SATURDAY, JULY 2
SATURDAY MORNING SESSIONS: 10:00 A.M. – 12:00 P.M.

Session 1: Room 204
Publishing about Asia in Academic Journals and Book Series (Roundtable)
Organizer/Chair: Bettina Gramlich-Oka, Sophia University
The presidential session on “Publishing about East Asia” means to give practical advice how to get a book manuscript or journal article accepted. Journal and book editors/publishers will briefly introduce their journal/series, and then open the floor for what we hope to be a lively Q&A session.

1) David Howell, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
2) Inge Klompmakers, *Brill*
3) Jennifer Munger, *Journal of Asian Studies*
4) Bettina Gramlich-Oka, *Monumenta Nipponica*

Session 2: Room 252
Straddling Cultures: Sinophone Communities in Contemporary East Asia
Organizer/Chair: Ngu Ik Tien, University of Malaya
Straddling cultures has been a common experience not only to the ethnic Chinese of Southeast Asia but also to the Sinophone communities residing in the East Asian region outside of Mainland China. The intersection of cultures has caused feelings of anxiety and displacement, but it also encourages cultural innovation in the adaptation process. As for the ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia, the interplay among culture, ethnicity and nationality has constantly shaped their identity and way of participation in national society. For instance, they have to answer the assumptive question posed by local politicians even the academia whether their ethnicity and cultural identification would reduce their nationality. Meanwhile, the rise of China as a global power has spawned mixed feelings among Sinophone communities in both Southeast and Northeast Asian societies towards China. In recent years, terms such as Sinophone (*huayu yuxi*) and Chinese people (*huaren*) are gaining popularity among Chinese overseas communities and scholars in indicating a specific type of belonging that
base on cultural institution rather than location (China-centric). Among them, some express their view of nonequivalent between Chinese culture and ethnicity and envision a creolized Chinese community as a sub-ethnic category. This panel attempts to present the complexity of cultural identification of Sinophone groups in the contemporary East Asia by outlining how our study subjects counter the conventional categorization and assessment of culture, ethnicity and nationality. It addresses the questions of language, heritage, organizational life and so forth in the contemporary national politics and global society.

1) Dai Ning, Tokyo Metropolitan University

*Language Shift and Private Language Planning in Intermarried Families in Japan*

In Japan the number of people who marry interracially or inter-ethnically is increasing, but changes to bilingual education must occur for Japan to become a multicultural society. Intermarriage is not a reliable indicator of the maturity of multiculturalism. Foreign residents who have intermarriage in Japan do not have the rights of Japanese, such as those of voting, social welfare, education, and so on. This fact alone makes Japan far from multicultural. One of the aspects missing in the critiques of multiculturalism in Japan has to do with bilingual education in the family by domestic activities or life. Children of intermarried couples have at least two cultural heritages so it is important to teach children two languages are spoken by both of their parents. However, in countries such as Japan, there may be a dominant language which is used by government, schools, and the community. With this in mind, parents who speak an additional language, especially intermarried couples may face a dilemma: How to try to raise their children bilingual? Harrison and Piete (1980) point out that in bilingual families language choice is determined by the mothers. The mother’s choice is in turn determined by socioeconomic considerations, etc. This paper is an elaboration of language choice and ultimately language shift and maintenance in a Japanese-Chinese family. The methodology employed is one of observation and in-depth interviews.

2) Ngu Ik Tien, University of Malaya

*Forging Tools for Cross-Cultural Communication: Ethnic Minority Activism in the Capital City of Malaysia*

Southeast Asia has been praised for its cultural diversity but not so much for its approaches and skills of managing cultural differences. It has also been described as a region where civilizations meet and merge, but also as a ground for civilizational clash and rival given the numerous communal conflicts occurred over last decades. This paper aims to examine the role of several Chinese-speaking
groups in Kuala Lumpur in fostering cross-cultural communication among different ethno-linguistic groups. The actors are placed against a sociopolitical background of Malaysia where the national language has yet become a common language among citizens, the official religion Islam intertwined with ethnicity, divided citizenship of bumiputera (indigenous) and non-bumiputera, and a multi-stream national education system serving ethnicized aspirations. Instead of portraying vernacular cultural groups and institutions as hurdles to cross-cultural communication, as some scholarly literature have offered, this paper focuses on their cross-cultural efforts in bridging different communities. It examines their discourse on cultural pluralism, approaches and tools employed for attaining their goals, resources in terms of personnel, material and networking available to them, and the responses of other social segments towards their endeavor. The paper contends that ethnic cultural minorities in Malaysia share similar desires for national integration as that of the civic nationalists. However, because of their resistance towards the assimilation model exemplified by Sino-Thai and Mestizo in the Philippines, and the cultural suppression model in Indonesia, they have developed a middle way approach – cultural pluralism, hoping for a soft landing in integration process.

3) Chai Siaw Ling, University of Malaya

*The Complexity of Identity: Sarawak Chinese Literature in Malaysian Chinese Literature*

Sarawak, a state of East Malaysia, is different from the Peninsular Malaysia in term of its demography. In Sarawak, Ibans comprise one third of the total population, followed by ethnic Chinese, and Malays the third largest group. However, the Malays account for over half of the population in the Peninsula and are legally defined as Muslim. The current public discourse suggests that ethnic-relations is relatively more harmonious in Sarawak than that in the Peninsula. In Sarawak, the interaction between Iban and Chinese has been a popular subject for local Chinese writers whereas the Malay-Chinese relationship has not drawn much enthusiasm of the Peninsula-based writers. This paper thus contends that the distinctive social context of Sarawak has left a mark on the identity of Chinese in Sarawak, which has distinguished them from the Peninsular writers. This paper examines the relationship between “locality” and “Chineseness” and how they relate “nationality”. It argues that the complexity of identity has caused the feelings of anxiety among Sarawakian writers and compelled them to embark on a reflection process. This paper invokes the concept of “Sinophone”, developed by David Wang and Shu-mei Shih, to analyze the elements of “counter-hegemony” and “decentralized” in Sarawak Chinese literature and associate them with Chinese identities.
4) Seah Cheng Ta, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Voices of Hong Kong and Singapore Sinophone Communities: A Study of Novels by Liu Yichang and Yeng Pway Ngon

Different Voices within a society played an essential role in the characterization and construction of the Sinophone Communities. Hong Kong writer Liu Yicang’s “Drunkard” (1918–) and Singapore Writer Yeng Pway Ngon’s (1947–) “A man like me”, sculpted the role of a Drunkard and a Chinese school graduate respectively in their novels, both directed to the issue of marginalization in the society. Liu Yicang’s modernism work emphasized immensely on the usage of local color writing to re-present Hong Kong Sinophone communities. As the protagonist of “Drunkard” states, “I may not enjoy an empty world, I just detest the hideous reality”. The Drunkard represent the lower income individuals, indulging oneself in a world of alcohol, seeking a route to achieve temporary relief from the real pressurized Hong Kong world. On the other hand, Singapore Sinophone literature focused more on ethnic and language related issues. The decline in Chinese Culture and Language in Singapore is a common topic in the Singapore Chinese communities and literature. The fear on the loss of “ancestral culture and language” increases, with English language becomes the prominent language in Singapore after 1970s. For instance, Yeng Pway Ngon’s “A man like me”, writes a Chinese school graduate, who finds himself marginalized from his homeland after westernized culture that penetrates Singapore.

Discussant: Yow Cheun Hoe, Nanyang Technological University
Session 3: Room 351
Reproduction and Appropriation in the Japanese Visual Arts
Organizer: Shalmit Bejarano, Hebrew University
Chair: Hiromitsu Kobayashi, Sophia University

Chinese artifacts were traded and exchanged throughout pre-modern East Asia; their aesthetic appeal and prestige carried on by the Chinese hegemony in the region. This aura of power was further appropriated by Korean and Japanese elites who collected and displayed imported paintings as part of a larger scheme to enhance their legitimacy and grandeur as righteous rulers. Taking a transcultural perspective, this panel discusses how the visual culture of China and the identities of “Chinese” themes and artifacts underwent constant changes after their transmittance to Korea and Japan, and how their appropriation interacted with distinctive regional artistic and social settings. This topic also encompasses the social life of things, emphasizing the process of “reception” throughout time, including the complexity of cultural changes, recontextualizing symbols and images as the process of reception, modification, and refusal of social and artistic practice. Three case studies will be provided to investigate the complexity of the appropriation of Chinese objects and visual materials in Korea and Japan. Investigating diverse encounters and modes of interaction, these studies explore how visual culture was diffused, emulated, or contested in different time periods for self-fashioning, enhancing legitimacy and authority, for the celebration of contemporary events, or to comment on current social and political issues.

1) Jungeun Lee, University of Pittsburg
Displaying Authority: Ashikaga Shogun’s Chinese Collections and Their Formal Display

The Ashikaga shoguns were avid patrons of the arts, known especially for their collections of Chinese objects (paintings, ceramics, bronzes), which they displayed both for their own enjoyment and during visits of eminent guests to their palaces. They also commissioned detailed illustrated manuscripts that inventoried the collections, described arrangements featured in their palaces, and gave instructions for their proper display. This paper will examine the changing roles and meanings of elaborate formal displays during the late fourteenth through sixteenth century by focusing on the performative aspects of the formal displays of the Ashikaga collections. I will first discuss sociopolitical meaning of formal displays for the Ashikaga, focusing on the special significance they held for the sixth Ashikaga shogun, Yoshinori (1394–1441; r. 1429–1441) during the visit of Emperor Go-Hanazono (1419–1471; r. 1428–1464). I will also analyze the shift from the use of Chinese objects as a means to consolidate the Ashikaga legitimacy to its gradually becoming a commodity.
with the decline of the Muromachi rulership, thereby exploring two layers of appropriations of Chinese objects in premodern Japan.

2) Yoonjung Seo, Freie Universitat

*Chinese Images for Commemorative Painting in the Late Joseon Dynasty: a Transcultural Approach to Joseon Art and Visual Culture*

This paper examines the emergence of Chinese figural motifs and old tales as subjects of commemorative paintings in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and analyzes how the symbolic, imaginary space shaped by a Chinese mythic past evokes that once-current events of Joseon Koreans, pays homage to their memorable moments, and mediates between the past and present within a cohesive artistic program. I surmise that a certain type of themes, the mode of representation, formats and styles were favored for this genre, which came into ever greater demand with the increasing desire of patrons to commemorate culminating moments of their lives in a metaphorical way by appropriating transcultural visual idioms and motifs, primarily deriving from China. My study thus takes into consideration multiple aspects of the production and appreciation of commemorative painting, addressing socio-political significance in this bureaucratic society, the cross-referencing of word and image embedded in colophons, poems, and paintings, and the role of royal patronage in the spread of Chinese-related themes through late Joseon society. Two important source of impetus behind the prevalent Sinophile penchant in the visual culture of this period — domestic and foreign vectors, will be investigated. The first is King Sukchong’s patronage of art and predilection for Chinese images and artifacts as a means to propagate his political reforms and legitimize his sovereignty; the second is the transregional circulation of artistic concepts, forms and images through books, prints and other types of reproductions, as well as trade in Chinese artifacts and commodities in early eighteenth-century East Asia.

3) Dylan McGee, Nagoya University

*Mapping the Book Trade in Early Modern Nagoya (1794–1854)*

With the establishment of its own independent publishers guild in Kansei 4 (1794), Nagoya became the first castle town in Japan to secure the rights to produce and retail books—and only the fourth market after Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo to do so. By the turn of the century, its downtown commercial district had become home to a bustling book trade, with over forty small-scale booksellers operating in the niches of a market dominated by the publishing houses of Eirakuya Tōshiro and Fugetsudō; Magosuke. It was also in this environment that an extensive rental book
market took shape, presided over by the Daisō, the largest commercial lending library in all of Japan. Relying on data gathered from early modern diaries, commonplace books, extant shop records, and the front matter to dozens of printed books, this study presents a chronology of all documented booksellers and lending libraries that operated in Nagoya between 1794 and 1854 and maps their locations in the downtown commercial district. Moreover, this study considers the Nagoya market within a broader, regional context, situated vis-à-vis critical supply chains and labor sources that made large-scale book production possible. The aim is to propose a new model for understanding the development of print markets in castle towns, as distinct from the three major urban markets. Accordingly, this study will also include comparative research into the markets of Matsumoto and Kanazawa, highlighting filiations in scale, structure, and modes of production.

**Discussant: Hiromitsu Kobayashi, Sophia University**
Session 4: Room 251

Modernization, Media and Culture: The Life Experiences of Colonial Subjects under Japanese Control

Organizer/Chair: Hsiu-hui Sun, National Chengchi University

Both Chinese and Taiwanese societies in the early twentieth century were influenced by the invading foreign powers including the Empire of Japan. Taiwanese and Manchurians experienced rapid transitions in both material and non-material aspects because of the multiple convergences of urbanism, modernism, consumerism and industrialism under Japanese control. This panel aims to describe and analyze how contents of the mass media and relevant historical materials construct the life experiences of colonial subjects under Japanese control. Taking Taiwanese intellectuals in 1930s for examples, they lived in a multi-spatial and temporal context including the colonial society, the world of modern civilization, and the imperial hegemony. All these cast a great impact on the daily life practices, and moreover, the formation of cultural identities and values. Based on the content analysis of advertisements, newspapers and publications released during the colonial period, all the panelists will illustrate life experiences of the colonized people via media representations so as to reveal and discuss the cultural, social and political struggles in colonies under Japanese control.

1) Sumei Wang, National Chengchi University

Mass Media and the Modern Girl in 1930s Colonial Taiwan

Women’s roles in family and societies changed significantly after the First World War. Since the 1920s, debates over ‘new women’ and ‘modern girls’ had often drawn huge attention on Japan’s print media. In the 1930s, the changes in women’s social status became more apparent in Japanese colonies. Situated at the newspaper series ‘Inviable Destiny,’ written by Lin Hui Kun, and other materials, this paper aims to explore how women were represented by mass media in the 1930s Taipei. In addition, the paper also intends to investigate how media technologies were used in these women’s everyday lives and the possible consequences of these interactions. Taiwanese women in the inter-war period faced conflicts between new values and old traditions, which largely influenced their choices of marriages and careers. Lin’s series story was firstly appeared in Taiwan Sinminpo (台湾新民報) in 1933 and later published as a novel. In the story, a young man Li studied in Kyoto University refused an arranged marriage and determinedly pursued his own free love. Female characters, Shiuhui, Fongyin, Sizuko, were depicted as ‘Modern Girl,’ ‘Good Wife, Wise Mother,’ and ‘New Woman’ correspondingly in the story. By probing into the narrations, I aim to discover the complicated relationships among gender, consumption and modernity; in particular, the moral
conflicts and ambivalent desires toward material cultures in the 1930s colonial Taiwan.

2) Pei-ching Hsin, National Chengchi University

*Enlightenment or Entertainment Through the Eyes: Exhibitions and Department Stores in Taiwanese Literature during the Japanese Colonial Period*

This paper focuses on how the establishment of commercial centers and department stores changed the natural landscape of Yancheng district, imported new concept of consumption, and therefore shaped the modern lifestyle of Taiwanese under Japanese control. Yancheng is part of the current Kaohsiung city in Taiwan. For centuries, following the rulers’ policies, the geographic landscape and industrial patterns in Yancheng changed over time. In the Qing dynasty, it was a coastal wetland where people made their living from the salt fields and fishponds. During the Japanese colonial period, the Taiwan Governor-General started a reclamation project to build a harbor, and nearly all salt fields disappeared in 1914 (the third year of the Taisho Era). Urban planning transformed the reclaimed land into checkerboard-like districts filled with a large number of new buildings. Based on the land use zoning regulations, Yancheng was categorized as “commercial district,” and the first commercial center and department store in Kaohsiung State were established in Yancheng during that time. Ginza (echoing the name of Ginza in Tokyo), the street style consecutive commercial center, was established in 1937 (the twelfth year of the Showa Era), and the Yoshii department store was established by Chohei Yoshii in 1941 (the sixteenth year of the Showa Era). Shopping for imported goods in Ginza, and taking the elevator (so-called flow cage) in Yoshii Depart became the most modern leisure activities at that time. Space allocation and glass windows in the department store were different from the traditional grocery stores and vendors in Taiwan. Use strategies of categorization and demonstration to sell the products became a new marketing concept. Seemingly, the new culture of consumption emerged in Yancheng in the 1930s, but did the modern lifestyles imported from Japan completely changed the traditional lives of Taiwanese people? Apart from collecting records of the commercial centers, department stores, and street landscape, tracking everyday life practices of the Yancheng residents would help us to retell the history of people's lives during the colonial period in Taiwan.
3) Hsiu-hui Sun & I-fen Chen, National Chengchi University


For both Chinese and Taiwanese societies in the early twentieth century, the advertisement was introduced and imported by the invading foreign powers. Taking Taiwan and Northeast China (Manchuria) during the Japanese occupation period as examples, their mass media and advertising businesses were controlled by the colonialists from the early stage. The colonial regime, the business associations that were organized by obedient businessmen and the government-funded newspapers such as the Taiwan Jih Jih Shin Pao (台灣日日新報 Taiwan Daily News) and Sheng Jin Shih Pao (盛京時報 Sheng-Jin Daily) played important roles in influencing the development of print advertisements in both places. Advertising is a vital tool for promoting concepts or selling products; its visual representations and chosen signs are closely related to the social, political, economic and cultural structures. Therefore, appropriating analytical frameworks of semiotics, the present research will conduct a comparative study of how the advertisements of seasoning products “Ajinomoto”(味の素) in both Taiwan and Manchuria under Japanese control construct the concepts of “happiness.” We will observe the gradually emerged concepts of “happiness” that were relevant to the value system and ideology of the colonizers embedded in print advertisements.

4) Eve Chiu, The Foundation for Excellent Journalism Award in Taiwan

Inspecting “Taiwanese Vernacular Text” Debates during the 1930s in Colonized Taiwan from the Magazine Nan-Yin

The first-generation intellectuals of colonized Taiwan had experienced a significant growth in numbers during 1930’s and they were ambitious for aiming to bring social as well as political enlightenments by improving the literacy level of Taiwanese. According to these intellectuals, Taiwanese were governed by Japan politically but not culturally. Therefore, they attempted to create the “Taiwanese vernacular text” which could pronounced Taiwanese (台灣話) properly by various ways including Roman alphabetic writing and refining Chinese Vernacular text by adding phonetic symbols beside the words. The present study aims to analyze “Nan-Yin” (南音) magazine, first published in 1932, and also an important medium used by Taiwanese intellectuals to advocate the new literature of Taiwan. “Nan-Yin” magazine provided an important field for intellectual discussions about cultural awakenings and consciousness-raising in colonial Taiwan.

Discussant: Chiung-wen Hsu, National Chengchi University
Environmental Aftermath: Industrial Technology Transfers in Post WW2 Northeast Asia

Organizer/Chair: M. William Steele, International Christian University

Unexpectedly, five years after 1945, former enemies were transformed into allies. In Northeast Asia, Japan and the United States came to be allied against China and Russia, and Korea was divided into two mutually hostile halves. It was within this Cold War framework that reconstruction began. The United States assisted Japan and South Korea, whereas the Soviet Union helped the People’s Republic and North Korea. Aid often took the form of technology transfers to rebuild industries and infrastructures for growth. Colonial era technocratic expertise helped to fuel post-colonial development. This panel will examine the resulting environmental consequences of such exchanges.

M. William Steele looks at the rebirth the cement industry in postwar Japan, depending on technology from the United States, but also on expertise gained in prewar Manchuria. Robert Winstanley-Chesters examines North Korea’s mineral extraction and mining development and its relationship with the Soviet Union as well as considering the socio-cultural aspects of North Korea’s reconstruction project and the infrastructure that accompanied it. Finally, Joseph Andrew Seeley focuses on the environmental and economic consequences of massive aquacultural development in the Yalu River border between China and North Korea, begun in the 1930s as a colonial project alongside the construction of the Sup’ung Dam and further developed by State-led programs designed to feed hungry populations in the postwar years. Our attempt will be to find linkages in these postwar development narratives in Northeast Asia, so fraught with memories of conflicts past, opportunities in the present and fears of environmental catastrophe.

1) M. William Steele, International Christian University

*Constructing the Construction State: The Postwar Revival of the Cement Industry in Japan*

As the war in the Pacific drew to a close, air raids destroyed Tokyo, Yokohama, and nearly all other major cities. Reconstruction began in earnest in the late 1940s with onset of the Cold War serving as a major stimulus for Japanese economic recovery. In addition to new ferro-concrete buildings, bridges and roads, cement was necessary for river and coastline repair, tetrapods, embankments and dams. Although Japanese cement production declined dramatically during the war years, revival of the cement industry was initially slow. It was only after the so-called “reverse course” years, 1948–49, that the Allied Occupation began to make comprehensive plans to rebuild the Japanese economy and undertake basic reconstruction of a country in ruins. In 1948, controls on the production of basic industries, coal, iron, steel, and concrete were lifted; cement production began
to rise dramatically thereafter. By 1956, Japan produced 13,737,594 tons of cement, double that of the prewar peak in 1939. This paper narrates the rebirth of the Japanese cement and limestone mining industries in the period between 1945 and 1956. It examines the contribution of the Cold War, and the Korean War in particular, in reviving a cement industry that Japan once boasted to be “of the highest rank of all cement produced in the world.” The paper also questions the cement industry’s role in the rebirth of Japan as a “construction state.”

2) Robert Winstanley-Chesters, Australian National University/University of Leeds


Recent geological prospecting by North Korea’s developmental agencies in partnership with Australian companies has been framed as an engagement with the ultimate opaque resource frontier. This paper seeks to challenge/reframe this notion of opacity through continued analysis of a collection of geological and development-focused documentation sourced from the Record Group 242, of the United States National Archives. This material obtained by US Army document gatherers during Pyongyang’s occupation in late 1950 provides an extraordinary window into the developmental possibilities conceptualized by North Korea and partners during the brief period from Liberation to the outbreak of the Korean War. Building upon developmental imperatives of the Government General of Chosen and the legacy of mineralogical colonialism throughout the Korean Peninsula, this paper encounters within the collection a landscape of institutional optimism in the field. Pyongyang, technicians from the Soviet Union and elsewhere where not only tasked with harnessing North Korea’s geological capacity, but the creation of a new developmental and social terrain. Analysis of blueprints from the collection reveal in detail new facilities, communities and infrastructure in outline. Previous work on this collection by the author has sought to project forward this infrastructure’s productive capacity and connect with current analysis of the Yongju deposit. However this neglects the contemporary “lived reality” of the spaces and places of Soviet and North Korea mineralogical interaction, as both nations sought, as evidenced by this collection, a configuration of both nation and society which served the interests of an internationally minded “socialist modern.”
3) Joseph Andrew Seeley, Stanford University

Japanese Colonial Aquaculture and the Environmental Legacies of Sup’ung Dam Construction on the Yalu River

Between 1937–1940, Japanese colonial engineers displaced approximately seventy thousand Chinese and Korean farmers along the Yalu River to make way for a massive new hydroelectric project: the Sup’ung Dam, second largest in the world at the time of its completion. Colonial officials later brought new tenants to the now-submerged spaces farmers formerly occupied. These were millions of fish, whose scaly bodies were intended to fill the caloric needs of a growing Japanese empire in what was called the “world’s number one fish hatchery.” Construction of the Sup’ung dam led to a fundamental transformation of the Yalu’s river ecology and a reassessment of its piscatorial possibilities. The Sup’ung dam negatively impacted the Yalu’s pre-existing freshwater fisheries. Yet it also brought an unprecedented amount of official and scientific attention to the river’s underwater resources. Wartime exigencies drove Japanese colonial regimes in Korea and Manchukuo, previously divided over fishing rights, to cooperate on aquacultural development of the Sup’ung reservoir fishery. Japan’s defeat in the Second World War ultimately interrupted these plans. The fish planted there by colonial authorities, however, continued to feed hungry populations into the post-colonial era and set a precedent for profitable fisheries development that occurred in the reservoir after 1959. Postwar regimes in China and North Korea disavowed the legacies of Japanese colonialism, but they shared a logic of development that valued the aquacultural potential of the Sup’ung reservoir over the river’s native fisheries.

Discussant: Bruce Batten, J. F. Oberlin University
Session 6: Room 203
Trans-Pacific Overtures: Japan-U.S. Exchanges and Collaborations of the 1950s and 1960s
Organizer: Alisa Freedman, University of Oregon
Chair: Mary Knighton, Aoyama Gakuin University

This panel considers cultural exchange and collaboration between Japan and the United States in the 1950s and 1960s by individuals who created new views of literature, academics, and music through experiencing life abroad. Be it the American men who came to Japan in jobs related to the U.S. military or the Japanese men and women who traveled to the United States through government grants, these sojourners were as affected by their national home as by the foreign country they encountered. They approached life abroad with wonder and openness to possibilities. They lived within a nexus of change, when the United States was rising in international stature and Japan reemerging in a different form on the international scene. Whether acknowledged or not, their roles were highly political. Kendall Heitzman analyzes how Japanese authors sent to the United States were influenced both by the literary climate they left behind and the new places that inspired their writing. Richi Sakakibara explores how translators like Edward Seidensticker made Japanese literature available to American readers but downplayed or suppressed politics in their representation of Japan. Alisa Freedman discusses how a generation of Japanese women who studied abroad at U.S. universities helped establish the American postwar field of Japanese studies and pioneered careers in male-dominated fields. Jayson Chun reexamines the career of music producer Johnny Kitagawa as a case study of the “Pop Pacific,” a framework of cultural hybridity. Discussant Mary Knighton will invite audience engagement with the legacy of these Cold War endeavors.

1) Kendall Heitzman, University of Iowa
We’ll See It All: Japanese Writers Abroad in the 1950s

Over the course of the 1950s, a number of prominent Japanese writers made their way to the United States on Fulbright and Rockefeller Foundation grants. In many ways, the various Americas they found were a function of what they went looking for: a sexually liberated Greenwich Village, a bucolic rural Ohio campus, a Southern city seething with racial tensions. At the same time, their stays in the United States inevitably took place at the intersection of a host of social cross-currents that had as much to do with the Japan they left behind them: interpersonal rivalries, postwar tensions, and a growing awareness of the ways they felt Japanese culture lagged—and led—the rest of the world in the years before its so-called reemergence on the global scene. Among the key travel writings of the period, we will look at Shōno Junzō’s Ganbia taizaiki (A Record of My Stay in Gambier, 1959), Oda
Makoto’s Nandemo mite yarō (I’ll See It All, 1961), and Yasuoka Shōtarō’s Amerika kanjō ryōkō (A Sentimental Journey to the United States, 1962).

2) Richi Sakakibara, Waseda University

The Politics of “Cultural Exchange”: Representations of Japan under the Cold War Scheme

After seven years of U.S. occupation, Japan allegedly achieved independence and re-joined the international community in 1952. In effect, Japan entered into the Cold War regime, becoming a valuable ally to the United States. This shift in status meant that the image of Japan held during the Occupation period needed to be re-formulated—from the image of a “student” learning democracy from the United States to that of a partner on equal footing. This paper focuses on this repositioning of Japan in the 1950s by looking at the 1954 Atlantic Monthly supplement entitled Perspective of Japan. As the subtitle, “Gateway to Japan,” clearly demonstrates, it was meant to serve as a guidebook for American readers, introducing a new Japan through an emphasis on Japanese culture. The supplement contains articles on Japanese architecture, fine arts, theater, religion, and popular entertainment, as well as translations of literary works by Ihara Saikaku, Dazai Osamu, Hasegawa Nyozeikan, Eguchi Kan, Tanizaki Junichirō, and Kawabata Yasunari. Modern Japanese literature was given prominence, but any political significance was downplayed—if not suppressed entirely. I will inquire into the political implications of these apolitical representations of the “new Japan.” In particular, I will explore Edward Seidensticker’s role not only as translator of Kawabata’s Izu Dancer and Tanizaki’s In Praise of Shadows but also as the expositor of “mysterious” Japanese culture within the Cold War scheme. I will also argue that the U.S. position vis-à-vis Europe significantly affected the way Japan was represented within this cultural politics.

3) Alisa Freedman, University of Oregon


One thousand Japanese students studied at American universities with the help of GARIOA (Government Account for Relief in Occupied Areas, 1949 through 1951) and Fulbright (established in 1952) fellowships between 1949 and 1966; this group included seventy-four women. These young scholars who experienced the hardships of World War II in Japan were among the first people to travel abroad after. They epitomized the belief in education to improve international relations. They came after the U.S. internment of Japanese Americans and after women received the right to vote in Japan. At a time when the housewife was being solidified as a middle-class ideal, many of these women became professors, university chancellors, authors, and translators who shaped the American
field of Japanese studies and Japanese field of American studies. Others became leaders in medicine, journalism, athletics, and other historically male-dominated professions. Yet their names have been omitted from histories of women and travel and from accounts of the formation of academic disciplines and jobs. Drawing upon personal interviews, memoirs, and university and institutional records, I will examine how exchange students formed a bridge between the United States and Japan in the Cold War era and were forgotten but major force in women’s advancement. I will overview the experiences of representative women to show how study abroad shapes national images and individual life courses.

4) Jayson Chun, University of Hawai‘i-West O‘ahu

The “Pop Pacific”: The Growth of Transnational Popular Culture in 1950s and 1960s Japan

Beginning with the debut album of his first group Johnnys in 1964, Johnny Kitagawa (born 1931), the brains behind Johnny & Associates, one of Japan’s top talent management agencies, has produced 232 chart-topping singles from forty acts, the most by any individual in history. And unknown to most Japanese fans, he is an American. In a manner similar to how Paul Gilroy (1993) has looked at the “Black Atlantic,” where Africans and Americans interacted to create a hybrid culture we identify as “African-American” culture, I examine the “Pop Pacific,” a space of transnational cultural construction of “Japanese popular music.” In the 1950s and 1960s, this involved transpacific exchanges mediated through Japantowns in the United States, American military bases in Japan, and the growing interplay between television and the Japanese music industry. A study of the “Pop Pacific” will reveal the hidden transnational and hybrid aspects of Japanese popular music, or J-pop, as recent Japanese music since the 1990s is known today. I will focus on the transnational links between Japan and the United States in the 1950s and 1960s and show through the U.S-Japan music connection that much of Japanese popular music was part of a larger global web of world music, and so labels of national origin like “Japanese” or “American” hide the true nature of transnational web of popular music.

Discussant: Mary Knighton, Aoyama Gakuin University
Session 7: Room 352
After Digital Humanities: Urban Cartographies of Modern Japan
Organizer/Chair: Christophe Thouny, The University of Tokyo

Recent works in digital humanities have renewed our approach to literary texts and in particular our understanding of the relation among narrative, visuality and cartography. Some scholars have claimed that the use of database and Geographical Positioning Systems have radically altered our experience of place and thus opened new possibilities for reading literary texts. However in many ways the conceptual basis of digital humanities relies on an understanding of place experience and a knowledge of place informed by the very experience of disorientation that has defined urban modernity since at least the 19th century. In engaging with this urban situation, the challenge of urban writing has also always been its resistance to a capture of urban experiences into a national territory and a global space of commodity circulation. In this panel, we propose then to return to literary texts of Japanese modernity and discuss them in terms of cartographic practices that open urban experiences to a movement of affects. Christophe Thouny will discuss the multiple cartographies of urban space at work in Nagai Kafū’s Hiyorigeta and Sumida-gawa. Sarah Frederick and Sayumi Takahashi Harb will then respectively analyze affective cartographies of Kyoto in Natsume Sōseki and tanka’s shifting uses of famous places by modern female poets. In conclusion, Earl Jackson will propose an original reading of Abe Kōbō’s The Box Man and A Ruined Map in terms of recent discussions of social control in media and urban studies.

1) Christophe Thouny, The University of Tokyo
Cartographies of Modernity in Nagai Kafū’s Hiyorigeta and Sumida-gawa

This presentation attempts to answer to the recent appropriation of literary cartographic practices in Digital Humanities, and argue for a strategic use of narrative in order to avoid the capture of urban cartographies into closed functional spaces. Recent cartographic projects such as Todd Presner’s Hypercities claim to solve the modern aporia of the synchronicity of non-synchronicity by making visible the historical layers of urban places and in this process recall the lost voices of the urban everyday. Yet what is the synchronicity of the digital, and of the map? The juxtaposition of cartographic layers to explore the historicality of urban places is nothing new in itself, as shows the ongoing vogue of publications proposing a tour of Tokyo through maps of Heisei, Meiji and Edo. Returning to the Meiji era, I discuss in particular how Nagai Kafū’s collection of urban essays Hiyorigeta already played on the layering of urban temporalities through the use of maps of Edo and Meiji Tokyo yet with a radically different sense of mediation and urban experience. Kafū’s
cartographic practice of Meiji Tokyo was grounded in the historical mediation of land and land-use from early-modern to modern Japan. And this historical relation between the map and the territory allowed Kafū’s cartographic practice of Tokyo to generate in a spatial narrative of growing-up a modern urban subject. In conclusion, I discuss Kafū’s use of pre-modern meisho in Sumida-gawa to argue that it is the perspectival movement and tension between historical mappings and a historical land, rather than their integration into a uniform code, that generates urban narratives in resistance to the logic of national and economic circulation.

2) Sarah Frederick, Boston University

**Departed Cartographies: Natsume Sōseki Maps His Arrival in Post-Shiki Kyoto**

This paper considers Natsume Sōseki’s spatial analysis of Kyoto in his first essay for the *Asahi Newspaper*, “Kyo ni tsukeru yu” (Arriving in Kyoto One Evening, 1907). His essay depicts one path through Kyoto in 1907, overlaid with a second route traveled earlier with Masaoka Shiki, now deceased. While seeming to engage in traditional travel writing modes, naming famous places and attaching a poem at the end to memorialize his visit and his loss, the essay finds uncanny rather than comforting the apparent permanence of the spaces of Kyoto, and is equally disturbed by the speed of his arrival from Tokyo by train. The paper considers his essay from the perspective of cartographical theories with particular attention to the relationship between image and text elements and the potential for depicting or eliciting affect through maps. How might we think about Sōseki’s attention to the relationship between poetry and pictures as explored in *Kusamakura* in terms of his mapping of Kyoto? How does he employ senses not usually included in cartography (the taste of a piece of citrus or the coldness of using a certain type of futon) to develop and problematize standard imaginings of the layout of the city? What is the essay’s sense of the relationship between history and the mapping of modern spaces? Finally, while Sōseki’s essay suggests potential for digital humanities mapping, it also produces its own methods for mapping that problematize digital cartographic practices.

3) Sayumi Takahashi Harb, Independent Scholar

**Expanding Kyoto’s Gendered Geographies: Meiji Modernity and the Rise of “Urban” Utamakura**

The self-conscious shift from the discursively contained world of classical courtly *waka* towards innovations in *tanka* featuring unorthodox topics and vernacular diction comprised one of the hallmarks of “modern” Japanese poetry in the Meiji period. What happened to the classical topoi of *utamakura*, and how did the geography of place names rich in poetic associations shift into more
urbanized mappings? How did the changing, modernizing landscape of Kyoto (not to mention the political traumas of the process of modernization itself) affect the poetic resonances of specific places within the capital and its environs and generate “new” urban utamakura such as those seen in tanka by Yosano Akiko (1878–1942)? How did the physically re-location/displacement of the emperor to Edo/Tokyo alter the tenor of the space of Kyoto in waka, a poetic form that had long been legitimated politically and aesthetically by imperial courtly patronage and participation? What kind of pressure(s) did the impinging presence of foreign powers and their cultures during the Meiji Restoration put on the cultural map of traditional poetry? One clue lies in the work of relatively marginalized Kyoto poets who straddled the Bakumatsu period into the Meiji such as Otagaki Rengetsu (1791–1875) and Zaisho Atsuko (1825–1900). I will be exploring how women poets in particular played with established conventions of classical utamakura for their own ends, and will make a case for mapping a gendered cartography of the 31-syllable form more generally.

4) Earl Jackson, National Chiao Tung University

*Terminal Reader: Catastrophic Urban Literacy in Abe Kōbō*

For the Naturalist novelists the Meiji city was the laboratory that sustained and enabled the experiment of modern Japanese life. The post-Meiji urban landscape stimulated revolutions in aesthetic response from Masaoki Shiki to the Shinkankaku-Ha. But World War II transformed the city into death traps and catastrophic, toxic ruins. Furthermore, the end of the war caused Japanese born in the former empire to “return” to a homeland they had never seen, among them Abe Kōbō. Abe’s alienation from the promise of modernity and his adaptation to the contradictions of urban rationality inform his presciently postmodern panache. Taking as principle texts the novels *The Box Man* and *The Ruined Map*, this essay will consider how Abe’s narrator in the former reads the city between the lines where the excluded live in a separate tragic logic that eventually claims anyone who accepts its coherence, and how the latter—anti-detective novel undoes the subject who seeks the kinds of answers that mysteries used to promise. The critical approach will draw on Abe’s own essays as well as the “classical” theories of the city offered by Maeda Ai and Kitano Keisuke’s contemporary theories of social control.

**Discussant : Anne McKnight, Shirayuri College**
Session 8: Room 314

Individual Papers 1: East Asian Law, Politics, and Religion

Chair: Alex Vesey, Meiji Gakuin University

1) Wu Guo, Allegheny College

“Cowshed”: The Extra-Judicial Disciplinary Penalty during the Chinese Cultural Revolution

During the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), millions of innocent Chinese were jailed in the informal, make-shift detention sites known as “cowshed,” or niupeng. What does the emergence of the niupeng imply legally and culturally? Who founded and managed these cowsheds? What happened inside the cowsheds, and how the inmates spend the time there? Was this form of extra-legal confinement endorsed by the Chinese Party-State? Combining multiple primary sources and sociological theories about prison and contentious politics, this paper delineates the origins and development of the cowshed, its various founders at different stages of the Cultural Revolution, and provided a typology for the cowsheds based on the founders and purpose. The paper argues that although PRC’s socialist legality explicitly opposed any unauthorized imprisonment, and Mao Zedong never endorsed the phenomenon, the Maoist radical revolutionary ideology implicitly encouraged execution of revolutionary justice without intermediaries, i.e. the Dictatorship by the Masses. This internal contradiction, rather than the breakdown the system, gave a free hand to on-official arrest, interrogation, and imprisonment, when the institutionalized judiciary system was de-legitimized. During this self-contradictory process of institutional innovation, new political actors emerged as self-styled judges and police, such as the Red Guards, the worker-masses, and Army Representatives, etc. The space of cowshed itself demonstrates the feature of being arbitrary, contingent, and on-site. Finally, it is notable that extra-judiciary imprisonment or the reincarnation of the cowshed is being used in today’s China.

2) Cynthia Daugherty, Seinan Gakuin University

Elizabeth Vining and Christianity in the Imperial House: Advancing Common Goals of Occupier and Occupied in Early Post-War Japan

This presentation focuses on Elizabeth Vining, an American Quaker who was employed as tutor to the crown prince (current Emperor Akihito) from 1946–1950. In particular, the presentation examines Vining’s work in connection with instrumental uses of Christianity during the period of the American occupation of Japan. On the American side, General MacArthur’s goals included protecting the Showa Emperor and achieving conversions of the Japanese, including members of the imperial family, despite the official US policy of separation of religion and state. The Japanese side
made tactical use of intimations of interest and possible conversions in the imperial house as a way to help protect the Showa Emperor from prosecution. The presentation first reviews the context of Christianity in the imperial house before considering expectations on the Japanese and American sides for Vining’s work. Vining’s own goals are then examined in tandem with how she was presented in the Japanese and American press. Although she was open about her commitment to the Quaker non-proselytizing stance, she was still widely regarded as a sign that conversions would take place. For both MacArthur and Japanese officials, association of the emperor with Christianity was seen as a means of creating a public persona defined by innocence, pacifism and enlightened thinking. Vining’s story illustrates how occupier and occupied could collaborate in advancing common goals that were not officially articulated.

3) Kim Sunil, Kyung Hee University:  
**Violent Entrepreneurs Turned Nationalist Instruments: The Evolution of Non-State Political Coercion in South Korea**

Political violence is known to be an indispensable element in the state-building process, which is completed with the attainment of state-based supremacy in coercion. After the completion of this process, however, a variety of private actors continue to exercise political violence for various reasons. This study chronicles the evolution of political violence in South Korea from the state’s explicit mobilization of street gangsters to suppress political opponents at the early stage of state building, the collaboration with organized criminal organizations for developmental projects, and to the manipulation of quasi-governmental organizations after democratization in the late 1980s. This study challenges the conventional view that systemic political violence disappears as the state’s coercive capacity increases. It also confutes the popular understanding that political violence is no more than the state’s direct, illegal manipulation of physical forces in society. Instead, we argue that political violence has evolved through the state-nonstate cooperation in the market for force according to the changing socio-political environment as well as the impending tasks of the state. We specifically look into the ways in which political development, i.e., democratization, has produced new demands for, and constraints on, political violence and in which the post-authoritarian regimes have responded to them by selectively controlling incidents and subjects of physical contentions. This study will chronologically analyze major incidents of political violence since the establishment of the Republic of Korea from communist suppression by harnessed political gangsters, riot-police in private uniforms, service companies, to pro-government rightist groups.
4) Silja Keva, University of Turku

*The National Diet of Japan and Parliamentary Diplomacy: Japan’s Participation in the Asia-Europe Parliamentary Dialogue*

This paper analyses Japan’s participation in the Asia-Europe Parliamentary Partnership (ASEP), a biennial meeting of Asian and European parliamentary delegations held in the sidelines of the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM). Traditionally the Diet of Japan has had relatively limited role in the country’s foreign policy process, which is largely administered by MOFA and more recently also by the Prime Minister’s Office, yet both Houses of the Diet actively engage in different forms of international parliamentary diplomacy. The ASEP meetings have for the past 20 years provided a place for Japanese legislators to engage with Asian and European colleagues in a multilateral setting and a chance to address difficult issues such as human rights, role of media and world trade all of which have both regional and global importance for Japan. This paper explores Japan’s role, motivations and contribution in the ASEP cooperation from 1996 to the present day. How has the Diet of Japan with its traditionally limited foreign policy role used this channel to shape the international agenda? How has Japan interacted both with its regional Asian neighbors and with the European partners in ASEP which is the only venue for interregional dialogue between Asian and European parliaments? This research sheds light on the rather unknown international activities of the Diet of Japan and analyses the value of international parliamentary dialogue to Japan and its foreign policy process.

5) Franziska Schultz, University of Tübingen

*Economic Effects of Political Shocks to Sino-Japanese Relations in Annual Reports of the Japan-China Economic Association*

Although Japan and China normalized their diplomatic relationship in 1972, it has experienced considerable political tensions over the last four decades: the textbook debate, the Senkaku Islands Dispute and Japanese Prime Ministers visiting Yasukuni Shrine. This conflict potential has manifested itself in recurring political shocks, i.e. sudden political (or politicized) domestic events temporarily causing relations to deteriorate followed by demonstrations and extensive media coverage. However, both countries continuously maintained strong economic ties and their relationship has been characterized as “politically cold, economically hot”, suggesting political and economic relations do not influence each other. Nonetheless, shocks in 2005, 2010 and 2012 caused spillovers onto economic relations. Do spillovers play a role for Japanese actors doing business with China? This paper argues these events have led to a stronger awareness of economic consequences
from the first spillover in 2005. To support this claim, it will focus on a qualitative content analysis of annual reports from 1980 to 2014 by the Japan-China Economic Association as exemplary actor and primary point of contact for Japanese firms in China since 1972. Though JCEA emphasizes positive relations and rarely mentions anti-Japanese activities, this analysis according to Frueh (2010) shows spillovers increasingly play a role after shocks occurred and in subsequent years from 2005. It will be supported by theoretical findings from an International Relations perspective by Katz (2013), Vekasi (2014) and sources by JETRO and Daiwa Institute of Research (DIR).
LUNCH BREAK 12:00 P.M. - 1:15 P.M.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSIONS I: 1:15 P.M. - 3:15 P.M.

Session 9: Room 204
Fracturing of Traditional Diplomatic and Trade Relations in 16th–17th Century Japan
Organizer/Chair: Csaba Olah, International Christian University

During the Muromachi period Japan maintained diplomatic and trade relations with three foreign countries until the middle of the sixteenth century – Chosŏn Korea, Ming China and the Ryukyu Kingdom. In the middle of the sixteenth century, however, Japanese faced new challenges after the arrival of the Europeans. Japan had no experience in diplomatic communication with countries outside of East Asia and it was not prepared for establishing diplomatic relations with European countries. In dealing with the Europeans Japan lacked a common language such as kanbun in East Asia and the traditional view of Japanese foreign relations complicated the situation. The collapse of the Muromachi shogunate, civil war and the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate after the second half of the sixteenth century also heavily influenced the later transformation of diplomacy and trade. This panel will examine how the collapse of official diplomacy with China in the middle of the sixteenth century and the arrival of the Europeans influenced Japan’s “traditional” diplomatic thought and trading practices after the mid-sixteenth century. Two of the papers will examine changing patterns of Japanese trade and diplomacy with other countries, focusing on Japan’s attitude toward foreign ships in the sixteenth—seventeenth century. The papers will investigate how new actors began to participate in diplomacy and trade and how, unlike the age where traditional tributary trade was based on diplomatic relations, trade was no longer necessarily based on diplomacy. The other two papers will offer case studies, one that focuses on the role of the Shimazu family and its relationship with Ryukyu, looking at its role in reopening the diplomatic discussions with Ming China, and the other that focuses on the Japanese slave trade based on Portuguese laws concerning slavery that finally ended in the 17th century.

1) Igawa Kenji, Seijo University
Some Examples of Trade Tradition in the Sixteenth Century Japan

The middle of the sixteenth century was a turning point in the interregional relations centering on Japan. Needless to say, it was the time of the well-known wakō-activities. Further, around this time official contact between Japan and Ming China was terminated after the last Japanese tribute
envoys returned to Japan in 1550. Although the “King of Japan” had nominally continued to dispatch his envoys to the King of Korea, it was substantially carried out by the Sō family of Tsushima island.

Outside Japan maritime ban system had been held around this period in Choseon Korea, Ryūkyū Kingdom, as well as in the Ming China which had great influence on the relationship with other countries. This maritime ban system, especially that of the Chinese empire legally meant that leaving the country was prohibited for costal inhabitants. At the same time, historical sources also prove that the entry to the empire was also strictly controlled. In this context the Ryūkyū Kingdom is also often mentioned as an “ocean state” with extensive trade relations as Ryūkyū had frequently sent ships to China, Japan, Korea and other Southeast Asian regions. However, on the other hand it did rigidly prohibit emigration of Ryukyuan people and also restricted the entry of foreign trade ships; a fact which is overlooked in previous research. Thus, this paper aims at focusing on the maritime ban system of Ryūkyū and that of Korea as first. Now, if we look at Japan, we can see that it did not establish this kind of ban-system. There is no example whether a similar system existed in Japan, but we know from the sources that no one from those seventeen ships that arrived from outside of Japan in the first half of the sixteenth century was banned for of this reason. What was the reason for that?

As another core question I would like to examine the situation in the sixteenth century Japan as well.

2) Okamoto Makoto, The University of Tokyo

*Transformation of Diplomacy and Trade in Japan during the 16th–17th century*

This paper deals with the question of the differences that can be seen between Japanese diplomacy and trade with Ming China (which was interrupted with the last Japanese official tributary ship that sailed to China in 1547) and Japanese diplomacy and trade with the Spanish colony in the Philippines at the end of the sixteenth century or with the South East Asian countries in the first half of the seventeenth century, looking at the Japanese side of these relations. One answer is that sending diplomatic missions to Ming China was a prerequisite for maintaining relations and trade took place as an accompanying activity; while in the case of trade with the Spanish or the South East Asian countries sending trading ships without diplomatic duties was the basic premise and diplomacy took place as a supplementary activity. The difference can be clearly seen in the composition of the leading members of the missions. In the case of missions to Ming China learned Zen monks were invariably appointed as the chief- and vice-ambassadors of diplomatic missions and merchants went with them to China only as accompanying members. In the case of trade with the Spanish in the Philippines merchants were the leading figures of the missions and merchants were always appointed as leaders of these missions even if an official diplomatic document was sent by the Japanese
sovereign. The reason for this change that in the case of diplomacy with the Ming a relationship based on diplomatic protocol was essential because Ming foreign policy only allowed official tribute missions from foreign countries to enter China, while in the case of trade with the Spanish in the Philippines protocol was no longer very important. But the ambiguity between the former and latter practices sometimes caused confusion in diplomatic interactions.

3) Maria Grazia Petrucci, University of British Columbia

*Back to the Past: Piracy and Diplomacy in Relations between Japan and Ryukyu*

The argument advanced in this presentation challenges the research of previous scholars dealing with the competition for maritime routes and the Ashikaga shoguns’ tributary trade policies, such as Hashimoto Yū, who has focused on the specifics of the tribute trade, and Niina Kazuhito, who has dealt with the Shimazu’s competition and piracy in the early sixteenth century, as well as Kurushima Satoru, who has downplayed the role of the Shimazu. Here I do demonstrate how Satsuma’s sixteenth century connection to the Kingdom of Ryukyu made it possible for the Tokugawa in the early seventeenth century to deal diplomatically indirectly with Ming China. Hence, the Kingdom of Ryukyu not only presented itself as a possible way to deal with China by proxy but also had established a precedent of diplomatic contacts in the early sixteenth century, and this was the main reason for Tokugawa to annex Ryukyu in first place: to reconnect with Ming China from a safe diplomatic distance. However, these precedents were also based on competition for maritime routes between pirates on the payroll of the central government or its cliques and the corsairs of the newly emerging power holders of southern Japan, namely the daimyō at Kyushu. Japanese pirates took advantage of the competition for maritime routes to Ryukyu to gain status as mediators between the center and the peripheries and to shift the commercial focus from Ryukyu to Tsushima once Japan became the locus for the exchange of weaponry for silver.

4) Lucio de Sousa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

*Japanese Slavery and the Iberian Legislation*

This paper aims to analyze the impact that Japanese slavery had on the Iberian legislation produced between 1567 and 1606. This research will be divided in three parts. Initially we will study the first Council of Goa (1567), the abolition of Japanese slavery in Portugal and the second Provincial Council of Goa (1575). In the second part of this research, we will analyze the anti-Christian edict of 1587, the condemnation of slavery in Japan by Claudio Acquaviva and the publication of excommunication against the Portuguese slave traders by the Bishop Pedro Martins.
We will close the second part of this paper with a presentation of the first actions to eradicate the Japanese slave trade in Macau, Melaka, Goa and Lisbon. In the third part of our research we will analyze the law against the Japanese slave trade in Goa and the negative repercussions among the wealthy Portuguese merchants. This work will be finalized with an analysis of the collapse of Japanese slave trade in Japan.

**Discussant: Csaba Olah, International Christian University**
Session 10: Room 351

Shifting Boundaries, Ambiguous Identities: State and Non-State Actors in Waste Management and Recycling in East Asia

Organizer: Rebecca Tompkins, Leiden University
Chair: Katarzyna Cwiertka, Leiden University

“Waste” is a complicated concept, and its meanings shift across time, cultures, and places. For some, waste is dirty, repulsive, unwanted; for others it is an economic, political, or ideological opportunity. These disparate meanings can spur complex interactions among various groups and individuals involved in waste management and recycling. These actors – which can include the state, businesses, religious organizations, women’s groups, and gangs, among others – have their own motivations, identities, and interests, and their relations can range from cooperation and collaboration to hostile conflict or coercion. This panel will explore interactions between various actors involved with waste and recycling, focusing on the ways these relations shifted or challenged boundaries, identities, and discourses. Tompkins examines the 1930s Tokyo “garbage movement,” in which a women’s suffrage group collaborated successfully with city authorities, using garbage as a means to achieve their political goals. Pak explores the case of Seoul’s Nanji landfill, operated from 1978 to 1993, where various informal actors participated in making the landfill manageable and developed new meanings, distinctions, and usages of waste, troubling boundaries between formal and informal, legal and illegal. Liebman demonstrates how waste and the people who live off of this waste make a particularly unruly pairing in Kunming, China, challenging state and entrepreneurial schemes which seek to order and govern the urban environment. Dung discusses the case of the Taiwanese Buddhist organization Tzuchi, which has established an independent recycling system since the 1990s, integrating global environmentalism with local religious traditions in its economic performance of recycling.

1) Rebecca Tompkins, Leiden University

“Our Mission as Women:” Cooperation between Women’s Groups and City Authorities in the Garbage Campaign of Prewar Tokyo

In 1933, the Tokyo Women’s League to Purify City Politics, a women’s activist group whose core members were leaders of the country’s nascent women’s suffrage movement, initiated a far-reaching campaign to combat the city’s “garbage problem.” The newly constructed waste incineration facilities in the Fukagawa area of downtown Tokyo were generating massive clouds of noxious smoke, which experts believed was caused by high water content. The Women’s League embraced
the issue, organizing a lecture series about correct household waste separation and treatment, distributing thousands of fliers, assisting in the city’s contest for a “cleaning slogan,” and even producing a movie about the garbage problem at the behest of city authorities. Drawing on archival sources, this paper analyzes the interactions of the women’s activist group, city authorities, and other actors involved in the Tokyo garbage movement of the 1930s. It focuses on the ways in which the Tokyo Women’s League leveraged garbage as a municipal problem into a social movement as a conscious political strategy, employing and transforming discourses about women to promote their goal of elevating the status of women in public life. For the city, collaboration with the women’s group in the garbage movement not only helped to resolve the underlying problem by increasing citizens’ awareness (and, hopefully, actual practice) of correct waste separation, it also deflected public attention away from the city’s responsibility for the lingering smoke problem in Fukagawa. This case highlights the myriad ways “waste” can be employed as a political and discursive tool.

2) Hyojin Pak, Leiden University


The Nanji landfill, intended as a temporary local dump site, gradually became Seoul’s principal landfill from 1978 to 1993, exceeding its planned operation period and creating two garbage mountains 90 meters above sea level. The landfill’s original plan, temporary as it was, could not prepare it for the future; the country’s ever-rising economic development, changes in styles of consumption/discarding, and in patterns of waste generation and the actual composition of Korean waste. In the absence of any regulatory framework and financial, technical, and human resources necessary for its operation, the landfill attracted various types of informal actors, developing new meanings, distinctions, and usages of waste. Drawing on government-produced documents and interviews with landfill employees, this paper explores the inner workings of the Nanji landfill. It examines how the landfill was expanded without preparation; how the absence of any timely plan resulted in unanticipated consequences for both its management and workers; and how the workers learned to live and work with these consequences, making the landfill manageable in the midst of disorder and complexity. Focusing on the interaction between the city employees and gangs involved in organized violence participating in the day-to-day landfill operation, the paper uncovers troubling boundaries between formal and informal, legal and illegal, shaping the landfill a lawless zone – a space of exception that created a new order of its own. In doing so, the paper aims to understand locally shared meanings and practices of waste and landfill operation in the absence of more formal
environmental waste management.

3) Adam Liebman, University of California, Davis

Controlling Waste in Kunming, China: Struggles to Order and Govern the Urban Environment

In Kunming, capital of southwest China’s Yunnan Province, government bureaus have been struggling to address the city’s “garbage problem” for decades. Today the problem has been ostensibly solved through publicity campaigns, investments in sanitation and infrastructure, and the construction of five garbage incineration plants. Yet, an artisanal scrap trade thrives in Kunming despite the city’s negative stance on such unregulated, “polluting”, and “zangluancha” (dirty/messy/bad) economic activities. A private entrepreneur who draws heavily on environmentalist rhetoric has also worked with the government in his decade-long attempt to reform, regulate, and monopolize urban recycling—an attempt which has mostly failed. Thus, collecting and selling scrap continues to provide livelihoods for a large group of “garbage pickers” and supplements the incomes of sanitation, janitorial, and other low-income workers. Their gleanings are sold to an estimated 24,000 rural migrants who make a living in Kunming informally trading scrap. Although these traders are often the target of government fines and harassment, they have persisted in carving out spaces in the city for plying their trade. In this paper I show how Kunming’s waste and the people who live off of this waste have coalesced into a particularly unruly pairing which is uncooperative with state and entrepreneurial schemes. Therefore, although the individuals involved in scrap trading are mostly motivated by the exchange value potentials of scrap, collectively their everyday practices challenge the local state’s and private entrepreneurs’ abilities to order and govern the urban environment, and to control the waste produced by the city.

Discussant: Tomoko Okayama, Taisho University
Session 11: Room 253
“Queer” Lines: Genders and Sexualities in Institutions and at Play in Japan (Part I)
Organizer/Chair: SPF Dale, Hitotsubashi University

Scholars of gender and sexuality studies have done impressive research theorizing gender and sexual identities in Japan, especially in recent years. Yet, much of the scholarship written in English on gender and sexual minorities in Japan (and elsewhere) have privileged gay and lesbian identities (and to a certain extent, transgender), emphasized the heterosexual-homosexual binary, and framed sexuality in antinormative terms and binary structures, sometimes at the expense of bi, non-binary, and other bodies and sexual identities that do not conform to expectations inscribed by the institution of the heteronormative family. We propose a twin panel that seeks to explore and challenge the notions of what constitute “queer” bodies, selves, and practices, where we locate queer in a web of plural, excessive, and overlapping sexual and gender-variant desires, practices, and subjectivities (Sedgwick 1994; McLelland, Suganuma & Welker 2007). The first panel examines how social and medical institutions function to regulate and (re)inscribe “male” and “female” and masculinity and femininity as a way to question and rethink these binaries. Our second panel explores how cultural media, texts and sites, such as cafes, music, manga and anime, grant spaces to play with gender, sexual, and social norms as alternative ways of reconfiguring binaries but also push beyond them. This twin panel is concerned with new approaches to studies on Japanese genders and sexualities. It takes stock of new directions in queer scholarship, such as studies of alternative genders and sexualities, which are constantly being shaped by transnational flows of ideas, methods, and people.

1) SPF Dale, Hitotsubashi University

On Medical Terms: Gender Identity Disorder and the Recognition of Non-Binary Gender Identities

Queer activists as well as scholars have long criticized the pathologization and medicalization of transgender and queer bodies, arguing that such acts enforce and make use of a restrictive notion of what is “normal” and forces such bodies to be considered “abnormal” in order to be socially recognized. Gender Identity Disorder (GID; sei dō itsu sei shō gai) was legally recognized as a medical condition in Japan in 2003. The recognition of GID radically changed understandings of gender in Japan, and especially understandings of transgender identities. Although in the past GID was a diagnosis given to individuals who desired to transition specifically from female to male or male to female, more recently it has also been given to individuals who do not necessarily desire to transition to an institutionally recognized gender (i.e. female or male), including individuals who
identify as x-gender or other non-binary genders. This presentation examines the influence that GID has had on how non-binary identities are perceived as well as experienced in Japan. Making use of interviews with individuals who identify as x-gender who have undergone diagnosis for GID (or who express a desire to do so), I argue that although GID encourages understanding transgender as a medical condition, for some individuals this understanding was crucial in forging their identity and in coming out to others around them. GID as such acts as a two-edged sword – one which enables social recognition, but only on very specific terms.

2) Minata Hara, Japan Sexual Minorities Network for Social Inclusion

*Is Gender an “Identity” for All, or Just an Orientation?: Rethinking “Gender Identities” in Japan through Phone Counseling*

As an X-gender social activist, I have been a part of a one-stop 24-hour phone counseling service run by state subsidy since 2012. I am in charge of the “sexual minorities line,” which receives any calls related to sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression. Our line is accessible toll-free nation-wide, and gets about 1000 calls daily, with a pickup rate of 10%. In the past three and a half years, we have responded to over 120,000 calls. While there are many notable points that should be analyzed, one characteristic trend is the prevalence of gender-fluid callers. One out of every four callers profess to feel a certain degree of gender fluidity and talks about it both in phone conversations and face-to-face interviews. This is encouraged by the fact that callers are not asked to identify whether they are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender. Neither are they asked whether they are homosexual or heterosexual. Rather, phone counselors carefully listen to each caller without assuming or categorizing what they are or who they should be. Given this context, I find that the word “gender identity,” frequently referred to in international human rights advocacy as SOGI and translated as “seijinin,” sounds too rigid and does not adequately describe what they feel or who they are. Rather, I find that “gender orientation” better describes the state of mind or being of many of our callers who are gender-fluid and face problems due to their non-conformity with the rigidly “gendered” culture.
3) Yuen Shu Min, University of Melbourne

Drinking and Partying…Or Something More? Negotiations of Belonging in the Contemporary FTM Scene in Japan

In the last twenty years, Japanese transgender people have acquired increased visibility in mainstream Japanese society. Notwithstanding that, understandings of Female-to-Male (FTM) transpeople continue to remain hazy among the Japanese public, and largely unaccounted for in both Japanese and Anglophone academia. This paper therefore seeks to account for one aspect of FTM cultural life, and explore how the production and consumption of this cultural life allows us to see the workings of FTM people’s negotiations with the state apparatuses. I draw on my fieldwork in what I call the “FTM scene”—a loose network of FTM individuals and organizations, institutions such as bars, clubs and restaurants, events and gatherings such as drinking parties and club nights, as well as FTM media and businesses—and demonstrate how the FTM scene not only plays an important role in fostering a sense of community among its participants, but also enables the negotiation of FTM people’s civic inclusion and autonomy. While consumption certainly lies at the center of scene activities—and indeed, the participants’ ability to participate is contingent on their spending power—I use the case of the drinking party to urge us to think beyond the binary of consumption as necessarily depoliticizing, versus consumption as necessarily leading to minority sexual rights.
4) Mark McLelland, University of Wollongong

_Takahashi Tetsu and the Struggle for Freedom of Sexual Expression in Early Postwar Japan_

One of the first acts of the Occupation administration was to revoke the powers of the Japanese police to pre-censor print material. This led to a rapid escalation of stories and reports in the popular press that would previously have been banned as lascivious or obscene (waisetsu). A recurrent theme in this literature is that of _ryōki_ or ‘curiosity hunting’ for tales of strange and unusual sexual behaviour. Of particular interest is the emergence of the ‘sadistic woman’, the ‘male-dresser’, and the ‘Lesbos lover’ – new female personality types who expressed female agency at the expense of their male analogues, the ‘masochist man’, the ‘female-dresser’ and the ‘Sodomite’. This paper reads the early postwar fascination with these accounts of ‘perverse’ sexualities in the context of challenges to the militarist sex and gender system brought about by Japan’s defeat and the new postwar legal environment validating women’s social and political agency. It is argued that the popular discourse endorsing ‘curiosity seeking’ in sexual matters modifies some recent accounts that stress the conservative nature of sex and gender roles endorsed by the Japanese authorities during the Occupation era and shortly after.

**Discussant: Sabine Frühstück, University of California, Santa Barbara**
Theorizing the Other in Urban Spaces of Play in Tokyo
Organizer/Chair: Jamie Coates, Waseda University

Urban public spaces are generally assumed to be more accessible and democratic than their private counterparts. This is particularly the case for spaces of play in Tokyo, where the ludic and convivial aspects of consumption, games and performance are associated with freedom and sanctuary from wider urban pressures (Greve 2011). While significant attention has been paid to the hermeneutics of play in the Japanese Context (cf. Hendry and Raveri 2002), the spatial qualities of play are often treated in ways that elide its diversity. Play takes on heterotopic forms within Tokyo’s urban spaces, forming multiple, often conflicting publics. This panel explores how focusing on play and space allows us to understand processes of exclusion and inclusion within Tokyo. Historically, spaces of play, such as Edo’s Yoshiwara and the black markets of Shōwa Japan, have served to emplace the Other within Tokyo. This process continues today, taking on increasingly pluralistic forms that map onto a diverse range of spaces. The dialectics of inclusion and exclusion as well as imaginaries surrounding non-normative subjectivities proliferate within these contexts, whether migrant spaces of play, spaces for music subcultures, or gendered and sexualised spaces of play. At the same time, the heterotopic nature of these spaces also enables people to foster non-normative practices, spaces and convivialities. Within this panel, we will explore these themes in relation to spaces where women explore their sexuality, Chinese migrant spaces, Visual Kei music performances and conflicts over space within the Kabukichō.

1) Jamie Coates, Waseda University
Playing in Ikebukuro: Negotiating Exclusion in Chinese Migrant Spaces of Play

From its inception, Ikebukuro has served as a space of play for the non-normative in Tokyo. From surrealist artist groups in the 1930s to the black markets of postwar Japan, it has been perceived as dangerous and deviant, but this perception also feeds what is seen as appealing about Ikebukuro to many. Since the 1990s Ikebukuro’s image has continued to grow within popular youth cultures and media, re-inscribing Ikebukuro’s image of deviance to the point where it is now seen as exciting at fashionable. However, the formation of this image has also served as a mode of exclusion within Ikebukuro. Since the 1990s Ikebukuro’s Chinese population has grown exponentially on the Northwestern side of the station. This has resulted in some 200 Chinese owned businesses, and an unsuccessful proposal to call the northern quarter of Ikebukuro “Tokyo Chinatown” in 2008. Focusing on a Chinese-run bar and music venue that has recently grown in popularity, this paper
explores how a focus on play in Ikebukuro is useful in understanding migrant experiences. The bar features: Gogo dancers, fetish circus acts, live music performances of various genres, Halloween and Christmas celebrations, as well as serving as a space for Chinese festivals and celebrations. The bar acts as a “sanctuary” (Greve 2011) where “cosmopolitanism with Chinese characteristics” (Rofel 2007) intersects with various forms of play and performance found within Tokyo. At the same time, it also serves as a site of exclusion due to its experimental nature. In this sense, this paper shows how modes of play among Chinese migrants form heterotopia that simultaneously act as “sanctuaries” and sites of exclusion.

2) Toru Takeoka, Hitotsubashi University

*Performative Othering and the Possibility of Inclusion: The Case of Tokyo’s Kabukichō Red Light District*

Within the metropolis, spaces of play are often posited as inclusive spaces: as a kind of sanctuary (Greve 2011), a place for healing (Hendry 1995), and a place where one can find themselves (Park 1915). However, how do we fit red light districts into this perspective? Sex work, and the spaces that facilitate it, have been under intense dispute in terms of whether sex work is exploitative of women. However, less attention has been paid to red light districts as a space, where a multitude of practices occur. Despite the prevalence and popularity of red light district as spaces of play in Japan, there is little sociological research on these spaces. More importantly, those who work in these areas are stigmatized. This presentation explores the possibility of inclusion in Tokyo’s most famous red light district, the “Kabukichō.” My paper is based on fieldwork in sex industry clubs and street spaces, as well as interviews with various kinds of people, such as hostesses, hosts, street-advertisers and recruiters (both work for sex industry), local landowners, local government officers and police. My research has traced the conflict between a middle class coalition of landowners and people involved with the sex industry. The conflict has resulted in discourses of othering directed towards sex industry workers, as well as campaigns intended to redefine what modes of play are acceptable within the Kabukichō.

3) Mira Lequin Malick, Waseda University

*Things that Cultivate in the Dark: Tropes, Templates and Gendered Prosumption*

In Japan, the physical spaces in which fans actively participate, perform and patron have been portrayed as spaces of play where the fan experience of enjoyment is largely contingent on being able to achieve a sense of *ittaikan* (shared togetherness), one which is fostered partly by means
of routinized and structured forms of audience participation. Such organized bodily practices are enjoyable for the sense of familiarity they produce (Galbraith 2013, Inoue 2015, Kelly 2004) and subsequently are compounded over time through a mastery of subject and context. In fandoms where the visible audience is dominated by a particular gender, the manner in which the minority participates is often obscured, along with other acts of spontaneity and variations of participation. Similarly, research on Visual Kei has tended to place emphasis on the most visible aspects of its consumption: fashion, female fans and furitsuke (choreographed movements) (McLeod 2013, Seibt 2014), thus contributing to homologies that link aesthetic orientations to the ‘feminized’ as well as to the construction of archetype fan-consumers. This paper highlights the presence of a variety of gendered forms of prosumption in fan practices that come to the fore at live-houses in Tokyo and attempts to reveal how archetypes, alternatives and urban norms intersect to form templates onto which fans negotiate, display and contest ideas about gender, sociality and consumption.

4) Alexandra Hambleton, Bunkyo Gakuin University

The Buzz of Liberation: Sex Toys, Desire, and Feminist Potential in Contemporary Japan

The opening of two “vibrators bars” in central Tokyo in 2012 and 2013 heralded a major shift in how female pleasure is viewed in Japan today. Billed as spaces for customers to view the latest sex toys while discussing their sexual desires, fantasies, and problems, the women-only bars attracted a wide range of clientele seeking information and affirmation about masturbation and pleasure. This paper draws upon two years of ethnographic research conducted with female-friendly sex shops, sex toy manufacturers, and vibrator bars to examine spaces for exploring female sexuality and sex-positive feminism in Japan today. Vibrators have traditionally been designed and manufactured by men for men to use on women. Consequently, women’s marginalized sexuality was positioned as “other” in mainstream sexual commodity markets. However, in recent years, Japan’s sex toy market has expanded to include imported and domestically manufactured products made with female customers in mind. These products are sold in female-friendly vibrator bars and specialty sex shops which provide rare spaces of play for women to explore their sexuality in a sex-positive environment. However, these spaces are not without their problems. Rather than indicating a greater social acceptance of female sexual pleasure, sex toy marketing to women is an example of the increasing commodification of female desire (Arthurs 2004). Similarly, the provision of women-only specialist bars and shops contributes to the demarcation of female sexuality as something “other,” external to the (male-dominated) mainstream (Gordon 1992). Nevertheless, female-friendly sex shops and
vibrator bars are also places in which some women find their subjectivity and celebrate a sense of sexual power and agency.

**Discussant: Akiko Takeyama, University of Kansas**
Session 13: Room 252

Minorities/Minority Languages in Asia

Organizer/Chair: Christian W. Spang, Daitō Bunka University

This panel, chaired by a German professor based in Japan, brings together graduate students from Burma (Myanmar), China, Nepal and Russia. The suggested discussant is Professor Kimura, who has roots in Japan as well as in Germany, specializing in Esperanto as well as in the Sorbian language, a little known Slavic minority language spoken in the region south-west of Berlin. The overall aim of this panel is to discuss questions of minority languages in Asia. Burma, China, Nepal as well as Russia are far from being homogeneous nations. While Burma and Nepal are obviously much smaller than the other two states, with roughly 30 and 60 million inhabitants each, they are still more populous than most people assume. Like China and Russia, they are divided into many different ethnic groups with their related native languages or dialects. Shrestha Suraj will present his analysis of recent (multilingual) educational reforms in Nepal and the effect they had on the education of minority students. Nang Seng Hong is going to present the case of the Shang language and its latest revival in politically instable Burma. Igor Tarakanov, who is scheduled to conduct research in Japan next year, will present the case of a little known Yiddish enclave in the Russian Far East. Finally, Zhang Yongsheng is going to talk about questions of dialect and minority languages, presenting the case of the Khorchin dialect of the Mongolian language.

1) Suraj Shrestha, Daitō Bunka University

Minority Language Policy and Practice in Nepal

Looking back at the educational history of Nepal, the exclusion of local minority languages in education began after the opening of schools on a large scale following the downfall of the Rana oligarchy in 1950. The National Education Planning Commission (est. 1956), which was formed by the first democratic government, made various recommendations for the educational system in Nepal but failed to address the challenges of multilingual education (MLE). However, in 2007, the Nepali government’s Department of Education eventually launched a MLE program in various schools, getting technical assistance from the Finnish government in this endeavor. So far, no comprehensive studies have been conducted to show the results of the implementation of this MLE program. It is therefore the aim of this current study to explore and analyze the realities of multilingual education in Nepali schools. This paper is going to highlight the current conditions and recent trends in the education of minority students. It portrays the way how MLE practice is implemented in schools across Nepal. For this, a specific set of tools will be prepared to gather the information from teachers,
children’s parents or guardians and school management. In addition, some policy makers and education experts will be contacted and local data collected.

2) Nang Seng Hong, Independent Scholar CANCELLED

On Shan Language Revival in Burma

The Shan people, the second biggest ethnic group in Burma, seek full autonomy to manage their affairs. Many minority groups in Burma have been involved in a long-running struggle with the central government located in Naypyidaw. The country was commonly called Union of Burma, a name taken from the Burmese ethnic group. It is now officially called Myanmar, a name chosen by the military regime. This is not recognized by many Shan and other minority groups on the grounds of ethnic unfairness. Though armed struggle is not yet completely at an end, negotiations between the Shan liberation forces and the Burmese government have led to important changes. This paper will first discuss past difficulties the Shan people faced in the use of their language and then report about recent developments. Now, traditional media, like newspapers as well as the internet offer new opportunities for the broader use and revitalization of the Shan language. These positive trends are complicated by the existence of numerous local dialects and the less than ideal conditions still faced by the Shan people under the current political system in Burma.

3) Igor Tarakanov, Daitō Bunka University

On the State of Yiddish Preservation in the Russian Far East

Yiddish has been subject to a long decline over the course of the last century. Nevertheless, it enjoys an official status in the Jewish Autonomous Oblast (with its center at Birobidzhan), an autonomous territory in the Russian Far East, which shares a border with Heilongjiang province in northeastern China. It was established by Stalin in 1934 to provide Yiddish-speaking Jewish citizens with a place where they could preserve their cultural heritage. By 1948 the Jewish population was about 30,000. By 2010, however, out of a total population of 176,558, only 1,628 people claimed to have Jewish roots and less than 100 of these called themselves speakers of Yiddish. Depending on one's viewpoint, though, Yiddish can be seen as undergoing a revival or as being in the process of becoming extinct. A discussion will be made of points used to support each of these views. There exists a strong opinion among foreign researchers, and also among Russian native researchers that Stalin’s experiment, the Birobidzhan Project, failed. But we should not forget that the Jewish Autonomous Region was founded two decades before state of Israel and has preserved Yiddish and Jewish culture ever since. Jews still live there, trying to fully continue practicing their traditions. This
place also saved many of their forefather’s lives from the Holocaust; even though many others fell victim to Stalin’s Great Purge. In the end, unlike other places contemplated for Jewish resettlement over the years, like Uganda or Alaska or Japan, Birobidzhan should not be written off as an idea without proper realization.

4) Zhang Yongsheng, Daitō Bunka University

**Standard Mongolian Language and the Khorchin Dialect in Inner Mongolia**

Mongolian language as a member of the Mongolic language family is used in the Republic of Mongolia and in Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang in China. Barag Ayalag, Horchin Ayalag, Tsahar Ayalag, Bairan Ayalag, Tumed Ayalag, Alasha Ayalag, and Ordos Ayalag represent different spoken variants of this language, though, with regard to Inner Mongolia, only one written form of the language exists. The standard pronunciation of Mongolian Language in Inner Mongolia was originally created for radio and television broadcasts and is based on the Chahar dialect located in central Inner Mongolia. Thus, we have a very different situation from the Republic of Mongolia, where the standard pronunciation is based on the Khalkha dialect and where far greater efforts have been made to standardize the spoken language than in Inner Mongolia. The Khorchin dialect is a variety of Mongolian spoken in the east of Inner Mongolia, namely in Hinggan League, in the north, north-east and east of Hinggan and in all but the south of the Tonglia region. There were 2.08 million Khorchin Mongols in Inner Mongolia of China in 2000, so the Khorchin dialect may well have more than one million speakers, making it the largest dialect of Inner Mongolia. Nevertheless, it was not chosen as the basis for creating the spoken standard now used for official purposes. Discussion will center on the reasons for this and also on differences between the Khorchin Ayalag and the standard language used for official purposes.

**Discussant: Cezar Constantinescu, Sophia University**
Yōji Yamada is one of the most veteran filmmakers in Japan. His career started in 1954, when he graduated from Tokyo University and was selected to join Shōchiku, one of the five major companies that dominated the studio era in Japanese cinema. He trained there working along with some of the most prominent figures of the era, until he became himself a well-respected director in the studios. Since then, the studio system collapsed and the whole industry suffered a radical process of transformation. In this convulse circumstances, the director has managed to maintain his status as a filmmaker and keeps working until today, at his 84 years. Yamada is a living memory of those old days, as well as a reminder of the profound changes that Japanese cinema has undergone. Throughout his films, mostly centered in the everyday life of common people, one can explore the changes of Japanese society during those decades, while the turns his career have taken are potentially useful to reveal central aspects of the transformation process and the current state of the film industry in Japan.

1) Francisco Javier López Rodríguez, Nagoya University

Depictions of Parenthood in Yōji Yamada’s Family-Themed Films.

During his long career Yamada Yōji has directed several films dealing with the topic of the family. Generally considered as the basic social unit, the cinematic family can be seen as a symbolic microcosm shaped by specific cultural values. This presentation aims to study the portrayal of paternity, maternity and relationships between parents and children in Yamada’s work taking into consideration several aspects such as gender roles, generation gaps and narrative constructions. Using a methodological approach that combines qualitative analysis of the discourse, narratological character studies and concepts from Japanese Studies and Sociology, the main objective is to establish in which ways Yamada’s depiction of family roles and relationships have evolved over time. The corpus of films that will be analyzed is composed by Kazoku (家族, 1970), A Distant Cry From Spring (遙かなる山の呼び声, 1980), My Sons (息子, 1991), Kabei: Our Mother (母べえ, 2008), Otōto (おとうと, 2010), and Tokyo Family (東京家族, 2013).
2) Kenta Kato, Waseda University

Yōji Yamada Remakes: Representation of Something Older

Yōji Yamada is noted for his humanist films in which hard-working people from the working class are suffering from the disquieting situation of society in post-war Japan. As a longtime filmmaker in the Shochiku studio, Yamada has been faithful to Ofuna-cho, a cinematic doctrine of Shochiku that focuses on working class characters from a humanistic standpoint. Unlike other Shochiku New Wave filmmakers from the same generation who distorted and rebelled against this filmmaking doctrine, Yamada has not been rebellious to this style of filmmaking. What is notable from his filmography is the repeated production of similar kinds of pictures, namely serialized films that result in spectators being absorbed into the system or those that just ignore the existence of the system. What the humanist films actually present is cynicism towards humanity, with their ideological message that an individual is impotent to change the social situation and must be resigned to accepting the given conditions. By analyzing two films most critical of the working conditions of the countryside as it succumbs to capitalism, Kazoku (Where Spring Comes Late, 1970) and Furusato (Home from the Sea, 1972), this presentation will examine how Yamada’s disregard of the individual’s potential reinforces the system and the films fail to serve as the social criticism that Yamada intends them to be.

3) Jose A. Montaño Muñoz, Universitat Pompeu Fabra

The Twilight of an Era of Filmmaking: Yōji Yamada and Jidaigeki.

At the beginning of the present Century, Yamada directed three films that represented a significant turn in his career. With The Twilight Samurai (たそがれ清兵衛 Tasogare Seibei, 2002), The Hidden Blade (隠し剣鬼の爪 Kakushi ken: Oni no tsume, 2004) and Love and Honor (武士の一分 Bushi no ichibun, 2006), Yamada made an incursion into filming period dramas depicting the national past. Significantly, the stories told in those films were set in a transitional moment, when the old world of the samurai was fading out following the socio-political decadence of the system established by the Tokugawa shogunate. This presentation aims to underline the importance of this trilogy in Yamada’s career at interpreting those films as a testimonial of another transitional moment in the present day, regarding both Japanese society and its cinema industry.

Discussant: Karen Severns, Waseda University
Session 15: Room  
**Individual Papers 2: Contemporary East Asian Literature**  
Chair: Jenine Heaton, Kansai University  
1) Li-ping Chen, University of Southern California  
*Searching for (Alter)native Soil: Eikan Kyu and the Politics of Homecoming in Postcolonial Displacement*

This paper discusses the discourse of “native soil” in postcolonial diaspora through an examination of Eikan Kyu’s literary and commentary works. Born and raised in colonial Taiwan, Kyu received education in the metropole where his critical attitude toward Japanese imperialism eventually resulted in his involvement with the overseas Taiwan Independence Movement. After the retrocession of the island to the Kuomintang-controlled Republic of China in 1945, political dissidents were systematically silenced and some like Kyu living in exile to continue their independentist effort. Reconfiguring his political vision into literary articulation, Kyu published in Japan several novels that address the authoritarian and Sinocentric governance of the island. Awarded the prestigious Naoki Literary Prize, his Hong Kong (1955) brings to the surface the bloodily repressed “February 28 Incident,” an island-wide rioting that remained a taboo topic under martial law in Taiwan. Kyu’s attempts to narrativize his home island, however, are complicated by his postcolonial dislocation in Japan where he began to re-calibrate his nativist vision of “home.” As he struggled as a Taiwanese in postwar Japan, Kyu started to emphasize his cultural affiliation with and ancestral background of China. This strategic “homecoming” enables him to utilize his cultural capital in commenting on the increasing interaction between China and Japan. Kyu and his works demonstrate how a (self-)exiled writer responds to postcolonial predicament while searching for (alter)native soil to thrive.

In the context of China’s changing labour and social protection systems, this study is the first to use a nationally representative panel dataset from 2004 to 2011 to examine the causal effects of having a labour contract on a series of individual outcomes (i.e. wage, access to public health insurance, hours worked and happiness). Utilizing the implementation of the 2008 new Labour Contract Law as a natural experiment, the fixed effect difference-in-differences estimators suggest that having a labour contract has positive causal effect on workers’ wages and access to health insurance, but not on hours worked. Having a labour contract does not have a significant impact on happiness, indicating employment security might not play a significant role in worker’s utility function. The results also suggest that it is important to account for the unobserved individual and regional characteristics in the estimation.
2) Hiroaki Matsusaka, University of Michigan

*Colonial Borderlands in Japanese Proletarian Literature: Maedakō Hiroichirō’s Novels on Korea and Contested Representations of Hwajŏn*

In recent years, scholars have examined Japanese writers’ relationships with colonial Korea, analyzing materials by Nakanishi Inosuke (Watanabe 2003), Kōtoku Shūsui (Ko 2010), and Hosoi Hajime (Suh 2013). However, works on Korea by Maedakō Hiroichirō (1888–1957) are largely overlooked. Born in Sendai, Maedakō moved to the U.S. as a migrant worker in 1907 and began his career as a socialist author. After going back to Japan in 1920, he became a leading writer of proletarian literature, producing widely read novels and essays on U.S. society. His six-month trip to Chinese cities beginning in October 1928 inspired him to write on culture and working life in China. While having never been to Korea, he then published a serialized novel titled *Chōsen* (K. *Chosŏn*; Korea) in 1931, as well as *Kaden* (K. *hwajŏn*; slash-and-burn farming), a revised version of *Chōsen*, in 1938. The story centers on a few Korean families that, under extreme economic hardship, migrated from Northern Korea to Manchuria to the Soviet Union for survival, engaging in *hwajŏn*. In my paper, I will analyze Maedakō’s texts to examine the complicated relationship between colonial Korea and Japanese socialists. I will also interpret the texts in the broader context of colonialism, capitalism, and mass culture in the colonial empire, including different discourses of *hwajŏn*, diasporic lives on Korea-China borderlands, and intersecting gender and ethnic relations in the lives of the underclass. My paper will explore how Maedakō’s works provide us with new perspectives to interwar Japanese and Korean history.

3) Wu Xiaofang, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

*A Quest for East-West Religious Dialogue: On Helen M. Hayes’s Abridged Translation of Xiyouji (1930)*

*Xiyouji*, a 16th-century Chinese novel, was partially translated into English under the title *The Buddhist Pilgrim’s Progress* in 1930 by Helen M. Hayes, who published it as part of the successful “Wisdom of the East” series edited by L. A. Cranmer-Bying. This translation occupies a key position in promoting the popularization of the fiction in the English-speaking world as it appears between Timothy Richard’s missionary rendering (1913) and Arthur Waley’s widely acclaimed edition (1942). However, it has received very little attention from translation studies scholars, and nothing is known about the translator or the circumstance under which the translation was produced. By using first-hand archival materials, this paper attempts to reconstruct the personal life of the translator and to argue that her translation is of important value in exemplifying a dialogue and synthesis of Eastern
and Western religions – Chinese Buddhism, Shin Buddhism and Christianity.

4) Makiko Mori, Auburn University

Does Money Kill Culture?: Money Matters in the Early-Republican Popular Fiction Industry

Studies on modern Chinese literature have conventionally dismissed an import of money, considering money and money-driven capitalist economy culturally vulgar, morally suspicious, and ideologically disagreeable. However, a formation of China’s modern literary theories and practices is inseparable from a growing influx and prevalence of colonial and capitalist money. This paper examines China’s early Republican popular fiction industry, in which money became one of the preoccupying leitmotifs of printed texts that were marketed at and communicated with an emerging body of wage-earning workers and student readership. Through a case study of The Story World (Xiaoshuo shijie), the then leading popular fiction magazine by the Commercial Press, this paper shows the nuanced and critical ways in which the magazine explored the cultural significance of money in the new era. Using a selection of short stories, cartoons, advertisement images, and readers’ columns published in the magazine, the paper first illustrates the concrete terms in which these texts portrayed the new money as the fundamental condition of quintessentially modern endeavors, namely to attain individual autonomy and remake individual identity. Next it demonstrates how these texts underline the complications of money economy that both enabled and restricted the new condition of Chinese reality. In the conclusion, the paper questions the contemporaneous May Fourth description of The Story World as a crude and crass magazine that sacrificed culture for the new money, and offers a brief synopsis of the cultural significance of money in a discussion of modern Chinese literature at large.

5) Nicholas Lambrecht, University of Chicago

Returnee Postmemory: The Emergence of Second-Generation Japanese Repatriation Literature

Victims of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have passed on their harrowing experiences to their descendants in tangible and organized ways that have been compared to the postmemory evident in families of Holocaust victims. However, the conceptual framework of postmemory has not commonly been used to examine the contemporaneous transmission of traumatic memories of repatriation to the descendants of those who fled to Japan from Japanese-controlled territories at the end of the Second World War. Suitable application of research on postmemory to second-generation narratives of repatriation may lead to a more nuanced model of postmemory that is able to better incorporate the circumstances not just of clear victims, but also of subjects who
occupied morally ambiguous positions as representatives of an invading, imperial power. At the same time, the emerging academic discourse on Japanese repatriation literature has frequently excluded writers who did not personally experience postwar repatriation. This paper argues that incorporating the postmemory-inflected “repatriation literature” written by second-generation Japanese returnees into analyses of the genre is essential to showing the enduring postwar significance of repatriation—an event that has often been rendered invisible by geopolitical realities and societal taboos, but which has always remained engrained in the structure of postwar Japan and its literature. In particular, it does so by exploring the contrasting narrative perspectives and strategies employed in the postmemorial “repatriation literature” of writers like Naoki Prize-winning author and poet Nakanishi Rei (1938–) and Akutagawa Prize-winning author Tsujihara Noboru (1945–).
Session 16: Room 251

Individual Papers 3: Japanese and Chinese War Memory

Chair: Karl Friday, Saitama University

1) Han Jung-Sun, Korea University

Making of Dark Heritage in Contemporary Japan

This presentation examines the surge of war memories attached to places in Japan during the 1990s and onwards to look at the process and the nature of recent war remembrance and to identify agents of such remembering in civil society. I will examine 1) the competition and negotiation between state and society in determining the “legitimate” attributes of “cultural property” (bunkazai) by tracing the legal development of “modernization heritage”; and 2) the various civic movements to incorporate vernacular memories of the Asia-Pacific War into both national and local landscapes by focusing on the Matsushiro (Nagano), Tachiso (Osaka), and Kurashiki (Okayama) sites. In doing so, I argue that the conservation movement is challenging the homogenizing national war memory by attaching ethnically diversified vernacular memories to the underground sites.

2) Torsten Weber, German Institute for Japanese Studies DIJ Tokyo

The Nanking Massacre and the Use of History in Japanese-Chinese Relations

This paper examines recent developments in the instrumentalisation of the Nanking Massacre (1937/38) as a disputed topic in official and non-official discourse mainly between Japan and the PRC. Similar to the comfort women issue, the scope of public history activism in the case of the Nanking Massacre has recently been widened from the national and bilateral scope to the global scene. This includes the complete renewal of the Nanking Massacre Memorial site, the official nomination of the Nanking Massacre for the UNESCO International Memory of the World Register, and the treatment of the massacre in the commemoration of 70th anniversary of the end of the Second World War in 2015. My paper will analyse recent trends and strategies of the Japanese and Chinese efforts to establish authoritative interpretations of the event as a case study of public use of history in Japanese-Chinese relations.

3) Shota T. Ogawa, University of North Carolina at Charlotte

The Work of Commemoration in the Age of Digital Colorization: Recent NHK War Documentaries

There is a rare consensus uniting the media today regarding the memories of WWII; they must be reanimated in color. On August 15, 2015, NHK broadcasted an ambitious documentary that digitally colorized iconic black-and-white film footages of the Pacific War—snow-covered Attu,
student conscripts in the rain, and the final rites of Kamikaze pilots. This study places this and other war narratives that commemorated the seventieth anniversary of Japan’s defeat in the broader discussion of the elusive position color has occupied in historiography. Drawing on archival theory and New Historicism, I argue that color marks the constitutive absence in historical narratives; despite its power to evoke the past with visceral reality, it is an excess that cannot be preserved, fixed, or documented either in texts or (chemically volatile) photographic media. I recognize the international dimension to the documentary trend to rediscover the world wars through color as evidenced by programs made by ZDF (Germany), ITV (UK), and History Channel (US). But the questions posed by digital colorization (a process of adding color to monochromatic images) differ from those posed by documentaries that present color images captured on color film stock. Through close-reading the NHK documentary, I argue that digital colorization turns the attention away from the question of historical accuracy to that of “presence.” Stressing the painstaking research conducted on material artifacts to digitally reproduce the colors, the documentary recognizes color as an intermediary of the elusive realm of the senses and the tangible world of objects.

4) Aya Ezawa, Leiden University

*Japanese Children Born of War and the History and Memory of WWII*

In this paper, I examine the identities of Indo-European/Japanese children born of war, conceived between Indo-European (Dutch-Indonesian) women and Japanese men during the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies (1942–1945). Significant about their identity struggles is that it is not their supposed racial, ethnic, or cultural characteristics as ‘Japanese’, but rather the discourse about the Japanese at war in the Netherlands, and their heritage as a child of a reviled enemy that has been most central in defining their personal life and identity. Associated with the atrocities committed by Japanese forces during WWII, and more specifically, the internment of Dutch soldiers, as well as civilians in the Dutch East Indies, many grew up feeling marginal and isolated within their own families and communities. Their stories shed light not only on experiences of marginalization as children of the enemy, but more importantly, the role and relevance of public discourses on Japan’s wartime past, which have silenced their existence and contributed to their marginal status within their families and communities. Now in their seventies, their stories offer insight into the long-term impact of family and community memories of war on their individual life courses, as well as the ways in which children born of war have begun to engage with, and negotiate the meaning of their existence in the context of discourses of WWII.
5) Hao Xiaoyang, Kyushu University

The Treatment of Sexual Violence in the Class B/C War Crimes Tribunals Conducted in the Republic of China

In the wake of the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), the Nationalist Chinese government prosecuted 883 Japanese suspects in 605 Class B/C war crimes cases throughout China in pursuit of justice for the wartime atrocities committed against the Chinese. The abduction of women, forced prostitution, and rape were among the crimes that were prosecuted. The past two decades have witnessed a dramatic increase in scholarship on sexual violence perpetrated by Imperial Japanese forces during wartime and on war crimes trials conducted in the aftermath of the war. However, the treatment of sexual violence in the Class B/C war crimes trials conducted in the Republic of China has thus far remained obscure, a historiographical gap I intend to fill in this paper. To this end, I will first examine the Nationalist Chinese government’s motivations for conducting war crimes trials and whether they changed with the deepening Chinese Civil War and Cold War. I will then investigate how cases of sexual violence treated in the trials served the Nationalist Chinese and whether they were treated in a consistent manner from the beginning to the final verdict. Finally, I will analyze how the handling of sexual violence cases was received by Japanese war criminals themselves using the interviews conducted by the Ministry of Justice in Japan after their repatriation.
Session 17: Room 352

Haiku in Contemporary Practice (Roundtable)

Chair: Philip Rowland, Tamagawa University

This roundtable investigates the tradition of haiku and the many strands and interpretations of haiku in contemporary practice. At the turn of the 20th century, Masaoka Shiki brought renewed attention to haiku. English language poets of the Imagist movement as well as publications on haiku by Reginald Horace Blyth and Zen by D.T. Suzuki fueled a transnational haiku movement. Today, haiku groups across Japan and around the world employ a range of approaches and innovations to the form. The cultural translation of haiku is evident in the work of free verse poets who draw from haiku concepts and techniques. While the popularity of haiku introduces the form to broad audiences, these migrations also transform and change the practice in important ways. This panel brings together literary scholars and poets to consider movements within haiku and investigate the fissures, conflicts and erasures of haiku in a global context.

1) Philip Rowland Tamagawa University
2) Toru Kiushi Nihon University
3) Ayako Takahashi Nagaoka University of Technology
SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSIONS II: 3:30 P.M. – 5:30 P.M.

Session 18: Room 352

China as an Emigrant Destination: Foreign and Internal Migrants in the PRC

Organizer/Chair: Igor Saveliev, Nagoya University

For long centuries, China was famous as a world’s major source of emigration that resulted in the creation of one of the biggest global diasporas. However, recent economic growth and one-child policy in the PRC created niches for foreign workers’ employment and tradesmen activities inside China itself. China’s efforts to develop relations with a number of African countries triggered migration of shuttle traders and all other kinds of businessmen, some of whom settled in Guangzhou, Yiwu and other cities in China. The so-called “Chocolate city” in Guangzhou has become known as one of these newly established multiethnic areas in China. The three papers aim to examine new migrant spaces in China. Roberto Castillo’s paper aims to shed some light on how (and to what extent) African presence in China signals important transformations in the contemporary (and future) articulation of material, discursive and imagined Sino-African cultural and economic spaces. Yang Ying’s paper provides a comparative study of African communities in China’s third biggest city of Guangzhou and the county-level city of Yiwu and examines African networks in these cities. Li Zhiyi’s paper focuses on the construction of sisterhood relations by internal Muslim female migrants. It reveals women’s ability to find a way to resist gender oppression within the existing religious identity framework which at the same time hinders the formation of a broader network among them.

1) Roberto Castillo, The University of Hong Kong

Red Money: Nigerian Money Spraying, Music and Aspirations in China

Recently, African presence in China has attracted considerable scholarly and media attention. While researchers have provided significant insights about the political economy of trade, they have largely neglected other cultural practices. Over the last five years, a thriving trans-African music scene has emerged in the southern city of Guangzhou. During some performances, members of the audience “spray” popular singers with 100 RMB notes. In this paper, I examine the re-articulation of this and other cultural practices in contemporary China as an entry point to discuss wider historical and cultural undercurrents connecting African (mainly Nigerian) traditions and artistic practices with the globalization of Chinese and African economies. I argue that highlighting the interconnectedness of these undercurrents is critical not only to make better sense of the entrepreneurial drives and
aspirations behind African presence in China, but also to interrogate what are the real possibilities and futures opened up by narratives such as the “Chinese Dream” and the “New Silk Road”. In short, this paper aims to shed some light on how (and to what extent) African presence in China (and Nigerian renminbi spraying in particular) signals important transformations in the contemporary (and future) articulation of material, discursive and imagined Sino-African cultural and economic spaces. I believe that by looking deeper at these spaces (and practices) we could open up new ways to engage existing epistemologies and offer hope (and tools) to go beyond the spaces of imperialism and political economy that so pervade the Africa-China conversations.

2) Ying Yang, Nagoya University

*Two African Communities in China: A Comparative Study of African Migrants in Yiwu and Guangzhou*

After Africans’ emergence in China in 2000, their communities in Guangzhou have existed for 14 years. African communities in Yiwu formed later than in Guangzhou. Being the third biggest city in China, Guangzhou benefited from its location in the proximity of Hong Kong and the Pearl River. These and some other city's advantages attracted African traders. Yiwu, even being ranked a county-level city in the Zhejiang province, came into prominence as the world’s largest wholesale market that also attracted Arabic and African traders. Being not so distant from each other, Yiwu and Guangzhou are very much different in terms of their scale, life-styles, business patterns, local government policies and the patterns of local people residence. All these greatly influenced African communities and resulted in their striking differences. This study, based on field work in both areas, attempts to analyze the differences of African communities and their networks in Yiwu and Guangzhou. What does attract them to these cities? What is their aim? Why do they stay in these two particular cities instead of others? Do they try to migrate to other cities or other countries? This study also tries to figure out, if there is a link between African communities in two cites, and examine the patterns and consequences of their network formation in both locations.

3) Zhiyi Li, Nagoya University

*Is Woman’s Eeman (faith) at Home?: A Case Study of the Construction of Sisterhood Relations by Internal Muslim Female Migrants in Yiwu, China*

Most research on Muslim women’s participation in religious centers’ activities focuses on their ability to build and manipulate sisterhood relations through their shared gender and religious identity to resist social oppression. Based on three-months ethnographic fieldwork, this study analyzes how
internal Muslim female migrants build their gender-based relations through the participation in different kinds of religious activities. It looks into how these relations enable them to resist patriarchal oppression in and out of spaces before and after their movement. Unmarried women build loose relations with both genders through their participation in Muslim volunteer activities and assert their rights to participate in the decision-making process just as male members do. While married women build tight gender-excluded sisterhood by taking part in the religion classes and by creating a strong support system, divorced women, on the other hand, play a major role in representing female participants in the negotiations with male leaders in various men-dominated religious organizations. Yet, these marital-status-based relations further reinforce their Muslim gender identity at the same time. This study reveals women’s ability to find a way to resist gender oppression within the existing religious identity framework which at the same time hinder the formation of a broader network among them. By focusing on the construction of sisterhood relations, this study also reveals the diversity of their education background, economic status and social class and demonstrates that female migrant identities are very different from those of the women in traditional local Muslim communities.

**Discussant: Igor Saveliev, Nagoya University**
Rethinking Power in the Periphery in Medieval Japan
Organizer: Monika Dix, Saginaw Valley State University

This panel explores ways in which cultural production from the Kamakura to the Tokugawa periods negotiate issues of marginality in terms of political power and imperial authority. Addressing questions of genre and historiography in literary texts, Erin Brightwell’s paper analyzes the use of linguistic, literary, and cultural traditions in Kamakura-period narrativizations of the past and their relationships to changing power dynamics. Kendra Strand’s paper examines how poetic allusion and selective historiography invests geographical space with imperial authority. Hanna McGaughey’s paper shifts the focus to social roles within performance and religious practice, addressing peripheral and ambiguous identities in Zeami’s heavenly woman plays. Lastly, Monika Dix’s paper elucidates the reflexive relationships between text, image, and geography in Chūjōhime cult practices. This panel identifies a range of social roles across geography and history, and charts their textual and performative gestures toward negotiating relationships with what was considered the ruling elite at different moments in the history of medieval Japan. Each paper underscores the fluidity of these roles, as well as their capacity for making dynamic interpretations of “central” and “peripheral,” whether this is through issues of genre, historiography, gender, social status, or imperial and ritual legitimacy. Representations of the peripheral in text, image, and performance create a space in which the audience may recognize and apply concepts of movement through space, time, and society in concrete ways to understand and have an impact on their world.

1) Erin L. Brightwell, University of Michigan
Reflecting Authority: Mobilizing Traditions in Medieval Discourse on the Past

For scholars of medieval writings on the past, the exchange in *The Tale of Genji* that pits “the official Chronicles” against “tales” has become a touchstone: in the conversation, Genji argues that the former merely sketch the past, while the latter alone reveal the heart of things. Although the scene does not explicitly address language, it can also be read as implying that Classical Chinese is the language of outlines, and *kana* that of essence. Within the world created by the *Genji*, writing history is an either/or proposition. However, a small yet significant set of texts defies this binary conception of historiography and questions the appropriateness of applying the above view to medieval discourse on the past: the Kamakura-period *kagamimono* (Mirrors). This paper proposes reading *The Water Mirror* and the subsequent *Mirror of China* as historiographic writings that chart a third path: they hew neither to the chronicle form characteristic of the earlier imperially commissioned “national
histories” nor to the conventions of the (at the time) morally fraught “tale” genre. Instead, their authors produce linguistically hybrid texts, draw on cosmological discourse, and coopt things Chinese—once the cultural capital of the elite. Thus mobilizing multiple traditions, these *Mirrors* enable a new method of talking about the past. Precisely this literal interweaving of languages and the transcendence of dichotomies rooted in court culture make the *Mirror* an ideal vehicle for the voice of a new authority, the Kamakura bakufu, and its own vision of the past, *The Mirror of the East*.

2) Kendra Strand, St. Olaf College

*Ruling from the Periphery: Constructing Imperial Authority in Medieval Japan*

At the turn of the fourteenth century, generations of strain upon imperial succession practices had led to a court fractured in violent political rivalry. In this conflict, two would-be emperors invested a variety of symbols with political authority associated with the right to rule. The Southern Court, established by Emperor Go-Daigo (r. 1318–1339) in Yoshino, maintained possession of the imperial regalia and a pristine ancestral lineage to the earliest emperors. The Northern Court’s sole claim to imperial authority was a powerful one: they occupied the imperial palace in the capital (Kyoto). When Southern Court attacked the capital in 1353, Northern Court Emperor Go-Kôgon (r. 1352–1371) was forced to seek refuge in Ojima, a remote landholding in Mino province. This exile posed a significant threat to Go-Kôgon, a young and inexperienced emperor, when his other claims to power were already tenuous at best. Nijô Yoshimoto (1320–1388), then regent to Go-Kôgon, hurried to join the imperial party in Ojima. Yoshimoto records this journey in his travel diary, *Solace of Words at Ojima* (*Ojima no kuchizusami* 1353). In it, Yoshimoto makes a series of arguments supporting Go-Kôgon’s imperial authority. In particular, Yoshimoto draws on his encyclopedic knowledge of waka poetry and court precedent to justify their time spent in a “temporary palace.” This paper analyses Yoshimoto’s account of the chaotic experience of maintaining a makeshift court in the backwaters, and shows how the text works to invest even a marginal space with historical precedent for imperial authority.

3) Hanna McGaughey, University of Trier

*How a Goddess Enters Politics*

In 1378 (Eiwa 4), aristocrat Sanjô Kintada disparagingly comments on Zeami’s intimacy with the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, calling the 16-year-old a beggar, thereby highlighting the young performer and child companion’s position at the social periphery. However, this episode also shows how Zeami’s position is not only the object of derision, but also of celebration—the boy sits next to
the country’s most powerful politician during a major festival and shares a sake cup with him. Liminal social status can clearly come with its own advantages with respect to independence, access, and influence, although this is always tempered with the possibility of failure and loss. After Yoshimitsu’s death in 1408 (Oei 15), Zeami feels the need to implement a fundamental reform to his art, adopting the dance of the heavenly woman and putting it into a narrative framework for the first time. In play narratives for this dance, the heavenly woman subsumes other female identities—a shrine attendant, a diver, an artisan, a courtesan, or a combination of these—all of them from the social periphery. As philosopher Sakabe Megumi states, in noh performance “[t]here is nothing but a play of identity and difference, without any strictly fixed identity” (Marra, trans., 1999, 247). This paper investigates how Zeami’s heavenly woman plays juxtapose poetic ambiguous identity, the object of religious devotion, and the ambiguous identity of people at the social periphery in addressing how Zeami used his one privilege of experience to advantage in addressing his powerful patrons at the center.

4) Monika Dix, Saginaw Valley State University

*Sacred Placemaking in Medieval Japan: Mapping Landscapes, Narratives, and Spatial Practices in the Taima-dera jikkai-zu byōbu*

From the sixteenth century onward, especially due to the popularity of mountain cult worship, stories of places real or imagined went far beyond mere entertainment for the Japanese. One such example is Mount Katsuragi in Nara prefecture. This sacred mountain is associated with Chūjōhime’s cult, Taima-dera, and the *Taima mandala* which is a cosmic diagram of Amida Buddha’s Pure Land Western Paradise. Medieval texts describe Mount Katsuragi as an actual location of both Buddhist paradise and hell. Storytellers compiled such legendary beliefs into the *Taima-dera jikkai-zu byōbu*, a set of folding screens dated 1693 and enshrined in the inner sanctuary at Taima-dera, which depicts the local landscape of Mount Katsuragi as a portal to the other world. Previous scholarship has touched on the relationship between Chūjōhime’s cult, Taima-dera, and the *Taima mandala*, but has failed to address the full spectrum of religious, literary and visual influences that contributed to forming Mount Katsuragi’s dual images of a physical Buddhist pilgrimage site and ideological Buddhist paradise, a marginal place both real and imagined. By examining the reflexive interplay between the textual and visual configurations in the *Taima-dera jikkai-zu byōbu*, this paper focuses on the production and appropriation of space to illustrate how spatial practices at Mount Katsuragi were mapped onto images and how, inversely, spatial practices which resulted from worship of the *Taima-dera jikkai-zu byōbu* were mapped onto the actual landscape. My goal is to show that the
spatial construction of the mountain is key to understanding how medieval Japanese society interacted with placemaking at the margins and Chūjōhime’s cult.

**Discussant: Michelle Kuhn, Nagoya University**
Session 20: Room 253

“Queer” Lines: Genders and Sexualities in Institutions and at Play in Japan (Part II)
Organizer/Chair: Michelle Ho, Stony Brook University

Scholars of gender and sexuality studies have done impressive research theorizing gender and sexual identities in Japan, especially in recent years. Yet, much of the scholarship written in English on gender and sexual minorities in Japan (and elsewhere) have privileged gay and lesbian identities (and to a certain extent, transgender), emphasized the heterosexual-homosexual binary, and framed sexuality in antinormative terms and binary structures, sometimes at the expense of bi, non-binary, and other bodies and sexual identities that do not conform to expectations inscribed by the institution of the heteronormative family. We propose a twin panel that seeks to explore and challenge the notions of what constitute “queer” bodies, selves, and practices, where we locate queer in a web of plural, excessive, and overlapping sexual and gender-variant desires, practices, and subjectivities (Sedgwick 1994; McLelland, Suganuma & Welker 2007). The first panel examines how social and medical institutions function to regulate and (re)inscribe “male” and “female” and masculinity and femininity as a way to question and rethink these binaries. Our second panel explores how cultural media, texts and sites, such as cafes, music, manga and anime, grant spaces to play with gender, sexual, and social norms as alternative ways of reconfiguring binaries but also push beyond them. This twin panel is concerned with new approaches to studies on Japanese genders and sexualities. It takes stock of new directions in queer scholarship, such as studies of alternative genders and sexualities, which are constantly being shaped by transnational flows of ideas, methods, and people.

1) Michelle Ho, Stony Brook University

Queer Attachments: Inhabiting Affective Spaces in Japan’s Drag Cafes

Proliferating in the late 2000s, josō (dressing as women) and dansō (dressing as men) cafes, or what I collectively call “drag cafes,” are establishments where men dress as women and women dress as men respectively and attend to customers. Although cultural phenomena, such as josō danshi (men who dress as women) or otoko no ko (literally “male daughter”), and dansō joshi (women who dress as men), began in the late 20th century, drag cafes manifest recent shifts in perceptions of gender and sexual identities in contemporary Japan. Based on ethnographic research in Tokyo, this study explores the queer attachments circulating within the spaces of drag cafes that resist labeling and articulation in current discourses in gender and sexuality studies. I argue that drag cafes grant customers, who are both men and women, affective avenues unburdened by social norms and feminine and masculine ideals to engage with alternative bodies, desires, and practices. Although
patrons’ experimentation with gender and sexuality is predicated on drag cafe employees’ affective labor and their practice of josō or dansō, I focus on the drag cafe community as a whole in this presentation. By putting josō and dansō cafes—two separate establishments that run counter to each other—side by side, I seek to complicate gender and sexual norms, troubling ideals of femininity and masculinity and the heterosexual-homosexual binary. This research is significant in its challenge to what constitutes “queer” in Japan beyond gay, lesbian, and transgender identities.

2) Adrienne Johnson, University of Tokyo
Josō or Gender Free? Queering Gender Expression in Visual Kei

While the Visual Kei subculture is already somewhat deviant due to its predominantly female fan base, many of whom are unmarried and bucking various other societal gendered norms on top of regularly headbanging to heavy guitar, bass, and drum riffs, it is within the performers themselves where we find the most obvious evidence of queer gender expression. Often compared to Western “glam” metal, Visual Kei has been famous (or perhaps notorious) for over the top costuming, hair styles, and makeup since the genre’s inception in the late 1980s, with these flamboyant “visua"D" often crossing gendered boundaries on many levels. Through an in-depth investigation of two performers in particular, this preliminary study aims to illuminate different strategies of queering gender expression adopted within the modern scene: specifically, “josō,” the complete adoption of feminine clothing (and often mannerisms) by a self-identified male performer, and “gender free,” or an intentional disregard for gender binaries and boundaries. While outsiders often conclude that Visual Kei performers are simply effeminate or perhaps homosexual, I argue that these personas adopted for the stage (and sometimes even within the performer’s personal life) are actually remarkably queer in that they refuse to come down on any side of a gendered or sexual binary and create liminal identities that are able to shift and move with the performers themselves. These identities, be they “gender free” or “josō,” offer a glimpse into the possibility of a queerly gendered existence outside of established sites of gay or transgender identities within a Japanese musical subcultural setting.

3) Akiko Mizoguchi, Hosei University/Tama Art University
Birth of a New Queer Community: Theorizing BL as a Transformative Genre

“BL,” the acronym for “boys’ love” (also known as “yaoi”) is a genre consisting of male-male romance manga and illustrated novels created by women and for women. Beginning with Mori Mari’s 1961 novel Lovers’ Woods (Koibitotachi no mori), the history of the larger BL genre spans...
half a century. Twenty-five years have passed since the emergence of the commercial BL industry in the early 1990s. It is widely known that BL is fundamentally an escapist genre that promises pleasures for female readers by letting them vicariously indulge in male-male romance. As women fans can totally forget about their reality as women in a patriarchal society, BL functions as a kind of a fantasy porn genre. In other words, the male-male framework has been adopted to simply ensure the women readers’ pleasure without considering how male protagonists might correspond to gay men in reality. Conventional BL narratives further tend to expel female characters so as to secure a safe distance for female readers. Over the years, however, BL has transformed into an unprecedented genre in which strong female characters are active and gay-identified male protagonists engage in realistic episodes about coming-out and other negotiations. Surprisingly, the ways in which recent BL works portray both male gay and female characters are significantly more advanced than the reality.

This paper considers recent transformations in the BL genre by examining the works of Nakamura Asumiko, Kotobuki Tarako and Akizuki Kō. Finally, this paper asserts how these new dimensions of BL fictions can forge a new queer community, one that is anti- and beyond heteronormative.

Discussant: James Welker, Kanagawa University
Session 21: Room 203

“Otaku,” Reality, Politics: Labeling and Gender in Contemporary Japan
Organizer/Chair: Patrick W. Galbraith, Duke University

What are some of the new horizons that open up when we look at “otaku” not as a singularly imagined social group, but rather as a label? This panel explores what this approach to “otaku” reveals about reality and politics in contemporary Japan. In particular, we focus on how discursive and material “realities” are produced, regulated and queered in the labeling of “otaku” in various social and mediated contexts. Critical attention is given to the “realities” of masculinity and femininity, as well as concomitant sexualities: gender performance in role-playing games, representation of female sexuality in the anime series *Genshiken Nidaime* and anxiety over men’s attraction to girl characters from manga, anime and games. The examination of discourses on “otaku” and imagination in the 1980s and 2000s contribute to an understanding of Japan as a capitalist and control society. Through this engagement with “otaku” as a label and a practice that organizes the establishment and subversion of norms, markets and legislation, we hope to grapple with deeper questions concerning power, politics and “reality.” In understanding how imagination is envisioned and exercised in varied contexts where the label “otaku” operates, we interrogate the realities that are, and could be, played out in contemporary Japan and beyond.

1) Björn-Ole Kamm, Heidelberg University

Masculinities and Femininities Between Authenticity, Plausibility, and Otaku Stereotypes: How Language Makes Realities in Japanese Table-talk RPGs

In Table-talk Role-Playing Games (TRPGs) players create fictional characters to jointly engage a diegetic reality in which they experience adventures, tell stories, try out perspectives, or play another gender by simply writing “male” or “female” on the character sheet. This possibility for cross-gender player-character-assemblages offers a window into the performativity of practices that produce certain realities — realities of inclusion and exclusion, realities produced purposefully as well as those “done” on the way, realities of doing gender. At the game table we encounter cross-gender play that is deemed plausible, even “authentic,” which is mostly realised by citing conventions of gender specific language use. But these performances are not coherent: “Real” women judge “fictional” women by “traditional” standards of speaking they themselves do not adhere to in the “real world.” At the same time, female gamers object to the portrayal of a passive and ignorant (“traditional”) femininity performed by some male players. This tension produces another character, the unmanly but patriarchal *otaku*. Disillusioned by sexist interactions of “male” with
“female” characters, many female and male gamers avoid public gaming conventions, excluding themselves and equally excluding those they call *otaku* reinforcing a stereotype whose reality they could be playing with instead.

2) **Lien Fan Shen, University of Utah**

*Otaku Identity as a Strategy to Transgress Normative Sexuality and Gender Politics in Genshiken Nidaime*

While anime series *Genshiken* depicts a group of college students who share common interests in anime, manga, videogames, and cosplay, engaging in activities associated with the social label “otaku,” *Genshiken Nidaime* (the second generation) centers on “fujoshi” characters whose primary interests are in Boy’s Love genre, exhibiting a normative femininity with subversive female pleasure. This paper examines heteronormative enforcements on and through the representation of female otaku’s bodies and sexuality in this anime. The series of protagonists’ heteronormative representation and bodily practices reinforce the very limits for their transgressive acts. Second, female otaku’s subversive pleasure and transgressive acts not only reveal the boundaries of gender and sexual norms, but also spark off persistent doing to form an “otaku identity.” Finally, this “otaku identity” allows the subject to adopted a strategy to disconnect one’s pleasurable practices from the politics of sexuality. Otokonoko (cross-dressing male) is argued as non-identity-related and non-gender-conformed, but a pure pleasurable practice as a means to disconnect the subject’s pleasure and fantasy from identity politics. This paper concludes that anime representation of female otaku reflectively renders the juxtaposition of normative female sexuality and of subversive otaku practices visible. Female otaku are simultaneously defined and sustained by the very limits of sexual repression and gender norms while strategically disconnect gender politics through their pleasurable and persist doing that embodies their fantasy.

3) **Patrick W. Galbraith, Duke University**

*Real(ity) Problem: “Otaku” and the Politics of Imagination*

In Japan in the 1970s, compelling stories and complex characters attracted adolescents and young adults to manga and anime. By the end of the decade and into the early 1980s, it appeared to some scandalized observers that fans were taking fictional characters as real sexual objects. Of special concern were men associated with the phenomenon of so-called “*lolicon.*” In 1983, *Manga Burikko*, which was transforming into a “*lolicon*” magazine, published a series of articles that
sparked a debate about the supposed perversion of manga and anime fans in Japan. It was here, in the pages of *Manga Burikko*, that “otaku” first functioned as a label for men supposedly attracted to fictional girls instead of real women. It was here that “otaku” were first said to pose a “real(ity) problem” (*genjitsu mondai*). Six years later, in *Otaku no hon*, the first book on “otaku” that summarized the debates of the decade, the concept of the “real(ity) problem” was reclaimed and used as an indicator of subversive sexual and social politics. Teasing out the implications of this discourse, in dialogue with contemporary media and critical theory, this paper explores the “real(ity) problem” and its counterpart, the “politics of imagination.”

4) Thiam Huat Kam, Rutgers University

*The New (Economic) “Reality” of the “Otaku?”: Valuing and Theorizing to Contain Productive Capacities into Consumption*

A number of discourses emerged in the 2000s, with the purported aim of providing an objective account of “otaku,” independent of negative stereotyping and hyperbolic celebration — in other words, free from the value judgments entailed by the term. The most prominent of these are marketing discourses that proposed to objectively evaluate the value of “otaku.” The new and more “real” portrait of “otaku” furnished by these accounts cast this figure/population as primarily a market of consumers. This portrait coincides with some of the influential theoretical accounts to generate a triumphant narrative in which “otaku” become acceptable as part of the Japanese society. To grasp these discourses, I propose to take “otaku” as a label rather than its conventional sense of a fandom, examining the values and concerns that it evokes. In this sense, these objective and more positive accounts on “otaku” constitute no less a label than those saturated with stereotypes and value-judgments. By offering a more “objective” description on the “reality” of “otaku,” these discourses serve to contain and organize media subjects’ productive capacities in order to channel them towards the generation of economic value and to defuse any potential forces that might disrupt capitalism. In particular, the conception of “otaku” as consumers and market point to concerns over imagination and the capacities for attachment and detachment.

**Discussant Jaqueline Berndt, Kyoto Seika University**
Session 22: Room 252

In Pursuit of an Education: “Study Abroad” in the Cities of Early Modern Japan.

Organizer: Ellen Nakamura, University of Auckland

Chair: Bettina Gramlich-Oka, Sophia University

The schools of early modern Japan have often been discussed in terms of the high levels of literacy they fostered, the flexible educational opportunities they offered in the absence of state sponsorship, or—particularly in the case of schools offering Western learning—the forward-thinking leaders they produced. This panel attempts to move beyond simple questions of modernization by exploring the theme of education and mobility. Using new sources, we provide detail on questions such as how students from different social and regional backgrounds came to travel, what shaped their choice of school, where the most cutting-edge forms of knowledge were found, and how the experience of urban education helped to build networks and empower lives in new ways. Our examples shed light on the educational experiences in three cities of Tokugawa Japan: Osaka, Edo, and Nagasaki, and will attempt to assess the significance of inter-domain “study abroad” experiences both in terms of the impact on the lives of individuals as well as the spread of new knowledge and techniques across the breadth of Japan.

1) Ryō Umihara, Sumitomo Historical Archives

Spreading the Latest Medical Techniques and Knowledge in the Edo Period

Medical studies underwent a dramatic development in the Edo period. According to previous research, the center of medical research moved from Kyoto to Edo city around the beginning of the eighteenth century. This was due to the presence of the unique social conditions created by sankin-kōtai—the system under which feudal lords were required to spend every other year in their domains and Edo city. In order to acquire a high level of medical technique and knowledge, doctors in this period generally studied abroad. Domain doctors, who belonged to han, the local administrative units, had the opportunity to visit Edo city to attend their lord on duty. In Edo city many doctors gathered from all over Japan and participated enthusiastically and actively in academic exchanges. Of course, it was not possible for doctors to participate in meaningful studies without their lords’ cooperation. They were very hungry to absorb the new studies, and through their efforts, the latest medical techniques and knowledge were spread throughout the whole country. I argue that the system of “study abroad” (yūgaku) that the doctors utilized, was extremely important in advancing the medical environment in local communities. In this paper, I would like to analyze the trends indicated above by using the historical documents of Yonezawa-han in the Northeast Japan in the eighteenth
and nineteenth centuries.

2) Waka Hirokawa, Senshu University

**Breaking the Boundaries of Knowledge Acquisition: The Flexibility of the Medical Education System in Late Tokugawa Osaka**

This paper highlights the role of Osaka as a center for advanced medicine in early modern Japan by exploring how medical students in the late Edo period acquired the newest medical knowledge and began to break down the secrecy surrounding medical techniques. At that time, prominent Confucian schools and medical schools including both Chinese medicine and Western medicine were concentrated in the city center of Osaka. Among them, the most typical Western medical school was Ogata Kōan’s Tekijuku (established in 1838), while the Hanaoka family’s Gõsuidō (established in 1827), acknowledged as a Chinese medical school, was well known for its anesthetic methods. Medical students from all over Japan built strong connections in Osaka and utilized them to establish their medical authority after going back to their home domains. They also played an important role in diffusing the latest medical knowledge including smallpox vaccination in their regional communities. Usually medical knowledge was secretly instructed based on the personal relationship between an eminent doctor and a student. In addition, there was intense rivalry between Western medical schools and Chinese medical schools. Nevertheless, a considerable number of students studied both at Tekijuku and Gõsuidō at nearly the same time. This fact indicates an important transformation of the style of transmission of medical knowledge in the late Edo period. My study of these students’ complicated careers sheds new light on the spread of knowledge as well as the shape of doctors’ careers in the late Edo period.

3) Ellen Nakamura, University of Auckland

**Choosing a Study Destination: The Recollections of Sagara Chian (1836–1906)**

This paper focuses on the recollections of Sagara Chian, published as a series of oral history interviews in the *Ikai Jihō*, (a medical newspaper) in 1904. Sagara Chian is best known as one of the two doctors in the early Meiji administration who made the decision to implement German, rather than English medicine, but because his bureaucratic career was short-lived, his career has been eclipsed by other doctors who succeeded his position. Sagara was a highly educated man: he studied in the medical school of his native Saga, in the Juntendō at Sakura in Shimousa, and in Nagasaki he studied in the Yōseijo as well as in Saga domain’s English school, established in Nagasaki in 1867. In a fascinating set of interviews, Saga reflects frankly upon his career, his resistance to the fashionable
idea that all doctors needed to go away to study, and the reasons why ultimately he chose the Juntendō as his study destination.

4) Takeshi Moriyama, Murdoch University

The Making of a Mapmaker: Shibata Shūzō (1820–1859) and the Institute for Western Studies (Bansho shirabesho)

Many people from the provinces of Japan transformed their status and occupation through education and involvement in intellectual communities in cities such as Edo, Osaka, Kyoto and Nagasaki, particularly over the transition period from late Tokugawa to early Meiji societies. One vivid example is Shibata Shūzō who was born in a fishing village on Sado island in the Japan Sea (East Sea) in 1820. When he died at the age of forty, he was a mapmaker working for the Shogun’s institute for Western Studies, Bansho shirabesho. His accomplishments included his own publication of a world map (1852) and a guidebook to world geography (1853), as well as a major contribution to the second edition of the Shogunate’s world map (1855). My project examines his intellectual journey across two cultural spaces, one small and one large, in his native island and in the shogun’s capital. Having described his study life in Edo in my previous work, this paper further considers Shibata’s academic trajectory in mapmaking. By analyzing his published work in geography as well as his diaries which contain information about his reading and copying of books and maps in Edo and Sado, the paper offers a discussion of how Shibata developed his expertise in world geography through Japan’s still limited but swiftly widening window to Western knowledge.

Discussant: Bettina Gramlich-Oka, Sophia University
Reframing Tradition to Tackle Contemporary Problems: The Parodic World of Ch’oe Inhun
Organizer/Chair: Barbara Wall, University of Hamburg

The rediscovery, reconstruction, utilization and marketing of traditional cultural contents (munhwa k’ont’ench’ù) is an enormous endeavor in contemporary South Korean society with strong nationalistic tendencies based on the assumption that tradition and modernity are opposing concepts. This panel aims to provide an alternative approach to the reframing of tradition stemming from the field of literature. Based on the parodic literary works of Ch’oe Inhun (1936–) we suggest perceiving tradition and modernity not as dualistic concepts, but as mutually inclusive. We furthermore mean to demonstrate that the reframing of tradition does not necessarily have to stop at national boundaries.

Ch’oe Inhun is one of the most prolific parodists in Korea. Not only the vast number of his parodies is unique, but also the variety of his source texts: they comprise premodern and modern fiction from Korea, China and Europe. In this framework, (1) Dennis Wuerthner will discuss Ch’oe’s adaptations of Chosŏn literature and their impact on issues of postwar Korea. (2) Jaejin Koo analyzes Ch’oe’s parodic play Hans and Gretel against the background of the Kwangju Uprising in 1980. (3) Barbara Wall compares Ch’oe’s Inhun’s and Gao Xingjian’s parodies of The Journey to the West which share striking parallels in their attempt to transcontextualize the polyphony of the source text. Having invited a literary critic as discussant, we hope to spark a larger discussion about the place of tradition in contemporary Korea away from nationalistic fantasies.

1) Dennis Wuerthner, Ruhr University

On Adaptations of Chosŏn Dynasty Literature by Ch’oe Inhun

This paper discusses three adaptations penned by the acclaimed post Korean War author Ch’oe Inhun. In the early 1960s, Ch’oe Inhun wrote modern adaptations of core works of Chosŏn dynasty literature: the novel Kuunmong (A Dream of Nine Clouds) by Kim Manjung, the collection of tales Kūmo sinhwa (New Tales of the Golden Turtle) by Kim Sisŭp and the travel-log Yŏrha ilgi (The Jehol Diaries) by Pak Chiwŏn. The three modern adaptations by Ch’oe will be interpreted against the backdrop of their premodern models, and they will be read in the framework of post Korean War literature and society. The questions as to which elements of the Chosŏn dynasty works were taken up and in which way they were creatively altered by Ch’oe will be debated. There will also be a discussion of Ch’oe’s understanding of the premodern works as it is reflected in his adaptations. The paper will address the issue of a possibly necessary reading alongside of source and adaptation: in the case of Ch’oe’s adaptations it is important to examine to what extent a readership’s knowledge of the
premodern models can be considered crucial for an understanding of structural and content-related elements of the modern works. Ch’oe Inhun’s adaptations can serve to shed a light onto the question as to whether Chosŏn literature, reworked and in new guise, can help to deal with and have an impact on issues of modern Korea.

2) Jaejin Koo, Semyung University

*History, Ethics, and Nostalgia in Ch’oe Inhun’s Parodic Play Hans and Gretel*

This paper analyzes Ch’oe Inhun’s play *Hans and Gretel* (1981) as a parody of the Brothers Grimm’s fairy tale *Hansel and Gretel*. I compare the history of Holocaust as portrayed in the play with the Korean political circumstances of the 1980s in order to shed light on ethical questions and the role of nostalgia in Ch’oe Inhun’s plays. While most of Ch’oe’s plays are rewritings of Korean myths or folk tales, *Hans and Gretel* is an exemption as being a parody of a non-Korean work. Its protagonist is a Nazi who is imprisoned for thirty years for knowing the secret of the Holocaust. The play illuminates the mental transformation of the protagonist who finally gives up his political conviction in favor of his love. This paper focuses on ethical questions concerning the relation of crime and responsibility in the Holocaust and relates these questions to the political circumstances in Korea in early 1980s Korea, especially to the Kwangju Uprising in 1980. I furthermore examine the role of nostalgia as an opposing force to politics and ideologies to reveal the political unconsciousness of the play.

3) Barbara Wall, University of Hamburg

*Polyphony Reloaded: A Comparison of Ch’oe Inhun’s Sŏyugi and Gao Xingjian’s Late-Twentieth Century Lingshan as Parodies of Sixteenth Century Xiyouji*

Among the innumerable rewritings of *Xiyouji* Ch’oe In-hun’s *Sŏyugi* and Gao Xingjian’s *Lingshan* belong to the very few examples that do not reflect single facets of the source text but which rather succeed to convey its polyphonic tone. They lend themselves for comparison due to their striking parallels in transcontextualizing the 16th century novel *Xiyouji*. The protagonist of *Sŏyugi*, struggling with alienation due to his status as refugee from North Korea, travels into his past and into Korean history longing for his childhood memories. Being confronted with different kinds of personified ideological discourses during the journey, he sometimes feels ideologically moved, but finally realizes the illusionary nature of absolute truths. Similarly, the protagonist of *Lingshan*, fleeing repression due to his counterrevolutionary writings, also leads the reader into his past and into Chinese history embodied by monuments and ceremonies in the remote area of southwest China. By
comparing both works on semantic and structural levels with their source text, I illuminate parallels and differences of the parodies. Sŏyugi and Lingshan are primary examples that demonstrate how parodic codes can work in the Sinographic Cosmopolis. Gao and Ch’oe instruct their readers with the help of signals to decode their parodic polyphonies in order to tackle problems caused by narrow, authoritarian, monophonic views of different ideological groups.

**Discussant: Haehyun Park, Chosŏn Ilbo**
Session 24: Room 251
Individual Papers 4: Prewar East Asian History
Chair: Paul Clark, West Texas A & M
1) Dong Yuting, Harvard University

*Localization of an “Imperial” Garden City: A History of Green Land in Shinkyō (1932–1945)*

In this paper, I intend to tell a story related both to the city, Shinkyō the capital of Manchukuo, and to the people who built it. Through a history of this capital city, I aspire to shed new lights on our understanding of Japanese empire as well as the relationship between the Japanese urban planners and the Manchurian environment. Green space in Shinkyō will be the lens I adopt to explore these topics. Differing from previous descriptions of Shinkyō—previous research pointed out that Shinkyō was a high modernism city and an imperial city—I argue that Shinkyō should be defined as a localized “Garden City” designed by Japanese urban planners with an imperial and utopian aspiration. This paper also aims at offering a different perspective in analyzing Japanese urban planners, and Japan’s imperial system. This paper, by incorporating the ecological aspect, argues that wartime Japanese urban planners/bureaucrats were environmental conscious “managers”—they were not only deliberate in incorporating global trends, but also active in adopting local knowledge and practice. They are not technocrats with utopian dreams, but professionals, who always keep their feet on the ground where they stood.

2) Tongyun Yin, MacLean Collection

*Imaging and Imagining Early Republican Beijing: Photographs of the Imperial Relics in the 1920s*

The name of a city always implies an image, be it romantic, exotic, historic, or adventurous. Beijing, the capital of late imperial, early Republican, and socialist China, conjures instantly an image laden with history. Nonetheless, this image of Beijing as the cultural center of the nation was not inherent, but historically, culturally, and socially constructed, a process initiated in the early 20th century. Previous scholarship focuses on the endeavors made by Chinese agency in transforming early Republican Beijing. However, modern Chinese cities were not simply self-defined during the Republican period. Local and global dynamics interacted and was entwined with each other during the process of this historical transformation. Modern cities were constructed both on the level of physical spaces and on the perception and meanings of those physical spaces. This paper draws upon the photographs of Beijing’s imperial relics produced by European photographers in the early 20th century to shed light on the formation of
the urban identity of early Republican Beijing. By analyzing the dual existence of photographs, as both images and objects, it argues that Westerners predated Chinese in creating a popular imagination of Beijing as the representative of Chinese tradition and culture in the early 1920s, when the pre-1928 Chinese government was preoccupied with dismantling the imperial past to modernize the city. Photography played essential roles in promulgating a collective perception of Beijing as an embodiment of Chinese civilizations.

3) Ayelet Zohar, University of Haifa

*Opaque Photography: Anti-Photography, Surface and the Images of the Sun in Japanese Photography*

In his 1984 article “Transparent Pictures,” Kandell Walton argues that “photography is commonly thought to excel in one dimension especially, that of realism […].” The transparency of the photograph is, for Walton, its most important quality. However, I shall discuss several images created by Japanese photographers who, using the logic of calligraphy and bokuseki, were able to create image that are not transparent or show the image of the world, but instead, engage with light registration/inscription onto the light sensitive surface. Works discussed will include Shiina Sukemasa photographs of the solar eclipse in 1894; Hamaya Hiroshi’s photograph of the sun during the Emperor speech of surrender 1945; Kawada Kikuji’s series “Last Cosmology”, where he photographed the sun, the moon and other celestial bodies (1985–96); Ijima Kaoru took the sun’s trajectory over one day, registered as a curved line; Kawauchi Rinko took photographs of the sun on March 12, 2011 – the day after the earthquake and disaster in Tohoku. Finally, Sugimoto Hiroshi’s “Lightening Field” was created in the laboratory, using Van der Graaf generator of high voltage to create artificial light within conditions of complete darkness. The photographs discussed in this paper perform a possibility for a visual language that departs from the traditional view of the photograph as “document”, for the sake of photography as a mechanism of inscription and registration of direct light, beyond the functions of visibility, visuality and reality. Japanese photographer creating heliographic images challenge conventional views, like Walton’s, presenting an alternative mode of photography.
4) Silvio Vita, Kyoto University of Foreign Studies


Since the second half of the 19th century the appraisal of the early contacts between Europe and Japan has been first a search for historical precedents by Japanese diplomacy, and later a domain of research as well a fashionable theme in popular culture. The 20s and 30s of the 20th century constitute a crucial period for this discursive formation, to which intellectuals, academic scholars and popular writers participated from different positions. This paper will consider the role played by Shinmura Izuru (1876–1967), a figure well known for his contribution to linguistics and lexicography. Starting from an appreciation of Shinmura’s published works in whose titles the words “kirishitan” and “nanban” insistently appear, the analysis will be extended along two directions: the genealogy of his interest in “nanban” themes and the intellectual context to which Shinmura responded. A booklet of reminiscences of Ernst Satow (Shinmura bought Satow’s collection of Missionary Reports for the Library of Kyoto University) will be presented together with correspondence and unpublished documents from his private archive in order to understand the line of transmission of his research from the previous generation. At the same time, the paper will show how his scholarly narrative engaged with the realm of popular culture and social representations of an exotic past through such popular books as Nanban sarasa (originally published in 1924) and other publications. Possibly I would like to be in a panel with Sonia Favi and Donatella Failla, who will also give papers on related themes in the Meiji and Taishō-Shōwa periods.

5) Lisa Yoshikawa, Hobart and William Smith Colleges

*Exporting to Extinction?: Animal Conservation and Western Imperialism in Meiji and Taishō Japan*

In 1897, the Meiji government passed the Law for Preservation of Old Shrines and Temples (Koshaji Hozon Hō), aimed to provide subsidies for preservation of manufactured objects and buildings that it deemed valuable. This Law had been long in the making, first to combat domestic destruction under *haibutsu kishaku*, and later to curtail the outflow of antiques with foreigners taking home their purchases made in Japan. Japan was only the world’s eighth nation to establish such a law, and the timing no doubt had in mind the anticipated increase in European and American presence with the ending of the treaty port system scheduled for 1899. Yet, similar preservation sentiments only slowly extended to products of nature. In 1882, for example, an *Asahi* newspaper article proudly reported how European museums and zoos coveted indigenous Japanese creatures, and identified the
pharmaceutical dealer Koiso Yoshito as the middleman helping the Dutch scientist Anton Geerts secure animals. Nationwide lobbying to establish a similar law for natural products began after the Russo-Japanese War, but the discourse emphasized their domestic loss due to industrialization and other reasons. Only in the 1910’s did concerns about overseas demand become more vocal. This paper explores the intersection between conservation and nationalism, and the changing Japanese attitudes thereof from the late nineteenth into the early twentieth century.
Session 25: Room 314

Individual Papers 5: Contemporary East Asian Culture and Religion
Chair: Gavin H. Whitelaw, International Christian University

1) Daisy Yan Du, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

International Childhood Fraternity: Imagining the West in Animated Films in Socialist China

Due to Cold War ideologies, socialist China was usually regarded as a closure isolated from the capitalist West. The West (especially America), was almost an absence in both social realities and cinematic representations during the socialist decades. Michael Berry points out two reasons for the absence of America in socialist live-action cinema. The practical reason was that Chinese filmmakers could not afford to hire American actors and travel abroad to do location shooting in America. The major reason was ideological because America was regarded as the imperialist enemy and there was a deliberate erasure and disavowal of its presence in socialist China. When live-action cinema failed to represent the significant Other, animation seized the opportunity and dramatized its (over)presence on screen. In this way, animation returned to its primitive role as special effects to achieve what live-action film cannot do for practical and/or political reasons in early film history. While live-action films largely positioned the absent America as negative and imperialist, animated films tended to be more nuanced by drawing attention to the age/generation difference. Adults were usually depicted as evil and imperialist, but children, be they white or black, were represented sympathetically and positively, yearning for the sunny international paradise for children constructed by socialist China. I argue that it was the medium specificity of animation—a plasmatic artistic form that indulges in elasticity and fluidity in terms of both form and content—that made socialist animated films differ from its live-action counterpart and consequently subverted our stereotypes of the Cold War.

2) Benjamin Hiramatsu Ireland, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Marcel Proust's Queer Japan

Little is known to date on Japan’s most researched French novelist, Marcel Proust, and his relationship with Japanese artwork — in particular, with those collectibles including ukiyo-e, shunga, nanshoku/kagema prints that were shipped from Japan to France at the end of the nineteenth century. These exoticized collectibles, known as japonaiseries, circulated within Parisian society and ignited an interest among curio collectors and notable names in French intellectual and aesthetic thought, including Jean-Paul Sartre, Claude Debussy, Édouard Manet, among others. Proust’s most prominent seven-volume work, À la recherche du temps perdu (In Search of Lost Time), evokes Japanese (or japoniste) aesthetics on numerous occasions. What is of import in Proust’s turn to Japan as he wrote...
many famous passages is the extent to which many of the japoniste imageries and objects appearing within À la recherche and within the historical Proust’s personal life exhibit a characteristic homoeroticism. This study examines certain japoniste objects (flowers, teas, and sartorial accessories) appearing within À la recherche to explore their codified, queer metaphors. Namely, Proust ascribes a homoeroticism onto certain japonaiseries and onto novel characters by associating them with either things or people that, for the historical Proust, were related to the homoerotic subcultures of Japan and France. Specifically, this study will focus on Proust’s little-known Japanese homoerotic print collections and his personal relationships with French and Japanese males. By using Queer Studies as a theoretical framework, this study contributes to the emerging field of Queer Japanese Studies from transcultural, comparatist, literary, and visual-cultural perspectives.

3) Ono Sayako, Independent Scholar

*The Body and Akogare: Women Who Express Themselves through Dancing Ballet*

In the post-bubble era learning ballet is a popular hobby among Japanese mature women. Since ballet was first imported from the West in the early 20th century, it has been regarded as a hobby for girls. However, after the economic bubble burst in the early 1990s, governmental support of leisure activities resulted in ballet studios opening classes for mature women for the first time. As an outcome, not only girls, but also a growing number of adults began to dance ballet. In this paper, therefore, I focus on mature women, from young Office Ladies (OL) to middle-aged women, who were interested in asserting their own individual identity through dancing ballet. In the case of girls registered in ballet classes by their mothers, learning this form of dance has always been endowed with positive meanings in Japan such as feminine beauty and elegance. It has also been viewed as an index of status. However, in the case of adult women because of social perceptions regarding middle-aged women in particular, until the 2000s it was widely viewed as an embarrassment to start dancing ballet at this age. Therefore, in this paper I investigate why these mature women started taking ballet lessons particularly focusing on female dancers’ embodied experience. Since many women felt constrained by hegemonic gender ideals, I investigate what they expected to obtain through moving their bodies.

4) Yuki Ohsawa, University of British Columbia

*Technological Bodies: Reconceptualizing the Cyborg/Human Relationship through Japanese Anime and Manga*

What can you imagine when you hear the words “robots” together with “Japan”? Why do we
feel that images of technological bodies and Japan have a connection? Scholars such as Sharaly Orbaugh have argued that the images of robots/cyborgs relate to the modern history of Japan, while the Japanese culture critic, Ueno Toshiya, has even claimed that Japanese people are seen as “Japanoid,” a term coming from the ideas of techno-orientalism, in the West. Since the 1950s, Japanese popular culture has created a wide range of imaginations of technological bodies. My focus in this paper is on what kinds of influences have shaped the conception and development of Japanese robots, and how the images of the body around such conceptions have changed. I analyze representative robot manga and animation that were very popular in each of the decades from the 1950s to the 1980s, to reveal 1) the relation between the robot body, influenced by advanced technology, and human beings; 2) the conceptualization of the modern body; and 3) how these robot bodies brought specific ideas and understandings of modernity and modern life to their audience. Also, this paper show the limited presentations of gender and sexuality in those robot bodies, to argue that, even though robots/cyborgs offer an opportunity for scholars, artists, and average consumers of these works of art to overcome traditional, restrictive, or normative categories of sex and sexuality, ultimately the majority of these works fall back on the ‘safety’ of normative conceptions of these terms.

5) Charles Cook, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Reimagining Religion: NGO Discourses in Post-3.11 Japan

After the Kobe and Great East Japan earthquakes, Buddhist Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have increasingly engaged in domestic Japanese relief efforts alongside their historical roles providing international aid. The increased responsibilities taken on by these Japanese NGOs mirrors global trends as NGOs have been multiplying and expanding within the international neoliberal milieu. NGOs as globalized actors in a transnational conversation utilize discursive formations liberal values, political activism, empowerment, and citizenship. However, being privatized welfare providers authorized by governmental bureaucracy, these groups also reaffirm certain foreign and economic policies. In the case of Buddhist NGOs, this implies a number of questions around how Buddhist groups frame their involvement; imagine their role in secular society; and what forms of subjectivity and identity they promote for volunteers and aid recipients. By looking at mission statements and documents produced by Buddhist NGOs, such as Shanti Volunteer Association and AYUS, as well as interviews with its members, this study will examine these NGO’s influence in the Japanese conversations of care.
SUNDAY, JULY 3
Sunday Morning Sessions: 10:00 A.M. – 12:00 P.M.

Session 26: Room 352
Changes and Perspectives in Asian Studies Over Twenty Years (Roundtable)
Chair: Mark E. Caprio, Rikkyo University

In commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the ASCJ this roundtable of past and present ASCJ presidents, along with the current AAS president, will discuss trends that have dominated Asian studies over these two decades and anticipate how they might develop in the future. The speakers will focus on contemporary issues that concern the Northeast Asian states of China, Korea, and Japan with the hope that discussion might include other areas of the vast continent.

1) Linda Grove, Sophia University, China, History
2) David Wank, Sophia University, China, Sociology
3) Michael Watson, Meiji Gakuin University, Japan, Literature
4) M. William Steele, ICU, Japan, History
5) Laurel Kendall, American Museum of Natural History, Korea, Anthropology
6) Mark E. Caprio, Rikkyo University, Korea, History

Session 27: Room 253
Mental Health/Illness in Contemporary Japan (Part I): Addiction and Self-Help Groups
Organizer: Paul Christensen, Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology
Chair: Junko Kitanaka, Keio University

Mental health and illness are subject to a patchwork of divergent and conflicting views in contemporary Japan. What are conventionally labeled ‘traditional’ attitudes toward mental illness remain entrenched in places, intermingling with the strong influence of Western biomedicine and Japan’s robust medical infrastructure. The result is varied institutional practices and treatment methodologies; conflicting views of diagnosis, cause, or severity; and uneven, possibly exclusionary, societal perception of afflictions. More generally, we hear ever louder calls to reexamine fundamental categories structuring mental health as “an entirely different way of being in the world” (Kleinman 2012: 185). Taking Japan as our area of focus, this double panel addresses contemporary concerns of mental health and illness from a diversity of perspectives. Our themes include the ideological structuring of addiction to alcohol and gambling, self-help associations for families of mental patients
and people with autism spectrum disorder, pharmaceuticalization of psychiatric disorders, (un)willingness of depressive people to seek professional help, and feelings of persistent stress resulting from the 3.11 nuclear disaster. Across this range of papers we seek to illuminate the varied ways in which association with mental illness shapes individual lives in contemporary Japan.
1) Tom Gill, Meiji Gakuin University

*Foreign Models and Local Needs: The Treatment of Compulsive Gamblers in Yokohama*

A study commissioned by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare in 2014 suggested that there could be as many as 5.36 million people with a gambling problem in Japan, representing 4.8% of the adult population – an extremely high proportion by global standards. Yet this giant problem remains under-researched. Excessive gambling, like heavy drinking, has been largely tolerated in Japanese society. The discourse of medicalization is only now starting to be heard. The Japanese branch of Gamblers Anonymous was founded as recently as 1989, and now has active branches in all 47 prefectures. This presentation will focus on two NPOs, located near each other in the western suburbs of Yokohama, both of which offer residential care for compulsive gamblers. One of these views gambling as a curable disease and applies the 12-step approach of Alcoholics Anonymous, including the Christian-influenced appeal to a “higher power” to aid with salvation, without much adjustment for differences between alcohol and gambling or with regard to Japanese cultural particularity. The other has abandoned the 12-step programme, and the disease model of problem gambling, rather viewing problem gambling as a symptom of deeper-lying problems, often including unacknowledged mild intellectual impairment. Yet both NPOs emphasise communal living and physical group activities as the path to recovery. Both were launched at the start of the 21st century, and their divergent courses offer an insight into how Japan is just now starting to cope with this long-neglected problem.

2) Rie Yamada, University of Tokyo

*The Meaning of “Self-Help” for Families of Patients with Mental Disorders in Japan*

Discussion of “community centered care” of patients with mental disorders invariably lays heavy stress on the role of the family in patient care. Social policy in Japan has emphasized family responsibility more than in most other countries, and families have been organized into associations to share the burden of having a mental patient in the family. The purpose of this presentation is to reveal the historical background of family associations of patients with mental disorders (“kazokukai”) in postwar Japan. Currently there are various types of associations conceptualized as “self-help” groups, comparable to Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) which was an important model influencing the form of associations in 1980s Japan. However, kazokukai were first created in the late 1950s by doctors in psychiatric hospitals. How did they come to be gathered before the ‘self-help’ concept had arrived in Japan? And after the self-help model arrived in Japan, did it work in the same way in kazokukai as in the AA model? This study examines academic papers archived by the Japan
Medical Abstracts Society (“Igaku Chuo Zasshi” or “Ichushi” in Japanese) and the archive in the National Diet Library, using two keywords, “kazokukai” and “self-help”, for the period 1960–2010. In this research, I will unveil the historical background of family associations for patients with mental disorders. Then I will analyze the influence of the introduction of the self-help concept on the formation of various kazokukai. In conclusion, I will seek to define the meaning of self-help within family associations in Japan.

3) Sachiko Horiguchi, Temple University and Junko Teruyama, University of Tsukuba

Envisioning Individual and Social Change: An Ethnography of Communication Skills Workshops for Adults with Autism Spectrum Disorder

ASD, or autism spectrum disorder, is a relatively new category of psychiatric disorder that entered the public discourse in Japan only in the past decade. Commonly referred to as ‘hattatsu shogai’ (developmental disorder), it has drawn the attention of not only psychiatrists, psychologists, and educators but also adults who have struggled to make sense of difficulties in communication and social relationships with others. Self-help organizations catering for adults as well as children with ASD and their families have been increasingly established in recent years, particularly in urban areas. Based on participant observation of ‘communication skills workshops’ organized by one such self-help group for adults with ASD around the Tokyo area, as well as in-depth interviews with their participants and facilitators, this paper aims to examine the multiple meanings and desires for transformations these individuals under diverse mental health conditions report as motivating them to attend and/or run the workshops. The workshops are designed mainly for adults with ASD and primarily focus on improving communication skills through “trying out” a variety of communication tasks, but are open to all that are interested. In fact, people of various ages, gender identities, occupations, class, as well as diagnoses participate, regularly or otherwise, with varying motivations. By examining how these diverse motivations for change, both at the individual and social levels, are negotiated against a backdrop of the self-help group’s “official” goal of developing communication skills, this paper sheds light on emerging possibilities of self-help organizations in the Japanese mental health care system.

Discussant: Amy Borovoy, Princeton University
Session 28: Room 252
Marginal Issues in Japanese Higher Education
Organizer/Chair: Maiko Sumino, University of Tokyo /Japan Society for the Promotion of Science

As the Japanese society as a whole is facing demographic, social and economic changes, the higher education system is required to become more inclusive in supporting students with diverse social, economic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. However, these emerging issues have not been widely acknowledged in the public discussion. The papers in this panel consider the various contexts that shape the current change, and explore the possibilities of Japanese higher education to respond to these demands by serving as an inclusive institution. The papers take political, structural, and practical approaches to examine this important issue in Japanese higher education. Takako Hayashi examines the current situations and challenges of the student support system within the Japanese higher education, and drawing on cases of professional development programs, explores a solution that could impact the current situation. Jennifer McGuire explores the best possible learning environment considering the deaf and hard-of-hearing students in Japan, and discusses how the process of negotiating and securing access to “information support” offers itself as a paradigm for empowerment. Maiko Sumino considers how inclusion practices could be understood as a critical role of higher education in Japan, borrowing models of under representative groups in the United States. Lastly, Tomoko Tokunaga reflexively examines an international collaborative course which addressed the topic of minority education issues in Japan, and illuminates the ways in which the students from diverse backgrounds learn from cross-cultural comparison.

1) Takako Hayashi, University of Tokyo

Expertise and Professional Development of Faculties and Staff Engaged in Student Support at Japanese Universities: Current Situation and Future Outlook

In recent years, faculties and staff members who are engaged in student support at Japanese universities are facing the need to develop expertise than ever before. They are at the front line of massification and internationalization of higher education to meet students’ various needs. Also, the mode of education is shifting from “faculty-centered” to “student-centered”, and student support programs and services implemented in the form of extracurricular activities draw attention as new resources for student development. The faculties and staff are expected to play a role as an educator who facilitates students’ holistic learning. All these reasons are behind when Japanese universities are in search of more structured and systematized training programs for student support professionals.
Some researchers and practitioners are trying to find solutions from the methods developed in the United States. However, these attempts have limitations within the general-skill oriented Japanese employment culture. The purpose of this presentation is to examine the present situation of expertise and professional development of faculties and staff engaged in student support at Japanese universities. The paper first reviews previous research. Next, it looks into an actual training program implemented to develop student support professions and other similar qualifications. Finally, I propose possible ways for Japanese universities to overcome the impasse and to enhance student support to meet the needs of students with diverse backgrounds.

2) Jennifer McGuire, University of Oxford /National Museum of Ethnology (JSPS Fellowship)

Accessible Information in Higher Education: A Paradigm for Empowerment for Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Students in Japan

Historically, higher education has been out of reach for the majority of deaf and hard-of-hearing (DHH) students in Japan. Today, as a result of changes to university entrance exams, the development of more university disability centers, a drastic increase in students being educated in mainstream schools, a declining youth population, and the establishment of a university campus exclusively for DHH students, entrance into institutes of higher education is a possibility for a higher percentage of DHH students. However, access to higher education does not equal accessibility. Without appropriate “information support” (jyōhō hoshō), DHH students are unable to receive the same education as their hearing peers. Information support is often broadly defined, ranging from note taking to captioning to sign language interpretation, and the information technology available varies greatly from university to university. Moreover, what is “appropriate” support depends on students’ educational and linguistic backgrounds as well as hearing levels and learning preferences. In this paper, I explore the ways in which students work with their university’s disability office to ensure the best possible learning environment. I discuss how the process of negotiating and securing access to “information support” offers itself as a paradigm for empowerment for deaf and hard-of-hearing students in Japan.

3) Maiko Sumino, University of Tokyo /Japan Society for the Promotion of Science

The Interpretation of Inclusion Practices by Higher Education: A Comparative Analysis of Japan and the United States

As Japanese higher education increasingly faces students coming from various challenging backgrounds, current research point out the importance to develop supporting structures and practices
to better serve the current student population. However, within the current educational policy climate, poverty issues among children/ youth have been lately “discovered” in Japan in the 2000s (Abe, 2012). Therefore, providing special treatment according to the students’ various socio-economic backgrounds were conventionally seen as marginal issues in the public discourse. In the advanced nations, such as the United States, there has been a long history of reaching out to the diverse youth population; such students who could be at risk of dropping out, or who could not be attending any educational institutions, due to their socially or economically challenging circumstances. Particularly, community colleges have historically served to address the needs of local communities. In this presentation, firstly, I present various inclusion practices within the community colleges in the United States. Secondly, I analyze how these practices are understood and interpreted in the public discourse. Thirdly, while critically examining the differences with the United States, I review the current policy discussions of higher education in Japan from a comparative perspective. By doing so, this presentation reveals the characteristics of the current public discourse in Japan, and examines the possibilities and challenges that lie ahead.

4) Tomoko Tokunaga, Keio University

*Reimagining Minorities in Japanese Education: The Possibilities of International Collaborative Courses in Japan*

As part of the globalization initiatives of Japanese higher education, many universities in Japan have begun to offer co-learning courses where “International students” and “Japanese students” learn together through the medium of English language. Scholars have argued that these classes have potential to create inclusive learning communities among diverse students (Suematsu, 2014), develop intercultural understanding and competency (Kagami, 2006), and raise awareness towards human rights issues globally (Miyamoto, 2013). In the twenty first century where ideas, information, people, and goods flow across national borders, international co-learning courses could become a critical learning site in producing unusual forms of knowledge which transcends national, cultural, and linguistic borders. In this presentation, I critically and reflexively examine an international collaborative course I taught on the topic of education for minorities in Japan at a Japanese university in 2015. The course explored the possibilities and constraints of educational issues of various minority groups in Japan including non-attendant students, students from working class backgrounds, Buraku youth, Okinawans and Ainu, ethnic Koreans, returnees, newcomers, LGBTQ students, and students with disabilities. This presentation illuminates the ways in which students from diverse backgrounds unlearned and reimagined minority and education issues in Japan through privileging
personal stories and learning from cross-cultural comparison.

**Discussant: Christopher Bondy, International Christian University**
Session 29: Room 204

The Confucian Classics and East Asian Politics

Organizer/Chair: Hong-Kyu Park, Korea University

The three East Asian countries, namely China, Korea and Japan, belong to the East Asian cultural sphere, which is also called Confucian culture. Virtually, traditional East Asian political thoughts have had great influence on the politics in these countries, not only in the premodern era when it worked as the ruling principle, but also in the modern political system where it professes liberal democracy or socialism. Therefore, there is an inextricable link between the Confucian Classics and the politics of the three East Asian countries. In this respect, this panel explores the Confucian Classics and political thoughts, and also considers how those political thoughts are realized at their real politics. Three articles will be presented in this panel. The first considers the correlation between the statesman Jeong Do-jeon (鄭道傳)'s writings and The Classic of History (書經). This explains how he designs the new country Chosun’s political power. The second deals with Zhang Juzheng (張居正)'s reinterpretation of The Great Learning (大學), who was a reformer and statesman in the late Ming dynasty. This shows how he tried to reform Ming's administration system under Confucianism framework, as a Neo-Confucianist and reformer. Lastly, the book Mencius and Mencius’ unification theory are handled in the third article. This is one of the attempts to interpret modern political phenomenon from the perspective of East Asian political thoughts.

1) Jae-Hyeok Song, Korea University

Statesman Jeong Do-jeon and The Classic of History

This paper considers the correlation between The Classic of History and the statesman Jeong Do-jeon (1342–1397)'s writings which were written at the beginning of Chosun Dynasty. Since Chosun Dynasty was founded on the Korean peninsula in 1392, Jeong Do-jeon had designed political power of a new political community, Chosun, through the writings such as Chosun kyeongkukcheon (朝鮮經國典, 1394), Kyeongjemungam (經濟文鑑, 1395), and Kyeongjemungambyeoljip (經濟文鑑別集, 1397). The earlier studies have emphasized that his writings were affected by the Rites of Zhou (周禮), the Grand Canon for Governing the World (經世大典) of the Yuan Dynasty, and the books of Utilitarianism (事功學派) during the Song Dynasty. Among them, the influence of the Rites of Zhou had been especially stressed. However, the statesmen, including Jeong Do-jeon in the early years of the Chosun, understood the Rites of Zhou as a work of the Duke of Zhou (周公). In addition, they considered the relations between Officers of Zhou (周官) in the Classic of History and the Rites of Zhou as interior and exterior relations. As a neo-Confucianist, Jeong Do-jeon paid attention to the
Classic of History, which describes fair principles and rules (大經大法) by which the Two Great Emperors and Three Great Kings of Ancient China (二帝三王) ruled the world. Moreover, he tried to realize three Great dynasties’ politics, an ideal model of traditional East Asia’s politics, in the Chosun dynasty. In order to better understand Jeong Do-jeon’s political designing, the Classic of History is especially worth noting.

2) Sulsoo Park, Korea University

Reformer Zhang Juzheng’s Interpretation of The Great Learning

This article introduces Zhang Juzheng (张居正: 1525–1582)’s interpretation of the Great Learning and clarifies his political intention. When facing the crisis of polity, there were two distinctive ways to prevent degradation and to revitalize the polity. One is cultivating ruler’s virtue(cultivation approach), and the other is reforming administration system(reforming approach). By the 16th century Ming dynasty confronted serious problems from inside and outside. The census register of Ming dynasty became disorderly, local gentries evaded tax, it resulted in serious budgetary deficit. Moreover, Mongolian tribe from north and Japanese pirates from south threatened the border of Ming dynasty. In order to solve these problems, Zhang promoted overall administration system reforms. But there was a problem to a audacious reformer Zhang. Since 14th century Neo-Confucianism had become the mainstream of the East Asian political thought, most of the literati of Ming dynasty were acquainted with cultivation approach. They did not favor reforming approach; even they were hostile toward it. Thus, Zhang couldn't push his reform plan without philosophical embellishment. He had to elucidate that his reform plan in fact had some accordance with cultivation approach in order to make his idea being more plausible to his contemporary common sense. To do so, he reinterpreted the Great Learning, which was regarded as the essence of cultivation approach, by adding annotations. In his commentary, he insisted that his plan was definitely not going astray from the Great learning’s main idea but fitting close to it.

3) Gi-Yeon Kim, Korea University and Hong-Kyu Park, Korea University

Mencius and Unification of a Divided Country

This paper attempts to present Mencius’ unification theory, in his book Mencius, one of the East Asia's Confucian Classics, and suggest modern implications for the unification of the two Koreas based on this theory. Mencius claimed that a great country should serve a small one, and a small country should serve a large one, as a way of regulating one’s maintenance of intercourse with its neighbouring kingdoms. This was one of the main reasons why China keeps a tribute system with her
neighbouring countries. However, did Mencius intend to obtain international order through mutual coexistence of large and small countries? Mencius thought that the sovereign of the kingdom (王者) should appear and unify a whole country in order to lead an era of peace. Nevertheless, Mencius’ unification theory as the path to peace has not received much attention from the international relations theorists, who pay attention to the way of relations with neighboring countries. This article will review how to interpret these two arguments, which look contradictory on the surface, and theorize about the unification of divided country by reconstructing Mencius’ unification theory in his book. After then, I will explore President Kim Dae-jung’s Sunshine Policy, which was the unification policy of South Korea, and try to answer what are the implications for the unification of the Korean Peninsula. I believe that the reconstruction of Mencius’ unification theory could provide modern implications for the two Koreas, which long for the unification of the Korean Peninsula in order to meet an era of peace.

Discussant: Tadashi Karube, Tokyo University
Session 30: Room 251

Constitutionalism in Asia

Organizer/Chair: Joseph M. Fernando, University of Malaya

This panel titled “Constitutionalism in Asia,” which has three papers, examines several themes on aspects of constitutionalism and constitution-making in Malaysia and Indonesia. Constitutionalism and constitution-making in Asia are important areas of research which have continued significance and relevance to the study of government and politics of the region. The study of the process of the framing of constitution and the underlying intent of the framers provide for a deeper understanding of modern constitutions. The first paper in this panel by Joseph M. Fernando examines the historical constitution-making process in Malaysia in the period between 1956 and 1957 to discern the impact of nationalist groups on the nature of the post-colonial state that emerged in 1957. It seeks to understand the nature of the post-colonial state as envisioned by the leading political groupings. The second paper in the panel by Hasyim Asy’ari examines the changes made to Indonesia’s 1945 Undang-Undang Dasar (UUD), the country’s founding constitution, and the constitutional amendments made between 1999 and 2002 to understand the implications of these changes in redesigning the state in Indonesia. The third paper in the panel by Saimin Ginsari examines the constitutional agreements contained in the Malaysia Federation Agreement of 1963 between the governments of Britain and Ireland, the Federation of Malaya and the states of Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah. It seeks to ascertain if the agreements contained in the Malaysia Agreement which were inserted in the Malaysian federal constitution in 1963 have been duly observed in spirit and practice by the various parties.

1) Joseph M. Fernando, Department of History, University of Malaya

*Imagining the Post-Colonial State: Malayan Nationalism and the Framing of the Independence Constitution*

This paper examines the discussions and debates surrounding the framing of the Malayan independence constitution between 1956 and 1957 to discern nationalists’ conceptions of the post-colonial state. It examines the primary constitutional documents, party documents and the constitutional negotiations during this period to consider how the main political groups perceived the nature of the independent state. While the leading Alliance party’s vision was dominant and received the most attention from the framers, there were at the same time inherent differences with the multi-communal alliance as well as other conceptions of the nature of the post-colonial state from other political groupings that were also evident. The paper begins with a discussion of the background to
the appointment of an independent constitutional commission to frame the new constitution. The paper then considers some of the main ideas of the Alliance and other leading political groupings that were evident during the evidence-taking stage and after the report of the Reid Constitutional commission were completed. In taking this approach, this paper seeks to show the similarities in the images of the post-colonial state that were evident among the leading political groupings and the inherent differences, and the impact of Malayan nationalism on the nature of the post-colonial state in the period under examination.

2) Hasyim Asy’ari, Diponegoro University

*Constitutional Change and Re-Designing the State: Towards Strengthening the Presidential System in Indonesia*

The design of the founding principles of the Indonesian state before the reforms of *Undang-Undang Dasar* (UUD) 1945 is often viewed as ambiguous. Is it a presidential system or prime ministerial system? The Indonesian constitution provides that the administration is to be lead by a President, and the President elects the cabinet ministers. The constitution, similarly, provides that the President is elected, appointed and dismissed by the *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* (MPR), and is not directly elected by the people. These two elements in the constitution reflect characteristics of both a presidential system and a parliamentary system. After the constitutional amendments between 1999 and 2002, the redesigned state tilted towards strengthening the presidential system. Several characteristics of the presidential system were adopted in the Indonesian constitution. These provisions include: the President is elected directly by the voters; the selection of the ministers in the cabinet is made by the President; and the President cannot dissolve the DPR. On the other hand, the DPR cannot restrain the President. Instead, a new body, the *Mahkamah Konstitusi* (Constitutional Court), one of whose duties it is to examine DPR complaints towards the President, can examine any constitutional infringements by the President, and which could lead to his/her dismissal. This paper examines the changes made to the 1945 UUD and its implications in redesigning the state in Indonesia. It examines closely the constitutional changes before and after the 1999–2002 constitutional amendments to consider the broader implications of these amendments.

3) Saimin Ginsari, University of Malaya

*Revisiting the Spirit of the 1963 Malaysia Federation Agreement*

This paper examines the discussions relating to the Federation of Malaysia Agreement that was signed on 9 July 1963 by the governments of Britain and Northern Ireland, the Federation of Malaya,
Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah. This agreement is examined together with the Inter-Governmental Committee (IGC) report and the 1963 Malaysia constitution. The paper seeks to examine the nature of the agreements reached in these discussions and which are reflected in the Malaysian federal constitution. It poses the question as to whether constitutional amendments and reforms that conflict with the original Malaysia agreement could be passed by parliament as the highest legislative body. The paper begins with a discussion of the contents of the Malaysia Agreement that were inserted in the constitution of Malaysia on 16 September 1963. It then examines the developments related to the contents of the Malaysia agreement. The paper then considers if there were changes, including constitutional amendments and the discontinuing of certain acts, that may have infringed the Malaysia agreement. The paper will focus mainly on changes between 1963 and 1985 that affected the state of Sabah but which may also have impacted the state of Sarawak.

**Discussant: Tsuboi Yuji, Tokyo University**
Session 31: Room 351
Meditation, Caves and Art in Central Asia

Organizer/Chair: Tamami Hamada, Yokohama College of Art and Design

This panel explores the relationship between Buddhist meditation, caves and art in Central Asia from the perspectives of Buddhist Studies and Buddhist Art History. As Angela Howard and Giuseppe Vignato have recently discussed in detail, many caves (mostly undecorated) in the Kucha area have space just sufficient for a monk to practice meditation. On the other hand, many other caves are decorated with various kinds of Buddhist artworks (sculptures and paintings). Howard and Vignato’s important finding is that these caves functioned in close conjunction and not separately. Since regional differences are observable in various in Central Asian sites, our first task is to discuss to what extent this finding is applicable to other sites. In the practice of Buddhist visualization, practitioners vividly envisioned Buddhas or bodhisattvas in their contemplation. Thus, it is sometimes suspected that some of Buddhist artworks functioned as aids for visualization. Others think that some artworks were representations of their meditative experiences. In addition, paintings representing practitioners of visualization appear not infrequently in Central Asian caves (Kucha, Turfan, Dunhuang). Considering these points, it is important to examine the meaning of Buddhist art in Central Asia in terms of its relationship to meditation in general, and more specifically to visualization. Referring to recent findings in this field, this panel intends to reconsider the functions of Central Asian Buddhist caves and discuss the significance of religious art by bringing together scholars of Buddhist Studies and Buddhist Art History.

1) Tamami Hamada, Yokohama College of Art and Design

Buddhist Iconography and Visualization in the Central-Pillar Caves in Dunhuang

Many central-pillar caves were created in Dunhuang during Northern Wei (5th-6th century), where individuals may walk round the pillar as they gaze at the Buddhist sculptures and paintings. What is interesting is that the content of the murals matches the movement of the worshiper. Such is the case with the thousand Buddha images in Dunhuang Mogao cave 254. The inscription beside the thousand Buddhas lists the names of the past and the future thousand Buddhas, and the viewer/worshiper moves from the past thousand Buddhas towards the future thousand Buddhas. This paper also focuses on the image of the White-Robed Buddha, placed between the past and the future thousand Buddhas. The iconography of the White-Robed Buddha reminds one of the description of the Buddha’s shadow in the nagas’ cave at Nagarahara, mentioned in “The Visualization of the Four Types of Deportments of the Buddha,” in the seventh volume of the Sutra on the Ocean-Like...
Samadhi of the Visualization of the Buddha. The painting could have been used in the visualization performed by those who practiced in the cave. It is to be noted that the meaning of these paintings and their use in the visualization would differ according to the positions of the art works and the actions of the practitioners. This paper specifically explores the close relationship between the visualization text, the space in the central-pillar caves and the iconography of Buddhist paintings in Dunhuang.

2) Michiyo Mori, Waseda University

*Pranidhi Paintings in Kucha and Turfan*

The so called *Pranidhi* paintings are depictions about the stories of Sakyamuni’s countless previous lives, and about how he worshiped each buddha of each life, and received from them the prophecy of future buddhahood. The *Pranidhi* paintings had been known as the most representative theme of the Uygur Buddhist art in Turfan area, but recently more and more examples have been identified in Kucha area. At present, we can surely say that the Pranidhi paintings are the creation of the Kuchean Sarvastivadin Buddhism (or Tocharian Buddhism), which is one of main sources of the Uygur Buddhism. Both in Kucha and Turfan there are several types of Pranidhi paintings depicted in different types of caves or free-standing temples. In this paper, I would like to focus on the monumental Pranidhi paintings in those areas. In Kucha, central pillar caves count for the majority of worshipping caves, whose rear corridors show the cycle of Buddha’s nirvana. The large *Pranidhi* paintings cut in this nirvana cycle during the middle stage of central pillar cave’s period, and later they occupied the whole rear corridors. So, I would like to explore how this kind of paintings and the layout of the caves were incorporated in Turfan’s Uygur temples.

3) Angela Howard, Rutgers University

*The Silent Language of Meditation in the Painting of Kucha*

This paper examines the central role meditation played at the monastic sites of Kucha in Central Asia from the early centuries of the Common Era to 650. Over a hundred meditation cells remain today. The caves varied in their meditative functions: some were set up as individual, others as collective places; some were exposed to the elements, others were dug in underground tunnels; some barely contained a seated practitioner, while others were larger and apparently intended for prolonged meditation. The different types may have been connected to different rules of the monasteries. Because meditation played such an important role in Kucha monasticism, I argue that the practice of meditation was a source, if not the main source, of the decoration of central pillar
caves and monumental Buddha caves. Here this specific visual vocabulary is much more than a record of events from Shakyamuni’s last and previous lives; it is the offshoot of a concentrated mind which generates several miracles such as the two phases of the Shravasti wonder. In the first phase Shakyamuni having alighted in the sky projects fire and water, while in the second appears as a double emanating infinite clones of himself. The ultimate goal of these miracles rooted in meditation was to predispose the audience to listen to the preaching of the Dharma and then become converts. This miracle making and preaching cum conversion scene is constantly portrayed in the lateral walls of central pillar caves.

4) Nobuyoshi Yamabe, Waseda University

“Meditation Caves” in Kucha, Turfan, and Dunhuang

Meditation caves in Turfan have long been a focus of my scholarly interest. Based on both textual and art-historical analyses, I have proposed that the types of visualization as described in the Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha and the Amitāyus Visualization Sūtra were likely practiced in Toyok caves (in the Turfan area). On the other hand, I have been skeptical of the association between Dunhuang Mogao Cave 285 and the practice of meditation. Though it is often assumed to be a meditation cave based on its vihāra-type structure, it appears to be too decorative to be a place of actual practice. Another reason of my skepticism is that the side-cells of this cave supposedly used for meditation seem too small for extended periods of meditation. Recently Angela Howard and Giuseppe Vignato have published a very detailed and comprehensive study of Kucha caves, in which they have argued that many small caves in the Kucha areas were used for meditation. In addition, at Toyok major excavations are currently underway, and many new findings have been reported. In the face of these new findings, it is now time to reexamine the validity of my former hypothesis. This is what I intend to do in this paper.

Discussant: Teruo Nakano, Seijo University
Session 31: Room

Individual Papers 6: East Asian Contemporary Film
Chair: Lisa Yinghong, J. F. Oberlin University

1) Jessica Ka Yee Chan, University of Richmond

A Simple Life: Aging in Documentary Realism

Aging, an understudied cinematic representation, intersects with Andre Bazin’s notion of the “mummy complex”: cinema is motivated by the human desire to preserve time in the face of imminent aging and death. In *A Simple Life/Taojie* (2012), Hong Kong director Ann Hui explores aging through a creative experimentation of documentary realism—a combination of documentary and fictional filmmaking. In doing so, Ann Hui gives voice to marginalized social groups, preserves memory of a passing generation, and records local family history in postcolonial Hong Kong, whose culture, as Akbar Abbas puts it, is characterized by “disappearance.” *A Simple Life* is not only about the disappearance of human life, but also the disappearance of local history and even Hong Kong cinema. The mixed use of professional and non-professional actors, on-location shooting, typecasting, and star presence gesture towards a meta-commentary on filmmaking in Hong Kong and its survival in the post-CEPA era, when low-budget and mid-range films are squeezed out by co-productions with mainland China, along with the anxiety over the loss of local flavor. On a larger scale, Ann Hui’s *A Simple Life* corresponds with a number of films such as *Echoes of the Rainbow/Suiyue shentou* (Alex Law, 2010), which features a coming-of-age tale that captures the memory of a passing generation in Hong Kong. In tackling aging—an imminent and inevitable process of life that is un-glamourized and under-represented on screen, Ann Hui questions our own mortality and dignity in aging through an engagement with documentary realism.

2) Chia-Ning Chang, University of California, Davis

Perspectives from Leftist Cinema: Yamamoto Satsuo and Postwar Japan

My paper examines cinematic interpretations of postwar Japanese society and politics and questions of war and peace in the works of the prominent film director Yamamoto Satsuo (1910–83), a member of the Japanese Communist Party, committed pacifist, and one of the most important socially- and politically-engaged filmmakers of postwar Japan. Focusing my attention on his independently-produced films, my paper traces the formation of his social and political consciousness to the effects of Japanese wartime military discipline, his experiences in China as a war combatant, and his observations in Vietnam during the Vietnam War. It contextualizes his filmmaking processes in the immediate postwar decades by taking into consideration the effects of
the tumultuous Tōhō; Labor Struggle (1946–48), U.S. Occupation policy, the Red Purge, the monopolistic strategies adopted by the mainstream studios, and the response from Japan’s liberal filmmakers including Yamamoto, Kamei Fumio, and Imai Tadashi. Through the examination of Yamamoto’s major films including War and Peace (1947) The Vacuum Zone (1952) Streets without the Sun (1954), The Great Ivory Tower (1966), War and Humanity (1970–73), and The Barren Zone (1976), I elucidate Yamamoto’s assessment of the fragile peace in postwar Japan, the sadistic brutality embedded within Japanese military discipline, and the moral corruption, self-aggrandizement, and human frailty within Japan’s postwar elite academe, transnational corporations, and its highest level of government. The paper discusses the relationship between art and politics by advancing the argument that Yamamoto’s social and political commitments are mediated and informed, but artistically liberated from, elaborate-formulated political ideologies, and that the absence of ideological dogmatism characterizes the fluidity of his filmic dramaturgy and the strong humanist tendencies in his aesthetic vision.

3) Timothy Iles, University of Victoria

*The Semiotics of Water in the Films of Imamura Shōhei*

This paper argues that the deliberate presence of water imagery in Imamura’s films serves as a concrete manifestation of the various forces which his characters encounter. Water-as-force, and force-as-water recur and point to the potential for transformation of the characters through immersion in a substance both greater than they are and yet less precise; eternal yet never static; sustaining yet never sedate. Water-as-force and force-as-water serve as barometers of a morality that remains amoral, transcending the limitations of the characters upon whom Imamura focuses his attention, while permitting them a chance for redemption, inclusion, happiness, and, indeed, even love. Against a backdrop of despair and dissolution, Imamura creates a world in which both wonder and hope are possible. The fundamental humanism of Imamura’s work sustains a community in which communication, redemption, and forgiveness merge with the absurd, the perverse, and the fantastic, to demonstrate the dignity and value of each individual. Through a close textual analysis of *Warm Water Under a Red Bridge (Akai hashi no shita no nurui mizu*, 2001), situating it in a context of Imamura’s earlier films, I argue that through the imagery and symbolism of water, the film proposes an inclusive, sustaining circulatory system of love, capable of transforming individuals’ lives and transporting them from despair to stability. The film presents a compendium of the features which make up Imamura’s mythic system, dealing as it does with the issues which have run, as a stream, through his works.
4) Sean O’Reilly, Akita International University

**Fighting Blind: Zatoichi and Popular Perceptions of Blindness in Late Tokugawa Japan**

In 1961/1962, with Zatoichi, the trope of the blind warrior emerged in the popular culture of modern Japan, becoming the most high-profile depiction of Tokugawa-era blindness. But Zatoichi’s fame distorts the historical realities of blindness. How has this extraordinary warrior product of postwar anxieties affected perceptions on the experience of blindness in the nineteenth century? The popular notion that loss of sight provides desirable abilities in compensation structures how disabilities like blindness are understood. I use close visual analysis of Zatoichi’s portrayal in visual media to show that fascination with such warriors in Japan’s popular culture has blinded many to the realities of visual impairment in early modern Japan. Depictions of Zatoichi’s “day job” as a masseur deviate from the historical experience of working as a blind man. Zatoichi’s putative ties to the institutions of the blind—the “Zato” is actually an official guild title from the tōdōza—are systematically ignored. Instead, viewers see a “wandering yakuza” (matatabi) motif, one in which Zatoichi is a representative matatabi hero of Japan's popular culture. As both benevolent protector and fearsome killer, Zatoichi is the fulfillment of both faces of disability: he reassures us that he has overcome his impairment and can protect the worthy precisely because he is blind, but he also unnerves us with his tremendous skill. Zatoichi’s exceptionalism hides from our sight more ordinary experiences of blindness; by studying how he has been depicted, I explore the intimate relationship between popular culture and perceptions of blindness in Tokugawa Japan.
Discourses on Family Planning in Contemporary Japan: Gender and Bodies in the Context of Ninkatsu

Since the declining birthrate is perceived as a major menace to Japanese society since the 1990ies, pronatalistic policy approaches are (again) in the focus of social and political consideration. The fact that women get married and give birth later along with its medical implications, is more and more moving to the center of attention. In this context, especially since 2011, Ninkatsu (妊活) and the discourse about the aging egg cell have gathered a lot of interest in the media. In these discourses, predominantly directed at young women, the female body, its reproductive mechanisms and the limited reproductive age are the main concern. In addition, the necessity for thorough life planning and the acquirement of information concerning fertility, pregnancy and birth in order for it to be able to make informed life-decisions and design one’s life according to one’s own wish is emphasized in this discourse. In this paper, I will explore how gender and body images are represented in this medial Ninkatsu-discourse through the analysis of key narratives in magazines and TV, as well as interviews with key figures of the Ninkatsu-discourse, such as medical professionals, health-activists and writers.

The Family that Matters? An Analysis of the Construction of a Social Problem in Contemporary Japan

This presentation aims to investigate recent social discourses regarding international parental child abduction by Japanese nationals as a process of the construction of a social problem. Almost two years have passed since Japan became a signatory of the Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction. Until recently, parental child abduction was seldom considered in the light of the best interest of the child, and little consideration was given to the significance of shared parenting during separation. When several foreign governments began to accuse Japan of neglect because of increasing parental child abductions committed by Japanese nationals overseas, domestic media outlets took a wider perspective in their description of the issue; it shifted from being considered contestable “gaiatsu” (foreign pressure) to a problematic human rights concerns. The process in which the Japanese government debated the possible ratification of the Convention
unexpectedly involved multiple public voices, such as conservative politicians, feminist groups concerned with domestic violence against women, and parental rights activists suffering from a lack of child visitation during separation. However, it seemed that this issue achieved wider attention and was recognized as a coherent social problem in Japan by the time Japan signed the Convention in April 2014. Applying a social constructionist approach, this paper explores the process in which these multiple voices concerned about parental child abduction eventually converged into a common social problem. It will then lead us to understand how perceptions of the family are transforming in Japan within the context of globalization.

3) Allen Kim, International Christian University

*Fathers Across Shores: Intergenerational Relations and Korean Patriarchy*

In the South Korean press and Korean-American communities, patriarchal norms are criticized for causing distant and dysfunctional family relationships, particularly between fathers and children. Father School (FS) is a large, transnational, men’s movement which aims to convert traditional fathers into caring dads—consistent with the Western “new father” ideal. FS participants illustrate the implications of cultural change for father-son relations in adulthood. Drawing on observational research conducted at FS events in U.S. immigrant communities and South Korean organizational settings, this paper analyzes how men make sense of their relations with their fathers in light of changing cultural expectations. Based on a content analysis of 50 personal letters that middle-aged workshop participants wrote to their own aging fathers, I identify recurrent themes in men’s accounts of the painful emotional legacy of their fathers’ traditional masculinity. While describing the negative aspects of their relationships with their fathers, informants also point to this experience as motivating their desire to act differently toward their own children. A comparison of South Korean and U.S. FS participants show that immigrants experience an additional burden. Immigrants feel guilty about not being available to care for aging parents. Although Korean men reject the patriarchal values which undermined their personal relationships with their fathers, U.S. immigrants embrace traditional filial values which emphasize their responsibility for aging parents. Consistent with the time-and-place paradigm of life course theory, this study shows that the content and meaning of intergenerational relationships are contingent on historical era and cultural context.
4) Kristina Vassil, California State University, Sacramento

*The Aesthetics of Migration: Family, Class and Empire in Early Twentieth-Century Japanese Migrant Fiction*

This talk will discuss discursive identity construction among Japanese migrant writers vis-à-vis a developing Japanese empire in the early twentieth century. Focusing on the Japanese language literature produced by two vernacular newspaper reporters living and working in Northern California in the early 1900s, I explore seemingly opposite views within the migrant community—one that considered it an extension of the Japanese state, and the other that called for a compete separation from it. My discussion coalesces around two texts, 1) Hosaka Ki’ichi’s, *The America that I See* (1913-1914), written as a sequel to Natsume Soseki’s famous *I am a Cat* (1907), and 2) Okina Kyuin’s discourse on “iminchi bungei,” (immigrant land literature), a genre of writing that Okina explains and promotes in three sets of articles published in the *Nichibei* newspaper between 1913 and 1919. My paper addresses how these writers apply Japanese expansionist ideologies and colonial attitudes to the prewar Japanese migrant community in the U.S., how issues of class force more creative imaginings of Japanese migrant communities as pseudo “colonial” spaces, and how literature is specifically addressed as a means to convey these complex positions. Finally, I address how investigations of these works contributes to burgeoning field of minor transnational studies by expanding it historically (through the recovery of materials from the early twentieth century) and geographically (through an investigation of Japanese materials).

5) Kathryn Tanaka, Otemae University

*Conception in the Hospital: Births, Deaths, and Changing Families in Hōjō Tamio’s Fiction*

In 1934, a young man named Hōjō Tamio (1914–1937) was admitted to Zensei Hospital in Tokyo for treatment of Hansen’s Disease (leprosy). Soon after his quarantine, with the support of Kawabata Yasunari, he began to publish short stories about Hansen’s Disease and life in the hospital. One of the hallmarks of Hōjō’s work is his depictions of the darker side of hospital life. His work describes suicide, madness and drug addiction among patients who are without hope of a cure. His work also depicts the ways in which normal social relations between men and women are altered by hospital authorities. Families in Hōjō’s work are controlled by the state as a result of their hospitalization. This paper examines the ways Hōjō depicts this control and denial of family relations, marriage, and childbirth in the hospital through a detailed reading of three of his short stories, “Raiin Jutai” (“Conception in the Leprosarium”), “Rai kazoku” (“A Leper Family”), and “Fubuki no ubugoe” (“First Cry of the Snowstorm”). These stories address numerous patterns of love, family relationships
and even birth in the quarantine hospital. Through his depiction of human sexuality in the hospitals, Hōjō reveals not only the humanity of the sufferers but also how patients created different kinds of families in a space of social exclusion where normal social roles, such as spousal relations or parenthood within a nuclear or extended family, were denied to patients.
Lunch Break: 12:00 P.M. – 1:30 P.M.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSIONS I: 1:30 P.M. – 3:30 P.M.

Session 34: Room 252
Performance and Representation in Transnational Asia: Refiguring Gender, Sexuality, and Nationality in Colonial and Postcolonial Space
Organizer: Huang-wen Lai, University of Pennsylvania
Chair: Ayako Kano, University of Pennsylvania

Examining social and political issues in East Asia, this panel presents cutting edge research analyzing gender, sexuality, and nationality through various social and political performances and presentations as central to the production and invention of transnational cultures and spaces in Manchuria, Korea, Okinawa, Taiwan, and Japan. The panel crosses disciplinary and geographical borders by exploring the interplays between peripheries/center, colonies/empire, and personal/public in transnational Asia from the 1930s to the present. Focusing on this complex period of social and political struggles, the panelists address frequently overlooked historical agents and public figures in their studies. More specifically, Nayoung Aimee Kwon examines the vicissitudes of mass media representations in East Asia by shedding light on three international performers who experienced conflicts between personal and public demands during the tumultuous time of transwar ideologies. Similarly, Huang-wen Lai demonstrates a two dimensional colonial discourse which showcases a mutual conversation of the colonial subjects through a transnational superstar Ri Köran. Moreover, Hideyo Konagaya considers how a new public space is constructed in Tokyo via a particular Okinawan festival with a special Okinawan drum-dance performance, eisa. Finally, Fang-chih Irene Yang investigates a recent political incident, Hatano Yui event, in order to expound the complex views of gender, sexuality, and homo-sociality in the current political society of Taiwan. Overall, this panel utilizes methodologies from media, history, and anthropology to cultural and political studies in order to provide brief sketches of colonial and post-colonial ideologies and implications through performances and representations in transnational Asia.

1) Nayoung Aimee Kwon, Duke University
Performing Interracial and Inter-Ideological Crossings in Transwar East Asia

This presentation is a preliminary inquiry into the shifting logics of interracial and inter-ideological (dis)affiliations in the transition from wartime to Cold War eras in East Asia, and their
implications for colonial and postcolonial structural relations in the region. This broader problem is examined by tracing vicissitudes in mass media representations of interracial and inter-ideological crossings of three iconic performers, Yamaguchi Yoshiko (1920–2014), Anna May Wong (1905–1961), and Ch’oe Sŭnghŭi (1911–1969), whose dramatic lives and careers traversed multiple and fluctuating borders during this era. The paper examines the different ways each performance artist negotiated conflicting personal and public demands during these tumultuous times to shed light on the scandalous confluences of race, sex, and geopolitics across wartime and Cold War ideologies. The paper will further consider the possibilities and challenges of transwar and transpacific methodologies in suturing hitherto divided histories and memories.

2) Huang-wen Lai, University of Pennsylvania

*Showing the Empire on the Big Screen: The Views of Nationalism, Commercialism, and Stardom under Japanese Rule*

As an agent of Japanese colonial power, Man’ei produced films for national policy. Yet, the promotion of Man’ei largely relied on its superstar, Ri Kōran—a Japanese actress who grew up in China. Together with the strict regulations set by Manchukuo, on the one hand, Man’ei served as a tool of marketing Japanese militarism and was developed under the political and military needs of the Japanese empire; on the other hand, the whole empire was, in fact, entertained and educated by the films made by Man’ei. By analyzing Man’ei and Ri Kōran, it is clear that Manchurian popular culture was once a great mass fervor in Japan and the Japanese cultural empire was not a one-way street of assimilation, but a two-way path of influence. In this paper, I intend to reveal this two-way path of mutual conversation that the Manchurian film production and superstar Ri Kōran showcased and presented in terms of nationalism, commercialism, and stardom. Through the plots and scenes of *Sayon’s Bell*, Ri Kōran’s female body not only functioned as a medium to advertise Japanese militarism and colonialism, but her performance, in fact, represented a colonial discourse indicating that while it is obvious that the Japanese colonizers enjoyed their reign and control of the colonies and the colonized suffered from the cruelty of the military and political missions on big screen, they both appreciated a momentary and relaxed break provided by the mass media and Ri Kōran in the Japanese empire during the period of colonialism.
3) Hideyo Konagaya, Waseda University

*The Politics of Performing the Native Other in National and Transnational Cultural Policy*

This paper discusses the way in which the cultural heritage of Okinawa has emerged as a primary focus of Japanese cultural policy and politics in their national and transnational context. *Kumiodori*, the musical and theatrical tradition of the ancient Ryukyu Kingdom, has been valorized as the authentic performance of Okinawa, in which, however, the native body has been imagined and performed as the temporal and spatial other while Okinawa has been defined and gendered in terms of hegemonic relations in the history and geopolitics of the Asia Pacific region. Reconstructed in the discourse of nation building, particularly after the Reversion of Okinawa from the United States military control in postwar Japan, *kumiodori* has been designated, and thus protected and promoted, not only as the important intangible cultural property of Japan, but also as UNESCO’s intangible cultural heritage. The growing influence of the transnational framework of cultural heritage on the cultural policy of Japan has complicated and destabilized established contextual assumptions about the performing of the Okinawan other. This paper examines the cultural production of the native body, paying attention to the underlying force of national and transnational policy and politics, as well as that of the authority of scholarly discourse, in elevating *kumiodori* as cultural heritage. It explores how the performance of *kumiodori* has strategically mediated and negotiated historical and diplomatic tensions between Japan, China, and US from the premodern era to the present, and how Okinawan cultural politics has challenged, while continuing to be entangled in, the structural hierarchy.

4) Fang-chih Irene Yang, National Cheng Kung University

*Public Sex and Sexualized Politics in Taiwan*

This essay attempts to use the recent Hatano Yui event to engage with debates on the sexualization of women’s bodies, homo-sociality, and homophobia in the domain of politics from a feminist perspective. Taipei City government issued a smart card, featuring Hatano Yui, a Japanese female porn star. The event led to a series of cultural and political wars in Taiwan. Using Foucault’s notion of eventalization, this paper attempts to address three issues. First, in making profit, the neoliberal city/state work with private corporations in using women’s hyper-sexualized while “innocent” bodies as commodities. This body ignited a gender war on the sexualization of women’s bodies, broadly construed as gender politics and sexual politics, which divided women’s movement since the early 1990s in Taiwan. Yui’s case allows us to investigate the role of the neoliberal state in mediating patriarchy and neoliberal capitalism, a blind spot in Taiwan’s polarized feminist debates.
Second, the moral consensus among politicians is about the inappropriateness of the encroachment of sexuality over public life. Paradoxically, the public sphere is saturated with sex talk in the name of disembodied, sexless politics. This cultural politics over sexuality is used for political struggle as a way to shut down normative government function. Third, as the event unfolds, it opens up possibilities to express the role of homo-sociality, homo-social desire and homophobia in politics. As normative political power works through homosociality which undermines democratic principles, pro-democratic struggles, however, use homophobia as a form of criticism which then gets co-opted by conservatives.

**Discussant: Ayako Kano, University of Pennsylvania**
Session 35: Room 253
Mental Health/Illness in Contemporary Japan (Part II): Patient/provider interfaces
Organizer: Paul Christensen, Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology
Chair: Junko Kitanaka, Keio University

Mental health and illness are subject to a patchwork of divergent and conflicting views in contemporary Japan. What are conventionally labeled ‘traditional’ attitudes toward mental illness remain entrenched in places, intermingling with the strong influence of Western biomedicine and Japan’s robust medical infrastructure. The result is varied institutional practices and treatment methodologies; conflicting views of diagnosis, cause, or severity; and uneven, possibly exclusionary, societal perception of afflictions. More generally, we hear ever louder calls to reexamine fundamental categories structuring mental health as “an entirely different way of being in the world” (Kleinman 2012: 185). Taking Japan as our area of focus, this double panel addresses contemporary concerns of mental health and illness from a diversity of perspectives. Our themes include the ideological structuring of addiction to alcohol and gambling, self-help associations for families of mental patients and people with autism spectrum disorder, pharmaceuticalization of psychiatric disorders, (un)willingness of depressive people to seek professional help, and feelings of persistent stress resulting from the 3.11 nuclear disaster. Across this range of papers we seek to illuminate the varied ways in which association with mental illness shapes individual lives in contemporary Japan.

1) Katsuya Kushihara, Tokyo University

“Pharmaceuticalization” within Japanese Psychiatric Clinics: From the Viewpoint of Pharmacotherapy Users

Since 2000s, “pharmaceuticalization” studies that follow “medicalization” studies have been discussed mainly in the U.S. and U.K. John Abraham points out that pharmaceuticalization means doctor’s prescription and patient’s use of medicines that involve no medicalization (no translation of a problem into a medical one) under the influence of pharmaceutical companies. In addition, there are some case studies focusing on the use of medicines for health enhancement outside a clinic. In the light of the relatively strict regulations on medicines in Japan, my research focuses on pharmaceuticalization in a clinic—especially between patients and doctors. I conducted a case study targeted at the outpatients of psychiatric clinics. Through interviews with twenty people, I reveal some hypothetical conditions that affect the outcome of pharmaceuticalization from the patient’s interpretation of pharmacotherapy and diagnosis. When pharmaceuticalization occurs, there are two interpretative patterns; (1) Patients asking doctors to prescribe pharmaceuticals on demand in
disappointment at their doctor’s skills; (2) Patients reducing their mental problems to temporary moods and behaviors and isolating their mental problems from problems of personality. On the other hand, when pharmaceuticalization is rejected, there are three patterns: (1) A contradiction between doctor’s diagnosis and patient’s self-diagnosis, (2) Patients considering their mental problems wholly psychological, (3) Patients judging doctor’s diagnosis and prescription inappropriate after gathering medical information. In sum, pharmaceuticalization is dependent on patients’ interpretations of their own condition, and also occurs in the clinic. This study stresses the need to appropriately grasp pharmaceuticalization that hides behind the relationship between medical professions and patients.

2) Lenna Schlemper, Tokyo University

*Young Adult's Mental Health Literacy in Seeking Professional Help for Depression in Japan*

Despite the high prevalence of major depressive disorder in Japan, most young adults do not access professional health care. There is a mismatch between service use and provision of effective treatment in the clinical setting. The researcher aims to examine this “service gap” though conducting a questionnaire survey on young adults’ mental health literacy in seeking professional help for depression. A total of 719 respondents (324 males, 395 females) participated in the survey asking about (1) recognition of depression, (2) knowledge of depression, (3) perspective toward depression, (4) effective treatment, (5) treatment outcome and (6) help-seeking intention. The results showed that 439 respondents, who recognized depression from a vignette describing a person with major depression, held more knowledge about symptoms of depression and effective treatment. Nonetheless, 46.7% of them preferred not to seek professional help. The other 53.3% respondents who preferred professional help-seeking had characteristics such as recognizing physical symptoms more than psychological symptoms; overwork and *kizukare*, a physical and mental stagnation of energy, leading to depression; choosing psychotherapy and counseling as effective treatments; and having higher treatment expectancy. The results suggest that simply increasing their literacy would not promote access to professional help-seeking. Appropriate intervention is necessary to take into account young adult’s perspectives and the culture of health system in Japan. Future directions for effective strategies in promoting access to professional health care and provision of treatment in clinical setting are discussed.
3) Nicolas Sterndorff-Cisterna, Tokyo University

*Stress and Radiation after Fukushima*

The Fukushima nuclear disaster precipitated a crisis of confidence about the potential health effects that radioactive pollution can have on human health. The public was confronted with experts who reassured them that exposure levels were safe, while others cautioned them to be careful about the dangers of exposure. People concerned about radiation, especially those with young children, became increasingly worried about the potential effects of radiation and what steps they could take to protect themselves and their offspring. In this context, stress became a new potential source of illness after the accident. During fieldwork, I met mothers who wondered whether the stress of worrying about their kids would have worse health effects than radiation itself. At the same time, they worried about how not to appear “radiation-crazy” in their kids’ eyes, lest they be perceived negatively by them. The post-Fukushima moment engendered a situation where it became difficult to know where the line stood between being a concerned parent and being perceived as overzealous and not heeding the government call that all was well. Stress and anxiety became inseparable companions of radiation exposure. In this paper I examine ethnographically the struggles people in Japan faced when dealing with stress after Fukushima, and the ways in which battles over the meaning of radiation exposure affected the way in which stress was sometimes described as a normal response to the disaster, while at other times it was characterized as a negative and used to invalidate people’s concerns.

**Discussant: Kathryn Goldfarb, University of Colorado**
Session 36: Room 204

Educating Japanese Women: Intersections with American Values

Organizer: Julia C. Bullock, Emory University

Chair: Sally A. Hastings, Purdue University

This panel traces the impact of American values on education for Japanese women from the Meiji to the postwar era. While it's well known that the Japanese education system was modernized in part through a borrowing of Western educational theories and practices, this process of “translation” of foreign ideas was neither easy nor straightforward. As our presentations demonstrate, in some cases these new ideas dramatically expanded the range of opportunities available to Japanese women; in other cases their impact was less straightforward or posed insurmountable conflicts with Japanese values and presumptions about women’s desired role in society. Sally Hastings discusses the varied experiences of Japanese women who studied in the U.S. prior to 1945 and then attempted to capitalize on their new educational qualifications after returning to their home country. Noriko Ishii’s presentation offers a complementary perspective, outlining the struggles of an American missionary woman, Charlotte B. DeForest, to advocate Christian internationalism at a time of intensified state Shintoist discourse. Vanessa Ward highlights the influence of Christian realism on one of DeForest’s students, Takeda Kiyoko, with particular emphasis on her role as translator of the philosophy of Reinhold Niebuhr and the inspiration she took from this text in reconceptualizing Japanese identity in the early years of the Cold War. Finally, Julia Bullock explores the role that different conceptions of “equality” and sexual difference played in shaping the Japanese response to the implementation of coeducation as part of Occupation-led educational reforms.

1) Sally A. Hastings, Purdue University


It is well known that the government-sponsored Iwakura Expedition of the 1870s included five female students, three of whom remained in the United States for a decade. The difficulties these women encountered finding employment on their return to Japan have often been taken as emblematic of the Japanese government’s weak commitment to women’s education. In fact, the Japanese government continued to send abroad a small number of women in its employ. Far more extensive, however, were the efforts of missionaries, Japanese Christians, and individual families to send women abroad. With the exception of the extensive scholarship on the women supported by Tsuda Umeko’s Philadelphia scholarship, there has been little attention to the effects of Japanese
women studying abroad prior to 1945. This paper will explore how the interests of those who sponsored education abroad, gendered hierarchies in both Japanese society and in Christian communities, and assumptions about national interests created great variation in the extent to which Japanese women educated abroad were able to make use of their education in the public sphere upon their return to Japan and their ability to replicate in Japan their educational experience in the United States. Although Japanese women traveled to the United States to pursue educational opportunities not open to them in Japan, they were more likely on their return to be incorporated into Japanese controlled institutions than into missionary ones. Further, although several Japanese women graduated from co-educational institutions in the United States, female-only schools remained dominant in Japan until after 1945.

2) Noriko K. Ishii, Sophia University

*Transnational Conversations, Liberal Religion and Cosmopolitism: Women Missionaries in Wartime Japan*

This paper focuses on a second-generation American woman missionary in Japan who was active in crafting new egalitarian visions of Christian internationalism, social justice and peace that transcended differences of race, culture, religion and nation-state, when the two countries were heading towards war in the 1930s and 1940s. Charlotte B. DeForest, who became the last missionary President of Kobe College from 1915 to 1940, struggled to invent new ways to come to terms with the development of modern Shintoism and emperor worship as Japan developed as a nation-state in the 1930s. These missionaries created a multicultural educational space where students from China and Korea studied together with Japanese students on an equal basis even during the late 1930s. Such space encouraged students to foster egalitarian visions of Christian internationalism and some expanded them further. This paper discusses how DeForest skillfully combined missionary visions and Japanese cultural values to promote what she considered as the best Japanese women's education at that time. Being born and raised a missionary daughter, DeForest inherited nineteenth century missiology that emphasized women’s education as an effective form of evangelism. She viewed Japanese women as helpers in the evangelization of Japan, according to the missiology of World Friendship of the 1920s that perceived missionaries and the native women as equal partners. The paper suggests that these transnational conversations and wartime experiences further allowed DeForest to craft cosmopolitan religious outlooks that transcended differences.
3) Vanessa B. Ward, University of Otago

*Translating Ideas: Chō Takeda Kiyoko and Reinhold Niebuhr between Japan and the United States*

In 1939 Kobe College senior Takeda Kiyoko left Japan for Olivet College, Michigan. On the way, she attended the First International Conference of Christian Students in Amsterdam. There she heard a powerful address from the Christian realist Reinhold Niebuhr on the topic “The Christians in a World of Conflict”. At Olivet, she would learn more about Niebuhr’s ideas from one of his former students. After graduating from Olivet, on this man’s recommendation, she went to New York to study under Niebuhr himself. In 1942, at the urging of the Japanese government she declined the offer of Niebuhr and his wife to act as guarantors so that she could continue her studies, and returned to militarist Japan. Four years later she was re-united with Niebuhr’s ideas through his book *The Children of Light and Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of Its Traditional Defenders* (1944). Niebuhr argued that the optimistic view of human nature shared by proponents of democracy and Marxism ignored the problem of economic, political and social injustice as broader manifestations of individual sin—a caution that Takeda thought applicable to the attempt to reconceptualise Japanese identity in the emerging Cold War. Her first translation was published in 1948; revised editions followed in 1964 and 1994. In this presentation, through an exploration of Takeda’s engagement with this text, I trace how the opportunity to study in the United States led to encounters with people and ideas that shaped profoundly Takeda Kiyoko’s intellectual career after the Second World War.

4) Julia C. Bullock, Emory University

*Separate but Equal? Equality and Difference in Discourses of Coeducation in Postwar Japan*

With the passage of the Fundamental Law of Education (FLE) in 1947, coeducation was officially “recognized” for the first time, ending the prewar sex-segregated system of education and integrating elementary and middle schools, as well as many high schools and universities. The FLE was essentially a compromise between activist Occupation staffers and their progressive Japanese allies who favored coeducation as a means of “democratizing” Japan, and the Japanese Ministry of Education bureaucrats who resisted it on the understanding that it would cause “moral problems.” My research indicates that these arguments were likewise echoed in the debates over coeducation in the Japanese media that ensued as Japan transitioned to the “new system” of coeducation, and pivoted on fundamentally different conceptions of the notion of “equality” and the meaning of sexual difference. Those who argued for the merits of coeducation did so by emphasizing the essential similarities of men and women as human beings, and thus saw the prewar sex-segregated system of education as
institutionalizing inequality by artificially instilling difference through sex-specific forms of education. By contrast, those who opposed coeducation frequently argued for a model of “equality” that was based on the presumption of sexual difference as natural and inevitable, thus justifying sex-specific training. Because the postwar Japanese educational system was constructed without resolving these fundamental theoretical differences, we are still grappling with the contradictions they have produced in education policy to this day.

**Discussant: Patricia Sippel, Toyo Eiwa University**
Session 37: Room 352
Disenchantment of the West?
Organizer/Chair: Marius Meinhof, Bielefeld University

The colonial experiences of the “century of humiliation” shaped a long lasting discourse that showed China basically as a backward society in need of modernization. Although different political constellations created divergent images of China’s backwardness and its relation to the former colonizers, the quest for modernization and the perceived need to learn from and adjust to other, stronger and more modern, role models remained. During both, the pre-Mao and the post-Mao era, many Chinese scholars took an imagined, monolithic Western world as their model. This Panel brings together contributions from history and sociology related to an underlying hypothesis: (1) that the conceptions of the west and of modernization in China predominant in the early reform era were rooted in experiences of colonial modernity that equated the modern with the strong and the superior, but (2) that currently this colonial heritage is once again undergoing changes, leading to a “disenchantment” of the west as the role model for modernity not only in the eyes of political elites but also in everyday life culture. As a result, a decline in admiration for the west may also go hand in hand with a decline in hate towards former colonizing powers. The different contributions in our panel will discuss the viability of this hypothesis from different perspectives based on (mostly qualitative) empiric work.

1) Lili Zhu, Bielefeld University

The Weak Colonizer and its Cooperator: German Colonialism in China after World War I

The aim of this paper is to study the nature and scope of the German military help for China’s nation building movement in the 1920s and 1930s, in order to examine (1) how this post-WWI form of (crypto-)colonialism in China was set up and reinforced by the Germans and the Chinese, and (2) how colonial knowledge was reproduced within military institutions that were surrounded by the myth of “modernization” while the same time functioning as colonial agencies. Germany became the first western country to give up all its special rights in China due to the Sino-German Peace Treaty in 1921. However, this was just a beginning of a new form of a German hidden colonialism in cooperation with the Chinese elites in China. In almost two decades after WWI, Germany was seen by the Chinese elites as the paragon for China’s development, especially in industrial and military spheres. This had its roots in China’s colonial experiences and the Chinese people’s quest for modernity since the Opium War. Also, Germany’s status of being a “modern” country, but at the same time a loser of the WWI and “depressed” by imperial powers legitimated its advantaged position with
regard to cooperation with China. The appreciation of German technology and the desire for national independence of the Chinese elites determined the Chinese common people’s subaltern conditions in this relationship with Germany. It is therefore difficult to tell whether the Chinese elites helped the Germans to colonize China, or the other way round. Hence, the margins of internal and oversea colonialism disappeared.

2) Marius Meinho, Bielefeld University

*Negotiating Modernity: Chinese Students Positioning Strategies and the Ideology of Modernization as Colonial Heritage*

Based on one year of ethnographic fieldwork including interviews, videography and analysis of online discussion boards, my presentation will show, how students in Chinese universities negotiate discourses on modernization and development. Almost all students reproduce modernization discourses that ultimately put them in an inferior position towards the West. But they appropriate these discourses to articulate their critiques either towards social injustice within China or towards western intrusion into Chinas inner affairs. To show this, I will introduce four types of positions: (1) uses of modernization discourses as claims for status towards other Chinese, (2) uses of modernization discourses as critique on social inequality within china, (3) uses of modernization discourses as a critique on Chinese Occidentalism, and finally (4) claims for status that render modernization discourses irrelevant. Through this, it becomes visible, that many students have a disillusioned or even indifferent stance towards the west, that the wests position as idol for modernization is highly contested and that even the glorification of the west is more of a critique on social inequality in China than a display of colonial mentality. However, a (post-)colonial continuity can be shown not so much in the exact content of these contested positions, but in the obsession with a hierarchy of development and a comparison of China with “the West” or the USA, that is shared by all but the fourth of these positions.

3) Tao Liu, Bremen University

*The Emergence of a Chinese Epistemic Community: The Rising Confidence of China?*

Since adoption of the open-door policy Chinese elites have turned towards the Western society, borrowing advanced social, economic and technological knowledge to make China a strong and prosperous country. The leaning towards Western has shaped a mentality stereotype within the Chinese society tending to mythologize the advancement of the Western society and belittle any ways of Chinese thinking. However, at the dawn of the 21st century a new epistemic community in China
has gradually emerged highlighting the Chineseness of an economic, social and political model of modernization. The perpetuating economic achievement and China’s rapid rise to a global super power has created new confidence for Chinese scholars. This article has presented ideas from different leading scholars advocating the ‘Chineseness’ of modernity explicitly. A commonality of these scholars is that all of them attribute the rise of China to the distinctive characters of Chinese culture and Chinese special political system. However, unlike the self-proclaimed universality of Western values, the Chinese scholars still stick to the particularism of Chinese model which is only applied to the Chinese context and cannot be copied by any parts of the world.

**Discussant: Miho Saito, Ritsumeikan University**
Session 38: Room 351

New Perspectives on the Avant-Garde in Twentieth-Century Japanese Art

Organizer/Chair: Noriko Murai, Sophia University

This panel seeks to complicate the meaning of the avant-garde in the history of modern Japanese art. While the avant-garde is typically defined as a praxis of ever-provoking alterity vis-à-vis the status quo—whether aesthetic, cultural, social, or political, its history has also been institutionalized globally as a major “tradition” in modern art. The four proposed papers study the historically specific ways in which this contradictory relationship between radicality and marginality on the one hand, and authority that often invokes the prestige of the West, on the other hand, has manifested itself in the visual arts produced in Japan during the twentieth century. Instead of revisiting the significance of groups or artists whose works have been well situated in the existing account of the avant-garde in Japan, this set of papers will explore subjects, hitherto little discussed in English, that prompt questions with regards to their declared identifications with, strategic modifications to, or exclusions from what has been historically understood by the term “avant-garde” in Japan. The goal of the panel is not to come up with a new or fixed definition of this term. Instead, through a study of the relationship between the artistic vanguard with revolutionary politics (Hirayama), traditional arts (Murai), the vernacular (Kaneko), and the gendered other (Kunimoto), this panel will open up critical discussions over one of the most often invoked yet amorphous concepts in the history of modern art in Japan.

1) Mikiko Hirayama, University of Cincinnati

“Bourgeois” or “Avant-garde”? Bourgeois Parliament and the Lives of the Masses (1931) by Tsuda Seifū

In September 1931, oil painter Tsuda Seifū; caused a sensation in the art world with his painting, Bourgeois Parliament and Lives of the Masses. Closely affiliated with the leftist milieu, Tsuda claimed to have produced this painting to raise mass awareness of corruption in politics. However, no one had expected Tsuda, an established painter aged 52, to submit such a controversial work to Nikakai, which was known as the pinnacle of mainstream yōga. The authorities found the painting’s title and inscription of a passage by Marx too harmful to public morals and demanded that Tsuda rename the painting. The art press tirelessly debated whether or not the painting was legitimate proletarian art. Furthermore, it became known that Tsuda did not give credit to the help he had received from the students at his own art school. This news raised the question of whether or not such “collaborative production” was acceptable in a juried exhibition. Though Tsuda changed the
painting's title to New Parliament, he justified his production method, insisting that it was a critique of individualism in current art and a reflection of his sympathy to the collectivist approach to art that the Communists endorsed. And yet, he also asserted that this painting was not proletarian art per se and openly expressed reservations with Communist art theory. This paper highlights a rare case of a clash between politically avant-garde art by a non-Communist artist and the contemporary gadan in prewar Japan.

2) Noriko Murai, Sophia University

_The Avant-Garde Object in the 1950s_

This paper identifies a conflicting symbiosis of the avant-garde with mass culture and claims to tradition at the heart of the so-called “zen’ei ikebana (avant-garde ikebana)” in the 1950s. The dynamic outpouring of activities in the name of, or in the semblance of, the avant-garde from a field of culture rarely associated with such radicalism—ikebana having become a popular institution of “traditional” female self-cultivation in modern Japan—famously led a prominent male critic to mock the phenomenon as an oxymoronic conundrum, “the avant-garde of five million [women]” led by the authority of a few male head masters. One focal point of this new praxis of ikebana was the production of what came to be known as an “obuje,” a Japanese adaptation of the French and Surrealist-inspired concept of the objet that was widely (re)mobilized in various quarters of art at the time. The paper will focus on the obuje exhibited by the short-lived “Shinsedai Shūdan” (the New Generation Group, 1951–55). This politically engaged and artistically radicalizing group consisted of second-generation “heirs” to the modern ikebana movement such as Teshigahara Hiroshi (1927-2001, son of Sōfū), Shigemori Kōen (1926-92, son of Mirei), and Kudō; Masanobu (1924-96, son of Kōshū). Ultimately unable to dismantle the institutional inertia of the ikebana establishment from within, the abandonment of this collective reveals the socio-cultural force of war-recovering Japan in the 1950s that selectively tolerated, even promoted, radicalization of the form while closing in on its more destabilizing elements.
3) Maki Kaneko, University of Kansas

**Being “Japanese” and “Avant-garde” in Post-Occupation Japan**

This paper investigates the rise of Munakata Shikō (1903–1975), both in the domestic and international art scenes, and the largely neglected associations of his work with “the postwar Japanese avant-garde art” (*sen'ei bijutsu*) scene in the 1950s. Originally conceived as the master printer of the Folk Craft Movement in the 1930s, Munakata gained momentum in the mid to late 1950s, enjoying his popularity domestically as the “Japanese van Gogh.” He also won several awards in international art exhibitions including the prestigious Venice Biennale. While Munakata’s art and working method invited criticism from a group of young emerging avant-garde artists and critics in Japan, who found the works to be old-fashioned and “vernacular,” Munakata’s affinities with the contemporaneous avant-garde art in Euro-American countries, art brut and abstract expressionism in particular, were also recognized and contributed greatly to his international and domestic success. This peculiar confluence of the late 19th-century French and post-1945 avant-garde art discourses in the evaluation of the “vernacular” artist would attest to the entangled situation of the 1950s Japanese art community over the discourse of the “avant-garde,” “Japanese-ness,” and the future of Japanese art after the defeat and Occupation. Through the investigation of Munakata Shikō’s trajectory and evaluations of his art both in and outside Japan, this paper will illuminate how the meaning of the “avant-garde” was contested and conceived within the specific geopolitical context of post-Occupation Japan.

4) Namiko Kunimoto, The Ohio State University

**Katsura Yuki and the Zoomorphic Avant-Garde**

Recent scholarship has led many to assume that Japanese avant-garde art started in the immediate postwar moment; yet, many leading artists associated with the postwar avant-garde were active both before and after the war. By bringing into question the notion of an historic break at the end of the war, we might instead ask: How did these artists shift their aesthetic and political concerns? What continuities have been overlooked? This presentation examines the work of Katsura Yuki (1913–1991), a Tokyo-based painter and assemblage artist who often reworked traditional Japanese themes. Katsura, who has been largely ignored by English-language scholars, maintained a critical position towards the state both during and after the war. She enacted political resistance by representing contentious issues such as self-sacrifice in times of war, the United States Castle Bravo nuclear test, the representation of gay love, and the status of women in Japan. By experimenting with the visibility and invisibility of the body through modes of allegory and concealment, I argue that
Katsura enacted what Jacques Rancie terms political “dissensus.” Rancie sees genuine art and politics as those that create new relations between the visible and the invisible, liberating bodies from their assigned places and breaking with the ‘natural’ order of the sensible. Similarly, by experimenting with the visibility of the body through allegory and concealment, Katsura reoriented aesthetic-political sensibility and opened up a space for a wider discourse on gender and avant-garde practice in Japan.

Discussant: Bert Winther-Tamaki, University of California, Irvine
Session 39: Room 316
Rise, Fall, and Normalization of Manga and Anime Culture in Europe and the United States: Empirical Findings and Theoretical Models
Organizer/Chair: Marco Pellitteri, Kobe University

The global expansion of Japanese animation and comics (usually called anime and manga respectively) is a process that started in the mid-1960s and reached its peak in the mid-2000s. The two most relevant centers of such wide success were and are the United States and western Europe. This panel’s goal is to provide theory, empirical data and critical insight on the complex inter- and transnational journeys of anime and manga from Japan to these two foreign macro-contexts. The panelists and the discussants will conduct an interdisciplinary conversation upon this theme, touching upon five main dimensions of this long-running phenomenon: industrial production and sales, international flows of cultural products, models of media consumption that characterize the success of anime and manga in the considered contexts, the reasons for the structural ups and downs of an everlasting expansion, and the process of local appropriation of manga and anime’s imagery and contents through subcultural practices widespread among young fans. The discussion on these composite dimensions of manga and anime’s impact in the US and Europe is aimed to assess the importance and balance between the three main stages of their “career” overseas: the initial boom from the 1970s to the mid-1990s, a following decrease in popularity in the late 1990s and 2000s, and a normalization and standardization of the role of Japanese pop cultures in general (and of manga and anime in particular) in more recent years.

1) Clothilde Sabre, Hokkaido University
“Cool Japan” in France: A Massive Plebiscite or a Typical Case of Acculturation?

Japanese animation arrived in France in the late 1970s, followed by manga ten years later, and both found a dedicated audience, a fact regularly acknowledged by the popular idea that “France is the second country of manga”. From the editorial success of manga (about 40% of the comics published in France) to the popularity of Japan Expo, the biggest European event specifically focusing on Japanese pop culture and held every year in Paris, all the clues are gathered indeed to prove that a strong fandom exists in France. However, we can wonder whether such success is getting through the whole French society, and whether we can consider it as an illustration of the “Cool Japan” as it has been analyzed and promoted. This presentation will provide a balanced panorama. Adopting an anthropological approach and using data from fieldwork and media, the notion of acculturation will be used as a tool to look at the phenomenon from a broader perspective.
than a massive plebiscite that leads new people to be interested in Japan, the diffusion of Japanese animation and manga in France created a range of reactions, from appropriation to rejection, to be finally integrated to the cultural landscape. Moreover, the new images of Japan provided by manga and animation are not changing the perception of Japan in France but are rather integrated to a pre-established structure of exotic representations of the country.

2) Akiko Sugawa-Shimada, Yokohama National University

Characters as a Vehicle for Constructions of Identity: Understanding and Use of Anime among Non-Japanese Audiences

Japanese anime and manga have been localized, consumed and used by non-Japanese young audiences globally to construct their own culture. Although many scholars have investigated the ways in which they understand and use Japanese anime and manga since the early 2000s, there are aspects of their cross-border consumption that have not been fully explored. Based on qualitative research through questionnaires, online correspondence, and/or interviews conducted in the United States, France and Italy in 2013, 2014 and 2015 respectively, this presentation will focus on how non-Japanese (young) audiences access Japanese anime and manga, and understand and use them, in order to contribute to discussing the cross-border consumption of such entertainment forms.

Although their first access to Japanese manga and anime often occurs through illegally translated works online (“scanlation” and “fansub”), the ways in which they understand and use Japanese anime and manga are very complex. In order to analyze audiences’ understandings and uses of Japanese anime and manga, two methodologies were used in my research: textual analysis and analysis of audiences’ discourses. In the analysis of the favourite characters which most audiences selected, Japanese representations, aesthetics, and ideologies are emphasized. However, in the audience research, although proximity/otherness of characters partially facilitates having resonance to/detachment from the audiences, the most important element for this active audience is balancing escapism between fantasy and reality (e.g. through the construction of relationships among peers). By balancing them, they reconstruct their national/ethnic/cultural identities and build solidarity among their friends.
3) Marco Pellitteri, Kobe University

A Four-Stage Media Theory of Manga and Anime’s Consumption Models in Europe: Boom, Crisis, Fragmentation, and Standardization

Besides the United States – taken into account in the first paper of this panel – European countries are key contexts for the assessment of the cultural and commercial impact of Japanese comics (manga) and animation (anime) in the media and entertainment systems external to Japan. This presentation, on the one hand, provides a historical and critical analysis of the arrival and success of manga and anime in the European national contexts; on the other hand, it theoretically discusses the sociological reasons and the structural stages of their success overseas in relation to the historical changes in the consumption models of narrative media from the 1970s to nowadays. In this paper the cases of Italy, France, Germany, Spain are presented as the main markets in Europe for anime and manga; but also emerging markets, such as Russia, Hungary, Poland, are shortly taken into consideration. The underlying theory of this presentation is that the success of anime and manga overseas was structurally due to their arrival in the European markets in an age dominated by specific models of media consumption, and that the crisis of such success which occurred at later stages was due to the change of such media consumption models, followed by a (currently ongoing) further “normalization” of anime and manga’s cultural and commercial impact.

Discussants: Dixon Heung Wah Wong, University of Hong Kong and Naohiro Shichijo, National Institute of Science and Technology Policy
Session 40: Room 251

Individual Papers 8: Contemporary Japanese Society
Chair: Edward Drott, Sophia University

1) Kaori Takano, Fort Lewis College

Contemporary Strategies to Social Responsibility in the Japanese Business Community

The city of Kitakyushu is located in Fukuoka prefecture, southwestern Japan. The city implemented a large-scale urban greening movement in the late 20th century. Their efforts were recognized by The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) when Kitakyushu was named one of the four “Green growth” model cities in the world. Recent international research suggested that Japanese business leaders are most concerned with the roles of their firms in society and their focus tends to be on employees, whereas American business leaders tend to focus on shareholder interests and put societal concerns secondary. Since Kitakyushu is a successful socially responsible green growth model city, the author decided to conduct a multiple case study to better understand the city’s contemporary strategies to social responsibility. Three multinational corporations based in Kitakyushu were chosen for the case study. The author found that the Kitakyushu business community is apprehensive about taking advantage of reporting CSR for the purpose of gaining a competitive advantage. The lack of effective communication channels and the nonexistence of objective evaluation systems, combined with the strong relationship-oriented approaches of the Japanese business community may invite unnecessary criticism. However, the author argues that cultural differences and sociological implications have had a negative impact on Japanese corporate CSR communication. This case study presents an example of a unique and successful contemporary strategy in Japanese CSR in the context of the globalization era. Therefore, this research contributes to the fields of sociology, communication, comparative and cultural studies.

2) Kudo Takako, Dokkyo University

Voices From Inside: Perspectives from Japanese Public School Teachers and Foreign National Students on Educational Support in the Public School System

Regardless of the general impression that Japan is a “monocultural society”, the fact that long-existing ethnic minorities have lived in Japan is also well known. However, since the 1990s, Japan has seen a rapid increase of foreign nationals, so-called “newcomers”, coming to make it their home. According to the Ministry of Justice’s data, 2014, there were 2,476,103 foreign nationals registered in Japan, which is a number that continues to rise. This case study examines the experiences of two teachers in a rural public junior high school in Aichi Prefecture who were faced
with educating language minority students for the first time in the global classroom, a pull-out program where the foreign national children are provided JSL instruction and learning support. The aim of this study was to evaluate the relevance of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT)’s goals for the JSL program which has been developed and is recommended for use with language minority students. Interviews with foreign national university students who went through the public school system are also used to broaden the perspective on the learning-teaching that goes on these pull-out programs. The voices of the educators and foreign students from the inside of the classroom point to many gaps between MEXT’s policies for foreign students’ education and the reality. The inconsistencies discovered in this study signal a need for serious reconsideration of the current JSL and educational policies designed to support the growing number of foreign children in Japanese public schools.

3) Florian Meissner, Dortmund Technical University

*Ending the “Safety Myth”: Failures and Future Challenges of Media Reporting in Post-Fukushima Japan.*

In its final report on the Fukushima Dai-ichi Accident, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA, 2015) concluded that the root of this man-made disaster was a widespread belief in Japan that nuclear power was absolutely safe. This belief, popularly called “safety myth,” was not only promoted by politics and big business, but also by the overwhelming majority of the Japanese mass media. As a result of this collusive pro-nuclear conglomerate, there was only little public awareness for the risks of atomic power in disaster-prone Japan. Consequently, when “3.11” occurred, it turned out that safety standards and supervision were insufficient and there was no contingency plan for such a triple disaster (cf. Kan, 2012). Given the recent comeback of nuclear power in Japan under the label of the “world’s strictest safety regulations,” it seems that more than ever a critical public is needed to counter a new safety myth. This presentation evaluates the state of the Japanese mass media in post-Fukushima Japan on the basis of a qualitative, theory-building study involving expert interviews with journalism researchers and japanologists as well as a series of narrative interviews with Japanese journalists who covered the triple disaster. Acknowledging the need of emic research on media reporting in Japan (cf. Hayashi & Kopper, 2014), the study includes culture-related issues like the hybrid character of Japanese journalism between a western and an endogene tradition, the crucial role of personal relationships between journalists and their sources, as well as the hierarchical structure of public communication in Japan.
4) Dorothea Mladenova, Leipzig University

Shūkatsu: Death Management As an Activity of the Enterprising Self

In 2009 the term shūkatsu was coined for the preparations an individual makes for his own death. These preparations, as suggested by the Japanese shūkatsu business, may include organizing your own funeral (from the general choice of a preferred rite to the specific choices of the music played and the portrait on display), preparing your last will and sorting your insurance papers. Critics argue that this kind of death management focuses mainly on the administrative, de-individualized aspects of death and fails to address the psychological and emotional sphere. In this paper I examine shūkatsu as a (self-)management technology employed by the enterprising self in a neoliberal society. Rooted in Foucault-inspired governmentality studies, the subject formation of the enterprising self is one that is willing to optimize itself (its body, health, actions, work, emotions) according to the demands of the market and an economized society. Because the subject has to make a choice from a huge range of alternatives, it can be made responsible for its personal failure, even if the reasons for failure could as well be traced back to the community or the state. This framing makes it possible to view shūkatsu not merely as a singular phenomenon, but as part of a larger societal paradigm.

5) Sookyung Park, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies CANCELLED

A Study on Emotional Labor and Mental Health Measures in Japan

This research aims to consider the relations between emotional labor and mental health in Japan. By focusing on the case of elder care work as emotional labor, this paper tries to understand how emotional labor is conducted and how workers who manage emotional labor come to face emotional difficulties. With the development of a service-based society, emotional labor has become an imperative duty in diverse service sectors that are based on interpersonal relationships. While managing their emotional labor, workers feel job-related emotional difficulties for various reasons, and this leads to an increase in the number of workers who have mental health difficulties. Although many Japanese workers have been experiencing mental health problems, it is not easy for them to get worker’s compensation to acknowledge their mental health problems and provide help. Nonetheless, compared to the past, the number of workers’ compensation claims is sharply increasing; thus, by improving relevant legislation and measures, the Japanese government’s policies are catching up to the actual situation that Japanese workers face and try to swim with the current of the stream. Therefore, this research points out the importance of workers’ mental health issues due to emotional labor and suggests preventive and supportive measures for workers who are experiencing mental health difficulties.
Session 41: Room 314  
**Individual Papers 9: East Asian Early Modern History**  
Chair: Mark E. Caprio, Rikkyo University

1) Astghik Hovhannisyan, Hitotsubashi University  
**Experiments on Humans in Japan: The Forgotten Trachoma Experiment**

In 1943, Dr. Ishihara Shinobu, one of the most celebrated Japanese ophthalmologists, published a monograph called *Etiology of Trachoma and the Relation Between Trachoma and Inclusion Blennorrhea* (torakōma byōgen narabi ni torakōma hōkatsusei ketsumakuen to no kankei). The book, which was a result of years of painstaking research involving dozens of researchers, was an attempt to answer extremely important questions about etiology and pathogenesis of trachoma, an eye infection which can lead to complete blindness. While this research was a major contribution to medicine, it was also problematic, as it involved more than one hundred experiments on human subjects. Some of the subjects were intentionally infected with the disease, observed, and then cured. Although the researchers claimed that all subjects volunteered to participate in the experiment and were completely cured of the disease afterwards, the credibility of this claim remains uncertain. In this paper I will examine the cultural and social history of trachoma in Japan, focusing on the attempts to eradicate it. I will discuss the above-mentioned trachoma experimentation, trying to give several answers about its ethical side and its acceptance in the postwar period.

2) Clarence I-Zhuon Lee, Cornell University  
**The Doctor’s Gaze in a God’s World: The Interrelation of Medicine and Kokugaku in the Writings of Ueda Akinari**

While discussion of more prominent kokugaku scholars such as Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) and Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769) will be included in my presentation, I will focus rather on Ueda Akinari (1734–1803). Known for his literary works *Ugetsu Monogatari* and *Harusame Monogatari*, Akinari is at the same time a medical physician as well as a kokugaku scholar. During the years when he was most productive as a kokugaku scholar, he was also a devoted physician who would travel between cities for his patients. While the bulk of my analysis will be on a series of self-reflective notes (Tandai Shoshin Roku) he wrote towards the end of his life, I will show how, in much of his writings on kokugaku, the phenomenological gaze of the physician is very much implicit in his observations of the world. This presentation focuses on the relation between medicine and kokugaku thought in 18th century Edo society. It shows particularly that there is an intimate interconnectedness...
between the gaze of a physician as well as that of a kokugaku scholar vis-à-vis his surroundings. This connection is centered in the concept of *mono* (objects) as phenomenon that forms the process in which experience is (or should be) understood by an individual. Placing the idea of mono in the background of the generic mixing of literary texts and medical texts, as well as utilizing medical texts, and intellectual writings of kokugaku, I will show how this emphasis on *mono* as phenomenon and symptom guides the understanding of kokugaku theology.

3) Zsofia Ujhazy, International Christian University

*Thoughts in Textiles: A Semiotic Approach to Edo Period Kosode Design*

The attire of any age is a visual statement directly related to its historical, social and cultural environment. It is imbued with elements recording and reflecting the peculiar features of the era. However, what garments communicate to us is a visually complex, multi-layered non-verbal method, using a “sign system” that differs from culture and age. In this manner, the utilization of clothing as a research object calls for the understanding of the language it is using. This paper shows the manner in which visual codes are applied in the symbolism of Edo period (1603–1868) *kosode* (小袖) design, also paying attention to the messages they communicate reflecting the contemporary society and culture. The predecessor of the modern-day kimono, the *kosode* of the Edo period and its decorative culture is especially rich in the application of non-verbal symbolic elements. Due to its simple cut, an emphasis had been placed on the development of dye colors and design motifs that carry messages about both the contemporary urban society and the individual wearer. These garments suggest a highly visual culture where textile design came to be a way of self-expression, and its meaning could be “read” in various layers of seasonal and literary allusions, wordplay and puns.

4) Arnel Joven, University of Asia and the Pacific

*Medical Traditions in Modern Health Practices in Urban Korea and Japan: Comparing Patterns in Contemporary Health-Seeking Behaviour in Seoul and Tokyo*

Modern health practices in East Asia are influenced by historically-rooted medical traditions that continue as distinct medical disciplines: Korean Oriental Medicine and Japanese Kampo Medicine. However, modern Korea and Japan boast of medical modernity with western medical institutions and professions that has dominated the medical marketplace in both countries for more than a century. At the same time, twenty-first century health-related institutions such as sports centres, aesthetic clinics, and organic markets, among others, seem to reinforce the dominance of western-
oriented modern health practices in both Korea and Japan. However, apart from the presence of traditional medical disciplines in East Asia, historically-rooted health seeking behaviour and practices are ever-present, albeit presented in westernised concepts and nuances. What looks like “modern” practices are in fact unconsciously linked to traditional concepts on health, such as balance (yin-yang), food-medicine connection, and activity-health interaction. This paper examines contemporary health-related practices among young urban Koreans and Japanese as essentially linked to patterns of centuries-old medical knowledge. While traditional medicine is very strong in their strongholds in Daegu, Korea and Nara, Japan, it is in fact difficult to prove its presence in urban centres, such as Seoul and Tokyo, especially among the youth. Using tools from medical anthropology, this study looks into contemporary activities and inclinations among college students and young urban professionals in both East Asian capital cities. Then, this research fleshes out often-denied or forgotten traditional concepts that are unconsciously preserved through families, schools, and popular media acting as gatekeepers of medical knowledge.
Session 42: Room 253  
Horizons of Cultural Translation: Traversing the Translationscape in Modern Japan  
Organizer: Wakako Suzuki, University of California, Los Angeles  
Chair: Deguchi Tomoyuki, Tōkai University

This panel introduces a range of new perspectives on translation and translation history in modern Japan, especially in relation to the critical analysis of literature, intellectual history, and political science. Thus far, numerous books and articles in the field of translation studies have discussed how “translation culture” suddenly emerged in the Meiji period with an inundation of translated texts in various genres in a new cultural milieu. However, “translation” itself is often treated as an unproblematic category. This panel presents new work that interrogates the meaning of “translation” in the Meiji context and beyond. By recognizing the complexities of Japanese “translation” and linguistic formations prior to the Meiji Restoration and by paying particular attention to the mutually constitutive transformation of literary and political forms beyond it, we offer a fresh look at “translation culture” in Meiji Japan. To this end, we illuminate translation practices from multiple lenses—such as Japan’s shifting position within the sinographic sphere, the practice of kanbun kundoku, the formation of Japanese vernacular literature, the valorization of neologisms in fields such as art and politics, and the status of “translation” as a literary genre. In thinking about translation practices, both diachronically and synchronically from the perspectives of intellectual history and literature, this panel will present new challenges to the concepts we have often taken for granted. We hope that with our journey across the translationscapes of Meiji literature and politics, the audience will have a unique opportunity to communicate beyond the narrow confines of theory and practice.

1) Miyabi Gotô, Princeton University  
Valorization of “Beauty”: Mechanism of Translation in Meiji Japan

The commonly accepted understanding of inter-lingual translation often presupposes two languages: One to translate from and another to translate into. Instead, I suggest regarding translation as a mechanism of creating and recreating the linguistic value system. Taking a Japanese word bi for example, this paper analyzes how this mechanism of translation operated in Meiji Japan (1868–1912) while being complicit with its nation-building project. The word bi came to be stabilized as a
translation of beauty, beauté, or schoonheid in the middle of the 19th century, and, since the early Meiji period, bi began to circulate widely in intellectual discussions. However, this does not mean that the idea of beauty had not existed in Japan before then. Nor does this imply bi had a clear, identifiable referent in the early Meiji period. The term bi emerged to participate in the social network of linguistic currency and began to represent some kind of value in a manner in which it had not before. What was important for Meiji Japan was to rhetorically pose bi as a goal to achieve so that the country could be qualified as a modern, civilized nation. The inscrutability of the term's referent helped to stretch the limit of what it was capable of containing, thus making it easier for users to utilize it broadly.

2) John Branstetter, University of California, Los Angeles

*What Translation Obscures: The Paradigm of Translation and Nakae Chōmin’s Minyaku yakkai*

Scholars have offered various interpretations of the differences between Rousseau’s original *Du Contrat Social* and the first Japanese translation by Nakae Chōmin in 1882, none of which are very satisfying. Chōmin’s translation is partial, makes use of somewhat unexpected terminology for translating key Rousseauian concepts, and ultimately emphasizes a politics that understands liberty very differently from the way Rousseau does. In many ways, I contend, Chōmin’s *Minyaku yakkai* is as much a critique of Rousseau’s thought as it is a rebuke of the Meiji oligarchy. However, because scholars have continued to treat *Minyaku yakkai* primarily as a translation, the critical edge of the text has been obscured. I argue, on the other hand, that *Minyaku yakkai* can be better understood by abandoning the paradigm of translation altogether and instead interpreting Chōmin’s text as being first and foremost a work of polemic. “Translation” is fundamentally a Eurocentric category, and the assumptions that this category carries with it foreclose a wide range of interpretive possibilities when applied unreflectively. I conclude that Chōmin’s text can be better understood by treating it as a response to the external danger posed by the Western powers as well as an attack on the internal danger that the unreflective assimilation of Western values represented. By contextualizing Chōmin’s text and understanding it not as a translation but as an argument, I present a view of *Minyaku yakkai* that explains the text’s composition and political importance in a new and perhaps more satisfying way.
3) Wakako Suzuki, University of California, Los Angeles

**Becoming an Adventurous Translator: Morita Shiken’s Translation Strategies**

This paper examines the role of Morita Shiken’s translations in the development of Japanese adventure stories in popular literature and in broadening the use of foreign texts from pedagogical material to literary entertainment. Morita Shiken, well known for his meticulous translation (*shūmitsutai*), is considered the king of Meiji translation. Informed by both Chinese studies and English learning, he developed his translation skills in *kanbun kundoku*. Shiken worked for Höchisha and was instrumental in the mass marketing of *Yūbinhōchi shinbun*. In particular, Shiken translated a variety of novels, including works by Jules Verne, Victor Hugo, and Charles Dickens. Shiken’s translation of Jules Verne’s *Deux ans de Vacances* (1888) attracted child readers by constructing an alternative reading pattern for them. Shiken’s translation style is categorized as a literal style and thus represents a faithful translation of the original texts, and it refrained from the free-wheeling use of foreign texts that can be seen in many *hon’an* adaptations in the Meiji period. However, he made some omissions and modifications when he translated popular literature such as Jules Verne’s *Deux ans de Vacances*. In this paper, I explain how the fusion of flexible and rigorous approaches to translation added a new dimension to Shiken’s translation technique by providing an experimental arena for him to develop a new literary expression and modern narrative style without constraint. I argue that his translation style, which is both flexible and meticulous, captured the verisimilitude of foreign adventure stories and paved the way for the evolution of Japanese popular literature.

4) Jordan Smith, Jōsai International University

**Translationscapes: Between Translation Practice and Literary Systems In and Out of Japan(ese)**

The final paper in this panel seeks to develop a theoretical understanding of translation both as a linguistic, philosophical practice and as a system whereby bodies of literature are caused to appear in a given translationscape. Translationscapes designate partial, skewed constellations of texts accessible (visible, audible) in a given language. Translationscapes will always offer different, incomplete portraits of a body of literature; for example, the body of Japanese literature available in English as compared with Thai, the body of Russian or “Western” texts available in Meiji Japan, or the oeuvre of Ōe Kenzaburō read in English or Spanish. At the level of practice, the papers in this panel deal with questions of untranslatables, or concepts that emerge or evolve significantly when translated, or the often necessitate neologism or other linguistic creativity in order to accommodate. At the level of the system, this practice corresponds to the act of text selection and the choices of registers in which to translate—practices governed by ideologies that dictate how an other should be,
should write, should behave. This talk sketches a method of synching dialogues on translation practice and system by extending the previous three talks—concepts of beauty in Heisei Japan, Rousseau’s journey in Japanese thought, and the evolution of shūmitsutai—through the lens of translationscapes.

Discussant: Kōno Shion, Sophia University
Session 43: Room 252

Democracy in Indonesia: Struggles across Time

Organizer/Chair: Shane J. Barter, Soka University of America

The world’s most populous Muslim country, the Republic of Indonesia has had a complex, mixed experience with liberal democracy. The panels of this paper seek to make sense of the potential of democracy on one hand, and countervailing pressures such as corruption, armed resistance, and parochialism on the other. In the first paper, Vishnu Juwono takes an historical look at Indonesia’s first democratic era, highlighting the centrality of anti-corruption measures. Efforts to curb corruption would ultimately be undone, leading to Sukarno’s more authoritarian style and the end of Indonesia’s first democratic experiment. In the second paper, Shane Barter looks at armed conflict in Aceh, a province that was mired in war while the rest of Indonesia was experienced a democratic transition. Barter explores civilian resistance to rebel governance, resistance that played some role in ending the conflict and bringing democracy to the province. Finally, Colm Fox examines the role of ethnic politics in Indonesia, comparing how identity played out under soft authoritarian, transitional, and consolidated elections. Analyzing newspaper articles, Fox shows that ethnic campaigning actually decreased in the transitional era, expanding with the consolidation of democratic elections. All told, these papers chart the fall and then return of Indonesian democracy, pointing to some areas of concern for deepening democracy in this massive country.

1) Vishnu Juwono, University of Indonesia

The End of Parliamentary Democracy and the Demise of Anti-Corruption Measures during the Post-Revolutionary Era, 1956–1967

After the national election in 1955, it became evident that the influence of Vice President Hatta was significantly reduced, since only the Islamic Political party Masyumi managed to secure the second largest number of seats in parliament. Meanwhile, the Solidarity maker group led by President Sukarno secured the majority of parliamentary seats through political parties like the Indonesia Nationalist Party (PNI), the Revival of Religious Scholars (NU) and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). This paper will highlight how the parliamentary government collapsed due to both Sukarno and Nasution’s restlessness regarding what they saw as a corrupt politician and a corrupt political party that made parliamentary democracy dysfunctional and ignored people’s interests. Then, the paper will outline how the partnership between Sukarno and Nasution to establish a new political governance structure was underpinned by the army’s more assertive role in politics, called guided democracy. This paper will then explain how the disunity between Hatta and Nasution resulted in a
disjointed effort towards governance reform and anti-corruption initiatives that were later dismantled by Sukarno, with strong support from the solidarity maker group. This paper will draw upon a range of primary sources including diplomatic correspondents, memos, and reports from the United Kingdom (UK) Foreign Commonwealth Office, the Australia Department of Foreign Affairs, and the Indonesian government.

2) Shane J. Barter, Soka University of America

*Under a Rebel Flag: Social Resistance under Insurgent Rule in Aceh*

The ability of civilians to engage in social resistance is trying in the best of times and is especially challenging in authoritarian settings. One might think that social resistance is nearly impossible in conflict areas. Sidney Tarrow emphasizes two major structural factors that condition the likelihood of sustained social resistance. Writers looking at armed conflicts have prioritizes the first factor, threat, while downplaying the importance of the second factor, political opportunity. Armed conflicts necessarily involve contestation, so while resistance is dangerous, it can also be surprisingly effective because armed groups are competing for hearts and minds. What forms of resistance are possible among civilians in armed conflicts? Based on ethnographic fieldwork, this paper looks at social resistance in Aceh, Indonesia. I examine four forms of civilian resistance against armed groups: engagement, weapons of the weak, defiance, and combined support and resistance. The rebels tolerated resistance in part because they could afford to in their strongholds, but also because they did not want to be seen in the same light as their enemy.

3) Colm Fox, Singapore Management University

*Democracy and Ethnic Campaigning in Indonesia*

What explains ethnic politics during elections? More specifically, why do electoral candidates campaign on ethnic platforms in some times and places, but not in others? One prominent explanation argues that ethnic politics is prevalent in societies with strong ethnic bonds, weak partisanship, and newly competitive elections. As a result, elections in ethnically diverse countries undergoing a democratic transition are particularly prone to ethnic politics. Unfortunately, empirical evidence to support this argument has been mixed. This is partly because no study has attempted to systematically measure ethnic campaigning through a transition. To rectify this, I measure ethnic campaigning through multiple elections in the largest and most ethnically diverse country to recently consolidate its democracy, Indonesia. Data are drawn from a random sample of pre-election campaign-related newspaper articles for the 1997 (authoritarian),
1999 (transitional), and the 2009 and 2014 (consolidated democracy) elections. Each article is then coded for ethnic and non-ethnic aspects of candidates’ campaigns—the events they engaged in, the endorsements they sought, and the verbal appeals they made. The newspaper content-analysis is supplemented with qualitative evidence from a year of fieldwork in Indonesia. Contrary to expectations, the analysis shows a decline in the politicization of religious, indigenous, and regional identities during the 1999 transitional election. Rather, it was a move towards a more candidate-centric electoral system in 2009 that resulted in a considerable increase in the politicization of local religious, indigenous, and regional community-based groups.

**Discussant: Takeshi Ito, Sophia University**
Session 44: Room 204
“Neo-Plural Society” from a Perspective of the International Migration in Southeast Asia and the Arab Gulf States
Organizer: Masaki Matsuo, Utsunomiya University
Chair: Masako Ishii, Rikkyo University

This panel discusses about migrant receiving societies in Asia, mainly in Southeast Asia and the Arab Gulf States (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates), from the new concept of “Neo-Plural Society.” J. S. Furnivall coined the concept “Plural Society” to describe societies in Southeast Asia where different ethnic groups were living separately. This old-fashioned concept has, along with the globalization and the increase of the international labor migration, revived to describe and analyze societies newly created with citizens and migrants. Not like in the Europe and North American countries, migrants in Asia are basically treated not as prospective citizens but as temporary residents. Such treatment of migrants in Asia today well fits to “Plural Society,” although, some renovations are required to apply it to globalized Asian societies. Here “Plural Society” sheds its skin and changes to “Neo-Plural Society.” While migrant receiving countries in Asia try to keep disparities between citizens and migrants and maintain the unity of the nation, migrants themselves have created new hybrid identities and optimized their life course to live in receiving countries as non-citizen residents. Sometimes migrant workers entered into private sphere of receiving countries as domestic workers, most of them are young females in general, and suffered from violence of employers. These victims of international migration arose antipathy within the sending countries toward receiving countries, therefore led to dialogues between the two sides. “Neo-Plural Society” is an arena to describe and analyze how governments both of sending and receiving countries, host societies and migrants deal with disparity between citizens and migrants, therefore, how new types of societies with citizens and migrants emerges.

1) Mizanur Rahman, Universiti Brunei Darussalam

Recruiting Migrant Labour in the GCC States: Interplay Between Institutions and Networks

The Gulf countries in the Middle East are one of the largest regions relying on international labour migrants for economic development. Recruitment constitutes an important part of this migration of labour. This study addresses the complexity and multiplicity of labour recruitment in the Gulf countries through a case study of Bangladeshi labour recruitment. This study examines the labour recruitment to the Gulf, combining networks and institutions to highlight both the operational and economic aspects of migrant recruitment. This paper reveals how migrant networks and
recruitment agencies adapt to the changing practices of recruitment to funnel migrant workers to the GCC countries and make profits out of the migrant workers in the recruitment process.

2) Masaki Matsuo, Utsunomiya University

Ethnocracy in the Arab Gulf States

Based on oil and migrants, the Arab Gulf States have created a unique system of “Ethnocracy” that enables governments of AGS to avoid democratic movements and keep the stability of authoritarian regimes. Based on discussions of A. A. Mazrui and A. N. Longva, the concept of ethnocracy in this paper is developed, through labor market analysis, as an explanatory and analytical framework of political economy to study the resiliency of authoritarian regimes and migrant economy in the AGS. Some scholars have tried to explain the resiliency of the authoritarian regimes of the AGS focusing on the role of Islam, tribal-cum-patriarchic nature of their society. Aside from such traditionalist approach, others have concentrated relatively new circumstances such as globalization. Within such globalization models, the rentier state model, regarding oil profit as the primary element of stability, is the most famous approach. Although, the effects of oil revenue varies and the rentier state model cannot explain how this variety emerges. The ethnocracy model, focusing on economic and social disparity between migrants and citizens, explains how governments allocate oil revenue through labor markets and create stability, therefore how the difference labor market policies creates the variety of degrees of political stability in the AGS.

3) Naomi Hosoda, Kagawa University and Kyoko Matsukawa, Konan University

Identity and Future Prospects among Second-Generation Asian Youth in the Arab Gulf States

This paper investigates the identity formation and future prospects among second-generation Asians in the Arab Gulf States (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates). These oil-rich monarchical states present us an interesting case in the study of global labor migration and state control. According to the World Bank data, foreign population now accounts for 15 million, approximately the half of the total population in the region. However, they are treated only as temporary workers with almost no prospect of acquiring citizenship, regardless of their length of stay and economic contribution to the host society. Despite this “temporariness” and segregation from the host society, some migrant workers—especially middle-class workers—stay in these countries for decades, bringing up their children there. Since these second-generation migrants too are temporary residents of the countries, they always need to think of going elsewhere (including going back to their parents’ countries) for education and future job opportunities. The authors have
conducted ethnographic research on migrant workers from India and the Philippines, two major countries that send workers to the Arab Gulf States. In this paper, we focus on second-generation Indians and Filipinos and examine their senses of citizenship and belonging in conjunction with their views on what educational and career paths they want to pursue.

4) Masako Ishii, Rikkyo University

*Formal and Informal Protection for Filipino Domestic Workers in the Arab Gulf States*

This paper introduces the formal and informal activities that exist to protect domestic workers in the Arab Gulf States, by taking the case of Filipino female domestic workers as an example. First, the paper outlines the main characteristics of Filipina domestic workers in the Arab Gulf State in comparison with those in other main host countries in the Western countries, Hong Kong and Singapore. Second, it examines the official measures that exist for the protection of domestic workers in the Arab Gulf States. They are international agreements and protective measures put in place by both sending and receiving governments. Third, it contrasts this with the informal protection practices of NGOs and the migrant workers themselves. At the same time, it introduces specific examples of domestic workers who actually sought help to examine how their choice of support and protection is made. The final section explores the possibilities and limitations of activities for the protection of domestic workers. By looking into both formal and informal protection measures for domestic workers, the paper aims to examine how the practices of exclusion and inclusion work on the actual situation in the Arab Gulf States where their migration policies are based largely on the rationale of exclusion and control. While the Arab Gulf States all have similar policy measures concerning migrant workers, this paper includes examples taken from countries that this author has visited during research projects, including Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

**Discussant: Akiko Watanabe, Bunkyo University**
Session 45: Room 352

Political Landscapes of the Pure Land: Buddhism and Politics in Wartime Japan

Organizer: Max Ward, Middlebury College

Chair: Robert Tierney, University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign

Historians and religious scholars have recognized the highly politicized roles of Buddhism in modern Japan, and in particular its mobilization in support of the war effort in the 1930s and 1940s. However, Buddhism in the wartime period remains understudied, and has been somewhat limited to exposing the institutional support of state ideology by Buddhist churches. How were Buddhist teachings revised and appropriated for ideological aims, and what were the means of mediation and dissemination of politicized Buddhist discourse? Can we also discover tensions in the ways Buddhism was politicized between official Buddhist churches, lay supporters, activists and state officials? And did the encounter between Buddhism and politics require the sacrifice of Buddhist faith to the imperatives of political utility? This panel seeks to generate a discussion of these types of questions by presenting historical cases of the encounter between Buddhism and politics in wartime Japan. G. Clinton Godart investigates the role of Nichiren Buddhism among several key figures in the Imperial Japanese Navy. John Person analyzes Mitsui Kōshi’s appropriation of Shinran’s teachings for a theory of nationalism and its influence among right-wing thinkers in the 1930s. Kunihiko Terasawa explores how Pure Land Buddhist sects revised the teachings of Shinran to produce War Time Teachings and Doctrines (Senji kyōgaku). Lastly, Max Ward analyzes how Buddhist teachings informed the “ideological conversion” (tenkō) of hundreds of political criminals in the 1930s.

1) G. Clinton Godart, Hokkaidō University

Nichirenist Navalism: Ogasawara Naganari, Nichiren Buddhism, and the Imperial Japanese Navy

While the support of official Buddhist churches for the military, expansionist, and ideological efforts of the Japanese state is now well known, comparatively little is known about the role of religion among the higher echelons of the armed forces in pre-war Japan, perhaps with the exception of the Nichirenist military thinker Ishiwara Kanji. In comparison to the Army, in the post-war period, the Imperial Japanese Navy has enjoyed an image of internationalism and technological progressiveness, and has thus been relatively free of scrutiny into its ideological and religious aspects. This paper examines the role of Nichirenist Buddhist and ideological ideas among key members of the Imperial Japanese Navy, from around the Russo-Japanese War into the 1930’s. The focus is especially on vice admiral Ogasawara Naganari (1867–1958), who was active in the Navy General Staff, was the spokesman and biographer of Tōgō Heihachirō, Imperial Court Councilor, and...
a key mediator in the opposition to the naval armament limitation treaties. As official historian of the Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars, a bestselling author in his own right and nicknamed “Admiral literary genius,” Ogasawara was one of the key figures in shaping the public image of the Imperial Japanese Navy in early twentieth century Japan. Ogasawara was also a Nichiren Buddhist, and through speeches, writings, and use of modern media, combined Nichirenist Buddhist visions with an advocacy of Japan as a naval power. This paper thus explores larger questions concerning the role of Buddhism in shaping dimensions of ideology in interwar Japan.

2) John Person, University at Albany, State University of New York

Faith in the Ethnos: Shinran and Radical Nationalist Thought in Prewar Japan

This paper considers the role that faith and emotion played in the development of nationalist identity harbored by radical rightwing thinkers in prewar Japan. More specifically it will examine the worship of the 12th century founder of Pure Land Buddhism, Shinran, among these nationalists. A cult of Shinran developed among philosophically minded youth in the early 1900s, inspired by the teachings of Pure Land priest Chikazumi Jōkan. Critical of attempts to understand religion through reason, Chikazumi taught that salvation came not from theory or doctrine, but the personal experience of revelation. Among Chikazumi’s students was Mitsui Kōshi who developed his teacher’s teaching into a theory of the personal experience of the ethnos felt through language and passion. Mitsui’s appropriation of Shinran as the basis of a theory of nationalism found a considerable following among radical nationalist scholars and students. Significantly, the notion that the personal experience of ethnic language and emotions stood at the core of authentic nationalism served as a foundation from which government deployment of nationalist rhetoric could be criticized. As Mitsui saw it, his call for Japanese subjects to personally convert to a faith in a nation to which they already belonged stood in stark contrast to what he perceived as a technocratic, inauthentic approach to national mobilization enacted by the state. The case of Mitsui reveals the crucial fissures that marred the state’s attempts to harness and deploy the rhetorical power of nationalism as it encountered impassioned testimonies of the personal experiences of the ethnic.
3) Kunihiko Terasawa, Wartburg College

*True Pure Land Buddhism and War Time Teachings and Doctrines (Senji-kyōgaku)*

During the Fifteen Year War (1931–1945), the True Pure Land Buddhism (Jōdo Shinshū) sects actively responded to the Japanese state’s mobilization efforts. For example, the Shinshū-honganji-ha established The Center for Research of Japanese Teachings and Doctrines (Nihon Kyōgaku Kenkyūsho) in 1941, and eventually created The Leading Headquarters for the Wartime Teachings and Doctrines (Senji-Kyōgaku Shidō Honbu) in 1944. With these efforts, Jōdo Shinshū radically changed its individualistic personal faith in favor of social activism, and willingly supported the state’s war efforts with its own Pure Land teachings. In this paper, I will discuss how Jōdo Shinshū sects reinterpreted the “new two hold truths” (shinzokunitai), whereby the conventional truth (zokutai), associated with the emperor and kokutai, was elevated above the ultimate truth (shintai), though traditionally the ultimate truth (shintai) is higher than the conventional truth (zokutai). Furthermore, I will explore how Jōdo Shinshū sects voluntary eliminated a passage of Shinran’s holy text in regard to Jingi Fuhai (non-worshiping of the emperor and kami) without being forced to by the government, thus causing a huge controversy within their sect. Finally, I will discuss how Akegarasu Haya, an influential popular preacher of Shinshū-Otani-ha and student of Kiyozawa Manshi, became a fervent evangelist for war mobilization.

4) Max Ward, Middlebury College

*The Politics of Spiritual De-Politicization: Buddhism and the Rehabilitation of Political Criminals in 1930s Japan*

Over its twenty-year history, the Peace Preservation Law (1925–1945) was used to arrest thousands of political radicals throughout the Japanese empire for purportedly intending to alter Japan’s imperial national polity, or kokutai. State officials saw such intentions as resulting from the infiltration of dangerous foreign ideas such as communism into the Japanese Empire. Consequently they deemed political radicalism “thought crime” (shisōhan). Although the law was initially used to suppress thought crime, by the mid-1930s it had developed into an apparatus to reform and “ideologically convert” (tenkō) thought criminals into loyal and productive imperial subjects. In this effort, Buddhist prison chaplains assisted incarcerated political criminals with discarding their dangerous thought, thus infusing “ideological conversion” with tropes of Buddhist salvation and spiritual self-negation. In this paper I explore the use of Buddhism in the Justice Ministry’s efforts to reform political criminals in interwar Japan. I will focus on the writings of Kobayashi Morito and other ex-communists who narrated their “ideological conversion” as a process of self-negation and
Buddhist salvation, which culminated in their re-identification with the imperial *kokutai*. While many of these converts continued to work for social welfare and reform into the late-1930s, they did so, they explained, not from political conviction but as selfless acts for others.

**Discussant: Robert Tierney, University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign**
Session 46: Room 351
Religion, the Sciences, and the Mystical: Ideas and Networks in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Asia and Europe
Organizer: Soumen Mukherjee, Presidency University
Chair: Yoshiko Okamoto, International Christian University

This panel is premised on a basic commitment to an intellectual project: to go beyond theories of hermetically sealed binaries of the religious/ secular (or profane), or for that matter the religious/the scientific. Rather, it encourages the panelists to focus on a triadic epistemological entanglement involving the religious, the scientific and the mystical and/or the spiritual. The panel will bring together scholars from a range of disciplines (History, especially intellectual and religious History, Literature, and Philosophy), and from Germany, India, and Japan exploring, as well as encouraging discussions, on the above themes against the larger backdrop of global flows of concepts, ideas, and people in nineteenth and twentieth century Asia and Europe. Within this larger rubric, the panellists will engage with a wide array of issues: western engagement with neo-Vedanta and yogic mysticism, and critique of the Freudian framework (Ayon Maharaj); the development of the psy-disciplines in modern India and the interface with scientific and philosophical traditions in Europe, India, and Japan (Soumen Mukherjee); the Jungian challenge to Cartesian rationalism and the relevance of Asian traditions of mysticism, supernatural and spirituality (Claudia Richter); and, discourses of Islamic reform vis-à-vis Sufi mysticism (Sajjad Rizvi). Together, drawing upon specific case studies, the papers will challenge existing conceptual boundaries and categories, and interrogate the nature of intellectual networks along both Europe/India and inter-Asian lines.

1) Ayon Maharaj, Ramakrishna Mission Vivekananda University
The Challenge of the Oceanic Feeling: Romain Rolland’s Mystical Critique of Psychoanalysis and His Call for a “New Science of the Mind”

In a letter written in 1927, the French writer Romain Rolland asked Sigmund Freud to analyze the “oceanic feeling,” a religious feeling of oneness with the entire universe. According to David Fisher and William Parsons, Rolland was encouraging Freud to provide a non-reductive psychoanalytic explanation of the oceanic feeling. I will argue, however, that Rolland’s intentions in introducing the oceanic feeling to Freud were much more complex, multifaceted, and critical than most scholars have acknowledged. To this end, I will examine Rolland’s views on mysticism and psychoanalysis in his book-length biographies of the Indian saints, Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda, which he wrote just after he mentioned the oceanic feeling to Freud in 1927. In these
biographies, Rolland not only polemizes against psychoanalytic approaches to mystical experience but also encourages psychoanalysts to correct and deepen their superficial conception of the mind by taking seriously the mystical experiences of both Eastern and Western saints. With this background in place, I will argue that Rolland’s intentions in introducing the oceanic feeling to Freud in his 1927 letter were irreducibly complex. While Rolland’s manifest intention was, indeed, to encourage Freud to analyze the oceanic feeling from a psychoanalytic perspective, Rolland’s latent intention—less evident in his letters to Freud than in his biographies of Sri Ramakrishna and Vivekananda—was to challenge the fundamental assumptions of psychoanalysis from a mystical perspective and to confront Freud with a mystical “science of the mind” that he felt was more rigorous and comprehensive than Freud’s psychoanalytic science.

2) Soumen Mukherjee, Presidency University

_Conscious Souls: Philosophy, Spirituality, and the Psy-Disciplines in Modern India_

Scholars exploring the history of the psy-disciplines, and especially psychoanalysis, have noted its distinctive cultural variations across the globe. In countries such as India and Japan such processes were contingent on meticulous cultural adaptations, indeed domestication, since the early twentieth century. This paper draws upon this conceptual oeuvre. It argues that much of the history of the psy-disciplines in India becomes intelligible not necessarily through the lens of colonial medicine/clinical psychiatry dyad, as existing scholarship preponderantly tend to suggest. Also, unlike scholars who often see this history independent of other intellectual forces, this paper underscores the relevance of western traditions contra the Freudian framework. This paper draws upon the intellectual career of two key Indian protagonists of the evolving “sciences of mind”. Both of them also made significant forays into philosophy focusing in particular on the idea of “consciousness”, while one of them explicitly engaged with the Jungian paradigm. The notion of consciousness also emerged as a key conceptual problem in the burgeoning intellectual project of an “Indian philosophy” even as such endeavors also went on to engage with similar exercises in other Asian cultures, e.g. D.T. Suzuki’s Zen Buddhism. This paper problematizes the idea of consciousness with reference to not only the yogic and kindred Buddhist traditions, but also to its location in the evolving “sciences of mind”. Such engagements, at one level, came from different disciplinary backgrounds and, at another level, from thinkers who were polymaths (re)drawing disciplinary boundaries. This paper seeks to understand this complex process.
3) Claudia Richter, Leipzig University

**Carl Jung and the Struggle Against Cartesian Rationalism: Seeking Support from Asia**

My paper deals with Carl Jung’s interest in Asian philosophical and spiritual traditions in the context of his struggle with the Cartesian worldview. I will focus on two aspects specifically: 1) The perpetuation of German Romantic concerns in Jung and 2) Jung’s reflections on his journey to India and the nature of his engagement with Eastern “wisdom”. The rationalistic Cartesian worldview, which came to dominate the natural sciences in “the West” after the 19th century, was met with resistance within “the West”. Among its most pronounced enemies was German Romanticism. After all, Enlightenment rationalism involved discarding everything that had been dear to German mystics and thinkers before and after the Enlightenment: the immaterial nature of the soul, the sanctity of nature, the interconnectedness of every aspect of existence and, to a lesser degree, life after death and the supernatural. These currents of thought paved the way for Western psychoanalysis and resurface in Jung. I argue that scholars like Jung turned to the East to find support for their rebellion against Cartesian rationalism because they met with so much hostility in their own ranks. Jung’s reflections on his journey to India are especially interesting: they illustrate a heightened self-awareness on the part of a Western scientist as to what he was actually doing and seeking in the East. My focus on Jung’s conclusions on his journey will allow me to take a fresh look at the relationship between Western science and Eastern spiritual traditions beyond the claims of Said’s “Orientalism”.

4) Sajjad Alam Rizvi, Presidency University

**Music, Emotions, and Reform in South Asian Islam: Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries**

This paper explores the “reformist discourse” on “Islamic mysticism (Sufism) and music” in South Asia during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and asks to reconsider sweeping generalizations. Reform in the Islamicate world has been studied conventionally from the perspective of compliance with or deviation from the shariah. This narrative holds that ecstasy is the result of intoxication that transgresses the boundaries of doctrinal Islam which privileges sobriety. However, this paper argues that shariah was subject to various and/or contested interpretations. The paper discusses how emotion knowledge, with the circulation of ideas and concepts and the movement of individuals across the Indo-Persian and Arabic regions, was appropriated by Muslim scholars to privilege or discourage certain emotional practices and styles. The various ways of conceptualizing emotions influenced attitudes towards mystical musical practices as Sufi scholars, in this period, were drawing upon various disciplines - theology, philosophy, medical knowledge and Sufi psychology.
Thus, they have attributed different emotions to different “subtle centres” such as heart, spirit, soul and intellect in their expositions of the mystical concepts of the “subtle body” and the disposition. While dealing with the theme of Sufi music, these scholars have discussed emotions such as “joy and grief” as well as “transitory /fleeting emotional experience”, “stable / established emotional state”, ecstasy, intoxication and sobriety. The paper argues that the reformist discourse in South Asian Islam was informed by emotion knowledge and as a result the reformist scholars privileged different attitudes to mystical practices and emotional styles.

Discussant: Yoshiko Okamoto, International Christian University
Pray and Play: Pilgrimage and Tourism around West Lake in Medieval to Early Modern China

In medieval China, the mountains that embraced West Lake, a scenic site next to the capital city of Hangzhou, started to be dotted with numerous temples. The popularization of religious sites continued through the late imperial China, due to the economic development and the growth of lay believers. Temple visits were subsequently built into the annual calendar of Hangzhou residents. Pilgrims from all over the country and also Japan came regularly and usually stayed around for a considerable length of time. With the development of both religious and leisure trips, it was difficult to differentiate the two. Most of the trips recorded had elements of both. This research investigates the emerging phenomenon of religious sites as they were incorporated into the tourist discourses. Analyzing travel writings, landscape paintings and temple gazetteers, I explore the interaction between tourism and pilgrimage from two aspects: how the appreciation of scenic beauty and religious pursuit redefined each other, and how temples responded to these developments with new agendas including tea making, souvenirs, and accommodations. It argues that the interdependence between pilgrimage and tourism localized tourists' attachment to nature and provided temples with new strategies to attract visitors. In this process, West Lake functioned as a “middle landscape” that mingled religious and urban space. By traveling around the lake, urban residents acquired transcendent experiences while monks sought to communicate with lay patrons. This research contributes to the discussion on the popularization of religion from perspectives of tourism and place studies.

Pacifying the Silk Roads: A Study of the Dou Family and Their Governance in Hexi in Early Eastern Han

According to the “Account of the Western regions” in the History of Later Han the connection between the Western regions “China” was disrupted for 65 years (9 – 73), from Wang Mang’s emperorship, until 73, when Emperor Ming of Eastern Han sent a expedition to the Western regions. However, in other chapters of the History of Later Han, as well as on Dongguan Hanji, it is stated how in 30 Dou Rong (竇融, 16 BC – 62), an Eastern Han general based in Hexi (河西), appointed a Grand Protector of the Western regions. How can these two, apparently contradictory statements, be
reconciled? Such reconciliation requires an investigation of the concrete mechanisms of the Dou family’s power as they managed the affairs of the Western regions from their base in Hexi, the gateway to the Western regions. The Dou family in the Western regions is based on the local network the family was able to construct a local network after 23, when Dou Rong was appointed as Commander of the Zhangye dependent state in Hexi by the Gengshi government. The Eastern Han government allowed Dou Rong to nominate most of the governors in Hexi for about a half-century, indicating the family’s irreplaceable function in moderating Western regions affairs. Through its investigation of the Dou family, the paper will explore what it meant to control a peripheral area in a period of dynastic transition. It will draw upon received texts as well as archaeologically discovered texts, sites and artifacts.

3) Ying Huang, Nagoya University

*Femininity in Feng Zikai’s and Lin Wenyue’s Translations of The Tale of Genji*

As one of the Japanese literary classics, *The Tale of Genji* has been translated into many other languages, including Chinese. Amongst various Chinese translations, there are two representatives, one by Feng Zikai (丰子恺), a male painter and translator from Mainland China, and the other by Lin Wenyue (林文月), a female scholar and translator from Taiwan. Feng’s book was finished in the 1960s and published in 1980, while Lin published hers in 1982. However, due to the separation between the two regions at that time, the two translations are done without any influence from each other. They differ in their language styles and therefore affect the way through which the characters are depicted. This research will focus on the two translations’ texts that depict the same female figures, investigating how femininity is represented differently through the choices of words. This research finds that in Feng’s translation, femininity is localized, reflecting the aesthetics and virtues of ancient China. His characters appear to be more feminized and more mature. On the other hand, however, in Lin’s translation, femininity embodies the features of the Japanese aesthetic, *kawaii*, which prefers someone younger, more delicate and more innocent. Such differences might be resulted from the political and historical issues of the mainland and Taiwan, such as the reconstruction of femininity under the Mao regime and Taiwan’s colonial history under Japan’s rule.
4) Scott Mehl, Bard College

Sources of Modern Japanese Poetry: Fukuzawa Yukichi

When scholars evaluate Fukuzawa Yukichi’s place in modern Japanese thought, they typically overlook his seminal contribution to modern Japanese poetry, the long geography textbook Sekai kunizukushi (All the Countries of the World). Part of the reason for this omission is that scholars disagree over the genre of Sekai kunizukushi: although the text is written in a 7-5 meter and therefore “sounds” like poetry, it has no line breaks and so has the appearance of prose; moreover, it is a geography textbook for schoolchildren and relatively unlettered adult readers, and therefore has a purpose and a subject matter that are not normally associated with poetry. Whatever the genre of Fukuzawa’s long text, this paper shows that the influence of Sekai kunizukushi explains several phenomena in the early years of Meiji-era Japanese poetry. The impact of Sekai kunizukushi on school songs and on other poems about geographical topics is only to be expected. What is more surprising, Fukuzawa’s geography textbook is a significant intertext for 1882’s Shintaishi shō (Selection of New-Style Poetry), the translation anthology which is commonly taken to be the starting point of modern Japanese poetry. Through an analysis of the diction and themes of the Shintaishi shō, this paper argues that Fukuzawa’s geography textbook is a major source text for modern Japanese poetry.

5) Gouranga Charan Pradhan, International Research Center for Japanese Studies

Sensory Narratives as Expression of Spirituality: A Case Study of Hōjōki

Written in the early Kamakura period, Hōjōki (方丈記, 1212), a very short work, maintained its popularity throughout the history of Japanese literature. Over the last century, many scholars have proposed multitude of interpretations concerning the religious thoughts of its author, Kamo no Chōmei, without reaching a definitive conclusion. Notwithstanding its visible Buddhist rubrics, scholars have identified the work in different ways, from being as an autobiographical memoir to a Buddhist literary text and occasionally pointing out its Taoist elements. Likewise, Chōmei has been variously marked as a mere aesthete, a devoted Buddhist and at times a Taoist recluse. This paper is another attempt in same direction, but adopts a new approach to ascertain the nature of the religiosity of Chōmei. While keeping prior studies in mind, my attempt in this paper would be to explore the narratives portraying sensory experiences in Hōjōki, in consideration to the socio-religious milieu of medieval Japan. References will also be made to some Buddhist texts of the period that deals with sensory experiences and their corresponding spiritual interpretations. Through close readings, I wish to prove that the depictions concerning bodily sensual experiences in this work is in line with the
Buddhist conception of six internal sense bases that reflect the author’s spiritual volition as a devout Buddhist.