan and the Philippines, and one non-Asian contrast country, New Zealand) read a hypothetical scenario about discrimination and answered measures for four collective action predictors, namely anger, identification with the stigmatized group, efficacy beliefs about being an ally, and moral convictions, as well as anticipated stigma. Contrary to our main hypothesis, anticipated stigma was positively correlated with ally collective action across all countries. In addition, we replicated the SIMCA in both Japan and the Philippines, with three out of the four variables (anger, identification, and efficacy) predicting collective action as allies. Our findings show that, despite conditions of stigma, allies in Japan and the Philippines can be made to mobilize on behalf of stigmatized groups.

Discussant: Makiko Deguchi, Sophia University

Session 10: Room 5223**Of Bugs, Pigs and Things: Rethinking the Exterior of Human Language, from the Voice of Non-humans to Image-thinking****Organizer: Hyung Jin Lee, University of Tokyo****Chair: Naoki Watanabe, Musashi University**

Anything and everything can become the object of mimetic writing, but as human beings and human society is its favorite object, the act of literary writing always becomes an act of self-reflection. In our session we try to envision the exterior of human language by exploring the various forms of ‘non-human language.’ We will be examining language that is spoken not through the mouths of human beings, but through the mouths of bugs, pigs or even things(images) in various literary texts, which will in turn allow us to reflect on such questions as ‘What are the limits of human language?’ or ‘What is it that makes human, human?’ First Hien Nguyen will review various works of fiction in contemporary Korean literature that portray human beings as bugs or insects, voicing their destitution and self-hatred. In a similar note, Ju A Joung will survey works of literature that employ the motif of ‘human-animal’ in the works of George Orwell, Miyazaki Hayao and contemporary Korean fiction, and discuss the conditions for and the moment of ontological transformation from human to animal. Hyung Jin Lee will explore the gender implications in recent Korean fiction that deal with the similar motif of dehumanizing metamorphosis that has been sparked by violence. Yerhee Kim will discuss the overall powerlessness of human language and suggest as its alternative, image-thinking. Through these presentations we hope to cast new light on the relationship between literary language and human beings.

1) Thi Hien Nguyen, Vietnam National University

Of Bugs and Men: Narratives of Desire and Hatred in Korean Literature from the 1970s to the Present

Friedrich Nietzsche had announced that human beings are mere animals, mere bugs; Kafka brought this motif to life in *Metamorphosis*, the tragic tale of Gregor Samsa's sudden transformation into a bug. This presentation will review various works of fiction from contemporary Korean literature that introduce the bug motif, and discuss the implications of the frequent appearance of bugs in Korean literature. The poor dwarf father of Cho Sehüi's *A Dwarf Launches a Little Ball* (1978), and the incarcerated or debt-ridden characters of Kim Yönghyön and Ch'ön Unyöng all call themselves "bugs." Such a self-degrading concession, is actually a manifesto of their desire to return to being human. However just when the main characters are about to achieve their desire of living a humane life, they transform into bugs and the story comes to an abrupt end. By the end of the 1990s, in the fictional works of young female writers such as O Suyön, Kwön Yösön and Kim Aeran, the bug motif takes an opposite turn, from narratives of desire to narratives of hatred. Instead of conceding that they are mere bugs, they start to declare that they are not, revealing strong feelings of hatred toward bugs that are deemed to be ugly and harmful. The ironical part is that their display of hatred point to themselves, becoming feelings of self-hatred and self-denial as it becomes impossible to escape from their bug-like existence.

2) Ju A Joung, Kangwon National University

The Affliction of the Human Body and the Allegory of the "Human-animal" in the works of George Orwell, Miyazaki Hayao and Contemporary Korean Writers

Both the transformation motif—human beings turning into animals—and personification—animals standing in for humans—have a long history in literature. Such techniques are used to discuss what it is to be human, on the premise that human beings are qualitatively different from animals. Paradoxically, the repeated use of these techniques shows that matters concerning the body are basically the same both to human beings and to animals. In other words, 'a hungry Socrates and a satisfied swine'-type of rhetoric functions as an incantation to turn human cravings for physical pleasure to something

beyond the pleasure of the flesh. As George Orwell reveals his disappointment and despair in Stalinism through his novel *Animal Farm*, revolution caused by anger and physical suffering is bound to lose its motivation as soon as the demand for physical pleasure is satiated. This shows that the body, as the most private domain of all human beings, allows and also limits the adventures of the mind, regardless of ideological or political orientation. The allegory of “pigs on two legs” as depicted in the *Animal Farm* suggests that reflections on human decency should start from an examination of the overlap or coexistence of the human-animal. In a world where Stalin’s experiments have become obsolete, and Adam Smith’s invisible hand breeds human species into docility, what would ‘the human-animal’ look like? This paper examines the moment of, and the conditions for, a switch of being that occurs in the overlap of the human and the animal.

3) Hyung Jin Lee, University of Tokyo

Violent Imaginations in Écriture Féminine: Images of Metamorphosis in Contemporary Korean Fiction

Metamorphosis has always been a powerful literary motif—whether it is depicted as a divine ability of the gods to take on various physical forms as in the Greek and Roman myths, or as a dehumanizing experience of becoming something other-than-human, such as an insect as Kafka had exquisitely shown in *Metamorphosis*. This age-old motif of metamorphosis takes on still new implications in contemporary Korean literature as the motif captivates the imaginations of female writers such as Han Kang and Hwang Chōngūn, and produces images of metamorphosis that is at once violent and feminine. The two writers are one in depicting violence as the power to distort, forcing the objects of violence to undergo physical or mental transformation from humans to non-humans. However the two writers differ in the way they introduce gender into the issue of violence and metamorphosis. Han Kang, in her award-winning novel *The Vegetarian*, depicts a female character who wishes to metamorphose into a plant, and slowly turns into a tree as she regresses into insanity. In this case, metamorphosis occurs only in the deluded mind of the female character while the world stays intact. On the other hand, Hwang Chōngūn portrays people turning into hats, matryoshka dolls or one’s own shadow, not metaphorically or in a state of delusion but literally and in one’s right mind. In Han Kang’s

works women are often portrayed as being the object of violence or violation, and as regressing into insanity as a result of patriarchal violence that permeates the daily lives of these women. However, Hwang Chŏngŭn often depicts female characters—none other than the mother—as the inflictor of violence, a very unconventional gender portrayal. However in both works the language of the dehumanized—whether due to insanity or inertia—become lost, leaving behind only violent images of metamorphosis to speak for in its stead. In this paper we will be exploring the various aspects of *écriture féminine* of these contemporary Korean writers who lend insight into violent imaginations of metamorphosis.

4) Yerhee Kim, Kangwon National University

The (Non-)Ontology of Image and Image-thinking: Poetic Thoughts in Korean Modernist Literature of the 1930s

In March 2016, Korea witnessed a sensational event. A Go match between the eighteen time world champion Lee Sedol, and Alphago, the computer Go program developed by Google, was being broadcasted live in Seoul, Korea. The historic match drew the attention of the general public, and the game of Go made a great comeback recovering its popularity of the past before it started to be considered old-fashioned. At the same time, the event exposed increasing fear of the general public, toward scientific advancement in artificial intelligence. The idea of ‘human beings controlled by machine’ is surely rooted in this fear. However, such fear was not newly born in year 2016, but is an age-old feeling that has reverberated throughout human history, as shown in such precept of the Bible as the prohibition of idolatry, which often turned into contempt for images. Such fear and contempt toward the image grow on the ambiguity of image, beyond human understanding. While deep understanding of an object necessarily requires conceptual segmentalization, images by nature defy segmentalization, thus making such a process impossible. However, the otherness of image allows for a change in paradigm of the way of thinking, for a conceptual or linguistic way of thinking cannot fully process the otherness of the image. This paper examines the (non-)ontology of images and the possibility of image-thinking—an entirely different way of thinking from the conceptual or linguistic way of thinking—by examining the modernist literature of Korea in the 1930s, mainly focusing on the works of Lee Sang and Jeong Jiyoung.

Discussant: Naoki Watanabe, Musashi University

Session 11: Room 5224**Contested War Narratives as Expressed in Textbooks, Museums, and Film****Organizer: Mark E. Caprio, Rikkyo University**

The recent conflicts that have erupted between the Northeast Asian states over the past three decades are in part centered on how twentieth century wars are to be remembered. Collective war memories influence the views that citizens hold of their nation, as well as those of the peoples their country victimized in these wars. That Japan, China, and South Korea script their wartime participation as just, that they tend to emphasize their victimization over the victims they create, is hardly unique. That these narratives are publicly contested by neighboring states, however, is. This panel focuses first on how the three states attempt to incorporate their war histories into their national narrative, second, how these narratives are contested by others, and third, how this contestation influences their respective national narratives. Limin Bai compares how an earlier battle, the nineteenth century Sino-Japanese War, was treated in Japanese and Chinese textbooks. Xiaohua Ma centers her paper on how museum wars have altered the presentation of history in China and Japan, while searching for paths leading to reconciliation. Mark E. Caprio examines how Japan's Yūshūkan and South Korea's War Memorial of Korea displays their military's victimization of the enemy in two different wars: Japan in the Pacific War and South Korea in the Vietnam War. Finally, Noriko Kawamura compares how two versions of the popular film "Japan's Longest Day" depicts the actions of two controversial historic figures, Emperor Hirohito and General Anami Korechika, in the final days of the Pacific War.

1) Limin Bai, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand***War in Textbooks: A Comparative Study of the Narrations of the 1895 Sino-Japanese War in Japanese and Chinese Textbooks (1897–1907)***

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 was one of the key events in the history of both Japan and China. Through a textual examination of the war as depicted in Japanese and Chinese textbooks in the decade following the war (1897–1907), this study aims to demonstrate how the war was exploited as an educational instrument to stimulate a spirit of

nationalism in both countries. Methodologically this study adopts a comparative approach at two levels. Firstly it investigates how the war was depicted in both Chinese and Japanese textbooks by focusing on a textual comparison. Based on the findings from this textual comparison, the study then focuses on an analysis of the effects of this Sino-Japanese War on the content of textbooks and textbook writing practice. It first provides a timeline of the war against the historical context of the triangular relationship between China, Korea and Japan. The comparative textual examination then demonstrates that the narration of the war contained within the textbooks from both countries differed in language style, tone and focus. There was also an enormous disparity between the Japanese and Chinese accounts of the events that led to the war. The study further analyzes such narrative differences to illustrate how textbooks were used as an effective agent through which a certain version of the war was used to construct historical memory for educational and ideological purposes.

2) Xiaohua Ma, Osaka University of Education

History, Memory, and Reconciliation in East Asia: Museum Wars in Sino-Japanese Relations

What role has war memory played in Japan's relations with its neighbors? How has history played a role in Japan's relations with Asian countries, particularly with China? And what effect has this had on Asian-Pacific security? Answers to these contemporary questions must reckon with the impact of memories of the Asia-Pacific War (1931–1945), a time of discord that continues to affect Japan's relations with its neighbors. This paper's focus will be primarily on Japan's relations with China. Media reports from the Chinese side offer recollections of the wartime experience that emphasize China's disagreements with Japan, while rejecting the fact that their collective memories also include more positive features of this relationship. Thus, while not disavowing the negative, this paper will focus on areas of historical understanding through collective memory that have played a more constructive role in the shaping of Japan's relations with China. It will first look at how disputes over the interpretation of history in war museums have transformed Japan's postwar reconciliation policy with China. It will then discuss how more recently museum wars have intensified and subsequently aggravated the relatively trusting relationship that the two countries once shared. Finally it will consider ways of reconciling the history-

related problems that continue to aggravate China and Japan relations.

3) Mark E. Caprio, Rikkyo University

Reconciling Victimization: War Museums in Tokyo and Seoul

The suffering of innocents in particularly contemporary wars has become an increasingly more unfortunate staple as the parameters of the battlefield expanded to incorporate urban centers. Aerial indiscriminate bombings of cities target the civilian rather than the conscripted soldier. To a growing extent states are being pressured by the victimized peoples to include these atrocities into their national narratives as found in textbooks and museums. How the nation records its victimization of innocents into its war museum is the focus of this paper. It focuses primarily on two war museums, the Yūshūkan in Tokyo with that of the War Memorial of Korea in Seoul (with supplementary consideration of those in other states) to compare how the museums present two different incidences where actions of the Japanese and South Korean militaries drew accusations of victimizing innocents. While recognizing that the scale of atrocity vastly differs between the two examples under consideration: Japan in World War II and South Korea in Vietnam, this paper's concentration is more on the approach that the two states adopt in arranging the museum's displays and explanations to justify the conduct of their military. Do these approaches differ significantly from that of other war museums? Do other examples exist that might offer a better way of airing out the less honorable side of a state's history?

4) Noriko Kawamura, Washington State University

Historical Memory of Heroes and Villains on Japan's Longest Day

The Japanese government reached a decision to surrender in World War II after a long protracted tug-of-war between the peace faction in favor of ending the war and the diehards who were determined to fight to the bitter end. This event has been dramatized by various films in Japan and abroad that contributed to perpetuating myths which created heroes and villains in the tragic endgame of the war in Japan. This paper will focus on two controversial historic figures in two particular films both entitled "Japan's Longest Day" produced in 1967 and 2015 in by Japanese filmmakers. One is Emperor Showa, divine sovereign and *daigensui* (commander in chief), who is often portrayed as peacemaker who

saved Japan from national suicide by intervening personally to end the war on Japan's longest day in August 1945. The other is General Anami Korechika, the last minister of war, the highest military officer of the Japanese Imperial Army in 1945, who led the war faction and insisted to keep fighting a decisive battle on the Japanese main island to protect Japan's national polity (*kokutai*). By examining how these films portrayed the two historic figures and whether they reflected what really happened, this paper questions what historical accuracy means to historical but fictional films. The paper will also explore what roles these films played, both positive and negative, in the broader realm of war memory and myth making.

Discussant: Torsten Weber, DIJ German Institute for Japanese Studies Tokyo

Session 12: Room 5322

Local Society in Motion: Negotiating Boundaries through Everyday Life in the Early Modern Era

Organizers/Chair: Boyi Chen, Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences; Gilbert Chen, Washington University

This panel intends to foreground fluidity of early modern local society and reveals how different forms of boundaries were continually negotiated and redrawn from the perspective of history of everyday life. The aim is to examine and question various prevalent metanarratives at a reduced scale of observation. Boyi Chen's paper investigates the different daily mechanisms through which Fujianese merchants survived and thrived in Batavia and Manila, two diasporic communities beyond the geographical boundary of the Ming-Qing empires. Rather than ascribe to dominant acculturation paradigm, this work highlights transplantation, fragmentation, and isolation as central to our understanding of Chinese diaspora in the early modern era. Nan-Hsu Chen shows how fluid and shifting political boundary between legality and illegality was along the Qing empire's internal frontier in early nineteenth-century Taiwan. He argues that Fujianese immigrants in Taiwan appropriated pirate invasion to legitimize their everyday but illegal reclamation by defending state's cause in local society. Xiao Chen, by documenting how local litigants

strategically used community leaders in their routine legal practices, explores the multifunctional roles taken by these legal intermediaries in Ba county of southwestern China during the Qing, thereby revealing the porosity of power relations in local society. Finally, Gilbert Chen questions the heightened separation between spirituality and temporality implied in many works on Chinese religion. Through analysis of daily practices of sexuality by ordinary monks and nuns, he demonstrates that the claimed sacred-secular boundary was fluid and constantly negotiated due to ordinary monastics' social embeddedness into local society.

1) Boyi Chen, Guangdong Academy of Social Sciences

Two Types of Segregation: Structural Similarities and Differences of the South Fujianese Local

This paper analyzes how the embedding and reshaping mechanisms of the diasporic South Fujianese worked or failed in the context of local authorities in two Southeast Asian host societies, Batavia and Manila, beyond the border of the Chinese empire. The discussion of the mechanisms is a weakness in previous studies since they mostly focus on the description of adaptation, however, the core issue is not simply different strategies South Fujianese applied to host societies, but to reveal the process and systematic intertwinement of multiple groups. This issue was not simply the acculturation, but more the actual practice over the segregation in the daily lives. Except the broad phenomena such as local marriage and official service by and large in these two host societies, one of the notable embedding and the reshaping mechanisms in Batavia was autonomous administrative and juridical systems, while in Manila was merging a market by supplying the daily utilities and commodities, with limited daily juridical negotiation. This paper uses *Gong An Bu* (Minutes of the Board Meetings of the Chinese Council) and some Spanish colonial records (e.g. *Recopilación*) to reveal different mechanisms in these two diasporic communities. Only when we recognized these mechanisms could we evaluate the success and fail of the South Fujianese or even Chinese communities in pre-modern Southeast Asia, and understand segregation in a deeper way: there were not only different types of segregation, but also mosaic and multi-layers of segregation that reveal the diasporic communities in terms of transplantation, fragmentation, and isolation.

2) Nan-Hsu Chen, National Taiwan University

Joint Reclamation? Pirates, Illegal Immigrants and the Local Politics of Early Nineteenth-Century Taiwan

This article examines the far-reaching consequences of early nineteenth-century pirate activities in a broad region across contemporary Vietnam and China's southeast coast. This article takes Taiwan as an example to illustrate how different Qing officials as well as local people dealt with pirate invasions and appropriate these events to serve their diverse agendas. Namely, this article takes local perspectives to understand trans-border historical events. The case of Taiwan shows that the consequences of pirate invasions were embedded in the context of local politics in Taiwan. The officials disagreed with each other on the reclamation of the eastern Taiwan, where reclamation was forbidden but had been made by tens of thousands of illegal immigrants. These immigrants refused to cooperate with the pirates to collectively establish a society autonomous from the Qing government—a proposal for “joint reclamation.” They, instead, chose to express loyalty to the Qing while appropriated these events to legitimate their reclamation. The consequences of the pirate invasions were the establishment of a new administrative division in Taiwan and the changing philosophy of Taiwan's governance in the future. The history of Taiwan shows the social meanings of the boundaries at different fronts to different social actors when these political lines were arranged, followed, transgressed or transformed. Furthermore, these lines generated opportunities for non-state actors, namely, pirates and immigrants, to choose their positions toward the state, so the investigation into the meaning of these political lines also offers clues to the political or cultural integration or disintegration of the Qing.

3) Xiao Chen, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

Community Leaders in Property Disputes in Ba County: Legal Intermediaries and Litigation Strategy 1736–1861

Drawing on both published collections of legal cases and legal archives of Ba county, this paper reveals that community leaders, serving as legal intermediaries at county level, were integral to the adjudication and mediation of property disputes in Ba county.

Functions of community leaders in juridical field could be summarized into three aspects: construction of “legal facts” through collecting “reliable” information for magistrate; serving as witnesses for involved parties in court; and proposing resolutions for mediation or magistrates’ adjudications. Other than viewing litigants as sufferer of community leaders’ abuse of power, this paper adopts a bottom-up perspective and also reveals how litigants used the presence of community leaders as a litigation strategy to serve their own ends. Community leaders in Qing dynasty referred to those unsalaried semi-official agents nominated by the local community and licensed by the state. Ba county in southwestern China was rich of miscellaneous types of community leaders including *xiangyue* (community compact), *baozheng* (head of household registration), *tuanzheng* (leader of militia), *zuzheng* (lineage elder), and *kezhang* (head of immigration group). While past scholarship largely focuses community leaders’ roles in other fields such as collecting taxes and maintaining local orders, this paper illustrates that capital that community leaders accumulated in other fields was transferred into the juridical field. Thus the boundaries between different fields in local society were porous and juridical field in Qing dynasty was not independent of other power fields.

Discussant: TBA

Session 13: Room 5323

Individual Papers III: Environmental Studies in Northeast Asia

Chair: Jenine Heaton, Kansai University

1) Sang-ho Ro, Ewha Womans University

Damming Rivers: Environmental History of Cold-War Developments in 1960s South Korea

This paper is intended to analyze environmental impacts of Cold-War developmental projects in South Korea during the 1960s. From the beginning of the decade, the United States Agency of International Development (AID) made use of American science and technology and countered Asian communist advancement in “Third-World” countries. By improving living quality of local people, the USAID expected to stop the communism

which was believed to live on poverty and under-development. In 1960s South Korea, the USAID and South Korean government collaborated with each other to tame Mother Nature, especially to control Han River. Multi-purpose hydroelectric dams and new sewage system, which succeeded the Japanese colonial development, remarkably domesticated the once-wild Korean river. Nevertheless, the modern development projects caused serious degradation of environment. Dried up by the dams, the Han River was not only open for reclamation, but also lost its various sources of fresh water and sands from upper river and small streams. As small waterways in Seoul disappeared with rapid urbanization and deforestation, the Han River changed from a gift to a burden. It is, however, striking to note that the Cold-War developers spared little space for conservation efforts. Such an imbalance in the development plans will be revisited and examined in this paper.

2) Xiao Yu, East Normal China University

Setting rules through pollution-induced contention: The evidence from rural China

Pollution-induced contention is usually taken as victims fighting against polluters to protect the environment, in which different levels of government appear either as targets, initiators of claims, or third parties. This article, however, argues that environmental protection may be just an illusion while involving the government agencies is more than simply enforcing laws. By analyzing pollution-induced contention around the electronic waste processing industry in three small villages (Xiayang, Batang and Yunlin villages) of rural China, this article will demonstrate how villagers can make use of pollution-induced contention to set rules among themselves. The existing literature on village politics tends to emphasize that the village has its own distinct logic independent of that of the government in setting rules. Instead, this article shows that villagers will involve government agencies on their initiative and twist the two lines of logic for rule setting when pollution provides them with a legitimate reason to engage government agencies for other ends than environmental protection.

3) Abhik Chakraborty, Wakayama University

Transition and Continuity in Mountain Landscapes of Japan

This paper analyzes social and environmental change in Japan's mountain landscapes

by focusing at three iconic mountain tourism destinations in the North Japan Alps (Hida). Mountains occupy nearly 80% of land surface of the Japanese Islands; they possess important geological, geomorphological and ecological attributes, and they have sustained human societies for millennia. Although most mountains are moderately elevated and are located in close proximity to densely populated areas, they were considered sacred spaces and were rarely climbed before Japan's modernization in the late nineteenth century. During the wave of industrial modernization and urbanization modeled after the West, Japanese mountains were 'discovered' as objects for conquest. During the twentieth century, the Japan Alps area witnessed a rapid growth of mass tourism and construction activities that fragmented the landscape and species habitats. Degradation of the natural environment fueled contemporary nature conservation movements and lately there are some efforts to promote ecotourism and nature based tourism in the area. This paper explores aspects of biophysical and social aspects of landscape level transition and continuity from three 'cases' of the Hakuba, Kamikochi and Kurobe valleys. Based on interdisciplinary research, the paper finds that while each of these areas has distinct geological, ecological and cultural attributes, they were subjected to very similar development pathways leading to the trivialization of place and loss of ecological consciousness. While ongoing efforts to limit human impact to the environment have enjoyed some success, landscape fragmentation, global environmental change and loss of traditional knowledge remain as major challenges.

4) Maxime Polleri, York University

Furusato Sweet Furusato: Finding Home after Fukushima

The Fukushima Nuclear Disaster and its subsequent release of radioactive pollutants have blurred the boundaries upon which the meaning of home once rested. In this context of uncertainty, I pursue how the socio-cultural sense of home is showing signs of fracture, while simultaneously being re-imagined in a post-Fukushima context of radioactive contamination. Through ethnographical work with two types of evacuees, namely, people that were officially forced to evacuate, as well as voluntary evacuees (*jishu hinansha*), I highlight how the lived experience of radioactive contamination challenges what refugees formerly understood as their home, including the cultural values embedded into such past

conceptualizations. In Fukushima, radioactive contamination has instigated a figurative mutation in the concept of home, which cannot be brought back to its original essence. Such threshold represents a sharp contrast against the state revitalization projects, which mobilize tropes of nostalgia and resilience in an attempt to make people come back to their former irradiated native lands (*furusato*). Drawing on an anthropological literature upon precarity, I track the rearrangements of home and homelessness, in addition to their impacts on the everyday life and future of Japanese citizens. For the evacuees of Fukushima, the new social designs that surround the concept of home can bring moments of hope through alternative ways of being, knowing, and belonging, but equally, insidious forms of structural harms that can be malevolent to their recovery.

Session 14: Room 5210

Individual Papers IV: Print Culture, Translation, and Games

Chair: Yusuke Tanaka, Meiji Gakuin University

1) Machiko Ishikawa, Surugadai University

Producing English Translations of the “Hiragana Poems” of Kishida Eriko

This paper will discuss issues encountered when translating Japanese poems which feature the use of the hiragana script. Focusing on Kishida Eriko (1929–2011), one of post-war Japan’s most well-known woman poets, the presentation will provide a close reading of two of Kishida’s poems: “Kaze to kazaguruma” (The Wind and a Windmill) and “Kuru asa goto ni” (Round it Goes Mornings), both published in *Akarui hi no uta* (1979, *Songs of A Bright Day*). The common feature of these poems is the use of hiragana only. I refer to these poems as *hiragana shi* (hiragana poems) in order to emphasise the poetic effect resulting from the intentional use of hiragana only. I am particularly interested in the issues presented for translators of poetry of this nature. In ‘Translation as Culture,’ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (2000) declares translation to be “[i]n every possible sense ... necessary but impossible.” Spivak further argues that the translator needs “intimate knowledge of the rules of representation” of her own culture, while also being “responsible and accountable” to the “presupposed original.” I will especially investigate how we might resolve the “impossibility” of translating hiragana poetry to maintain the significance of

the poet's use of that script, that is to maintain the integrity of the “presupposed [hiragana] original” in terms of the “rules of representation” of English language verse.

2) Zengxian Li, Ritsumeikan University

Japan Printed Books in East Asia: the Lockhart Collection in the Cambridge University Library

This paper will focus on the late Sir James Haldane Stewart Lockhart's (1858–1937) book collection, elucidating how those books ended up in the Cambridge University Library. On April 3, 1898, the late Ch'ing government leased Weihaiwei, Shantung in Northeast China to the British government. The British Royal Navy administered this new colonial territory for the first few years, but transferred its administration authority to the Colonial Office eventually. As a result, in 1902, Sir Lockhart was appointed as the first civil commissioner of Weihaiwei, who held the post for 19 years until 1921. Before that, he had spent 20 years in Hong Kong as a registrar-general and colonial secretary. In other words, as a British administrator, Sir Lockhart spent his entire career of nearly 40 years in China. During that time, he built a magnificent collection, including 1,200 titles of books, 800 paintings and 300 artifacts. At the time of his retirement, he brought all his collection back to Britain with him, but only his book collection was dispersed after his death. One noteworthy fact about his book collection is that a considerable proportion of those books are Chinese works reprinted in premodern Japan (*Wakokubon*). Discussing several outstanding items of his collection, this paper will not only reveal the historical circumstances under which *Wakokubon* were distributed in those British colonies in East Asia, but also discuss border-crossing interactions of peoples during the early 1900s.

3) Tin Kei Wong, University of Queensland

A Comparative Study on Images of Mothers in Chinese and Japanese Translations: Laura M. White and Wakamatsu Shizuko's Translations of Little Lord Fauntleroy

This paper examines the dichotomy between two mother figures in two translations of Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886), the Japanese translation *Shōkōshi* by Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864–1896) and the Chinese translation *Xiao yingxiong* by Laura M. White (1867–1937). In the original, there is a sharp contrast between Mrs.

Errol, a mother with angelic qualities, and Minna Tipton, a mother “from the lower walks of life.” Juxtaposing the three sets of images of the two mothers in the original and the two translations, this paper argues that the translators have intensified the dichotomy between the two female characters with emphasis on different qualities of a mother. White, an American Protestant female missionary to China who was a principal of a girls’ school and editor of a women’s magazine, heavily stressed on inner qualities of a wise mother while minimizing the depiction of female physical beauty. Wakamatsu was a devout Christian, and her values, Christian or otherwise, also seem to have influenced how she represented the two characters. Her translation, however, was strongly motivated by her personal literary aspiration and was not constrained by external factors as White’s translation would have been due to her affiliation with the missionary and girls’ education. Through a comparative textual analysis, this paper aims to investigate how the historical, social, and cultural contexts in which the translators were situated significantly influenced the images of female protagonists in translations.

4) Man Shun Yeung, The University of Hong Kong

Abel Yen, Benjamin Bowen Carter and Dictionarium Sinicum: Their Place in the History of Early 19th Century Westerners’ Chinese Learning

Dictionarium Sinicum is the manuscript of a Chinese-Latin dictionary now deposited at Brown University’s John Hay Library. This manuscript, which is a copy of the second edition of Italian Franciscan priest Basile de Glemona’s (葉宗賢/葉尊教, 1648–1704) famous work *Hanzixiyi* (漢字西譯, Western Translation of Chinese Characters), was transcribed by a man known as Abel Yen and originally in the possession of Benjamin Bowen Carter (1771–1831). Yen was a Chinese Catholic who served as an agent for priests in Canton (Guangzhou) and Macao. In addition, he also provided information to Westerners and taught them the Chinese language. Carter was a native of Providence, Rhode Island, a 1786 Brown graduate and, more importantly, one of the few Americans living in Canton at the beginning of the 19th century to feel the need to learn Chinese. He studied Chinese under Yen’s instruction, and *Dictionarium Sinicum* was one of the textbooks they used. Carter’s remarks on the manuscript provide important information on its transcription, as well as his own explanations of Chinese characters and pronunciation.

Based on a detailed investigation of *Dictionarium Sinicum* and other first-hand archival documents, this paper re-sharpens our image of Carter as an American pioneer in Chinese studies, re-evaluates Yen's roles as advisor, teacher and translator to Westerners, and explores the significance of this important manuscript in the history of China-West cultural relations.

5) Ben Whaley, The University of Calgary

Phantoms of War and Traumatic Memory in Metal Gear Solid V

This paper investigates how video games can simulate post-traumatic stress and wartime atrocities from Japan's fifteen-year war through a case study of the 2015 stealth action game *Metal Gear Solid V: The Phantom Pain* (*MGSV*; Kojima Productions and Konami). While some scholars contend that military-themed video games present war as "cleaned up, void of horrific consequences, civilian casualties, and psychic devastation" (Huntemann, 2010), this paper argues that recruiting and caring for virtual soldiers in *MGSV* fosters a form of player empathy that might help one better identify with those serving on the battlefield. Moreover, a game-ending mission where players must execute many of these same soldiers they recruited and cared for over the campaign promotes a greater degree of culpability in the game's wartime atrocities and therefore strengthens the impact of the antiwar narrative. I begin by reading the game's complex narrative as an attempt by antiwar designer Hideo Kojima to undermine what Naoki Sakai identifies as the postwar foundational narrative between Japan and the United States. This analysis leads me to a discussion of the main gameplay features of *MGSV* and how the series deploys what I term "external engagement" to encourage a merging of the player's lived experience with the actions of the in-game protagonist. Finally, I examine how players work through phantom limb pain and post-traumatic stress in several interesting gameplay scenarios, illustrating how these moments provide a more personalized appreciation of war trauma and recovery owing to the players' moral involvement in the in-game events.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSIONS II: 3:30 P.M. – 5:30 P.M.

Session 15: Room 5121

Contemporary Japanese Foreign Policy

Organizer/Chair: Robert D. Eldridge, International Policy Studies

NOTE: This is a panel that the organizer kindly put together from four individual papers. It thus lacks a panel abstract.

1) David Adebahr, Kyoto University

Introducing a New Strategic Approach by Orienting “South”? Testing Strategic Elements in Japan’s Evolving Security Policy for Asia

This paper aims to answer the question whether Japan’s pivot south introduced by the second Abe administration is strategically sustainable and offers a possibility to replace the Fukuda Doctrine in regards to Japan’s evolving security cooperation with countries in Southeast Asia. While Former Prime Minister Fukuda introduced a comprehensive approach to engage with other Asian countries in the sphere of economic and political cooperation and exchange, Abe’s strategic ‘pivot’ towards Southeast Asia, for the first time, contains specific military elements. After introducing the theoretical parameters that mark the notions of “strategy” and “strategy shift,” this paper first lays out the strategic patterns found in Japan’s Security Diamond approach outlined by Prime Minister Abe during his first term in office and explains the shortcomings of this approach. On a second empirical stage this paper will introduce Japan’s new and emerging security alliances with Southeast Asian neighbors, analyzing their new strategic elements in a qualitative approach. This paper will analyze several bilateral security cooperation and compare their evolving (or declining) strategic element due to policy measures introduced by the Abe administration. Thus, the paper helps to estimate the impact of Japan’s new strategic stance on Tokyo’s overall foreign policy within the bilateral cooperation with the U.S. The paper concludes that by carefully embracing Southeast Asia the new evolving strategy is broadening Japan’s strategic scope, limiting fear of abandonment by the U.S. and presents a possibility to replace the Fukuda Doctrine.

2) Maria Malashevskaya, Saint Petersburg University

Mongolia in Japan's Eurasian Policy (1996–2016)

The proposed paper deals with the problem of Japan-Mongolia relations since 1990s that marked a new turn in Japanese strategy of foreign policy toward Mongolia against Eurasian diplomacy adopted by Hashimoto cabinet in 1996–1997. Despite the fact that these two states have forty-year history of official diplomatic relations, the period of real positive Japan-Mongolia cooperation started only in 1996, when two governments set out the goal of building “Comprehensive Partnership.” It is of particular importance to reveal the new diplomatic framework under which this mutual cooperation became possible taking into consideration such factors as regional security and policy towards the third parties, like North Korea (“Building a Strategic Partnership,” 2010). The focus of the paper is the essential features of the twenty-year bilateral economic and strategic cooperation, which determined the role of Mongolia in new Eurasian policy of Japan as the radar point in the center of trans-Eurasian roots of China, Russia and Central Asian states as well as strategic base for the Japan-USA interaction in Eurasia.

3) Edward Boyle, Kyushu University

Tracing “Integral Territory”: Sovereignty, Access and the Body of the Japanese Nation

Over the past five years, the Japanese government has made concerted efforts to attempt to homogenize the notion of territory deployed by Japan in her disputes with Russia, Korea and China. Under the rubric of “integral territory”, what for the majority of the Cold War were understood as competing claims over islands, able to be resolved through bilateral negotiations between the parties, have now been transformed into disputes over vast expanses of maritime territory, the outcomes of which will literally shape Japan in the future. The successful prosecution of such disputes is now presented as being absolutely essential to the maintenance of Japan as a sovereign nation in the twenty-first century. Currently, although Japan proclaims its sovereignty over all three of these island groups as well as their surrounding maritime areas, it is in possession of the Senkaku Islands, while Takeshima and the Northern Territories remain under the authority of South Korea and Russia respectively. Consequently, access to these border areas of the nation for Japan's own citizens is subject to a variety of institutional and practical hurdles. Yet what

does the notion of territorial sovereignty mean in a situation in which the only one of these territories able to be currently accessed from Japan is the Northern Territories? This paper will examine the implications for notions of sovereignty and territory implied by differentiated access to these disputed island spaces bordering the nation.

4) Tatsuro Debroux, Pompeu Fabra University

Japan's Foreign Policy under Abe Administration: A Role Theory Analysis of Japan's Foreign Policy initiatives between 2006–2007 and 2012–2016

In my PhD thesis, role theory is used as theoretical framework. It focuses on national role(s) conceptions, defined as shared, value-driven expectations about the appropriate roles a state should play in the world. The thesis analyzes the constitutive elements of Japan's role conceptions, but also the possible roles competition, role conflicts and inconsistency between role conceptions and role performance between Japan and the main alter-parts (external expectations). There was no major inconsistency between Japan and main foreign countries around Japan for a long time. However, Japan changes its roles over time. In this context, 'value-oriented diplomacy' and 'proactive pacifism' proposed by Prime Abe since 2006 raises issues from a role theory perspective. The Abe Cabinet aims at becoming an important power in the world, cooperating with friendly countries. In such conditions, the question is to investigate if, why and how the role conceptions and perceptions evolved from the end of the Cold War to the Abe administrations. In my thesis, a qualitative content analysis of important foreign policy speeches of Japanese leaders and foreign leaders will be conducted because they reflect not only the constituents but also main role conceptions on foreign policy issues that international society ascribed to a given country. Statements of foreign policy indicating responsibility and duty will be analyzed. My tentative conclusion is that Japanese government became proactive to keep the US presence in East Asian region to keep China and North Korea in check primarily but there are consistency and inconsistency between Japan and key alter-parts.

Session 16: Room 5124**Tiger, Journal, and Film: Negotiating Modernity in Twentieth-Century China****Organizer/Chair: Fei Chen, University of Tokyo**

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed the rapid advancement of imperial expansion in China. Various actors were closely woven into a modernization project that was either initiated by the Chinese or imposed by the foreigners. This panel looks at the resistance, confrontation, negotiation, and integration between modernity and tradition in this process. Fei Chen's research uses student-edited journals to explore the emergence of a "modern" perception of Tibet among Chinese students in Meiji Japan. It is aimed at finding out how Japanese knowledge facilitated a form of nationalism that demanded the territorial unification of China and mobilized the Chinese state to continuously strengthen its control over Tibet. Le Wang's study examines how a mobile propaganda team equipped with various media devices, including films, picture-story shows, and radio broadcasting, undertook the propaganda project in rural Manchuria. It reveals the techniques used by a "modern" empire to control its colonial subjects. Ying-kit Chan's research looks at missionaries' efforts to help rural inhabitants in Fujian Province hunt tigers in the early Republican era. It discusses the ways in which missionaries advanced the Bible with his "modern" gun to compete with local religions.

1) Fei Chen, University of Tokyo***From Empire's Frontier to Sichuan's Treasury: Japanese Knowledge, Japanese Practice and the Tibetan Crisis, 1895—1911***

This study explores an intellectual change underlying a shift in Qing China's Tibet policy in the early twentieth century, one that negated the principle of loose control and led to Sichuan troops' invasion of Tibet. I trace the policy shift back to a change in the perception of Tibet among Chinese officials in Sichuan and Beijing. In their eyes, Tibet was no longer a barren land or an inaccessible fence in traditional narratives, but a treasury and an indispensable part of Sichuan. The new perception renounced the conventional idea that the management of Tibetan affairs was a costly project contributing little to revenue, and encouraged Sichuan and the state to expand their influence into the unexploited land. I

argue that the new view of Tibet was enabled by Japanese intellectuals' studies of Tibet, which were introduced to China through Chinese students in Japan. Through an in-depth examination of the discourse of Tibet in both Japanese and Chinese sources in the early twentieth century, this study aims to shed light on a process in which a new perception of Tibet was produced, disseminated and turned into practices.

2) Ying-kit Chan, Princeton University

The Bible Through the Gun: American Missionaries and Tiger-Hunting in Republican-Era Fujian Province

In the 1860s, the first American Methodist missionaries arrived in China. They based themselves in Fujian and looked to spreading their faith to other parts of China. The 1911 republican overthrow of Qing imperial rule dismantled the cosmological basis of the Chinese civilization. While mired in cultural crisis, political fragmentation, and social disorder, the early Republican period was an “age of openness,” when the Chinese people were receptive to new ways of ordering their mental and physical worlds. Chinese Methodist churches expanded in the urban Fuzhou area in facilities and membership. Yet, Methodist missionaries continued to face resistance to their proselytization in the countryside, where they had to compete with local religious specialists and local deities for attention. One of the missionaries, Harry R. Caldwell, attempted to advance the Bible with his gun in the tiger-infested countryside. By helping rural inhabitants kill the “great, invisible” man-eating tigers, Caldwell empowered his god with his gun, desacralized the tiger, and claimed that only the Christian God could immunize them from animal attacks and “superstitious” beliefs. Native beliefs included the Tiger Marshal (*huye*) cult, whose devotees remained antagonistic to the missionaries' construction of churches, hospitals, and schools in the countryside.

3) Le Wang, University of Tokyo***Film, Picture-story Show and Radio Broadcast: Entertainment and Pacification in Rural Manchukuo***

This study examines the role of mass media in Japanese propaganda in rural Manchukuo. It looks at how a mobile propaganda team equipped with various media devices, including films, picture-story shows, and radio broadcasting undertook the task of pacifying colonial subjects in the rural area, who accounted for more than 90% of Manchukuo's total population. It explores the practical methods employed in propaganda by analyzing the data from multiple archives of internal publications of the Manchukuo government. I am interested in investigating how diverse media with different functions formed a multi-media environment, which triggered an emotional arousal among its recipients for propaganda. The research is aimed at uncovering the specific structure of Japan's multimedia strategy, which allows its configuration to cater to new needs.

Discussant: Chien-Shou Chen, Academia Sinica

Session 17: Room 5223**Language Ideologies on the Move: Scales and Stakes of Linguistic Alterity**

Organizer: Shunsuke Nozawa, University of Tokyo

Chair: P. Kerim Friedman, National Dong Hwa University

This panel contributes to the growing body of literature on “language ideologies” in Asia. By “language ideologies,” we are referring to the beliefs and attitudes people hold about languages, the people who speak those languages, and the communicative practices of those speakers (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). The panel pays particular attention to beliefs and attitudes toward linguistic alterity—minority languages, “foreign” languages, indigenous languages, etc.—and the stakes and “scales” (Carr and Lempert 2016) of their movement across geographical, political, and media spaces. How do new identities, new resources, and new conflicts emerge through the movement of people across political and linguistic boundaries and through the movement of discourses about “othered” languages? How do speakers, scholars, activists, officials, and the public understand political stakes of

language ideologies at different geographical and temporal scales? Papers on the panel each investigate these questions through ethnographic research. Friedman demonstrates how Taiwanese indigenous language revitalization activism indexes competing political stakes as it gets recalibrated at different scales of activity. Yamashita explores multilingual mosque communities in Japan whose language ideologies put into question the dichotomous scaling of ‘minority/majority languages’ presupposed by scholarship and bureaucracy, while putting into motion their continuing project of religious virtue. Liu examines the online communication of trilingual Wa migrant workers in China and their complex self-positioning vis-à-vis the monolingual Chinese language ideology. And Occhi analyzes the characterization of linguistic alterity in promotional media products for southern Kyushu municipalities, revealing differing images of how language should animate regional identity.

1) P. Kerim Friedman, National Dong Hwa University

Learning How Not to See Language Like a State

This paper looks at how language ideologies (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994) and pedagogical practices are transformed by the movement of discourses about language education between various communities of practice (Wenger 1998) engaged in efforts to revitalize Taiwan's endangered languages. Based on ongoing ethnographic fieldwork with community based language activists seeking to revitalize Taiwan's Pangcah language (one of sixteen officially recognized indigenous languages) and the state agencies that they appeal to in order to get funding for their pedagogical efforts, this paper explores the tensions between a pedagogy based on active engagement in village life and a bureaucracy driven by audit culture. Particular focus will be paid to changes brought on by contact between indigenous language activists in Taiwan and New Zealand. These connections have been facilitated by the rise of an emergent pan-Austronesian indigenous identity, and with it the rise of a new ideology of scale (Carr and Lempert 2016) which challenges the hegemonic understanding of the relationship between indigenous communities and the state. However, while these changes may have empowered language activists to redefine the role of indigenous languages in contemporary Taiwan, they must still deal with parents, students, and government officials who do not necessarily share or understand their beliefs.

This paper seeks to understand how they negotiate these differences while remaining true to their vision of indigenous language revitalization.

2) Rika Yamashita, Kanto Gakuin University

Beyond the Minority/Majority Dichotomy: Language and the Muslim Ummah in Globalizing Japan

Previous studies of minority languages in Japan have discussed indigenous groups and their language revitalization (Heinrich 2012) and flexible ethnolinguistic membership (Maher 1997) often in terms of critical stances towards ideologies of standardization and homogenous nation. Such studies assumed migrants as non-native Japanese speakers, socially disadvantaged, who live a life going back and forth between the Japanese world of work and their ethnolinguistic community outside work. However, recent flow of migrant workers and their work-life do not fit assimilationist views. In public discourse of local authorities and the media, diverse migrants are gaining a positive status as representative of the ‘globalizing Japan.’ As an example of such rupture, this paper ethnographically explores language ideologies of the members of a Muslim community in Japan, an ethnolinguistically diverse religious community. The migrant Muslims identify themselves with English and Japanese, differently from the public ideologies or the ethnolinguistic identity view that previous scholars took for granted. Referring to the ideology of panethnicity in Islamic scriptures, the migrant mosque members do not have ethnolinguistic conflict with the Japanese language. Rather, the leaders name Japanese an asset in promoting Islam, one of the important aims of the community. Meanwhile, English is considered more important than the mother tongue or national language. Migrant Muslims consider ‘the Japanese people’s inability to speak English’ as somewhat backward in the age of globalization. Such view is possible due to the imagined community of the global *ummah* (religious community), in the time when “Islam is negatively portrayed by the West.”

3) Tzu-kai Liu, Academia Sinica***(Re)configuring Language Ideologies Online and Offline: Wa Migrant Workers' Multilingual Identities on the Move***

This paper examines the identity politics of the trilingual Wa migrant workers (aged 18-35) who make use of smartphones and social media (QQ) to connect and communicate their views of ethnic identities in everyday interactions and mobile communications when they migrate to work in the multilingual manufacturing districts in southeast China. The dominant monoglot language ideology of Mandarin Chinese, which devalues their nonstandard regional Chinese and their Wa language, is a constant ethos that characterizes their experiences of cross-cultural communications. The language ideologies of their native language and accented Chinese often index their regional origins, reproducing hierarchically defined “scale” and “space” (Dong and Blommaert) including standard/non-standard and urban/rural. Using or switching among three different languages, online or offline, I argue, is not simply an act of code-switching. Rather, it is a scaling act for reconfiguring the dominant Chinese language ideology and for voicing their polyphonous identities (Barrett; Bakhtin) which are linked together sequentially by these Wa speakers into a complex chain of social relations. They constantly present different aspects of identities through choices of language use according to their audience and the affordance of multimodal communicative channels in mobile texting and voice chats. They often create unique linguistic expressions or phonetic change to express their ethnic identities by typing the sounds of regional Chinese dialect and Wa into standard Chinese words. In this way, non-standard or phonetic changes can resemble locally defined ethnic expressions and offer the meaningful resources for them to express their regional identities when on the move.

4) Debra Occhi, Miyazaki International College

Othering, Success, and Failure in the Representation of Rural Identities: Two Local Promotion Videos in Kyushu, Japan

Within the video mediascape we find increasing numbers of Japanese local promotion videos that seek to forefront particularities of their areas. This paper takes up the issues of language and image in promotional video representations of Kobayashi and Shibushi, two locations 70 kilometers apart in southern Kyushu, Japan. Both locales used national advertising agencies to produce promotional videos in 2016 that used human representations of local particularities. One, using a Frenchman to voice local dialect, has been successful; the use of ‘role language’ (*yakuwarigo*) was found to be amusing. However, the other, which used a Japanese man speaking so-called standard language and featured a Japanese girl to represent local eel farming, was deemed offensive and removed from YouTube in a week. This paper examines the videos and associated materials, interview data with responsible parties, and some reactions by the Japanese public to assess what aspects of characterization (Nozawa 2013) and *yakuwarigo* led to the varying success of these stories.

Discussant: Shunsuke Nozawa, University of Tokyo

Session 18: Room 5224

Race under Occupation Conditions

Chair: Paul Christensen, Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology

NOTE: This is a panel that the organizer kindly put together from four individual papers. It thus lacks a panel abstract.

1) W. Puck Brecher, Washington State University

Neither Friend nor Foe: Being Multiracial in Wartime Japan

If, as eminent historian John Dower attests, the Pacific War was a race war characterized by pathological racial hatred between “yellows” and “whites,” how did it affect individuals of both races? As one of the most racially charged events of the twentieth century, this conflict presented half-Japanese Westerners and half-Caucasian

Japanese with distinctive challenges. By mutual agreement and design, most Westerners residing in Japan lived in settlements insulated from Japanese society. Interactions between the two races were generally respectful and amicable, but for both sides interracial unions remained a point of consternation. In this society where each race had its prescribed place, mixed-race children faced public enmity and few systemic accommodations. As such, they were compelled to navigate between the structures and ideologies that insulated Caucasians from Japanese. How did they do so? How was racial exclusion practiced by Japanese and Western communities, and what sorts of hardships did it engender? In addition to answering these questions, this paper considers race relations, nationality, and wartime experience to explore the ethnic identities of mixed-race individuals living in Japan during the war. To do so it begins by considering the hardships they confronted (racial scientific claims of biological inferiority, discrimination, identity crisis, alienation, hostility) as well as the mechanisms they used (wealth or status, bilingual and bicultural skills, masking physical features) to navigate wartime race relations. It then uses a diverse set of case studies to explore how members of this contingent were variously exploited as spies or interpreters, illegally imprisoned, conscripted into the military, or given deferential state protection. The paper includes discussion of German, U.S, and Japanese citizens, enabling it to connect individual treatment to legal status (nationality).

2) Ai Baba, Cornell University,

Who's Afraid of Being Called a Racist? On Fear and Intermarriage in the Japanese Empire

In the twentieth century, the Western empires increasingly condemned intermarriage between the white, colonizing and the non-white colonized peoples, because it was seen as a threat to colonial social order, national identity formation, and/or racial purity of the oppressors. One may expect Japan to take a similar action and oppose miscegenation, as it had copied other aspects of the major Western powers in its development as an empire, but the Japanese government allowed intermarriage between Japanese and non-Japanese from its colonies. However, just because intermarriage was permitted, this should not lead to a conclusion that Japan was less racist toward the colonized peoples than its Western counterparts. Then how can the sanctioning of intermarriage in the Japanese Empire be

interpreted? While existing studies on intermarriage in the Japanese Empire have focused on assimilation as the major motive in the colonies (Korea and Taiwan), this paper examines the role of fear to analyze Japan's decision to allow intermarriage between Japanese and Koreans, and Japanese and Taiwanese in the metropole (*naichi*). By taking into consideration the discourse on race mixing in Japan and historical contexts within and without the Japanese Empire, I argue that Japan had fears similar to the Western empires, but a greater concern of being called a racist. This paper also questions the trope of the Japanese Empire as an anomaly, then makes a case for including Japan in the larger studies of empires.

3) Chia-ning Chang, University of California, Davis,

Representations of the Asian Others: War and Resistance in Modern Japanese Cinema

This paper analyses an array of Japanese cinematic representations of its Asian neighbors and their countrymen during the course of the Fifteen-year War, from Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931 through its expansion of the continental war theatre into China proper after 1937, until the end of the war in 1945. With due attention to the interacting dynamics of contemporary cinematic imagination, ingrained political proclivities, cultural prejudices, and onscreen artistic manipulation, the paper examines the complex manners with which victims of Japanese aggression were variously imagined, understood, and packaged in wartime and postwar Japanese war films. To contextualize such varied presentations over time, my paper focuses on an extraordinarily popular and representative "national policy" film (*kokusaku eiga*) called *China Nights* (*Shina no yoru*, 1939, with Yamaguchi Yoshiko and Hasegawa Kazuo in the leading roles), and seminal postwar war epics produced by such prominent masters as Kobayashi Masaki and Yamamoto Satsuo, including their major signature works *The Human Condition* (*Ningen no jōken*, 1959–1961) and *Men and War* (*Sensō to ningen*, 1970–1973), respectively. Among the Asian others represented in these important works were divergent as well as resonant articulations of the passions and national sentiments of the colonized peoples of Asia under the yoke of Japanese domination—Chinese from its overrun northeastern provinces as well as those from south of the Great Wall, Korean resistance fighters, a Korean communist in a brutal Japanese prison, Chinese "horse bandits" and guerilla

fighters, along with an accompanying cast of self-aggrandizing Japanese war merchants, continental adventurers, political assassins, military leaders, and, last but not least, Japan's beleaguered liberals.

4) Jonathan Glade, Michigan State University

“Fraternization: Censorship and Expression in US-Occupied Japan and Southern Korea”

The post-World War II US Military Occupation of Japan (1945–1952) and southern Korea (1945–1948) is almost always treated as two separate occupations. Although the actual implementation of occupation policy in Japan and southern Korea differed significantly, the former imperial power (Japan) and former (colony) Korea were still intricately connected as parts of broader occupation administration. One such connection can be found in the way occupation authorities in both areas strongly discouraged “fraternization” between male occupation troops and local women. In Japan, discussions of fraternization—explicit portrayals of relations between occupation troops and Japanese women as well as allusions to such relations—were prohibited under the system of censorship implemented by the US Military Occupation. Though these types of expression were not forbidden by occupation policy in southern Korea, they were certainly taboo. Ironically, this suppression of expression not only silenced critiques of the US Military Occupation, but also limited the ability to conduct thorough assessments of Japan's imperial past, resulting in the construction of a discursive boundary that continued to impact cultural production in South Korea and Japan long after the occupation's end.

Discussant: Paul Christensen, Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology

Session 19: Room 5322**British Diplomats in *Bakumatsu* and Early Meiji Japan****Organizer and Chair: Ian Ruxton, Kyushu Institute of Technology**

A discussion of the three British diplomats (Alcock, Parkes and Satow) together is rarely attempted, which enhances the value of this panel. In the *Bakumatsu* period particularly, Anglo-French rivalry was critical, since the American Civil War prevented the United States from playing a major role, and German unification only occurred in 1871. How did these three diplomats interact, and what was their combined effect on Japan at this critical point in the country's history?

1) Mayuko Sano, International Research Center for Japanese Studies***Rutherford Alcock, a Promoter of Tokugawa Japan***

It is known that Rutherford Alcock, the First British Minister to Japan, arranged Japan's participation in the International Exhibition in London in 1862, and that a large part of the Japanese exhibition there—the first of its kind in history—was composed of Alcock's collection. However, it is not widely known that he served as Japanese Commissioner at this International Exhibition. In what way did this come to happen? And what did it mean in his career as a diplomat?—This paper will address these questions, aiming to reach a broader understanding of the nature of Alcock's Japan diplomacy, some years before the Meiji Restoration. The role that Alcock played for Japan in the 1862 London Exhibition has to be explained in connection with a series of his experiences, in particular those in 1861, including on the one hand the Tozen-ji Affair, in which he could have been assassinated, and on the other hand his efforts to realise Japan's first diplomatic mission to Europe. His attitudes and thoughts will be examined using his letters, official reports, as well as his later writings.

2) Robert Morton, Chuo University***Friend or foe? Sir Harry Parkes, Japan and the Meiji Restoration***

Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister to Japan from 1865 to 1883, had a towering reputation in Britain and among Europeans in east Asia. He was seen as the model of the

firm but far-sighted diplomat, dealing toughly with local governments, yet also promoting enlightened reforms. His reputation among the Japanese was much more mixed. To some, he was an arrogant, ill-tempered martinet, who was only interested in what would benefit his own country. However, the Japanese government certainly saw him as someone who had assisted the Imperial side in the Meiji Restoration and for this alone was viewed as worthy of admiration. Using material gathered at the British National Archives, as well as letters sent to colleagues and friends, this paper will examine how justified these views of Parkes were. What were his real feelings about the Meiji Restoration and is it possible to perceive an overarching strategy amidst the many day-to-day decisions he had to make? What were the expectations of the British Foreign Office? What were his relationships with his Japanese counterparts like and what, ultimately, did he feel about Japan?

3) Ian Ruxton, Kyushu Institute of Technology

Ernest Satow's Role as a Catalyst in the Meiji Restoration

This paper will examine and introduce Satow's undiplomatic activity in writing three anonymous articles for the *Japan Times* of 1866 urging reform of the national polity, which were later translated and widely circulated in Japan. They were assumed by many Japanese to represent British policy, as is shown by the fact that they were given the title "Eikoku Sakuron" (英国策論), though Britain was officially neutral. It is also proposed to investigate briefly Satow's reasons for writing the articles, his relationship with Alcock and Parkes, under both of whom he worked in the 1860s, and to ask whether Parkes turned a blind eye to Satow's subversive journalism which the latter admitted much later in his *A Diplomat in Japan* (1921), was "altogether contrary to the rules of the Service," and if so why he may have done so.

Discussant: Sven Saaler, Sophia University

Session 20: Room 5323**Idol Apocalypse: Media Environments and the Body in Contemporary Japan****Organizer/Chair: Andrew Campana, Harvard University**

Two female idols who began a gendered division in pop fanbases that continues on to this day; another idol who used her pop stardom as a vehicle for poetry about the transforming and mutating female body; two manga series in which women's bodies and sexuality threaten the world's existence; a photographic project that uses social media to take on questions of contamination in a post-Fukushima era. To consider media environments is to look at media in its broadest, most ubiquitous form: as a dense network of visual, sonic, textual and tactile platforms and articulations which we engage with, move between and think through each day. The body is always central to this engagement—how it experiences, is portrayed in, and communicates through media. In this panel, we focus on the context of contemporary Japan, and key moments of transition in the role bodies play in relation to these media environments from the 1980s to the present. We focus in particular on women's bodies as expressed through media on the one hand, and on bodies under threat in disastrous or apocalyptic environments on the other. In both of these threads, and the entanglements of the two, we pinpoint instances where bodies actively shape and are shaped by media environments around and within them, expanding the boundaries of each.

1) Kukhee Choo, Sophia University***Female idols at a crossroad: 1980s Matsuda Seiko and Nakamori Akina***

The Japanese idol culture that emerged during the 1970s was concretized during the following decade, often referred to as the “golden era of idols.” After the popular female singer Yamaguchi Momoe retired in 1980, her void was filled by Matsuda Seiko, a singer famous for her *burikko* persona. Matsuda also epitomized and helped shape the female idol culture that followed; restrained dance movements, high-pitched voice, and “cute” demeanor. Matsuda Seiko's legacy continues on in contemporary Japanese popular media especially owing to majority of her fans being men. What is often forgotten in the discourse of Japanese female idol culture during the 1980s is that of Matsuda's counterpart

Nakamori Akina, famous for her husky voice and unique and rebellious style. Both female idols topped the charts during the 1980s as well as appeared as regulars on TV music programs and the *NHK Kohaku Utagassen* events, the end of the year singing competition between male and female entertainers. Unlike Matsuda, Nakamori Akina's fans were mostly young women who felt like their voices were marginalized by mainstream society. Nakamori Akina's surprise appearance on the 2015 *NHK Kohaku Utagassen* after decades of absence, demonstrates to the legacy that Nakamori established during her prime years. The gender-divided consumption of these two female stars during 1980s Japan marked the beginning of a bifurcated female idolhood that continues on in contemporary Japanese media. My paper will examine how the rise and fall of Matsuda Seiko and Nakamori Akina heavily influenced the Japanese media environment for decades to come.

2) Andrew Campana, Harvard University

As a Piece of Flesh: Togawa Jun's Alternative Pop Stardom and Cross-Media Poetics

Togawa Jun quickly ascended to fame in the 1980s in Japan as an alternative idol, actress, and fashion icon; a lesser known fact is that she was also a poet, and many of her poems became the basis of her later songs. Wearing dragonfly wings, lobster costumes, cyborg arms and military outfits, she performed avant-garde pop music with dense and difficult lyrics that regularly focused on women's bodies, sexuality, the posthuman, menstruation, and violence. In this paper, I consider Togawa's broader body of work centered around her poetry, with an approach informed by feminist media theory and disability studies. Within the media ecology surrounding pop stars in the 1980s—where singers formed the center of a constellation of records, music videos, television and magazine appearances, photo books, and more—she developed a kind of cross-media poetics, in which her verse and body were inextricably linked in video, audio, and on the page. By expanding what is conventionally considered poetic practice to include Togawa's work across disciplines, we are vividly confronted with a kind of literariness deliberately conveyed by and through an embattled and mutating woman's body, embedded within and pushing the boundaries of the media environment of the time.

3) Caitlin Casiello, Yale University

Transgressing Human: Monstrosity, Gender and Erotic Encounters in Helter Skelter and Urotsukidōji

Drawing on feminist theorizations of monstrosity by Rosi Braidotti and Elizabeth Grosz, I examine the intersection of bodies, monsters, and the erotic in two manga series, Okazaki Kyoko's *Helter Skelter* and Maeda Toshio's *Urotsukidōji*. Though the works emerge from highly different artistic, generic, and production contexts, both struggle with the question of human encounters with the monstrous etched on women's bodies and through the flexibility of manga as a medium. In both texts, reproduction emerges as an unquenchable fixation, a lingering threat, even a catalyst for apocalyptic change, which is tied inextricably to the potential for the female body to transform itself into something beyond a single human subjectivity. Okazaki's critical engagement with media presentations of feminine beauty ideals uses medical transformation to carve a path for women to something beyond beauty or ugliness, beyond sexual reproduction, and, perhaps, beyond human. The potential for the woman-become-monster represented by Okazaki stands in contrast to Maeda's fetishization of sexual encounters and violence between monsters and the idealized feminine figure, where her ultimate transformation comes only through impregnation by the male hero; her pregnancy, however, triggers the prophesied destruction of the world, breaking the playful eroticism of the series with the threat of the true potential of sexuality.

4) Franz Prichard, Princeton University

Embodying Evidence: Re-mediation, Decontamination, and the Expanded Ecologies of Disaster

This essay will explore the media/ecological dimensions of the ongoing Fukushima Dai'ichi reactor meltdown disaster from the perspective of Akagi Shuji's photography. Mobilizing twitter to record the uncanny traces of Fukushima-city's decontamination and recovery efforts, Akagi's photography affords a renewed consideration of the expanded ecologies of disaster. Akagi's work troubles the ideologies of recovery that ring hollow before the unprecedented realities of the ongoing disaster by recording the residual vestiges of the state's decontamination process. His tweets constitute an archive of bodily

encounters with the visible and invisible remnants of disaster, disclosing a profound crisis at the heart of the state's increasingly desperate attempts to manage the accumulating contaminants, such as the Sisyphean efforts of the subcontracted day laborers who decontaminate the city's surfaces and resultant "temporary storage facilities" that proliferate across the landscape. I will explore how Akagi's "traces" are re-mediated through the specific channels of the twitter platform—attending to how such work mobilizes the unique rhythms and affective pathways of the post-disaster twitter-sphere in Japan—and consider the ways this work presents a new modality of self-reflexive documentary media. Moreover, I will map the ways that Akagi's work forces us to reconsider the established vocabularies of environmental disaster through the expanded ecologies and residual materialities of nuclear waste. Along the way, this paper will situate Akagi's work among other aesthetic interventions that similarly seek to grasp the geopolitical dimensions of ecological disaster based on critical forms of exchange among bodies and media environments.

Discussant: Anne McKnight, Shirayuri College

Session 21: Room 5210

Individual Papers V: Issues on Religions Across Asia

Chair: Alex Vesey, Meiji Gakuin University

1) 1) Jeongeun Park, University of British Columbia

An Examination of Korean Monks' Household Registers and the Issue of Clerical Marriage in Early Twentieth-Century Korea

When it comes to the issue of clerical marriage during the Japanese colonial period in Korea from 1910 to 1945, Japanese colonial policy that aimed to assimilate Korean Buddhism into Japanese Buddhism has long been thought of as a key factor in the spread of this practice among Korean monks. However, insufficient research on clerical marriage stands in the way of drawing any firm conclusion about its major triggers. One of the main obstacles in the way of a clear understanding of clerical marriage is a narrow-sighted nationalistic view that dichotomizes monks' celibacy and marriage casting it as purity vs.

contamination of the Korean Buddhist tradition. This paper investigates the practice of clerical marriage through an examination of Korean monks' household registers called "hojök." Buddhist clerics' household registers are significant because they provided concrete evidence of Korean Buddhist secularization and the change in the relationship between master and disciple in Korean Buddhist monasteries. This paper considers the ways in which the modern household register system became entangled with the issues of clerical marriage, Japanese colonial rule, and the succession of monks' private property. It does this by examining uninvestigated source materials, such as Korean monks' household registers, their resumes, and unpublished documents of the Office of the Governor-General of Korea. In this paper, I argue that clerical marriage was neither a "Japanization" nor a "deterioration" of pure Korean Buddhist tradition by exploring this practice in the lives of ordinary monks.

2) Rui Oliveira Lopes, Universiti Brunei Darussalam

Mirrors of Devotion. Artistic Appropriation and Cultural Negotiation of Religious Art in Portuguese India and the Mughal Court

During the sixteenth-century the Portuguese established a maritime route between Europe and Asia giving place to an unprecedented cultural, religious, and artistic exchange. As a result, the Catholic Church saw the opportunity to spread Christianity in India. The missionaries had a major role in cultural, religious and artistic exchange, as that they enacted as diplomatic envois to the imperial court of Mughal India as well as they dealt with local communities preaching in the Indian regions controlled by the Portuguese. Facing the lack of understanding on Catholic faith by the local cultures, missionaries used images as a powerful instrument to illustrate the mysteries of Christianity and disseminate spiritual teachings. This paper examines the impact of Christian imagery in the context of the European missions as a result of the western perspective over cultural, religious and artistic values in India, focusing on two contrasting settings: the Portuguese India and the Mughal court, particularly during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. It will focus on the missionary's accounts about Hindu and Buddhist imagery and their similarity with Christian iconography; how the missionaries took advantage of a considerable knowledge on the local cultural background, the religious practices and the ground rules of

Hinduism, Jain, and Buddhism, to replace, imitate or dissimulate local iconography introducing or ‘translating’ Christian symbols and narratives. Finally, I will evaluate the different levels of cultural and artistic permeability to Christian art accordingly with the political power establishing a comparison between Mughal India and Portuguese India.

3) Nahoko Fukushima, Tokyo University of Agriculture

Comic and Enlightening: Kyōgen Plays as a Genealogy of Buddhist Humorous Language

In this paper, I would like to reiterate one aspect of Kyōgen plays that allows us to understand them as in part a spinoff of Buddhist Humorous Sermons. To do so, I will focus on a Kyōgen piece, *Shūron* (宗論 Religious Controversy), and other performances depicting Buddhist monks, and inspect what we, the audience, eventually apprehend from the play by the examination of the way the monks are portrayed. Since Kyōgen has been performed as an interlude in between Nō plays, the peculiarity of Kyōgen has been considered to present simple, naïve and ludicrous human beings, as opposed to the manifestations of the sublime and the process of obtaining enlightenment that occupy protagonists in Nō dramas. Within this framework, the monks in Kyōgen plays only emphasize their stupidity to cause chuckles and giggles. However, on closer observation, we realize that these Kyōgen plays also make the audience experience an alternate aspect of that same enlightenment which is hidden under the comical language and actions. This process, that is to say, comical at first and enlightened later, also reveals one of the essential teachings of Buddhism, the idea of Upaya, which means skillful means of pedagogy as the path to liberation. This teaching can be considered precisely as a method of resolving ecumenical disputes.

4) David Henry, University of Alaska

Nakazato Kaizan and Ishii Tsuruzo: Text vs. Image in Daibosatsu toge (Great Bodhisattava Pass)

Newspaper serialization in Japan was a primary form of publication for modern Japanese literature in which novels would appear several times a week in newspapers and, if popularity warranted, would then later be republished in a single volume. Nakazato

Kaizan's (1885–1944) *Daibosatsu toge* (1913–1944, Great Bodhisattva Pass), serialized across multiple newspapers for over thirty years, is not only the longest running major work of fiction in Japan it is also a unique test case that calls into question the normal teleologies of moving from part into a single comprehensible whole. Kaizan's sword-wielding anti-hero, Ryunosuke Tsukue, traveled the country moving from one cliff-hanger to another even as the narrative itself found its ending only with the death of its author. From the 1930s, *Daibosatsu toge* was adapted for live theater versions and numerous film versions. For this paper, I will consider in particular the struggle between Nakazato and Ishii Tsuruzo, one of the most famous early illustrators for the series. In 1934, Ishii published a collection of his illustrations for the series (with no accompanying text), prompting Nakazato to sue for copyright infringement in a legal battle that lasted for a decade and involved both judges and literary critics in a pitched struggle to define the relationship between image and text in serialized fiction.

5) Jonathan Stockdale, University of Puget Sound

Re-reading Japanese Whale Memorials (kujira-zuka): the Historical and Religious Context

Can one really—as a recent series of books proclaims—see into the Japanese spirit by looking at Japanese whale memorials (*kujira-zuka*)? It's easy to get the impression (from both sides of the Pacific) that the practice of whaling is exactly that which sets Japan most apart from the U.S. A brief glance below the surface, however, reveals a different story. First, there are the deep cultural histories in both Japan and the U.S. related to whaling, which in both cases are reflected in literary and artistic works. Second, there is the more literal connection established in 1853 when the U.S. sought to open Japanese ports for provisioning of U.S. commercial whaling interests. Both examples (the cultural-historical and the political-economic) point to the need for a more nuanced and historically contextualized discussion regarding whaling. As one step toward providing such context, my research focuses on the spiritualization of whales in Japanese cultural history. For this presentation I analyze the distribution of whale memorial markers across the Japanese archipelago over the past 300 years, as well as the theories of the late scholar Nakamura Ikuo regarding the influence of the Suwa cult on the formation of such memorials.

SUNDAY MORNING SESSIONS: 10:00 A.M. – 12:00 P.M.**Session 22: Room X202****Configuring the People: Semiotics and Subjectivity in Modern Japan****Organizer/Chair: John Branstetter, University of California, Los Angeles**

Japanese intellectuals and writers have redrawn the figure of “the people” many times in modern history. These articulations have authorized both constitutionalism and democracy in one time as well as colonialism and war in another. Although many believe “the people” are universal political phenomenon, we show that “the people” emerged as a figure in history in part as a result of certain poetic or semiotic representations of community. In Japan, people like the participants in the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement, writers of the prewar years, and students of the 1960s have variously altered the horizons of historical possibility through their different portrayals of political community. This panel seeks to explore some of these figurations in a diachronic way. Each paper deals with different moment of semiotic configuration, and considers its political and historical significance. John Branstetter analyzes the role of the discussion associations of the 1870s and 1880s in knitting together a Japanese “people.” Wakako Suzuki demonstrates how intellectuals and writers described the ambivalent position of children as the figure of “the people” by looking at both children’s magazines and Yanagita Kunio’s ethnography in early twentieth century Japan. Christophe Thorny will discuss Kon Wajirō’s cartography of Tokyo in the aftermath of the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake, where new collective dwelling experiences provided foundations for new kinds of political life. Finally, Chelsea Szendi Schieder discusses the ways women were figured in debates about the meaning of individuality, citizenship, and “the people” in the media of the postwar period.

1) John Branstetter, University of California, Los Angeles

Debating the People: Individuality, Knowledge, and Politics in Meiji Japan

Many existing accounts of the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement focus either on the role of elite figures in spreading liberal ideas from the top-down, or the figure of an eternal, organic “people” rising from the bottom up. I challenge both of these narratives by arguing instead that the idea of “the people” was in fact a dialogical phenomenon which grew out of the practices of the many speechmaking and debating associations of the late 19th century. These societies, which brought urban intellectuals into conversation with rural framers, contributed to the construction of a discourse of “the people” quite opposed to existing figurations which characterized them as mute subjects. More important than what was said in the associations, however, were the formal procedures which governed their interactions. I show that the societies were based on three implicit philosophical assumptions which disciplined those participating in them in new ways. First, the societies subjectivized people as individuals by valorizing their interior thoughts. Second, their procedures implied an empiricist epistemology where knowledge had to be tested in the crucible of debate. Third, the associational model connected this new subjectivity and model of knowledge explicitly with political institutions. These assumptions spread and were internalized through participation in the *enzetsukai*, and allowed the participants to see themselves as individual citizens capable of making valid statements about politics, therefore constituting a constituent power.

2) Wakako Suzuki University of California, Los Angeles

Children as Imaginary Citizens: Politics of Childhood in early 20th-century Japan

This paper analyzes the ambivalent role of children as the figure of “the people” in both endorsing and subverting the political discourses of “little citizens” in early twentieth century Japan. Children were often depicted as immature citizens—passive, innocent, and vulnerable subjects in need of protection. Yet, they also embodied the hopes of the state, the core of democracy, and the driving force of economic growth. Despite the print media’s celebration of children’s citizenship,” the rights bestowed upon children were inconsistent, as was the expectation of their actions as citizens with political identity. Early children’s magazines, such as “*Shōnen sekai* (The Youth’s World, 1895–1914),” created a

sense of national belonging by bringing individual readers together through stories related to political history. By claiming the centrality of marginal figures, in this case children, these magazines frequently appropriated the notion of “the people” by weaving the discourse of childhood into national narratives. For this part, folklorist Yanagita Kunino obscured the boundaries between adults and children, suspending a clear definition of “the people” in his early work. By examining both Yanagita’s work on children and the discourse of “little citizens,” this paper demonstrates how the cultural imagination of childhood and children reflected the negotiation of the boundaries of reality and fiction—the very formation of imaginary citizens—in an age characterized by a growing print industry.

3) Christophe Thouny, University of Tokyo

Mobile Places, Urban Masses: Dwelling Experience in Kon Wajirō’s Urban Topologies of Taishō Tokyo

Urban modernity in Japan has been historically articulated as an experience of radical disorientation and at the same time as part of a global movement of urbanization. Evanescence might be the term that best captures this experience, and the urban architect and ethnographer Kon Wajirō precisely attempted to give shape to this everyday experience of evanescence, to a present that keeps receding from sight. And rather than articulating his work in terms of a nostalgic desire for a vanishing place of belonging, Kon instead tried to figure how urban movement, of goods, people and things, crystalized in specific configurations of place, allowing for an imagination of urban dwelling in tune with an ongoing planetary movement of people. Kon however is not concerned with the political potential of “the people,” and while this raises complicated questions as to the political valence of his work in its embrace of an anonymous everyday spectacle of speed, his urban ethnography allows us to examine the relation between urban masses and urban places in terms of rhythmic movements, dwelling experiences, and a post-disaster temporality. In this presentation, I will discuss how Kon Wajirō’s cartography of Tokyo establishes a typology of urban places in the aftermath of the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake where place, population and environment give shape to collective dwelling experiences, which might be where starts a political life.

4) Chelsea Szendi Schieder, Meiji University***Do Coeds Ruin the Nation?: The Female Student at the Limits of Postwar Citizenship***

In this paper, I consider debates on the role of the female student—a middle-class identity in an increasingly self-identified middle-class society—that circulated in the mass media of the late 1950s and early 1960s. In some contexts, such as the mass demonstrations against the US-Japan Security Treaty, female students became idealized as a new hope for postwar democracy. However, female students also became the symbol for a host of anxieties about massification and democratization in higher education in the early 1960s in a widely publicized “Theory of Coeds Ruining the Nation” outlined by a Waseda University professor. I examine the terms of these debates, through which public intellectuals struggled to define the ideal Japanese democratic subject that was supposed to supersede the imperial subject. What can the history of integrating women into higher education in postwar Japan tell us about the challenges posed by the promise of radical democracy and the demands of a rapidly changing industrial society? What might that mean for conceptualizing the tensions between a universal versus a particular image of the democratic subject?

Discussant: Tsuboi Hideto, International Research Center for Japanese Studies

Session 23: Room X203

Tokyo 2020: Framing a Mega-event

Organizer: Barry Natusch, Nihon University

Chair: Beryl Hawkins, Temple University Japan

This panel is focused on the concept of framing the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, in media stories, in documentary films and how the organizing committee frames Tokyo as a venue. The first paper considers how two news media stories are framed in reporting on the Tokyo Olympic bid for an international readership. It is argued that these stories will be framed differently according to the location of the media reporting the stories. Controversies emerging since Tokyo won the bid and the disputes surrounding the proposed Tokyo

stadium are the focus. The inquiry looks at what political, economic and cultural consequences there are in media framing. The second paper considers the role of documentary film creating a cultural legacy for hosting Olympic games by comparing the films of Berlin 1936, Tokyo 1964, and Munich 1972 in terms of framing their narratives, visuals and release. Ichikawa Kon's Tokyo Olympiad (1964) is subjected to a microanalysis case study in framing. Much has changed since that film was made, particularly in the way films are made, who is involved, where sponsorship comes from; there is speculation on how a documentary of the Tokyo Olympics 2020 might leave a legacy with the impact of Ichikawa's film. The third paper considers what impact the Tokyo organizing committee's core concepts might have on defining the character of the games themselves and how the event could be an opportunity to nudge changes in Japanese cultural identity, behavior and political process. Models describing nation branding are used to relate the core concepts with cultural identity.

1) Beryl Hawkins, Temple University Japan

News Framing Analysis: Tokyo 2020's Olympic Bid and the Zaha Hadid Olympic Stadium Controversy

For Olympic host nations, a global event of this magnitude could increase political visibility, expanding exponentially as the country gains international stature during the pre-Olympic, Olympic and post-Olympic periods (MacAloon, 1984). Along with political visibility, powerful media images dominate news coverage, and the upcoming Tokyo 2020 Olympics is a prime example. This emerging scenario underscores the need to examine the dynamics that occur between media and society in hosting an Olympic event. News framing is an appropriate theoretical concept to help understand these dynamics between media and society, by examining (1) the power of the text and (2) the competing newsmakers who dominate the stories (Entman 1993). As a precursor to the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, this news media study was conducted to provide insight into Japan's current pre-Olympic national image and foreshadowing the upcoming challenges and potential outcomes for Tokyo, by examining two news stories; the Tokyo Olympic bid and the Zaha Hadid stadium design controversy. The research question for this inquiry is: What are the dominant news frames and could they have any political, economic or cultural implications

for Tokyo as it prepares itself to be the next Olympic host city. Qualitative and quantitative content analysis was the methodology approach in this study, based on a corpus of English language news stories from Japanese, British and U.S. news agencies, with the aim of identifying dominant news frames, the frequency of news frames (e.g., effectiveness of economic resources or Zaha design criticism), and disparities among the tri-country news coverage.

2) Barry Natusch, Nihon University

In Ichikawa's Footsteps: Framing a 2020 Tokyo Olympic Documentary

Post-Olympics, the memory of such a mega-event can live on in documentary films of the event for example, films of Berlin 1936, Tokyo 1964, Munich 1972. Such films combine elements of Nichols' poetic and expository modes but beyond Nichols' taxonomy, the issue of framing is also paramount in deconstructing an Olympic documentary. Filmmakers face dilemmas, for example, choosing between depicting events within a national frame or an international frame. There are also stakeholder issues such as national and international politics, nation branding, commercial sponsorship, and issues of discrimination. Two classic Olympic documentaries, *Olympia* by Leni Riefenstahl (1936) and *Tokyo Olympiad* (1964) by Kon Ichikawa are analyzed in terms of framing their narratives, visuals and release. Issues affecting both production and direction are discussed. Both films employed cutting edge filmmaking technologies of their time, highlighting the competitive identities of each country. Controversies such as states commissioning filmmakers who are sympathetic to their agendas, and the funding of productions which promote national agendas over those of various competing nationalities and minorities are addressed leading to a conclusion on how a documentary of Tokyo 2020 Olympics might compare with the Tokyo Olympiad of 1964. Modern filmmaking sponsorship, technologies, and democratization of filmmaking are also discussed in terms of their influence on a legacy documentary.

3) Maria Guajardolucero, Soka University***Three Core Concepts and the Tokyo 2020 Olympics: Shaping a Nation's Image***

Three core concepts have been identified by the Tokyo Organizing Committee as the foundation for the Tokyo Olympics in 2020, with the anticipation of shaping Japan's national image or nation brand. The Tokyo 1964 Games propelled Japan forward onto an international stage and the Tokyo 2020 Games are anticipated to be equally impactful. The vision for the 2020 Games is based on building three core concepts: 1. Striving for your personal best/Achieving Personal Best; 2. Accepting one another/Unity in Diversity; and 3. Passing on Legacy for the future/Connecting to Tomorrow. These three core concepts are inclusive of a cultural approach to nation branding, and aligned with the Cultural Olympiad launched in Tokyo in October, 2016. The Cultural Olympiad is designed to unify communities through the power of culture, art, and innovation. Building on the concept of nation branding how can a mega-event such as the Olympics impact cultural stereotypes, either positively or negatively? Redefining cultural identity driven by a mega-event such as the Olympic Games has been described in several case studies such as Chen (2012). This study highlights efforts towards operationalizing the three core concepts, addressing Japanese cultural behavior, to suggest a cultural identity which could contribute towards Japan's nation brand for the Tokyo 2020 Olympics. Specifically, this paper reviews how the three core concepts for the 2020 Olympic Games provides Japan with an opportunity to shape a cultural narrative relevant to a global audience.

Discussant: Tadahiro Tsuji, Nihon University

Session 24: Room X104**Propaganda as Affective Mediums: Rethinking Propaganda from Imperial to Contemporary Japan**

Organizer: Wan-ting Wang, National Chengchi University

Chair: Pei-chen Wu, National Chengchi University

Propaganda, though often condemned for their deceptive nature, offer a vantage point to examine the affective impacts of the media on the masses. In Japan, propaganda as tactics for agitating collective sentiments and actions, reveals the mechanisms of inclusion

and exclusion in Japan's imperial and nation-state formation. This panel explores Japanese propaganda in two phenomenon of collective agitation: the wartime mobilization during WWII and Japanese animation fever overseas in contemporary era. The former serves for imperial Japan's military ambition and the latter represents postwar Japan's cultural soft power, but both rely on the politics of differentiation, especially differentiation between ethnicity and gender, to establish Japan's status as imperial or nation state. We draw special attention to colonial Taiwan, where the most intense debates between the homogeneity of an imperial body and the heterogeneity of diverse ethnicities took place in Japanese Empire. In the overwhelming media war in Taiwan during WWII, war propaganda seek to build a mechanized collective body but ambivalently revealing the alienated individual bodies. Chang focuses on the poetry promoting volunteer soldiers in colonial Taiwan, discussing their emphasis on musicality and attempts to discipline human body. Wang looks at the ethnic male bodies in propaganda documentaries and Zhou Jinbo's fictions, analyzing the struggle of the colonized under the co-constitution of technological visibility and imperial subjecthood. Lin examines Yang Yunping's fictions of wartime farming production in colonial Taiwan, scrutinizing Yang's negotiation between Taiwan local culture and Japan's Great East Asian imagination. Such imperial imagination soon dissolved after Japan's defeat of WWII in 1945. Being incorporated into the US neoliberal project in the postwar era, Japan finds another battlefield in the global market. Animation became a typical propaganda of the disarmed Japan to promote its cultural influence on the globe. Mezur examines the gendered cute culture in Japanese state and business propaganda, analyzing the cute girl phenomena as a subversive expression of youth culture across Japan and abroad.

1) Wan-ting Wang, National Chengchi University

Internalized Machinery: Ethnic Male Bodies in Propaganda Documentaries and Zhou Jinbo's Literature of Colonial Taiwan during World War II

This paper explores the shaping of the male bodily experience under the system of total war through comparing propaganda documentaries and Zhou Jinbo's wartime fictions in colonial Taiwan. Documentary is a valued instrument and investment for the colonial government of Taiwan to educate the colonized and promote its achievement of

governance. During wartime, the colonial government produced several documentaries calling for young men to join the army, training camps and intense labor services. These films emphasize homogeneous and ritualized body movements, promoting the submission to order. Taiwanese writer Zhou Jinbo, though mobilized to write propaganda fictions, expresses a heterogeneous experience of male bodies in training. His fictions, revealing the failure of the forceful masculinity and the irreducible ethnic differences, fiercely point to the problematics of the wartime policy “imperialization of the subject” (*kōminka*). If the propaganda documentaries represent an external imposition of mechanical surveillance, Zhou’s literature depicts an internalized mechanization and a paranoia resulting from it. Such internalized mechanization, expressed in a tension between the individual body and senses of a machine-like operation of a collective body and an omnipresent eye watching above, reveals that the “imperialization of the subject” in wartime is a mental, embodied, and technologically induced process.

2) Shih-chin Chang, National Chengchi University

Musicality and the Discipline of Body in War Poetry of Colonial Taiwan

War poetry for war mobilization have usually been regarded as a call simply for dedication, but there are some aesthetic considerations in it. Analyzing the aesthetic effects would be helpful in realizing why people would risk their lives to fight for the country, especially colonial people like Taiwanese. While Taiwan was involved in WWII during Japanese colonial period, numerous war poems were published on the mass media. These poems, which created by both Taiwanese and Japanese poets, have been simply considered propaganda and rarely discussed in both Japan and Taiwan. These war poems, however, are crucial texts in colonial literary history because they reveal the operation of colonial apparatus. This paper focuses on the poems about the volunteer soldiers (*shiganhei*) in colonial Taiwan and explores how these war poems mobilize the colonized through its aesthetic effects. I would like to analyze two aspects of the aesthetic considerations of these war poems. In terms of form, the poets emphasize musicality in order for readers to recite easily. Poets who used to focus on visual representation of poems before also pay more attention to musical elements of poems during wartime. Through reciting and singing these poems, people’s emotions would be linked without difficulty. In terms of content, the

poems about volunteer soldiers focus on the elimination of individual bodies and the reinforcement of a collective body. The poems convey that Taiwanese volunteer soldiers would be not second-class citizens but the real Japanese, and their bodies as a part of the sacred whole would be able to dedicate to the Emperor of Japan. By emphasizing these two aspects, these war poems seek to convince the colonized to fight for Japan during wartime.

3) Pei-Jung Lin, National Chengchi University

Hidden Movements of Cross-Language Intellectuals During World War II: On Yang Yuping's "Railway Poems" (Tetsudō shishō) and "Tribal Diary" (Buraku nikki)

Cross-language intellectuals refers to those born in the 1910s who received Chinese language education as youths in their homes, but were then educated under a new system under Japanese colonial rule, and thus used Japanese to access modern knowledge while simultaneously being able to write in Chinese. The intellectuals of this era witnessed the development of Taiwanese literature from its inception to World War II (1937-1945) and its post-war transformation into a developed, structured field. Their thoughts and works show the trajectory of the changes in Taiwanese literature during this period. This paper will use the work of the founder of the first vernacular magazine *Everyone* (Renren), Yang Yunping, as a subject of analysis, along with his wartime literary activities and published works to examine the hidden thoughts that emerged from cross-language intellectuals in the face of war. The background for this paper is situated in 1941 when Yang Yuping participated in compiling and writing for *Folk Taiwan* (Minzoku Taiwan) —a role he maintained until the end of the war. During the war, he was appointed by the Japanese governor to serve as a battlefield dispatch writer, and he completed his works “Railway Poems” and “Tribal Diary,” the latter of which can be considered the only-long form novel produced by Taiwanese writers during the wartime period. By sorting through Yang Yunping’s wartime writings, this paper seeks to explore literary mobilization under the wartime system, and whether the cross-language intellectuals had corresponding and linkage reactions to the government policy and practical matters as their intellectual context extended to the new regime of postwar Taiwan.

4) Katherine Mezur, University of California, Berkeley/San Francisco Museum of Performance and Design

Cute Girl (Kawaii shôjo) Propaganda: Japanese “Soft Power” and Subversive POP

Cute or *kawaii* characters and their products dominate popular culture in Japan. These products are also at the forefront of the Japanese government's promotion of a “Soft Power” image. In particular the cute girl and the cute animal-like characters are very popular across a wide-range of age groups, from pre-school to adults. While the *kawaii* industry associated with the *shôjo* (girl) culture got its big push in the 1970s with the wave of *shôjo manga* (girl comics), cute girl culture (*kawaii shôjo*) has been part of Japanese literary, visual, design, and fashion cultures since the Heian Period. This period produced the singular work of Murasaki Shikibu and other women whose work reveals the love and care for cute things, animals and landscapes in writing, brushwork, and painted scrolls. In her book, *Pink Globalization*, Christine Yano writes about the surge of Hello Kitty products all over the globe and how the *kawaii* kitten has adapted and assimilated to various cultural conditions. Today this trend of *kawaii* products goes along with the J-POP girl band artists who tour on a circuit of festivals and commercial fairs that promote Japanese products and soft power through these *kawaii shôjo* (cute girl) performances and products. *Kawaii shôjo* has become a market of both virtual and material products, which move across continents, oceans and hemispheres. The *kawaii shôjo* range of sweet, innocent creatures, which may begin in comics, then move to *anime* and on to real and virtual pop music icons have become simultaneously a political tool of state and business propaganda and a subversive expression of youth culture in Japan and abroad. This paper will examine two examples, which support several divergent streams of *kawaii shôjo* propaganda, a girl band and vocaloid performer IA, and a performance group KATHY who perform *kawaii* but perform its “failure.” This presentation demonstrates how *kawaii shôjo* propaganda may have its own subversive influence, though under the radar of the Japanese government.

Discussant: Yukari Yoshihara, University of Tsukuba

Session 25: Room X105**The Aesthetics and Politics of Chinese Characters and Language****Organizer/Chair: Jin Liu, Georgia Institute of Technology**

This panel focuses on Chinese characters and Chinese language, and presents an interdisciplinary examination of the aesthetics and politics of various linguistic codes, from visual characters, coded language, vulgar puns, argots, to metaphors in various mediums from high art, literature, to the Internet. We start with Yu Li's paper, which presents a linguistic analysis of Chinese characters in contemporary art movement led by avant-garde artists such as Xu Bing. It is suggested that the linguistic characteristics of the Chinese writing system, particularly its morphographicity, are fundamentally attributive to its artistic potency. Next, Jin Liu examines the aesthetic and the socio-political aspects of the artist Li Xiaoguai's invented Chinese characters and his comic blogging, and compares his characters with Xu Bing's linguistically nonsensical characters and Gu Wenda's simplified characters, thus making a dialogue with Yu's paper. While Li's characters form a powerful online discourse against the Internet censorship in contemporary China, In Young Bong's paper moves back to the Manchukuo period (1932–1945) and analyzes another form of censorship and its impact on literary production and linguistic creativity in colonial literature. In particular, it explores the cultural politics of argot and the artistic effect of tropes in envisioning a special denationalized space. Finally, Lijie Dong argues that the genre of science fiction can facilitate the use of political metaphor to evade ideological control and offer nuanced criticism and commentaries. She explores how political metaphors are presented differently in recent works of sci-fi writers including Hao Jingfang, Liu Cixin and Liu Yukun.

1) Yu Li, Emory University***The Primacy of Morphographicity as Inspiration: A Linguistic Analysis of the Chinese Script in Contemporary Visual Art***

Since the phenomenal success of Xu Bing's *Book from the Sky* (1987–1991) a quarter century ago, Chinese characters have remained a prominent visual and thematic component in contemporary art. Works by such authors as Gu Wenda, Wu Shanzhuan, and Qiu Zhijie, created not long after *Book from the Sky*, are among the most influential of the contemporary Chinese art repertoire. What has made Chinese characters such a vibrant force in the imagination and expression of contemporary artists? This paper offers a linguistic approach to addressing this question. It closely examines how Chinese written symbols have been distorted, restored, deconstructed, and reconstructed phonologically, semantically, and graphically in a wide range of works, and picks apart the multiple linguistic layers that contribute to the main creative mechanism of each of them. The paper suggests that the linguistic characteristics of the Chinese writing system are fundamentally attributive to its artistic potency. Furthermore, it argues that the existence of pictographs is only a secondary, or superficial, reason, for the near ubiquity of Chinese characters in contemporary art. Instead, it demonstrates that the most productive characteristic of the Chinese script is its morphographicity, that is, the fact that a character represents the smallest combined unit of sound and meaning. In conclusion, therefore, to fully comprehend the role the Chinese script serves as artistic inspiration in the modern sense, it is critical that we accurately understand the morphographicity of the Chinese script.

2) Jin Liu, Georgia Institute of Technology***Subversive Writing: Li Xiaoguai's Newly Coined Chinese Characters and His Comic Blogging***

This paper examines the emerging phenomenon of creating new Chinese characters on the Internet with a case study of the artist Li Xiaoguai's work. First it analyzes the aesthetics of Li's new characters and neologisms. It explores how the new characters as an alternative translation achieve the Austinian performative force through an iteration of the original official language, which is thus displaced and subverted; how the puns become double-voiced and double-signified utterances in the Bakhtinian sense of folk humor; and

how the vulgarities are pervasively used as interjections and intensifiers to vent out strong emotions in the struggle against the state's anti-vulgarity campaign and Internet censorship. Next, it studies how Li's characters are integrated in his artistic creation in comic blogging. It further explores how his comic strips evoke carnivalesque laughter by satirizing the social ills, the officialdom, and the increasing gap between the Party and the People, the country and the family, and the privileged and the under-privileged. Finally, this study puts Li's work in a bigger context. Synchronically, it compares his characters with Xu Bing's linguistically nonsensical characters and Gu Wenda's simplified characters in brush painting. Diachronically, it briefly reviews the significance of creating new characters in modern China.

3) In Young Bong, Chungbuk National University

The Cultural Politics of Argot and Censorship in Modern Chinese Literature

This paper links the legal discourse of censorship with its actual impact on literary production in Manchukuo (1932–1945). The first part of this study addresses the relationship between laws of publication and state control of print media, which compelled authors to come up with creative figures of speech when writing fiction. Utilized as a survival strategy to evade censorship, argot and secret codes thus emerged as principal means of expression. Through a close reading of literary texts, such as “Roads” by Xing (1933) and “Two Blue Frogs” by Xiao Hong (1933), the second part of this study explores the cultural politics of argot and the artistic effect of tropes in thematizing nomadic existence and social relations, as expressed by words concerning nature. Furthermore, through an analysis of the rhetoric of contrast and repetition, the paper discusses how landscape and affect are intimately woven together, and their role in envisioning afresh a denationalized space and social ideals. By examining narratives on internationalist cohorts and an anti-Japanese revolutionary, it attempts to broaden the range of argot studies, thus far mainly limited to the subcultures of prison, queer, and youth. It further suggests the significance of colonial literature in overcoming the colonial past, which is still entangled in historical disputes over its “truth” in East Asia.

4) Lijie Dong, University of Alberta***The Political Metaphor in Contemporary Sinophone Science Fiction***

Science fiction, a literary genre under the name of science, is a combination of the discourses of truth, knowledge and legend; compared with fantastic literature and realistic novels, the unique combination in science fiction makes it a perfect site to use political metaphors. Although Chinese writers began to create science fiction as early as the late Qing, science fiction did not become a fashionable topic in Sinophone literary studies until Liu Yukun won the Hugo Award in 2012. This article will mainly examine the political metaphors in contemporary Sinophone science fiction. By examining the writings of Hao Jingfang, Liu Cixin and Liu Yukun, all winners of The Science Fiction Achievement Award, this article will show how the above-named authors used different political metaphors in different ways, finally forming a complementary relationship in contemporary Sinophone science fiction. If the three spaces in *Folding Beijing* explicitly represent the hierarchy in metropolitan Beijing, in *The Three-body Problem*, Liu Cixin not only depicted the political circumstance in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, but also used the “three-body” as a metaphor to construct the political society of contemporary China. In addition, this paper will further explore the political metaphors that constitute Liu Yukun's writings and through these metaphors, how he “gazes” at China from the position of a Chinese American.

Discussant: Alexander Des Forges, University of Massachusetts, Boston

Session 26: Room X106**Barriers at work—Employment and entrepreneurial possibilities and problems in contemporary Japan**

Organizer/Chair: SPF Dale, Hitotsubashi University

There has been a recent emphasis on “diversity” in the Japanese workplace – the need for more women in the workforce, for culturally diverse and internationally-oriented work environments, and for non-discriminatory work policies that treat individuals the same irrespective of gender or sexuality. The Abe government has issued statements to

work towards an economy where “women can shine,” and an open and accepting society where “sexual minorities will not have to come out,” as well as the need to accept more immigrants to work in certain fields. Although change may be taking place at a policy-level, change at a social level seems to be taking more time to achieve. Focusing on the theme of barriers, this panel looks at the very real hurdles that prevent certain individuals from participating and progressing in specific fields, and looks at how gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and nationality may play a role in maintaining and shaping these barriers. Examining female film stars, women who work in the adult industry, Chinese immigrants in Japan, and transgender individuals, this panel explores the experiences of various minority groups at work, and looks at the intersections of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, and employment choices. In our panel, we seek to investigate how barriers in employment are constructed and maintained, and the role that social institutions and the individual play in doing so. How do barriers influence employment possibilities and choices, and what are the possibilities of breaking them down?

1) Jennifer Coates, Kyoto University

The Film Star and the Housewife: The Strange Case of the Invisible Career

What happens when we overcome a barrier? This paper analyses the career of film star Kogure Michiyo (1918–1990) to argue that overcoming gendered barriers in employment does not necessarily erase those barriers for future employees. Sometimes overcoming a barrier can contribute to the cementing of that barrier for others. In the early post-war years, Kogure maintained a comfortable career playing loveable sidekick characters in critically acclaimed hits such as *Blue Mountains* (1949). However, her increasing visibility led to an increase in public scrutiny. Gossip magazines began to speculate about her home life, questioning whether Kogure could be an adequate wife and mother when she spent so much time working outside the home. Kogure took control of her personal narrative, penning a column in *Eiga Fan* called “The Secret to My Life as a Housewife.” She emphasized her work within the home, obfuscating her film work to create the impression of a full-time professional housewife. As her popularity increased, so did offers of employment; Kogure took her first leading roles from 1950, and was cast as “Mrs Sanyo” in a long-running series of advertisements for the home wares brand. Kogure

overcome gendered barriers to her employment by cultivating the popular persona of a stay-at-home housewife. By creating this persona in the public sphere however, she contributed to popular discourse that posited the domestic sphere as the ‘proper place’ for women’s work. Taking Kogure as case study, this paper explores how one person’s breakthrough can contribute to another’s oppression in the workplace.

2) Alexandra Hambleton, Bunkyo Gakuin University

The Feminist Entrepreneur: Labor and Self-Actualization in the Japanese Adult Industry

Once relegated to seedy alleyways and the back pages of men’s magazines, the Japanese adult industry has expanded and now targets a whole new clientele—women. Previously inaccessible, online adult shops now provide a whole new space in which female customers may explore their sexuality and purchase pornography, sex toys, and erotic literature. This paper examines the young female entrepreneurs who are spearheading this movement—women who view the adult industry as a way to overcome their frustrations about how female sexuality is marginalized in contemporary Japan, and to affect social change. Adult industry entrepreneurs commonly expand their activities beyond online commerce to include workshops and events at which participants are encouraged to open up and discuss sex, with the goal being to help women overcome emotional barriers to the purchase of adult products. There remains however a great tension between the financial and political goals of the entrepreneurs, and their actual work. In Japan, as Allison (2013) writes, women have long been overrepresented in irregular employment. Gabriella Lukács (2015) in writing on the Japanese digital economy, adds that individuals are compelled to “invest unpaid emotional labor in order to develop work opportunities that are more conducive to their projects of self-actualization.” Consequently, entrepreneurs commonly find themselves engaged in an ongoing battle to overcome financial, emotional, and social barriers to success, while clinging to the idea that their work can contribute to the creation of a Japan accepting of female sexuality.

3) Jamie Coates, Sophia University***The Intersectional Labyrinth of Chinese Entrepreneurialism in Japan***

Chinese migrants in Japan face a range of intersectional barriers that shape many of their aspirations and desires. Despite being the largest non-Japanese minority in Japan, they face obstacles based on their status as ethnic-outsiders, which affects their employment opportunities and experience of Japanese institutions. However, these dynamics are by no means the end of the barriers they face. Based on ethnographic fieldwork among young Chinese in Ikebukuro, Tokyo, this paper explores how intra-ethnic problems of gender, region and class compound the migrant experience in Japan. Many young Chinese find themselves stuck between the vicissitudes of being an outsider in a Japanese workplace, and potential exploitation within Chinese employment networks. Hegemonic masculine ideals among Chinese migrants also ensure that women, those from regions associated with poorer education, and non-Han Chinese face particular difficulties. Within this context, barriers take on new meaning for young Chinese, acting as walls that are not always overcome but rather channel their aspirations. In particular, the emphasis on entrepreneurial success in popular Chinese culture becomes an idealized part of the migrant project, and is envisioned as a means to escape intersectional barriers. From women touting cosmetics and sexualized services, to Uyghur musicians and Mongolian chefs, the independence afforded by entrepreneurialism is seen as a form of freedom that side-steps a variety of structural barriers. However, entrepreneurialism often conforms or reproduces other hegemonic frameworks. These case studies suggest ways in which intersectional barriers and strategies to overcome them are deterritorialized, reterritorialized, and amplified in the migrant context.

4) SPF Dale, Hitotsubashi University***How Friendly is LGBT-friendly? Experiences of LGBT Employees and Diversity Policies in Japanese workplaces***

Major international companies in Japan such as Panasonic, Rakuten, and Softbank have proclaimed themselves “LGBT-friendly.” LGBT-friendly company policies include giving employees with same-sex partners similar benefits to married heterosexual couples, recognizing the gender identity or preferred name of an employee who may not have legally changed sex, and providing staff training about LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) issues. Research done by the NPO Niji-iro Diversity demonstrates that many LGBT individuals have experienced some form of discrimination at work. Although companies may have LGBT-friendly policies, in many cases discriminatory work environments continue to exist, making it difficult for employees to come out and make use of these policies. Following an examination of LGBT-friendly company policies, this paper turns to look at the experiences of LGBT workers, focusing mostly on transgender individuals. Depending on their stage of transition, transgender individuals experience different problems at work. For those who transition on the job, how their company will treat them administratively (in terms of name and legal gender) as well as collegially (informing co-workers of transition, creating a supportive environment) are defining issues. For transgender workers who have already transitioned, coming out depends highly on how transgender-friendly they perceive their workplace to be. Many transgender individuals (in particular non-gender binary identifying individuals) opt for temporary employment because of how gendered they feel typical office environments can be. Through their experiences, I examine the barriers that exist for LGBT workers in Japan today—how these barriers are constructed, and the potential for breaking them down.

Discussant: Diana Khor, Hosei University

Session 27: Room X107**Individual Papers VI: War and Occupation****Chair: Robert Eskildsen, International Christian University****1) Simon James Bytheway, Nihon University*****Currency Problems in Allied Occupied Germany and Japan, 1945–1952***

The continued use and circulation of Nazi, Imperial Japanese, and assorted Allied military currencies, and the redemption of these currencies in U.S. dollars, were the source of a huge financial threat to U.S. military authorities in Germany and Japan. Historically, currency reform is best enacted hot on the heels of regime change. In both Germany and Japan, however, hundreds of millions of U.S. dollars were exchanged by military authorities for dubious paper currencies issued by the defeated enemies, and by other occupying powers (principally the Soviet Union in Germany). The scale of these exchange transactions was such that the U.S. Treasury Department made dire warning of financial dysfunction and insolvency at the very highest levels of military command. Against this background, what were the currency and monetary policies of the Allied occupational forces in Germany and Japan? Which individuals or institutions benefited most from these policies? And how did U.S. currency policy proceed given the wider frameworks of quadripartite and Far Eastern Council oversight and requisite negotiations? In order to answer these questions, my presentation at the forthcoming ASJC aims to shed some light on the “shoddy history” (in Charles Kindleberger’s words) of how U.S. military authorities managed to “squeeze” U.S. dollars back from Allied occupation personnel “without loss” to the U.S. Government, and ultimately, to present new insights into how the introduction of new currency systems helped reinforce America’s position in Germany and Japan during periods of great economic instability and the emerging cold war.

2) Christian W. Spang, Daito Bunka University

Nazi Racism and Japanese-German Marriages

From 1933 onwards, a local Nazi structure was established in Japan. By 1936—38 most Germans had been integrated into two separate “German Communities” (*Deutsche Gemeinde Tokyo-Yokohama & Kobe-Osaka*). From then on, the Nazis exercised a rather rigid control over Germans living in Japan. Jews and Anti-Nazis were excluded from these communities. Non-Jewish half-German children continued to be allowed to attend the two German schools in Yokohama and Kobe, as well as to participate in the local chapter of the Hitler Youth (called “*Deutsche Jugend Japan*” [German Youth Japan]) until the end of WWII. Despite the notorious German-Japanese “Axis,” ardent Nazis were actively agitating against Japanese wives (and husbands) of German nationals. Based on their belief of German-Aryan superiority, they actively discouraged and threatened Germans who intended to marry Japanese. Those who married after 1933 lost their citizenship. Non-German spouses were frequently excluded from Nazi-sponsored events in Japan. My paper is based on documents by the Nazi embassy in Tokyo and the local Nazi Party’s “*Landesgruppe*”, i.e. the umbrella organization of all Nazi organizations in Japan between 1935 and 1945. Following a short introduction of the build-up of Nazi organizations in Japan, It will present some cases of how dissenters were excluded from the “*Gemeinde*” and how German nationals were discouraged from marrying Japanese.

3) Ji Hee Jung, Seoul National University

Rearticulating the American Way across the Pacific: The U.S. Cold War Politics of Domesticity and Its Ruptures in Occupied Japan

This paper addresses how the U.S. occupation-promoted idealized representations of American domesticity were decoded and rearticulated by non-elite Japanese women, whose voices have remained largely silent in studies on the U.S. global promotion of the American way. Specifically, I investigate the case of Takehisa Chieko, an actress and the wife of an American officer who enjoyed perhaps the highest visibility in popular women’s magazines as a reliable Japanese informant and model practitioner of the American way. In analyzing Takehisa’s magazine writings, interviews, and photographs housed in the Prange Collection, this paper discusses the socio-political implications of her activities in relation

to the larger U.S. global promotion of American domesticity for Cold war containment. Mediated through her admiration of “America,” imagined as the opposite to occupied Japan, and the middle-class gender norms of her own, Takehisa’s discourses on American domesticity generally reinforced the ideal images promoted by the occupation. At the same time, rearticulating American domesticity to fit into the socio-cultural fabric of postwar Japan, she inadvertently revealed the peculiar nature of the supposedly universal American model. Focusing on Takehisa’s subject position as a Japanese woman and an embodiment of the American model, this paper argues that her case demonstrates the dilemma resulting from the simultaneously seductive and alienating American way, which even a willing follower could not evade. In so doing, my study illuminates some ruptures in the larger U.S. global promotion of American domesticity for Cold war containment in the early postwar era.

4) Hyewon Um, University of Hawai’i at Manoa

Litigation, Administrative Relief, and Political Settlement for Japanese War Orphans: Cause Lawyering and Its Implications for Social Movements in Japan

How does the active involvement of the legal profession change the landscape of social movements in Japan? Robert Pekkanen argues that Japan’s dual civil society brings about the phenomenon of “members without advocates.” Focusing on the war orphans’ lawsuits against Japanese government, this paper argues that active involvement of cause lawyers in various social movements create significant opportunities to strengthen the integration of the movement actors and re-vitalized political movements through mobilizing thousands of participants in the protest rallies and other social events. This paper also contends that cause lawyers play a vital role in influencing policy debates even after the litigation ends. Preliminary research analyzing newspaper articles and supporters’ documents on the war orphans’ litigation revealed that cause lawyers got deeply involved in planning movement activities in and out of the court. By analyzing collected materials including newspaper articles, government documents, supporters’ documents, published books, and in-depth interviews with the movement participants, this paper will present how the legal profession changes the overall views on the movement goals and methods, how different views among various movement participants about their issues have been shaped

and reshaped during the series of the lawsuits, and how the legal profession keeps a balance between activists and government officials during and even after the movement. This paper will contribute to deepening our understanding of the relation between the law and social movements in contemporary Japan.

5) Astghik Hovhannisyan, Hitotsubashi University

Eugenic Sterilizations in Postwar Japan

In 1948, Japan enacted the Eugenic Protection Law (*Yūsei hogo hō*) that, along with legalizing abortion under a wide range of circumstances authorized physicians to perform forced sterilizations on people with various hereditary and non-hereditary diseases. Under the law, which was abolished only in 1996 (to be more precise, it underwent major amendments and was renamed Maternal Body Protection Law), about sixteen thousand people, majority suffering from mental disabilities or mental illnesses were sterilized against their will. Circumstances under which these sterilizations happened are little known, and despite victims' and disability rights groups' demands for investigation and compensation, the Health and Welfare Ministry has repeatedly refused to proceed with the case, stating that "the operations were legal at the time." The aim of this paper is to shed light on circumstances under which sterilizations were performed based on newly found materials and explain how the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Ministry of Justice interpreted the law and the Constitution of Japan to legally allow coerced eugenic operations.

Session 28: Room X201

Individual Papers VII: Chinese and Japanese History

Chair: Bettina Gramlich-Oka, Sophia University

1) Nobuko Senoo, Independent Scholar

The Assimilation of Exotic Cultures in Tang China: The Tri-Colored Glazed Ewer of the Arab Shipwreck

Among the cultural relics excavated from the ninth century Arab shipwreck in the Java Sea in recent years, there is a magnificent white-glazed green-and-brown colored

ewer with incised floral lozenges on the body and a dragon head on its top, all Persian-styled design incorporated in the Tang-dynasty tri-colored glazed pottery. This ewer is a significant object that reflects the cultural exchange between Central Asia and China and the acceptance of foreign cultures in Chinese lands. While produced in China, the style was modeled after the silverwares of the Sassanid Empire (224–651) of Persia that were transmitted into China, as evidenced by the sixth century gilded silver ewer excavated from Guyuan, Ningxia. Since the fifth century, the trading of the Sogdiana merchants in Central Asia became rather active and a great amount of articles were transmitted to China, reaching a peak during the Tang dynasty. As a consequent, the Persian culture prevailed at that time, as represented by murals, pottery figurines, and ceramics of the Tang period. Along with the tide, the Persian culture was also introduced to Japan and Southeast Asia. Exploiting archaeological materials and Tang historical records, this paper will examine the forms and details of Persian styled ewers excavated in China and how Persian culture was assimilated in Tang China. Exploring the perception of exotic cultures in the Tang society, it proposes that Tang society not only was open to foreign cultures but there was also a trend of appreciating and aspiring to a fusion with exotic cultures.

2) Roman Pasca, Kanda University of International Studies

Visions of the Human Being in Tokugawa Philosophy: Nature as Shizen and the “Homo Naturalis”

In *Shizen shin'ei dō* (自然真営道, The True Way of the Functioning of Nature), Andō Shōeki 安藤昌益 (1703–1762) proposes a vision of the world where two different realms exist: *shizen no yo* (World of Nature), and *shihōsei* (World of the Private Law). One of Shōeki's most original and significant contributions is his understanding of the human being: the notion of *hito* envisaged not only as a hub of man-and-woman fused together, but also as an all-encompassing self that expands into all of humankind. In this presentation, I propose an analysis of Shōeki's vision of the human being within the World of Nature. I focus on some of the principles that govern the existence of *hito* such as *chokkō* (straight cultivation) and the three energies *tsūki*, *gyakki*, and *ōki* (descending, lateral and ascending). I suggest that Shōeki's understanding of the human being is three-leveled, spanning from the single individual to the whole of humankind, and I propose the

term *homo naturalis* to refer to this interpretation. My conclusion is that Shōeki's notion of *hito* can not only shed some light on the evolution of the concept in the history of Japanese philosophy, but also provide us with clues useful in the interpretation and discussion of concepts such as self and subjectivity in twentieth-century European history of philosophy.

3) Sergey Tolstoguzov, Hiroshima University

Tempo Reforms in the Time and Space of Premodern Japan

Traditional or pre-modern societies had principles and practices for dealing with natural disasters that included socio-cultural aspects which differ from modern society. This can be more easily understood from a consideration of the Tempo reforms proclaimed on May 15 1841, which were designed to (1) restore the policy of the Kyoho and Kansei and (2) to reduce the effect of the Tenpo Famine. Traditionally, Tempo policies were considered in connection with Meiji Ishin or Kyoho and Kansei Reforms rather than in connection with the Tenpo Famine. However, most elements of Bakufu activity were efforts directed at restoring moral health or dealing with inflation, rather than deep level structural changes. A policy aimed at restoring economic stability is quite different from one aimed at reordering feudal institutions. Considering the Tenpo “reforms” from this point of view, at least part of them can more accurately be seen as pragmatic attempts to restore social and economic stability after the Tenpo Famine. In a sense, this period in Japanese history could be better evaluated in the context of the history of the first half of 19th century—the Tenpo Famine and the Opium War. These and other questions must be discussed in the details through the examination of the Bakufu edicts, orders and visual information of the Tenpo period.

4) Carolyn Pang, Columbia University***Destroying to Appease the Gods: Challenges of Historical Preservation in Present-Day Japan***

With the demise of each practitioner of the Izanagi-ryū, family members often had to consider how to deal with the cache of ritual texts and tools belonging to the deceased priest. Some resorted to destroying the items to prevent possible punitive effects from the gods. Yet, by destroying these valuable resources on the ritual procedures and healing techniques of this local religious tradition in the Kōchi prefecture, we lose pertinent historical information on the cross-influences between this distant region and other parts of Japan, as well as its linkages with the Asian continent. Attempts by museums and scholars in Japan to retrieve such private collections of historical records often met with difficulties as the artifacts are usually disposed of before the scholars are informed of the situation. In face of a rapidly aging population and depopulation of the region to city centers, the diminishing number of practitioners and the lack of successors to continue the practices of the Izanagi-ryū meant that this local religion faces the risk of fading into extinction. In this presentation, issues on the preservation of intangible cultural heritages, and the relation between local religious customs and academic research will be discussed. Examples from fieldwork observations will also be engaged to highlight the situation in which local traditions cope with the issue of disused religious artifacts, such as talismans and ritual tools and texts, that have lost their venues of operation but are still believed to retain potent ritual efficacy.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSIONS I: 1:30 P.M. – 3:30 P.M.**Session 29: Room X202****Modern Tokyo: Public Spaces, Gendered Places****Organizer/Chair: Roderick Wilson, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign**

As the city of Tokyo grew and changed between 1868 and 1945, the expectations and activities of women and men in the metropolis also changed. In this panel, we focus on the emergence of a variety of public spaces—restaurants, city parks, YWCA facilities—to show how they were also inherently gendered places. In these histories, we do not look upon Tokyo as simply a convenient backdrop or stand-in for a national story. Rather, we examine the capital city as its own dynamic site within the modern world where activists, students, and others engaged with one another to fashion vibrant social networks and through their public activities created gendered places. In the first paper, Yuko Nakamura focuses on Meiji-period Western-style restaurants, Rokumeikan, Kazoku Jogakko, gardens, parks, and related venues where women left the domestic-realm to create new “women’s places for socializing.” Next, Roderick Wilson examines the establishment, regulation, and use of Tokyo’s first city parks to show how class and gender each played a role in the formation of these public places. Finally, Sally Hastings explores the spatial relations and social networks that emerged with the founding and growth of the Tokyo Association of the YWCA. Together this panel examines Tokyo as a local site within global movements that shaped the role of women and men in society and in turn transformed the very city in which they worked, entertained, and organized for social change.

1) Yuko Nakamura, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee***Spaces for Socializing: Emergence and Development of Women-only Gatherings in pre-World-War-II Tokyo, Japan***

This paper examines the spaces for women’s socializing [*shakō*] in Tokyo, Japan, before World War II. In pre-modern Japan, women were not expected to join activities in non-domestic spaces. *Onna Daigaku*, a set of neo-Confucian principles about women’s behavior that prevailed in pre-modern Japan, urged women under the age of forty not to

visit spaces where people gathered and mingled, such as shrines, temples, and theaters. It also suggested that women should focus on housework, and in their spare time, they should be engaged in sewing or reading, both of which were solitary activities at home. The ideology of female domesticity thus shaped the traditional gender structures. When Japan's government started the idiosyncratic modernization combining industrialization and pseudo-Westernization after Meiji Restoration (1868), the non-domestic spaces were particularly unprepared for women's activities. Fast forward half a century, around 1915, places like Shiseidō Parlor, Senbikiya Parlor, and department stores, began being accepted as new "women's places for socializing" in Tokyo's non-domestic realm. By this time, modern women socializing without men's escort had been legitimated and even targeted in marketing. Then, how can we make sense of the emergence and increase of women's presence in the non-domestic spaces through the lens of socializing? By interpreting the venues that Japan Women's Association for Education (est. 1886), one of the oldest women's groups for socializing, used for their gatherings, this paper illustrates the process in which women's networks of non-domestic spaces expanded as their expectations and desires shifted in negotiation with ideas from overseas.

2) Roderick Wilson, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Tokyo's First City Parks: The Making of Public Places in the Meiji Period

In the late nineteenth century, Japanese visitors to Europe, the United States, and their colonies largely experienced "western civilization" through its cities. For many, the public park held an integral place in the cityscape of that "civilization." These visitors, however, appear to have been less aware that the parks they wrote about—whether Parc des Butte-Chaumont in Paris or Central Park in New York, were themselves new additions to their respective cities. That is, just as the public park was being introduced into Japan in the 1860s and 1870s, it was itself still new to Europe and the United States and undergoing constant redefinition as these public places became symbols of social progress, examples of government largess and responsibility, and places of political protest and cultural change. In this paper, I begin by exploring the efforts of the Tokyo government to redefine and regulate various public places in Asakusa and elsewhere as the city's new public parks or *kōen*. Next, I trace the debates over the design of Hibiya Park, the capital city's first

western-style park, within the Tokyo Municipal Reform Projects. In a final section, I focus on how both women and men actually used Hibiya and the city's other parks to examine the role of class and gender in the formation of these particularly public places.

Throughout, I argue that Tokyo's city parks were constantly being recreated as gendered sites through their planning, regulation, and quotidian use by the women and men of modern Tokyo.

3) Sally Hastings, Purdue University

The Tokyo YWCA: Constructing Places to Advance the Needs of Young Women, 1905–1940

When in 1905, the Canadian Caroline Macdonald brought together independent groups within mission schools that identified with the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) into an organization that could be recognized by the World YWCA, the first local association founded was in Tokyo. Over the next four decades, the Tokyo Association built a physical plant as well as educational institutions and organizational structures. In addition to organizing associations in women's schools, the association reached out to working women and international students. Dedicated to advancing the physical, social, and intellectual and as well as the religious needs of young women, the YWCA required appropriate buildings and connections to the spaces and institutions of the capital city. This paper will map the outreach of the Tokyo Association, beginning with the borrowed spaces—Christian schools and homes of supporters—that the fledgling organization used until it had constructed its own facilities. Second, the paper will identify the geographical spaces where the hostels, swimming pools, classrooms, and other facilities of the Tokyo YWCA were established, both before and after the devastating Great Kantō Earthquake. What were their spatial relationships with respect to public transportation routes, educational institutions, places of employment, and major churches? The paper will also show the networks through which the YWCA “Secretaries” were linked to other institutions in Tokyo, including the YMCA, Christian educational institutions for women, and major churches.

Discussant: Noriko Ishii, Sophia University

Session 30: Room X203**The “Korea Problem” in Imperial and Post-Imperial Japan: Reconsidering the Relationship between Metropole and Colony****Organizer: Max Ward, Middlebury College****Chair: Hiroaki Matsusaka, University of Michigan**

This panel explores various ways the “Korea problem” (*Chōsen mondai*) was articulated during the Japanese Empire and its aftermath. The “Korea problem” vexed officials of the Japanese Empire, although as Andre Schmid (2000) has argued, “nation-centered” histories have failed to adequately explore the complex political, social and cultural interactions between the metropole and colony from which the “Korea problem” emerged. This panel explores specific expressions of the “Korea problem” during the Japanese Empire and soon after its collapse. In so doing, we reexamine how colonial Korea was central in the Japanese imperial (and anti-imperial) imaginary, and also question the conventional periodization of wartime and postwar Japan. Max Ward discusses how the “Korea problem” was articulated in the imperial state’s campaign to reform Korean political criminals in the late-1930s, revealing important aporias of Japanese imperial ideology. Next, Hiroaki Matsusaka explores the ways in which anti-imperial activist and progressive writer Ishigaki Ayako narrated her encounters with Koreans, symbolizing her politics and Japanese womanhood. Lastly, Deokhyo Choi discusses how the postwar Japanese state and society responded to the “Korean minority question” posed by the events of defeat and decolonization.

1) Max Ward, Middlebury College***Ideological Conversion (Tenkō) and the “Korea Problem”:* Japanese Anxieties of Policing the Empire**

Between 1925 and 1945, the Japanese state used the infamous Peace Preservation Law (*Chianijihō*) to arrest over seventy thousand political dissidents in the Japanese metropole and thousands more in colonial Korea. With an increasing population of detained political criminals, officials in the metropole began to experiment with urging detainees to defect from the socialist movement and “ideologically convert” (*tenkō*) as

loyal imperial subjects. Such experiments were hugely successful in Japan, and in 1936 the state established a network of Protection and Supervision Centers throughout the empire to oversee the “ideological conversion” of political dissidents. Almost immediately, however, officials noted discrepancies between “ideological conversion” in the Japanese metropole and colonial Korea. In a flurry of reports, officials expressed concern over the challenges of implementing the *tenkō* policy in colonial Korea, as well as the higher rate of ideological recidivism amongst paroled activists in the colony. This paper explores how these reports articulated the “Korea problem” within the discourse of criminal justice, and argues that such anxieties reveal aporias at the foundation of the Japanese Empire and its imperial ideology.

2) Hiroaki Matsusaka, University of Michigan

The “Korea Problem” for Ishigaki Ayako, a Feminist Internationalist Migrant

Publishing dozens of books and appearing on numerous TV shows, Ishigaki Ayako (1903–1996) was a highly popular and productive feminist intellectual in contemporary Japan. Equally remarkable was her activity as a Japanese migrant activist and anti-fascist progressive in the U.S. in the 1930s and 1940s. She was a member of the pro-China group called American Friends of the Chinese People and wrote political and cultural articles for newspapers, including *The New Masses* and *Rafu Shinpo (LA News Daily)*, in New York and Los Angeles. While Ishigaki developed personal and political relationships with her Chinese and American colleagues and friends such as Agnes Smedley and Lao She, her records do not show that she had colleagues or close friends from Korea. Nevertheless, like other Japanese progressives and leftists in the period of Japanese colonialism and onward, Ishigaki occasionally referred to her contacts with Korea or Korean people in order to narrate her own anti-imperial or antiracist politics in her writings. In my paper, I explore how Ishigaki made such references to Korea in a symbolic manner and how, in such gestures of coalition, she articulated her own vision for a Japanese progressive womanhood. My project discusses the ways in which Ishigaki could and could not address Japan’s colonization of Korea, shaping her politics and positionality at the intersection of two colonial empires: as a woman of Japan’s racial and ethnic majority and an East Asian migrant woman in the United States.

3) Deokhyo Choi, Yonsei University

Looking through the Korean Minority's "Liberation": Decolonization in Early Postwar Japan

At the end of World War II, the Japanese empire had a population of over two million Koreans in its metropole (*naichi*), the majority of whom were both migrant and wartime conscripted workers. When the Allied forces occupied Japan after the war, General Douglas MacArthur and the Japanese government tried to send as many Koreans back to Korea as possible in order to reduce the surplus population of the war-torn, demobilized country. While nearly three-fourths of the Korean colonial migrants soon returned to their liberated country, over half a million Koreans remained, forming the largest ethnic minority in postwar Japan. As these Korean colonial migrants in Japan emerged as new political subjects invigorated by Japan's defeat and the end of colonial rule in Korea, their presence became a "problem" in occupied Japan. How did the Japanese state and society respond to this "Korean minority question" posed by the events of defeat and decolonization? This paper discusses how colonial labor forces that had once been mobilized and brought from Korea to the empire's home front quickly turned into a major source of political anxiety in Japan after the war. This paper focuses particularly on how decolonization was experienced in Japanese society when these Korean colonial migrant workers emerged as new political subjects performing their "liberation" on Japanese soil. I argue that the encounter with the self-empowered Korean minority had considerable influence on the way that the newly implemented democracy and pacifism were practiced by the Japanese state and society.

Discussant: Kyeong-Hee Choi, University of Chicago

Session 31: Room X104**Satire in Chinese Literature: Satirical Text as Medium for Socio-Cultural Engagement and Identity Negotiation****Organizer and Chair: Xi Tian, Bucknell University**

In the history of satirical practice, while the discussion of satire as a literary genre has been dominated by studies of Western literary tradition, satire (*fengci* in Chinese) as a literary device has its own roots in Chinese culture and history. In this panel, we include three papers that focus on three satirical texts from early Qing Dynasty, the Republican Era, and contemporary Taiwan: Aina jushi's *Idle Talk under the Bean Arbor* (1660), Xiao Hong's *Tales of Hulan River* (1940), and Chi Wei-ran's novel *Private Eyes* (2011). We look at how authors at different historical periods incorporate satirical elements to mediate their critiques on contemporary socio-cultural issues, to guard the cultures and values they deem ideal, and to renegotiate their own positions and identities in times of transition and uncertainty. By analyzing the change and transformation of the satirist's self, the culture it examines, and the negotiation between the satirical texts and their cultural contexts, we also seek to rethink "satire" as a literary device that oftentimes transcends the narrow concept of "genre" in the context of Chinese literature. We aim to unpack the complex "satiric-triangle" between satirist, satirized object, and the audience, and to further explore how its similar/contrasting features with Western satirical tradition may shed new lights on our understanding of "satire" as well as "Chinese literature" when it deals with different, and quite often contradictory, cultures and social realities.

1) Xi Tian, Bucknell University***Food, Eating and Taste: The Hungry Body in Xiao Hong's Tales of Hulan River***

Born to a landlord family yet in a turmoil time of national salvation, Chinese female writer Xiao Hong (1911–1942) is remembered by her humanistic writing profoundly concerning with the future of China and its people. Similar to her mentor Lu Xun, she resorts to satire to grapple with the social and national issues of her time, especially in her semi-autobiographic novel *Tales of Hulan River*. This paper examines one of the recurrent themes of Xiao Hong's writing: hunger, food and eating. By comparing the characters'

excessive obsession with food and eating in *Tales of Hulan River* (1940) and in her unfinished satirical novel *Ma Bole*, I argue that Xiao Hong expresses humble passivity and empathy with the satirized peasants, as the satirical voice of *Tales of Hulan River* changes from one with certainty to one with ambiguity. Moreover, acknowledging and sometimes appreciating “the taste of necessity,” which favors the most “filling” and most economical foods, the satirist-narrator who is from a landlord family deviates from the manner of eating characterizing her class. Such deviation further transgresses the boundary of the stance of the satirist and the lower class Chinese she satirizes, and shows Xiao Hong’s reflection on the general psychological impact of hunger on human beings as well as the alienation she has suffered from her own class.

2) Fang-Yu Li, New College of Florida

Writing the Self as a Satirist: Ji Weiran’s Private Eyes

Ji Weiran is a contemporary playwright and a theater professor at National Taiwan University. He is known for writing and directing modern plays that incorporate sarcasm, dark humor, and comedic cynicism to expose the follies and pathologies of contemporary Taiwan society. In his recent semi-autobiographical and quasi-detective novel *Private Eyes*, Ji makes himself both the satirist and the satirical object, fictionalizing himself as a middle-aged theater professor/playwright who quits his job to become a private detective after being struck by a sudden revelation at a drinking party. Using the detective as a surrogate, Ji inserts his critique on various social issues, in particular his contempt for the lack of momentum and originality in local cultural and art productions, which he feels partially responsible for. As an attempt to deal with his guilt, Ji personifies his “dark side” as a serial killer, who appears as the detective’s “double” and kills random people in the name of saving the detective’s soul. In this paper, I discuss the ways in which Ji Weiran creates a fictional self as the satirized object to conduct a mediated critique of not only the self, but also the role of the satirist and the intellectual community in contemporary Taiwan.

3) Yunjing Xu, Bucknell University

Satire in Chinese Literature: Satirical Text as Medium for Socio-Cultural Engagement and Identity Negotiation

The tenth story of Aina's *Idle Talk under the Bean Arbor*, titled "Jia's Tiger Hill Union of Freeloaders", is a satirical story on the contemporary urban culture of Suzhou. By setting up two layers of framework (the author-commentator and the storyteller-audience), the story presents an ambiguous relationship between the satirist, the object of satire, and the audience. On one level, the storyteller-satirist, presenting himself as an outsider of Suzhou, satirizes the local freeloaders as a cautionary tale to the audience who are outsiders like himself, so they can be on guard against the shallow and deceptive culture of the marketplace when they travel there. However, on another layer, the author-commentator persona reflects upon the symbiotic relationship between the marketplace and the high culture of the literati, whose obsession with superfluous things makes them vulnerable to the schemes of the freeloaders. In addition, the author wrote the story in Suzhou dialect, making Suzhou readers as the main target audience of the satire, contrary to the storyteller persona's self-identification as an outsider. I argue that this device reveals the author's own desire of reshaping Suzhou culture by making it the target of satire, as well as calling upon the reader of this story to reflect upon their relationship with the marketplace. The author offers a final solution in the commentator persona, who suggests a poetic restoration of the high culture, and escapism to the space of literature and aesthetics as the final stronghold of the elite facing the challenges of the marketplace.

Discussants: Silvia Pozzi, University of Milano Bicocca; Chenshu Zhou, Stanford University

Session 32: Room X105**Japan's Gender Equality in the Era of Abenomics****Panel Organizer/Chair: Machiko Osawa, Japan Women's University**

The past two decades have been fraught with ambivalence regarding progress toward gender equality in Japan. The Basic Law for a Gender Equal Society was introduced in 1999 and gender equality ordinances soon followed at the municipal level throughout the country. However, the early 2000's were marked by anti-feminist backlash led by political conservatives. In 2013, Prime Minister Shinzō Abe, who had been associated with the backlash against feminism, surprised many by unveiling “womenomics,” his plan to enlist women in the labor force to aid in Japan's economic recovery. In this panel presentation, social scientists from diverse disciplinary perspectives examine the changing work and family lives of Japanese women in this context of ambivalence towards gender equality. Custer's presentation concentrates on the perceptions of feminism and gender equality among young Japanese women. Her findings suggest that while these young women do believe in gender equality, they are leery of feminism and somewhat skeptical about whether they can expect to be treated equally once they enter the workplace. Kawaguchi's presentation confirms their suspicions that equality in the workplace may be illusive. He documents widespread maternity harassment and identifies several factors that exacerbate it. The third presenter, Ma also examines challenges that women encounter in the workplace. She identifies several workplace constraints, such as gender discrimination, that limit women's abilities to achieve their career goals and encourage high job turnover. Lastly, Kamano analyzes changing attitudes towards the gender relationships and found that more educated women are more likely to have progressive gender ideology.

1) Lindsay Custer, Cascadia College***Perceptions of Feminism and Women's Role in Society among Young Female Japanese College Students***

This small-scale study conducted at two different women's universities located in Tokyo uses both qualitative and quantitative methods to assess student perceptions of feminism and gender equality. A growing body of literature focusing on young college

women in Western countries indicates that many repudiate feminism (Sharff 2012) and see gender inequality as a problem that has been solved, viewing feminist movements as obsolete (McRobbie 2009). Other research demonstrates that students who take gender studies courses are more likely to identify as feminists (Zucker 2004), as these courses typically encourage students to think about their relationship to feminist ideologies. Little research has been published (in English) on attitudes towards feminism among young college women from non-Western countries. One study found negative stereotypes of U.S. feminists to be pervasive and to contribute to resistance to adopting a feminist identity among a small group of female international students in London (Crossley 2010), suggesting that feminism may be viewed as an undesirable U.S. import. Students in the current study were enrolled in American Studies courses focused on gender roles in the U.S. and were taught primarily in English by an American instructor. Additionally, these students were attending women's universities, where they were frequently encouraged to think about their role as women in society. Thus, conditions for exploring perceptions of feminism were especially ripe for the participants of this study. The results of the study are discussed in the context of recent public discourse on gender equality and feminism in Japan.

2) Akira Kawaguchi, Doshisha University

Maternity harassment and Japanese-style human resource management

The purpose of this study is to find out who is at a higher risk of experiencing maternity harassment in the work place and what kind of human resource management has to be introduced in order to reduce that risk. "Maternity harassment" is a Japanese word that is synonymous with "pregnancy discrimination" in English. Maternity harassment is defined as being dismissed or having one's contract terminated due to pregnancy as well as harassment in the workplace due to pregnancy or giving birth. A labor Union (*rengo*) survey in 2015 found that about 28.6% of working women experienced maternity harassment in the past, so this is a widespread phenomenon in the Japanese workplace. However, few studies have examined the relationship between human resource management and the risk of this harassment. This study is based upon a sample of 1,901 women ages from 20 to 44 years old and who worked at firms with 11 or more employees

in the private sector or at any size of workplaces in the public sector who have been employed and pregnant in the last ten years. Results of this research indicate that those workplaces where one's job is vaguely defined, where wages are not based upon one's job performance, and where there is a corporate culture of long hour working hours have a high risk of maternity harassment. This suggests that those companies with a traditional Japanese employment system are at higher risk for committing maternity harassment toward their working women.

3) Ma Xin Xin, Hitotsubashi University

Women's Career Aspirations and Job Turnover among Highly Educated Women in Japan

Japanese women's age specific labor force participation exhibits an M-shape curve such that LFP rates decline at age 30 to 35 suggesting Japanese women are more likely to quit due to marriage and pregnancy. However the survey conducted by the Research Institute of Women and Careers in 2011 found that job-related reasons, such as job dissatisfaction or lack of career prospects in the company better explain why highly-educated Japanese women quit their first job. This study investigates women's career aspirations at the time of graduation and career patterns thereafter, finding that the higher a woman's career aspiration, the more likely she will change her job. Japanese corporations have a two tier management system such that men and women are assigned different tasks and as a result women are not given the same job training as men. This gender discrimination discourages the most talented women workers and encourages them to leave the firm. We also examined the impact of job change and found that if duration of job interruption is less than a year, the probability of moving to a better job with better working conditions is higher. However, if the duration of the job interruption is longer than a year, changing the workplace is disadvantageous. This is because the external labor market is not well developed in Japan.

**4) Saori Kamano, National Institute of Population and Social Security Research,
*Attitudes toward Gender Relationships and Families: Overtime Changes and
Determinants***

Gender division of labor is a prominent characteristic of Japanese society and the social system is designed based upon a couple's division of labor such that husband is responsible for family's economic needs and the wife is the main caregiver for the family. It is reported that since 2005 such attitudes remain resilient as the younger generation supports this gender division of labor. Utilizing the National Fertility Survey and the National Survey on Family in Japan data, both collected by the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, I analyzed this trend in the younger generation and found wider variation within the younger generation compared to earlier cohorts regarding traditional values. In addition to attitudes towards the relationship between husband and wife, there is a pronounced division of attitudes between men and women toward cohabitation, staying single, getting divorced, mothers with young children working outside the home, and the role of the father in the family. Widening income gap in recent years has lead to a widening variation of gender attitudes towards relationships and families. It is crucial to develop social and employment policies that are based on an understanding of such trends.

Discussant: Machiko Osawa, Japan Women's University

Session 33: Room X106

**The Kimono Kaleidoscope: A Multifaceted Discussion of the Kimono, from the
Kosode Hiinagatabon to Today's Antique-Kimono Fad**

Organizer/Chair: Michelle Kuhn, Nagoya University

The kimono has throughout history been one prominent symbol of Japan both at home and abroad. People the world over continue to value its cultural significance and the artistry of its manufacture. Yet academic research on the garment remains scarce. The research that does exist has tended to focus on the types of kimonos worn by aristocrats rather than on the everyday kimonos of ordinary people. Moreover, scholars have

approached kimonos mainly as textiles, and have largely ignored aspects of production, marketing, and wearing. This panel aspires to redress this oversight, first by discussing designs based on classical literature (Kuhn) and artifacts used by craftsmen (Kamo), then by connecting past and present through examination of contemporary uses and meanings of historical motifs and designs (Yoshida). Although the kimono ceased during the second half of the twentieth century to function as everyday attire for the majority in Japan, interest in the kimono has persisted. With a summary by a kimono ethnographer (Yoshimura), the panel aims to provide a holistic understanding of kimono culture, and to ponder its future.

1) Michelle Kuhn, Nagoya University

Discussing the Non-Genji Patterns in the Genji Hiinakata

The *Genji Hiinakata* (1687) is a kimono pattern book that features designs inspired by women. Despite its name, only one third of the female characters in the book are from the *Tale of Genji*. The rest are either fictional or historical women from the ninth–fourteenth centuries. The *Genji Hiinakata* combines both image and text, and blurs the boundaries between the genres of kimono pattern books, illustrated editions of classical literature, and seventeenth-century commentaries on classical literature for female audiences. Though previous scholarship has discussed a few of the designs related to characters from the *Tale of Genji*, no studies have considered the other fictional and historical women that make up the two-thirds of the patterns. The *Genji Hiinakata* deserves a comprehensive study of both the images and writing. Many of the female characters in the *Genji Hiinakata* also appear in Noh plays inspired by their histories. This paper will compare the female characters from Noh plays to other kimono depictions of the same plays. To illustrate the narrative techniques in the *Genji Hiinakata*, this paper will focus on four designs, inspired by women from the Nara, Heian, and Kamakura periods.

2) Mizuho Kamo, Ritsumeikan University

Examination from Dyeing and Weaving Historical Sources; Focus on Katagami and Designs

The labor of kimono production is divided into different loci and kimono go through

a series of processes before completion. For this reason there are many “tools” to create kimono, but they are no longer relevant once the kimono is finished. The fact that more of these tools remain than the kimono they were used to create is relatively unknown. Moreover, these tools are the tangible aspect of craftsmanship and though they can serve as essential objects of study, their importance is unrecognized. This presentation will focus on the “zuan” designs used to envision kimono as well as the *katagami*, Japanese paper stencils for textile dyeing, used when planning the dying process from the late nineteenth century through the early- twentieth century. *Katagami* are made from Japanese paper with persimmon juice used to create various patterns that are then transferred to the fabric. On the other hand, during the nineteenth and early twentieth century *Zuan* were illustrated to create new designs and these novel, colorful designs remain to this day. *Zuan* and *katagami* are invaluable materials for studying society’s fascination with “clothes” as well as aesthetic sense, fashion, extent of education, and the height of skill held by the craftsmen. Along with classifying the many extant materials, this presentation will introduce the development of design illustrated by these *katagami* and designs.

3) Mari Yoshida, Ritsumeikan University

When Supply Does Not Meet Demand: On Contemporary Kimono Culture

Notwithstanding a brief resurgence in the 1950s–60s, the kimono has not served as everyday attire for the majority of Japanese since World War II. The post-war adoption of Western-style clothing among the Japanese forced the kimono industry to adjust its business model to focus on the marketing of formal and special-occasion kimonos. Thus people with an interest in wearing everyday kimonos have of necessity turned to vintage kimonos from the early twentieth century. This suggests that there exists a demand for fashionable everyday kimonos that is not being met by the current kimono industry. In this paper the author examines the ideological differences between the kimono industry (producers and wholesalers) and kimono wearers, and considers the future of kimono culture.

Discussant: Ayako Yoshimura, University of Chicago

Session 34: Room X107**Individual Papers VIII: Empire and After****Chair: Karl Friday, Saitama University****1) Ágota Duró, Hiroshima City University*****Establishing Japanese Medical Assistance for the Korean Atomic Bomb Survivors***

The Atomic Bomb Survivors Medical Care Law that was enacted in Japan in 1957 guaranteed free medical treatment for the atomic bomb survivors (*hibakusha*) residing in Japan. In 1968, the Special Measures Law provided them a monthly healthcare allowance. With these two measures, the Japanese government officially recognized the *hibakusha* and provided them with medical and financial assistance. However, these relief measures excluded the Korean *hibakusha* living in South Korea, who constituted 10% of the A-bomb victims. Son Jin-doo was the first Korean *hibakusha* who filed a suit against the Japanese government to claim these rights and in 1978 the Supreme Court ruled in his favor, acknowledging the rights of all overseas *hibakusha*. While most studies of the Korean *hibakusha* focus on the legal cases, there is little mention of the medical assistance they received in Japan. Dr. Torataro Kawamura, a Hiroshima doctor renowned for treating A-bomb patients, recognized that taking immediate action was more important than waiting for the Japanese government to implement relief measures. In 1973 he began inviting Korean *hibakusha* to his own hospital and providing them with medical treatment at his own expense. In this paper, I discuss Dr. Kawamura's work and the civil society-based committee he set up to provide the Korean *hibakusha* with medical assistance. Due to his long-term commitment to the medical treatment of the Korean *hibakusha*, he earned a reputation both in Japan and South Korea, contributing to the postwar improvement of the Japanese-Korean relations.

2) Bjorn Koolen, Sophia University***The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere beyond the Propaganda: Japan's Vision for Regional Economic Interdependence***

Attempts to define Japan's "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," always refers to terms such as propaganda, imperialism and of course the notion of "Asia for Asians."

Scholars seem to have generally been taken in by the propaganda posters of the time, ignoring arguably the most important part of the term: Co-Prosperity. This paper sets out to study the Co-Prosperity Sphere from an economic history point of view analysing the flow of goods, people and information connecting the various regions it encompassed. Regions that were previously underdeveloped saw the rise of specialised industries and resource extraction responding to both civilian and military demands, while intellectuals became increasingly mobile through a wide variety of regional exchanges. Japan's long-term vision and commitment of both the state and companies for a flourishing East-Asian region has however become shrouded by the veil of militarism and associated memories. While the Sphere was far from benign and realities of exploitation cannot be ignored, Japan's efforts greatly contributed to the growth of East Asia's economic interdependency and a relative weakening of its ties with the West. This paper aims to challenge the common preconceptions of the Co-Prosperity Sphere and discuss the question of whether the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere could be considered the first modern attempt of systematic economic integration of the East Asian region.

3) Hanae Kurihara Kramer, University of Hawai'i at Manoa
Man'ei (Manchuria Motion Picture Corporation), 1937–1945

Drug smuggling, murder, bribery, espionage, extortion, conspiracies, and unholy alliances are staples of the film industry. For the Man'ei (Manchuria Motion Picture Corporation) these had less to do with the onscreen action than what took place behind the camera. "As I researched deeper and deeper," Japanese film scholar Yamaguchi Takeshi wrote, "Man'ei became incomprehensible. It did things that film companies just do not do." Historians are still at a loss to explain how the studio's president Amakasu Masahiko became one of the most powerful men in all of Manchuria. Three post-war biographies of Amakasu forgo the details of his early life and begin with the 1923 strangulation of Japanese leftist Ōsugi Sakae, a crime that seemingly served as a prerequisite for his presidency of Man'ei. He employed a motley crew of artists, entertainers, and shady individuals. Perhaps the most colorful ex-convict of the bunch was Ōtsuka Yūshō, a once devoted communist who lied, cheated, and stole for his political cause. He served nearly ten years in prison for bank robbery before joining the Man'ei family.

4) Sookyeong Hong, Cornell University

Overcoming Modern Medicine: Sakurazawa Yukikazu's "Natural Medicine," 1929–1945

The discourse on science and technology during the fifteen-year war period in Japan has often been characterized as the search for the Japanese spirit, in other words, the uniqueness and superiority of Japan in service of wartime mobilization. One of the examples of this trend can also be found in medical discourse from the 1930s onward, particularly centering on the concept of Japanese Medicine (*Ninon igaku*). This Japanist inflection of medical discourse was advanced by the supporters of the traditional medicine (*Kampo*) revival, dietary reform activists based on reformulated Shinto ideology as well as physicians who expressed renewed interest in traditional *materia medica* and the history of medicine in Japan and East Asia. Notwithstanding diverse approaches, one of the striking commonalities was the tendency to critically appreciate modern biomedicine based on the East-versus-West dichotomy. With this backdrop in mind, this paper discusses one of the most conspicuous advocates of Japanese Medicine, Sakurazawa Yukikazu (桜澤如一 1893–1966, aka George Ohsawa). Even though Sakurazawa was a high-profile figure in the world of postwar health food movement called macrobiotics, little has been known about his wartime activities as a key leader in the “eating right” (*seishoku*, or *shokuyō*) movement. Resonating with the *Kampo* revivalists, Sakurazawa appropriated the yin-yang theory (*eki*) to reformulate the *seishoku* tenet into “Oriental medicine” and ultimately into what he called “Natural medicine.” In what ways did Sakurazawa deploy the notion of “nature” and the practice of “natural eating” as an antithesis of modern biomedicine? How did he address the problematic of universality in science and medicine while relying on the dichotomous framework of the Orient and Occident? This paper aims to explore these questions by unpacking Sakurazawa’s role as a cultural broker or translator between “Oriental medicine” and French medical holism in the 1930s.

5) Ryan Moran, Keio University***Producing the Responsible Population in Colonial Korea***

In 1916, the Japanese post office created a new low-cost life insurance system that was geared towards laborers. Advocates believed that insurance could solve the “social problem,” which had accompanied industrialization. According to supporters, insurance functioned as a universalizing technology; in the system of insurance, each individual life is assigned a specific value while being simultaneously subsumed within the larger aggregate of the population of the insured. Proponents of the new system contended that life insurance would stabilize the lives of laborers and transform them into thrifty, responsible consuming subjects. Through insurance, state bureaucrats and social reformers utilized the heteronormative and patriarchal family as a site for the instantiation of habits of responsible conduct into the fabric of everyday life. Through the post office, this system would also expand into Japan’s colonies. In this paper, I will focus on the introduction of postal life insurance into Korea in 1929. Colonial officials hoped to use insurance to infuse habits of responsible fiscal conduct into the everyday lives of Korean subjects. As part of this project, bureaucrats worked to convince Koreans to give up local mutual assistance associations and to become modern consumer-subjects of insurance. Moreover, the profits gleaned from this insurance system also became an important source of funds for social welfare projects in colonial Korea. This paper will thus interrogate how the colonial state, through the post office’ life insurance system, used discourses of security, responsibility, and social welfare to stabilize the population in colonial Korea.

Session 35: Room X201**Individual Papers IX: Japanese literature****Chair: Lisa Yinghong Li, J. F. Oberlin University****1) Yanfang Tang, College of William and Mary*****Classical Chinese Poetry and Modern Chinese Life***

This paper examines the presence and presentation of classical Chinese poetry in contemporary Chinese life. It goes without saying that classical Chinese poetry, particularly the poetry of the Tang and Song periods, represents a significant core of the Chinese literary legacy and a rich repertoire that reflects importantly Chinese history, philosophy, and aesthetic ideas. For reasons that this article attempts to investigate, there has been a resurgence of interest in classical Chinese poetry in China in the past two decades, which manifests itself conspicuously in many aspects of Chinese everyday life. Quotations of Tang poetry and Song lyrics are omnipresent, in popular music, in TV series, in the headlines of newspapers, and even in the languages of advertisements. “Poetic world” or *yijing* (意境) permeates contemporary films, and reciting poems has become a vogue or *shishang* (时尚) for young people. This paper examines this omnipresence of classical poetry in contemporary China. Additionally, it inquires into the social and cultural factors that contribute to this “poetic facet” of modern Chinese life.

2) Noriko T. Reider, Miami University***Devouring and Helping Yamauba in Folktales: Two Sides of the Same Coin***

A *yamauba* is often portrayed as a mountain dwelling old woman with a taste for human flesh. The appellation of *yamauba* came into existence in the medieval period. *Yamauba*'s predecessors are *oni*-like as well as mountain deity-like beings. A *yamauba* herself is considered a type of an *oni*, and a *yamauba* and an *oni*-woman are often used interchangeably in various texts. Although malevolent *yamauba* in such folktales as “Kuwazu nyōbō” (The Wife Who Didn't Eat), “Ushikata to yamauba” (Ox-cart Puller and Mountain Witch), and “Sanmai no ofuda” (The Three Lucky Charms) are contrasted with the benevolent *yamauba* that appear in “Ubakawa” (Old Woman's Skin) and “Komebuku

Awabuku” (Komebuku and Awabuku), and *otogizōshi* “Blossom Princess,” there is a symbiotic relationship between the good and evil *yamauba*. Their stories possess a complementary narrative format. The duality of the *yamauba* is simply two sides of the same coin. The presentation further addresses how and why *yamauba*’s traits came into being. While the Noh play *Yamanba* is an indispensable text in understanding the medieval *yamauba* and beyond, I also consider the Noh play *Kurozuka* (Black Mound), a critical text in the formation of *yamauba*’s image.

3) Otilia Clara Milutin, Knox College

“Bathed in Perspiration”: Sexual Violence and the Female Body in Heian-Period Monogatari

This paper examines textual representations of rape in Heian period (794—1185) court tales (*monogatari*) written by aristocratic women serving at the imperial court and focuses primarily on the use of sweat imagery found in these tales, from *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*, 1008) to *Nezame at Night* (*Yoru no nezame*, 11th century). Based on extensive doctoral research on textual representations of sexual violence in the *monogatari* of the Heian and Kamakura (1185-1333) periods, this paper analyzes the only kind of textual representation in which the violated female body becomes visible in its powerful reaction to male aggression: profuse sweating. It argues that not only is the use of sweat imagery unusual in a literature ruled by courtly decorum, but that it also serves as one of the few means of visually revealing the Heian female body, which remains otherwise mostly unseen. Frequently represented only metonymically, through hair or garments, the bodies of *monogatari* heroines gain a physical dimension that sweat reveals in a manner both visual - describing a body wet, disheveled and often exposed - and tactile - presenting a body that is shivering and cold to the touch. Ultimately, by gaining a body, *monogatari* heroines also gain agency, for sweat not only helps inscribe their sexual victimization at the hands of men, but also their resistance, both physical and psychological, to male aggression.

4) Yuanfei Wang, University of Georgia

Narratives and Images of “Japanese” Pirates in Late Ming China

Current scholarship on “Japanese” piracy during the Jiajing reign of Ming dynasty (1521–1567) only focuses on the economic and military aspects of the maritime raids carried on by multinational crewmen, including the Japanese, the Portuguese, and the Chinese. This paper discusses the largely ignored aspect of rhetoric and language employed by late Ming literati to approach the problem of imperial identity in the historical discourse of “Japanese” piracy. The paper will concentrate on the ways various unofficial histories and vernacular fiction construct different narratives of the campaigns against the maritime merchants/pirates Xu Hai and Wang Zhi. The texts to be discussed include Yan Congjian’s *Records of Surrounding Strange Realms* (1574), Cai Jiude’s *Survey of Japanese Piracy* (1558), and a few vernacular stories. The paper proposes that imperial identity was a big concern in late Ming public discourse. Unofficial histories and vernacular fiction contested with official and imperialistic discourse on “Japanese” piracy, a cultural response to the flourishing transnational maritime trade in the late sixteenth century.

5) Hitomi Yoshio, Waseda University

Translating the Classics: Modern Translation of Ichiyō and Kawakami Mieko’s Chichi to ran

In 1996, the publishing house Kawade shobō embarked on a project where contemporary writers of various styles and genres translated Higuchi Ichiyō’s works into updated Japanese. These “contemporary translations” aimed for not only readability but also a supposed reinvigoration of the classic works through the signature stamp of the popular living authors. While translation is never merely a mimetic linguistic transfer, this emphasis on the translator brings to light what is normally rendered invisible, subverting the hierarchy between the original and translated texts. These translations furthermore reveal an interesting phenomenon where certain experimental writers find creative possibilities in Ichiyō’s writing style, which in her day was celebrated yet designated as “neo-classical” and “feminine.” In this paper, I will tie together the late 19th-century writer with a contemporary writer Kawakami Mieko (b.1976), who was profoundly influenced by

Ichiyō's work when she was young, via translation, and who recently produced her own updated translation of "Takekurabe." I will examine how translations can indeed transport meaning across centuries, metamorphosing the original to give birth to a kind of writing that challenges and pushes the limits of language, and also give new interpretations and invite a new, younger generation of readers. I will also examine the connection between writing and gender – in that the neo-classical writing style that Ichiyō employed was distinctly gendered feminine in the early 20th century, and this notion of gendered writing (*écriture féminine*) is questioned, explored, and performed by Kawakami in her most famous novella, *Chichi to ran* (Breasts and Eggs, 2007).

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSIONS II: 3:40 P.M. – 5:40 P.M.**Session 36: Room X201****New Perspectives on Late Colonial Korea: Collaboration, Comfort Women, and National Identity****Organizer/Chair: Chizuko T. Allen, University of Hawai'i at Manoa**

Challenges that arose in Korea in the last decade of Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945), the time of global crises and Korean hardship, still haunt the Korean people and their standing in East Asia today. This panel throws new light on Korea's contested issues from this important period by introducing little known facts and fresh perspectives. Tackling with the question of collaboration, AhRan Ellie Bae takes a close look at Yi Kwang-su, a Korean literature pioneer, known for collaboration with the Japanese in the late colonial era. Bae questions the validity of the currently prevalent denunciation of Yi, particularly in comparison with the fame of An Ch'ang-ho as an independence fighter. Questions concerning patriotism and national identity are also asked by Vladimir Tikhonov, who studies Kim Sa-ryang, a Korean intellectual and bilingual writer who joined the anti-Japanese Chinese forces months before the end of WWII. Tikhonov's analysis of Kim's diary reveals the process of identity development for new Korea that contributed to post-liberation North Korea's Socialist subjectivity. Gabriel Jonsson focuses on the account of Korean "comfort women" survivors, who, as victims of colonial rule, war, and patriarchal structural violence, represent South Koreans who continue to hold the nation of Japan accountable today. In contrast to Jonsson's standard discussion, Chizuko Allen cross-examines the paradigmatic story of Korean comfort women and explores its origins in conflicting wartime memories that coalesced in post-liberation Korea. The panel reassesses late colonial Korea's gestation for self-transformation that shaped and continues to affect the two Koreas.

1) AhRan Ellie Bae, Rikkyo University

The Collaboration Issue in the Case of Yi Kwang-su

The issue of collaboration, specifically regarding *chin'il'pa* (or pro-Japanese), has been an ongoing issue that causes a charged reaction in Korean society. Even an academic pursuit regarding this issue has been more focused on proving or disproving whether or not these *chin'il'pa* figures have committed treason. This moralistic approach has a tendency to blind us from examining the gray areas that surround their alleged traitorous acts—the intentions and circumstances that resulted in such “traitorous” actions. Yi Kwang-su and An Cha'angho gives us a rare glimpse into two intellectuals who crossed paths in many ways, but are remembered completely differently by the Korean public. Although Yi Kwang-su was hailed as a first modern writer, his reputation is now tarnished by his so-called pro-Japanese acts. An Cha'angho on the other hand, has maintained a more favorable reputation since he is viewed as an independence fighter who fought for Chosŏn's independence. By comparing and contrasting these seemingly polar-opposite intellectuals, this paper raises questions regarding the notion that resistance and collaboration as complete opposite reactions to colonial subjugation. By challenging this myth, it hopes to shed light on competing nationalisms and their transformations throughout the colonial era. Through their story, I hope to develop a more nuanced approach to the much-contested era in Korean history.

2) Vladimir Tikhonov, University of Oslo

Kim Saryang's Ten Thousand Li of a Dull-Witted Horse – Remembering the Anti-Colonial Struggle

Kim Saryang (real name: Kim Sich'ang, 1914–1950) was among the Korean authors of the 1930s and 1940s who wrote abundantly on the issues related to the Korean ethno-national identity, both in Korean and in Japanese. When dispatched on a lecture tour to the Japanese army units stationed in North China, he used this opportunity to escape and join the Chinese Communist Eight Route Army guerrillas in the Taihang Mountains in May 1945. His China diary, *Ten Thousand Li of a Dull-Witted Horse* (*Nomamalli*, serialized in Seoul-based journal *Minsŏng* in 1946–47 and published in book form in Pyongyang in 1947), written in his new status as a North Korean writer, will be the main

object of analysis in my presentation. The diary was an attempt to systemize the remembrances about the joint Sino-Korean anti-Japanese struggle, with the continuous process of building of the new, Socialist subjectivities in Communist-controlled parts of China and Korea in mind. This presentation will deal with the ways in which the new, post-colonial and Socialist Korean identity-in-making is being both reflected in Kim's rendering of his battlefield observations and remembrances and further given form through the act of writing on the armed anti-Japanese resistance – in broad meaning, the sacred formative background of what further was to become North Korean history. At the same time, the presentation will emphasize the role Socialist international ideology played in articulating Kim's narrative.

3) Gabriel Jonsson, Stockholm University

Can the Japan-Korea Dispute on Comfort Women be Resolved?

About 80 percent of the estimated 70,000–200,000 comfort women Japan took by coercion from 1932–1945 were Korean. The Japanese government claims that the 1965 Japan-Republic of Korea (ROK) Normalization Treaty is the authority to support its argument that the comfort women do not have a claim at international law but they were not even mentioned in it. The issue was long neglected for pragmatic reasons. When Korean women raised the issue around 1990 and former comfort woman Kim Hak-sun came out in 1991, it emerged as a point of dispute. Japan has given no official apology to the victims. Museums in Seoul and Tokyo focus on victims' sufferings enhance understanding. The feeling of guilt regarding an unresolved issue should be enhanced among visitors. Might the 70th anniversary of World War II and the 50th anniversary of the Normalization Treaty in 2015 will become an opportunity to resolve the issue?

4) Chizuko T. Allen, University of Hawai'i at Manoa

Assembled Memories about Korean "Comfort Women"

Korean "comfort women," young sex workers at Japanese military brothels before and during WWII, had been called and regarded as *chongsindae*, or the Women's Volunteer Labor Corps, in South Korea until recent years. The Women's Volunteer Labor Corps was commissioned by the Japanese imperial government to address the wartime

labor shortage in 1944, and its Korean units consisted of Korean school girls who were sent to Japan to work at war-related factories. How did the conflation of “comfort women” with the Women’s Volunteer Labor Corps, which had little to do with military brothels, take place and endure for decades? And how did it impact on the Korean people’s perception of the mobilization of “comfort women”? To answer these questions, this paper examines the writings and speeches of Prof. Yun Chŏng-ok (1925–), the co-founder of the Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan, the organization, since its 1990 inception, has led the “comfort women” redress movement. A close look at Yun’s trajectory as well as the “comfort women” survivors’ testimonials reveals that the “comfort women” narrative that she helped popularize did not emerge on the basis of their memories. The narrative, instead, drew on Yun’s memory about the Women’s Volunteer Labor Corps recruitment as well as the memories expressed by Korean men who had identified the Korean “comfort women” as Volunteer Labor Corps members upon their encounters abroad. This conflation sustained the Korean assertion that Korean “comfort women” had been forcibly mobilized by Japanese authorities.

Discussant: Jung-Sun Han, Korea University

Session 37: Room X202

Technologies of (In)Visibility in Japanese Science Fiction

Organizer/Chair: Baryon Tensor Posadas, University of Minnesota

Given that science fiction engages with what might be termed a technological imaginary, it is no coincidence that the technologies of mediation have often been an important object of interest within the genre. Yet accounts of the history of science fiction typically revolve around the genre’s literary origins, often occluding the recognition of the significant role played by other media in its development. Such a recognition is especially critical in the Japanese context in light of the impact of visual culture in the science fiction genre’s global circulations into and out of Japan. Our papers take up science fiction as a transmedia cultural formation in two ways: first, the texts we examine cover a range of visual media ranging from cinema and television to manga and animation; second, and

more importantly, our discussions highlight the ways in which these texts employ images of technologies of (in)visibility as cognitively estranging devices for conceptualizing the politics of the non-human. Yusung Kim's paper sets the stage by addressing the remediation of television in the *tokusatsu eiga* of the 1960s. Denis Taillandier then discusses the visual representations of nanotechnologically modified cyborgs in the Japanese science fiction manga of Kishiro Yukito. In turn, Kazue Harada considers the politics of visibility and invisibility foregrounded through the visualization of atomic radiation in the manga of Kobayashi Erika. Finally, Baryon Posadas examines the figure of the zombie in recent adaptations of the work of Project Itoh as a media-allegorical meditation on the animated image of the human.

1) Yusung Kim, Harvard University

How is an Event Invented?: Television in Tokusatsu Eiga in the Late 1950s and Early 60s

This paper explores the way in which television as a new medium became one of the recurring images in *tokusatsu eiga* in the late 1950s and early 60s. *Tokusatsu eiga*, special effects films of Japan, depicted various kinds of imaginary events, such as the emergence of monsters (*Kaijū*), space exploration, fatal disasters, alien invasion, and the like. Such events in these film digests were mostly covered on television as live news reports to evoke a sense of liveliness. What is intriguing here is that the verisimilar quality of an event is enhanced through two different forms of windows: a big silver screen and a small television monitor. *Tokusatsu eiga* was usually shown in widescreen format, which was used in an attempt to expand the cinematic experience to make audiences feel as if they directly faced what was happening in the film, giving rise to a sense of immersion that could not be experienced through a tiny display of television. However, *tokusatsu eiga*'s big screen, Tohoscope, passionately took the images of television in it to highlight the events described in film. Audiences in theaters, thus, could experience it through multiply layered windows. I argue that *tokusatsu* film not merely represented events in film but also re-mediated the new medium's attributes, namely how an event is invented *on television*. I delve into the way in which *tokusatsu* film re-invented a televisual event in a cinematic way, rendering itself as a liminal place where old and new media encountered each other.

2) Denis Taillandier, Ritsumeikan University

The Nanotech Cyborgs from Ganmu to Ganmu Last Order

Elaborating on the cybernetic imagination, the nanopunk movement has drawn attention to the philosophical and ethical issues raised by the potential rebuilding of the world – including the human body – by nanotechnological means. Early illustrations of the subgenre in Japanese SF, the manga *Ganmu* (Battle Angel Alita) and its sequel, *Ganmu: Last Order* (Battle Angel Alita: Last Order), by Kishiro Yukito, stage nanotechnological achievements that gradually call into question the modern epistemological divide between the natural (as a safe ontological ground) and the artefactual (as a man-made counterfeit of nature). Through the description of cyborg hybrids, Kishiro reconsiders the definition of the Human: where does the essence of humanhood lie if a bio-chip can act as a human brain and mechanical prosthesis replace the body, if an AI computer can display the behavior of a human being? To deal with this question, the manga is based on an apparently unique dichotomy between organic life and the machine. However, entwined around it, is a much more complex network of shifting relations. Drawing from examples of its use in narrative theory, this paper uses the semiotic square as an analytical means of unraveling those relations. It concludes that humanhood is not so much defined by physiology (even though embodiment is central in the narrative, it may take many shapes), nor by self-consciousness (which can be assumed by a bio-chip); but rather by will and emotions, perfectibility. However, this perfectibility is not seen as an individual ability-enhancement but as a moral struggle where some mediation is established between technological achievement and society.

3) Kazue Harada, Miami University

Perceivable Radiation in the Post-Fukushima Japan in Kobayashi Erika's The Luminous

“My beautiful radium,” as the first female physicist Marie Curie called it in the discovery of radium in 1898. When the radium decays, it emits fluorescent chemicals and produces radioluminescence. It was a beautiful glow. In our contemporary society, we are aware that Radium is highly radioactive and harmful to human and nonhuman life forms.

We can understand the irony between the beauty of radioluminescence and the danger of radiation. However, radioactive isotopes are usually invisible to us, and therefore we often tend to neglect their existence. Japanese science fiction manga artist/novelist Kobayashi Erika (b. 1978) reconnects this irony of Marie Curie's life and the post-Fukushima environment. In particular, the invisibility of radioactive isotopes is presented in parallel to that of women and nonhuman lives. Kobayashi's works illustrate radioactive isotopes becoming more visible through the senses in order to reconnect our lives with the ubiquity of radioactive materials. Her manga shows an alternative way of perceiving the invisible nonliving materials to rethink our coexistence with radioactive materials in the environment. This alternative can offer another critical view on the use of the nuclear energy. This paper will primarily explore the ways in which Kobayashi's two manga *Hikari no Kodomo 1 and 2* [The Luminous 1, 2013, The Luminous 2, 2016] demonstrate radioactive materials' impact on human and nonhuman lives beyond time and space, and show how the humans can react differently if radioactive isotopes become perceivable.

4) Baryon Tensor Posadas, University of Minnesota

Animated Bodies: On the Adaptations of Project Itoh's Zombies

Often understood as an allegory of dehumanization, be it as an effect of the capitalist production process or colonial governmentality, the figure of the zombie has made countless appearances in works classified under the genres of horror, fantasy, or speculative fiction. My paper builds upon this existing work by examining the manifestations of the figure of the zombie in the work of Project Itoh [Itō Keikaku], focusing especially on his posthumously published *Empire of Corpses* (*Shisha no teikoku*, 2012) and its recent anime adaptation (2015). Set in a meta-science-fictional steampunk world wherein Dr. Frankenstein's successful experiments with re-animating corpses have led to the widespread use of zombie workers and soldiers, *Empire of Corpses* extends Itoh's earlier employments of the zombie as a vehicle for the exploration of the nature of human consciousness by confronting a world populated by mass-produced animated bodies without human subjectivity. Moreover, the anime adaptation of the novel takes the issue further, staging a meta-commentary on the problem of animation itself as generative of images that can simulate human affect and intelligence in a manner akin to the zombie. In

doing so, it opens up a space to consider the question of how to apprehend the figure of the zombie not only as a representational object of inquiry within the texts under examination, but as a critical prism for articulating the stakes of visualizing the non-human by raising the issue our own practices of spectatorship, our own visual pleasure in seeing the mass-produced images of Japanese animation.

Discussant: Takayuki Tatsumi, Keio University

Session 38: Room X104

Diversity and the Diversification of Work and the Workplace in Japan

Organizer and Chair: Phoebe Stella Holdgrün, German Institute for Japanese Studies

Diversity has become a buzzword in recent years in Japan and also a central concern for the current government as is visible in the prominence of *Womenomics* on the political agenda, aiming at promoting and supporting women in the employment sector. However, diversity touches on issues of gender as well as categories such as age, sexual orientation, health, mental and physical ability. Processes of diversification also imply fundamental changes to work environments and employment more generally. Therefore, diversity has become part of various discourses in Japan, at the levels of politics, business and social relations. There seems to be a consensus that Japan experiences diversification on multiple levels and that more diversity is both desirable and unavoidable. However, what diversity means or ought to mean remains rather undefined. This interdisciplinary panel addresses the issue of diversity at work and the workplace from the different analytic angles of political science, psychology and media analysis. It looks both at discourse and on the implications diversity and processes of diversification have on employment, workers and the organization of work. In addition, the discussant will connect the case studies and relate them to more general diversity discourses in Japan. In so doing, the panel aims at providing insights into diversity at the workplace and in the work environment as well as into the multifaceted implications of diversification. It thus contributes to the discussion how diversity should be defined and how it can be used as an analytic category in research.

1) Tobias Söldner, German Institute for Japanese Studies

Interrelations Between Sexism, Gender Role ideals, Gender Specific Work Competency Perceptions, and Career Aspirations of Japanese University Students

Interrelations between gender role ideals, hostile/benevolent sexism, perceived gender specific work competencies, and career aspirations of Japanese university students were examined in a three stage online study. Stage 1 focused on the differential effects of a participant's pre-existing levels of benevolent and hostile sexism on the perception of work-related competencies of women in general, family role ideals, and the career ambitions of female participants. In stage 2, participants were introduced to a crisis scenario that called for the selection of the most competent candidates to fill vacant leadership and assistant positions in a company. Despite the fact that the task-relevant competencies of females and males in the candidate pool were exactly matched, the parameters measured in stage 1 had a prominent influence on the relative likelihood of a participant assigning male or female candidates to leadership positions. In stage 3, participants were randomly presented a number of fictitious job descriptions that contained either openly hostile, benevolent, or no sexist passages at all. The presence and type of sexism displayed had differential effects on the perceived attractiveness of the job offer for females, perceived employer sexism, perceived employer goodwill, and the well-being and competency self-perceptions of female participants that underscore the unique and insidious dangers of benevolent sexism.

2) Steffen Heinrich, German Institute for Japanese Studies

The Diversification of Employment Forms and its Implications for Japan's Welfare Politics

Over the years it has become commonly accepted in Japan that “employment form diversification” (*koyō keitai no tayōka*) can have problematic consequences for workers. For example, regular and non-regular workers differ considerably with regard to their access to social security, seniority pay and career prospects. Some studies on European countries that are experiencing a similar process of labor market dualisation, argue that such differences gradually lead to a polarization of interests of workers. This makes it not

only difficult for labor parties to mobilize their former core constituency in elections, but may make it difficult for any government to achieve consensus on issues related to labor and social security. Even though non-regular employees make up nearly 40% of all dependent employment in Japan, the political consequences of this development have received little attention in research so far. This paper analyses how different groups of workers are affected by current welfare state arrangements and it asks how this shapes preferences with regard to social policy. The paper argues that employment diversity has not led to strong political polarization of voters with different employment backgrounds, a noticeable contrast to European countries. On the contrary, “insider” and “outsider” workers’ interests seem to converge on a range of issues. Polarization, however, becomes visible when the impact of employment diversification is analyzed in conjunction with tax and welfare arrangements.

3) Ronald Saladin, German Institute for Japanese Studies

Hanzawa Naoki: The Utopia of Changing Workplace Structures in the Media

Diversity at the workplace is usually associated with categories such as gender, age or sexual orientation and with the aim of making the workplace more inclusive. This paper suggests one more dimension of diversity: the way work is structured at the workplace and how this translates into routines of work processes and interpersonal relations. The TV drama *Hanzawa Naoki* (TBS 2013) was the most successful Japanese TV series of the past 30 years. It is about a banker who does not bow down to his superiors and does not support them in doing their dirty business. *Hanzawa* clearly has a different idea of how bankers should act. He fights the odds at his workplace in order to live up to his ideals and to reach his goals. He personifies a new archetype of a white collar worker who differs significantly from the hegemonic idea of the Japanese salaryman with regards to his performance at the workplace and interactions with superiors, colleagues and clients. This paper argues that the success of the TV show is partially due to the fact that it depicts a utopia that expresses what the majority of Japanese people is wishing for: a re-definition of the salaryman and a renewal of workplace organization. The drama, thus, promotes diversity at the workplace in terms of supporting more personal freedom and the ability to actively participate in reshaping work processes of the Japanese business world.

Discussant: Glenda Roberts, Waseda University

Session 39: Room X105

United Nation Peacekeeping: Japanese experience and global perspectives

Organizers: Kyoko Hatakeyama, Kansai Gaidai University/Andreas Hilger, German Historical Institute, Moscow

Chair: Swapna Kona Nayudu, LSE, London

UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKO) constitute an integral part of the international history since 1945. Nevertheless, a modern global history of UNPKO is still missing. The panel brings together perspectives of different contributing countries—Japan, Germany, Finland, and India—that allow for in-depth analysis of national approaches to different crises under changing international conditions. To conceptualize a global history of UNPKO, by using Japanese debates and experiences as reference point, the panel defines important aspects of national decision-making processes, and it weighs the impact of both relevant international (or regional) constellations as well as specific crisis patterns. In this context, the cases of Germany and Finland present post-war approaches of other defeated powers of World War II. Given different immediate consequences of World War II, varying post-war international positions as well as and long-term strategies to „come to terms with the past“ the Japanese-German-Finnish triangle allows for insights into the impact of national cultures as well as of general international political—and moral—classification or standing on decision-making-processes concerning UNPKO. The example of India with its specific posture as non-aligned, Asian country expands these dimensions. In particular, it discusses the influence of ideas about new world orders on a global undertaking like UNPKO. In addition, the contrast between Indian and Japanese (non-)activities underlines important interdependencies between different, basically unrelated, crises. In general, the panel contributes to a more precise understanding of the interplay between most relevant factors of international relations, national understandings, and regional crises in the history of UNPKO.

1) Kyoko Hatakeyama, Kansai Gaidai University***Trajectory of Japan's Experience and Perspectives in Peacekeeping Operations***

Japan had been reluctant to play a substantial role in a security field throughout the Cold War period. The low-posture towards military affairs remained unchanged even in the framework of the UN, namely, peacekeeping operations. After a short discussion of the Cold War era, this paper examines what impact the end of the Cold War brought about on Japanese thinking about UN peacekeeping operations. By focusing on debates on the dispatch of the Self Defence Forces and external factors, it aims to clarify the factors precipitated a policy change, namely, the adoption of the peacekeeping cooperation law. In explaining Japan's shift, existing works tend to emphasize domestic ideational factors such as norms and ideas, or the impact of the Gulf War on 1991. However, this paper pays more attention to external factors such as the international structure and the relationship with other countries throughout a longer period. Analysis of Japan's experience gives a starting point for comparison with German, Finnish, and Indian cases since it identifies a set of important factors for a comprehensive discussion: apart from security and peace, it introduces components like hierarchy in international relations, power, political culture, and historical background. Then the comparison helps to clarify what is a decisive factor for a policy change on UN peacekeeping operations and what is an idiosyncratic factor.

2) Andreas Hilger, German Historical Institute, Moscow***India and UN Peacekeeping in the Cold War and After***

India's approach to UNPKO reflects an ambivalent balance between strict, anti-colonial informed insistence on national self-determination on the one hand and principles of international co-operation, détente, and peace policy on the other hand. The inherent contradiction between allegedly "Asian" peaceful approaches to international relations and concerns about possible interference in Indian affairs and interests influences Delhi's approaches down to the present day. In this general context, the paper focuses on the contrast between India's active and comparatively massive contribution to UNPKOs since the 1950s and her increasingly vehement reluctance to accept UN-activities in both the Kashmir crisis and during general Indo-Pakistan conflicts until the 1970s. Indian decision-makers justified their contribution to UN-endeavours in, among others, the Near East or in

Congo as a way to isolate regional conflicts from superpower competition and to resolve international problems by specific “non-European” methods. At the same time, they assumed, that possible UN-actions in the claimed Indian sphere of influence above all would serve traditional big—colonial—power aims against new countries. While in Indian eyes this complex argumentation appeared to be coherent, the differentiation nevertheless undermined credibility and limited international possibilities of conflict resolution. In this respect, the Indian relation with UNPKO underlines problems of allegedly universal approaches and instruments. At the same time, it provides insights into the complex interplay of immediate security concerns and chances of international co-operation in concrete UNPKO.

3) Agilolf Keßelring, University of Helsinki,
UN Peacekeeping by Germany and Finland

The paper examines the different approaches towards UN Peacekeeping, comparing German and Finish policy and practical engagement from 1955 until today. We focus on historical factors using the methodological framework of “strategic identity”. How did it come, that Finland and Germany—after all two countries with cultural affinity, entangled history and hence sharing a broad set of values—developed differing practices in peacekeeping? Historical “lessons learned” concerning state *sovereignty* made the difference. Both countries were defeated in World War II. The World War II victors became permanent UN Security Council members. Both Finland and West Germany perceived a Soviet threat, but chose different strategies in dealing with it: Finland remembered the condemnation (4.12.1939) of the Soviet aggression by the League of Nations. This experience materialized in Finland’s own post-war participation in peacekeeping missions. Finland’s *sovereignty* and *neutrality* could only be guaranteed by international influence and strong domestic military forces. Since 1955 UN Peacekeeping served both: Keeping up with the military state of the art and international visibility. For the FRG’s sovereignty was based—curtailed—on a trade, dealing *sovereignty for troop-contribution* under NATO-command (since 1955). Under circumstances of the Cold War, the “Hallstein Doctrine” of not recognizing East Germany, did not allow to join the UN. Both German states joined the UN in 1973, following the “new Ostpolitik.” Until 1994

(Russian retreat from Central Europe and Finland's decision to give up neutrality)
Germany stuck on the position, that its constitution would not allow for *armed* UN-
Peacekeeping.

Discussant: Yuji Uesugi, Waseda University

Session 40: Room X106

Individual Papers X: Japanese Literature

Chair: Noriko Murai, Sophia University

1) Michiko Suzuki, University of California, Davis

A Firefly in the Sleeve: Reading the Tale of Genji in The Makioka Sisters

Tanizaki Jun'ichirō famously began writing *Sasameyuki* (The Makioka Sisters, 1943–1948) after publishing his first modern Japanese translation of *Genji monogatari* (Tale of Genji) in 1939–1941. Although he obfuscates the influence of this Heian-period text on his novel about merchant-class sisters from Osaka, he does admit that the work was on his mind while writing. *The Makioka Sisters*, set during the years leading up to the Pacific War, has often been compared to the *Tale of Genji* for its extensive *emaki*-like aesthetic, unique shifting narrative viewpoint, and appreciation of seasons, rituals and poetry. My talk examines the “firefly viewing” (*hotarugari*) episode in the last volume of *The Makioka Sisters*, in which the characters participate in this traditional summer practice. Critics have noted that this episode echoes the “Hotaru: Fireflies” chapter in the *Tale of Genji* due to its focus on these insects, but no in-depth exploration of the intertextuality has been conducted, presumably due to the lack of commonality in the plots. Particularly by focusing on garments and fireflies in this section of *The Makioka Sisters*, I illuminate critical allusions to the *Tale of Genji* and other classical texts. And by rereading the sequence in this way, I show how such classical references contribute to the broader significance of the central plotline in the novel, the search for a suitable husband for the enigmatic third sister Yukiko.

2) Hsin-Chin Hsieh, National Taipei University of Education, Taiwan

A Window to Japan: Arai Hifumi's Sinophone Writing in Taiwan

This paper aims to examine contemporary Japanese writer Arai Hifumi's Sinophone writing in Taiwan, and investigate how she introduces Japan and its culture to readers through writing in Mandarin. Arai is a Tokyo-born Japanese writer who had studied and worked in China, Hong Kong and Canada, and masters Japanese, Mandarin and English. Most interestingly, she has written in Mandarin and published prose and reportage in Hong Kong and Taiwan for more than twenty years, and her writing is regarded as an important medium for readers to understand Japan and its culture, particularly everyday life in Tokyo from a local perspective. Since Arai has been cultivated with multiple cultures, her representation of Japan is manifold in comparison with other cultures from a cosmopolitan viewpoint. By textual analysis of her books published in Taiwan, this paper explores how Arai Hifumi constructs the image of Japan and (re-)presents its culture to Sinophone readers. It argues that cultural hybridity and authenticity play important roles in Arai's writing that contributes to its popularity and enables transnational conversations between Japan and the Sinophone world.

3) Marta Fanasca, The University of Manchester

Walk Like a Man, Talk Like a Man: Ethnographic Research in a Dansō Escort Company in Akihabara

The aim of this paper is to examine the findings of my nine months' ethnographic fieldwork at a *dansō* (female to male crossdresser) escort company in Akihabara, Tokyo. From September 2015 to July 2016 I was admitted into the company, and I had the opportunity to observe on a daily basis *dansō* in their working duties and in their free time, and to meet customers in the framework of paid dates while presenting myself as a *dansō* too. Studies regarding leisure and sexual entertainment in Japan have mainly focused until now on hostess bars and, more recently, on host. It is well known in Japan that gender interpretations and behaviours which are not completely in line with heterosexual norms are still considered bearers of subversive potential against the codified norms of society. Adopting as methodological tools face to face interviews, participant and non-participant observation and auto-ethnography, the phenomenon of *dansō* escorting will be described

and analysed, with a focus on the issues of personal identity, gender expression, and cross-dress escorting as emotional labour, with the final purpose of understanding whether *dansō* can be considered as a new gender category spreading in contemporary Japan.

4) Yanfei Yin, The Ohio State University

Female Literacy in Chinese Painting of the 1950s: Teaching Mama to Read

Female virtue has been an important theme in Chinese art history. Despite the good scholarships on pre-modern visual representations of female virtue, there exist few studies on paintings of this theme that were created after the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949 onwards). This paper concentrates on Lu Yanshao's (1909–1993) painting *Teaching Mama to Read* (1956) and suggests that female literacy became the most important part of female virtue in visual representations of the 1950s China. Historically considered, in 1949 and 1951, the Chinese government issued winter study program and launched a nation-wide literacy movement. Lu Yanshao's painting responded to these female literacy movements and became the official advertisement for female literacy after it was exhibited at the Second National *Guohua* Exhibition in 1956. Thematically, this study explores two layers of meanings of *Teaching Mama to Read* in Chinese art history. On the one hand, *Teaching Mama to Read* is distantly related to paintings of beautiful women. On the other hand, *Teaching Mama to Read* is one of the many figure paintings that address mother-child relationship. By comparing Lu's painting with existing paintings of similar subjects from pre-modern and modern Chinese art history, this paper argues that *Teaching Mama to Read* demonstrates a phenomenon that in the 1950s the rising importance of female literacy changed the understanding of female virtue. Visually these changes happened in the representations of women and her relationship with her child.

5) Kyoko Omori, Hamilton College

Soseki versus Holmes: The Literary Battle Royale

This paper analyzes “The Yellow Lodger” (1953) by mystery and fantasy writer, Yamada Futaro (1922–2001), as an effort to chart a new literary terrain defined by the intersection between governmentally sanctioned pure literature as emphasized in school textbooks and the popular idiom of detective fiction during the years immediately

following WWII. Set in London around the turn of the twentieth century, the story brings together in an amusing pastiche the figures of Dr. Watson as the narrator, Sherlock Holmes the renowned detective, and the eponymous “yellow lodger” character. Yamada quickly turns the familiar Holmes type of detective story into a philosophical contemplation about the defining features of Japanese literature in the immediate post-Occupation era. The suspicious “Oriental” turns out to be none other than a young Japanese writer and literary theorist, Natsume Soseki, who outwits Holmes through an in-depth reading of the individuals involved in the case.

Session 41: Room X107

Individual Papers XI: Political Science and Economy

Chair: Kim Minkyu, Northeast Asian History Foundation

1) Jan Sýkora, Charles University/Osaka University

“Consuming Places: Consumption and Consumerism in Modern Japan”

There is almost no dispute over the basic economic theorem that consumption can generate the economic growth and that the rise of modern state has been closely related to the growing tendency towards mass consumption. In pre-modern Japan, however, consumption was not appreciated as a source of prosperity but rather as a manifestation of personal greed and immoral behavior. Thus, the modernization of the country brought the urgent need for rearticulating a new concept of consumption in order to incorporate it into the generally accepted policy of catching-up. However, it was not until the Taishō period that the personal consumption became one of the embedded aspects of modern Japanese society. In my paper I am going to analyze the problem of how the consumption patterns reflected the democratization of Japanese society in the interwar period. I will focus particularly on three intertwined topics: 1) how the modern, rational and consumption-oriented subject, i.e. consumer (*shōhisha*), emerged in Japan, 2) how places of consumption *shōhi no kukan/basho* were formed and conceptualized, and 3) how places themselves were in a sense consumed (*kukan/basho no shōhi*). The spatio-temporal axes of my talk will be anchored in Hanshin (Ōsaka-Kōbe) region from late Meiji to early Shōwa period.

2) Matthew Brummer, The University of Tokyo

Alliances, Threats, and Institutional Development in Japan's National Innovation System

National Innovation Systems (NIS) research holds that it is a state's domestic institutions that determine the rate and direction of technological growth. As a consequence, the international security environment is considered largely exogenous to explanations of variance in long-run technological growth or to changes in the networked relationships of intrastate institutions and policies. And yet, the genesis and development of "the system" is fundamentally political in nature; the domestic debates, bargaining, and choices that ultimately determine institutional structure and policy design are compelled by actors making political calculations, upon which the international security environment and inter-state relations come to bear. In order to examine more closely this observation—that International Relations represents an omitted variable bias in the study of NIS—this article surveys Japan's historical record of international security calculi and NIS characteristics from the post-WWII period forward. What emerges from this process tracing and political discourse analysis is a story of "waves of institutional change" that are beholden to influential external security variables - threats and alliances. That is, this study demonstrates that by examining the case of Japan, we come to know that national innovation stories may be less about particular institutional structures and finding the "right" policy mix, as the orthodoxy goes, and more about the geopolitical environment and external security stimuli facing nations in an uncertain and contested international system.

3) Ng Hoi Yu, University of Hong Kong

Decentralization as a Tool for Electoral Authoritarianism: The Case of Town Councils in Singapore

Decentralization, a policy which devolves political, administrative, and fiscal power from the central government to subnational authorities, has been implemented by many democracies across the developed and developing worlds since the 1980s. The literature, however, clearly shows that decentralization does not necessarily enhance democracy and

improve governance and electoral consideration is an important factor explaining why some central governments chose to decentralize. This paper attempts to extend the discussion to hybrid and electoral authoritarian regimes through the case of Singapore's town councils, a sub-national institution created in 1988 to empower elected Members of Parliament to manage and maintain public housing estates in their constituencies previously under direct control of the central authority (Housing Development Board). This paper explores the ruling party's motives of establishing the town councils and the role of town council in Singapore's electoral authoritarianism. Based on archival research and document studies, this paper argues that electoral consideration is an important motive behind the ruling party's decision to create the town councils. It also argues that town councils were used by the ruling party to tame the opposition by shifting the focus of electoral campaigns to local issues and creating an extra hurdle for the opposition parties. This paper shows that town council is one of many tools of the Singapore's dominant ruling party to consolidate its rule. It also shows that decentralization can be used as an electoral strategy of ruling parties not only in democracies but also in hybrid regimes.

4) Belinda Q. He, University of Washington

Ways of Exposing: Cinema as Struggle Session in Maoist China

This paper examines two co-existing and interrelated modes of spectatorial practice in 1970s China. One is struggle session (*pidouhui*) —a type of political congregation that incorporated theatrical elements and seemingly judicial procedures, such as accusations, trials, and punishments, in front of a witnessing public. The other is an alternative struggle session in the form of a film screening usually consisting of a pre-screening lantern slides lecture and/or a post-screening discussion, during which people watch and criticize films condemned as “poisonous weeds”. In reconstructing the little examined history of public screenings of condemned films within the larger context of class antagonism and the Cold-war scapegoating culture, this paper draws attention to the complex entanglement between cinema and struggle session. What I would call “cinema as struggle session” contains different levels: 1) struggle session as profilmic event, 2) scenes of struggle sessions in fiction films, 3) filmgoing in the struggle-session setting that puts films and filmmakers “on trial”. Historicizing the cinematic (re-)encounters with *Furious Waves* (1963), this

paper examines the cultural work that struggle sessions performed through cinema, both on and off the screen, within and beyond the screening space. While much of previous research considers cinema as a means of socialist state mobilization, this paper uses a bottom-up approach to discussing how cinema as everyday life engages social dynamics that defy binary power relations. This paper would argue that exposure, as the scopie regime shared by cinema and struggle session, is at the core of the postwar moral imagination.

5) Lindsay Nelson, Tokyo University

From Scary to Scary-Cute: The Evolution of Japanese Horror Marketing

Hideo Nakata's *Ringu* (*The Ring*, 1999) and Takashi Shimizu's *Ju-on* (*The Grudge*, 2002) are two of the most famous films in the Japanese horror genre, inspiring multiple sequels and English- and Korean-language remakes. In the years since J-horror's peak, however, Japanese horror films have shifted from a focus on genuine scares to serving more as promotional vehicles for pop stars or mixing mild chills with melodrama. This is especially evident in the recent *Sadako vs. Kayako*, which mixes the stories of *Ringu* and *Ju-on*, and the very aggressive marketing campaign that surrounded its release in 2016. Essentially, the promotion of the film emphasized the idea that the characters of Sadako, Kayako, and Toshio, once seen as terrifying, were now *kowakawaii*, or "scary-cute." This paper will examine the evolution of these two film franchises and the shifting nature of the marketing campaigns surrounding them to illustrate an overall shift in Japanese horror media. Via box office data, audience surveys, and analysis of media and promotional materials surrounding the *Ringu* and *Ju-on* films over the last fifteen years, I argue that this shift reveals a larger trend in Japanese cinema away from genuinely frightening or disturbing films (which generally have limited audiences) toward lighter, more superficial narratives that can simultaneously serve as promotional vehicles for models and pop stars.