SATURDAY, JUNE 29

SATURDAY MORNING SESSIONS: 1000 A.M. – 12:00 P.M.

Session 1: Room 21
Modern Art History of East Asia in the Digital Age: Collaborations beyond National Borders
Organizer: Magdalena Kolodziej, Duke University
Chair: Stephanie Su, Assistant Professor

This panel examines how digitalization projects and increased access to journals and newspapers in China, Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan in the recent years have transformed research on modern art in the region. In the first half of the twentieth century, many artists traveled and resettled within East Asia. Thus, journals and newspapers across multiple countries and in two (or more) languages constitute a crucial source to map out their activities and publicity. As art historians researching this period, we gather along the way the knowledge of relevant printed sources, libraries, and databases. However, this knowledge is often fragmentary and limited to a particular country and/or language. As digitalization improves our access to printed sources and online translation tools help cross language barriers, we need to inquire further into how we can exchange our expertise with our colleagues working on other countries and/or in other languages. To invite discussion and reflection on this topic, this panel brings together a group of junior art historians conducting transnational research on painting and crafts in modern East Asia. By discussing specific study cases, this panel reconfigures how we think about modern artistic geographies and scholarly collaboration.

1) Magdalena Kolodziej, Duke University
Emerging Artists in Tokyo's Art World of the 1930s: Yi Insŏng and Chen Jin

Texts of Korean and Taiwanese authors written in the Japanese language during the colonial period have received considerable scholarly attention in the recent decades. In comparison, Japanese-language writings of Korean and Taiwanese artists are virtually unknown among art historians of modern Japan. By discussing the archival research in Japanese-language newspapers and journals on painters Yi Insŏng (1912–1950) from Korea and Chen Jin (1907–1998) from Taiwan, this paper draws attention to the potential of these previously overlooked printed sources to transform our understanding of Japan's pre-war art world. I argue that these texts and the artists' Japanese language publicity reveal Korean and Taiwanese artists as peers to their Japanese colleagues and active participants in the metropolitan art world. In addition, this paper surveys strategies for researching Japanese-language journals and newspapers relevant for scholars of Korean and Taiwanese art, including specific databases, digitalization projects, and libraries. By doing so, it aims to encourage collaboration among art historians of modern East Asian art and point to new directions of inquiry.

2) Junia Roh, Seoul National University
New Perspectives on Japanese Modern Art Collections in Korea

Japanese modern art was on permanent display in colonial Seoul between the 1933 and 1945, years before the first modern art museum was established in Japan. In 1938, the Japanese modern art exhibition became part of the Yi Royal Family Fine Arts Museum. After 1945, Japanese art from this collection was transferred to the National Museum of Korea and publicly displayed only in the early 2000s. This unusual and rarely displayed collection is highly valued among art historians of Japanese art. However, except for the collection's catalogue published in 2014, little research exists on its pre-war history. By reviewing and comparing articles related to the Yi Royal Family Fine Arts Museum in Japanese and Korean language newspapers, this paper sheds new light on the formation of the collections of Japanese modern art in Korea. Moreover, I suggest that digitization of pre-war newspapers and journals in Korea allows for more transnational research projects. To illuminate this point, I survey databases used by art historians in Korea since the 2000s, discuss the impact of digitization on their scholarship, and address the issue of translation.

3) Eka Suzuki, University of Tokyo
Modern Art in Japan and Taiwan of the 1920s: Reading Chen Zhi-Qi's Art Archives

This paper focuses on art archives of the Taiwanese oil painter Chen Zhi-Qi (1906–1931) to explore activities of and interrelationships among young Taiwanese artists in the late 1920s. Chen's private documents such as newspaper clippings, letters, and postcards—mainly written in Japanese—were recently added to the Institute of Taiwan History's online database at Academia Sinica and made publicly accessible. Chen received Japanese-language education during the Japanese rule of Taiwan and went to Tokyo to study modern art. Selected for the Imperial Art Exhibition in Tokyo, Chen became one of the leading figures among the new generation of Taiwanese artists. He frequently went back and forth between Taipei and Tokyo, organized art groups, and established a private art school with his artist friends. Their activities can be traced in newspapers and other publications available in digital databases since the 2000s. Recent access to related primary documents has allowed art historians to further nuance their understanding of this time period. Preserving modern artists' private collections kept in their families for two or three generations is a crucial issue for Taiwan and its scholars. Governmental support is needed to collect and maintain these art materials as part of historical archives. Also, I suggest that international collaboration among art historians with a good knowledge of Japanese, Chinese, and Taiwanese languages is necessary for Taiwanese art history's future.

4) Stephanie Su, University of Colorado, Boulder
Writing about Japan: Japanese Artists in the Modern Chinese Art World

This paper explores how Japanese artists were viewed and discussed in local Chinese newspapers and art journals through a case study of Nakamura Fusetsu (1866–1943). Fusetsu was a prominent Japanese artist, well known to many Chinese artists in the early 20th century due to his Chinese subject painting at the national art exhibitions in Tokyo and his writings on Chinese art and calligraphy. His realistic style and subject matter, however, were seen at odds with the modernist and national art trends in Japan. Eventually he was almost forgotten in the histories of both Japanese and Chinese art. As recent scholarship moving beyond nationalism, figures like Nakamura Fusetsu became important for us to understand the reciprocal cross-cultural interactions, challenging the past assumption that Japan influenced China, who passively learned from its neighbor. This paper investigates how Fusetsu was represented in Chinese newspapers, including how the Chinese art world responded, discussed and interacted with Japanese artists. The goals of this paper are twofold. First, it

offers an alternative perspective to modern Japanese art history through the lens of inter-regional histories. Second, it introduces major digital databases and resources in Chinese language that made cross-cultural research possible and encourages future collaboration among scholars and institutions for creating new dialogues and directions in the field.

Discussant: Emiko Yamanashi, Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties

Session 2: Room 22
Listening in Good Faith: Ethnography of Contemporary Japanese Religions
Organizer/Chair: Dana Mirsalis, Harvard University

The importance of ethnography in understanding contemporary religious movements cannot be understated. While historical surveys provide important context and critical analyses of religious texts allow us insight into key beliefs and ideologies, religions are ultimately dynamic, messy confluences of differing networks, interpretations, and engagements. Utilizing ethnography allows us to move beyond official institutional narratives, which are often constructed by those in power and present believers as a monolith. Ethnography reveals the varied, sometimes dissonant voices of believers to present the diversity of religious experience and engagement. This panel illustrates how believers engage with, critique, co-opt, reinterpret, and at times reject institutional rhetoric and official narratives. Timothy Smith discusses how young ministers in Tenrikyō challenge institutional views of charity by establishing new social welfare programs. Naohito Miura explores how Angolan members of Sekai Kyūsei-kyō localize religious concepts through conversion narratives. Adam Lyons considers how prison chaplains struggle with personal ethics that may run contrary to the norms of the penal system. Dana Mirsalis analyzes how female Shinto priests utilize the gender essentialist rhetoric that marginalizes them to argue for their own value. This panel amplifies voices that may be left out of institutional narratives to present a fuller understanding of the lived experiences of practitioners.

1) Timothy Smith, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Service with a SMILE: Child-Focused Volunteerism in Contemporary Tenrikyō

From trained disaster response volunteers to extensive involvement in Japan's foster care system, there is a long history of charitable work and social engagement within Tenrikyō. However, reactions to this kind of religious volunteerism have been mixed, as widespread disinterest and distrust towards religious organizations permeate Japanese society. In this paper, I will discuss how, as a younger generation of Tenrikyō leaders assume positions of authority within the institution, they have initiated a number of new social welfare programs. At the Kōjimachi church in Tokyo, the young head minister joined a national child welfare movement known as Kodomo Shokudō, or "Children's Cafeteria." This program provides free or inexpensive meals to children, as well as safe environments for children and their families to participate in a variety of activities. At Kōjimachi, this has been immensely successful, inspiring other Tenrikyō churches to pursue similar activities. However, it has also raised a number of concerns externally and internally, including worries about the intrusion of religious proselytization into this otherwise secular volunteer program. Utilizing data from ten months of fieldwork conducted at Kōjimachi, I will discuss their "SMILE" kodomo shokudō program, and how a younger generation of Tenrikyō leaders address issues

of self-representation, social anxieties regarding the "New Religions," and shifting concerns and doctrinal interpretations within Tenrikyō today.

2) Naohito Miura, Harvard University
Testimonies in Igreja Messiânica Mundial de Angola: Conversion Narratives in a Japanese New Religious Movement in Africa

This paper examines the practice of testimonies within Igreja Messiânica Mundial de Angola, the Angolan branch of the Japanese new religious movement Sekai Kyūsei-kyō. Founded in 1935 in Japan by Mokichi Okada (1882–1955), Sekai Kyūsei-kyō now claims over one million adherents worldwide, with 80,000 of those in Africa. Based on data gathered during ten months of participant-observation in Angola, this paper analyzes the content, structure, and public performance of testimonies, exploring the ways in which the practice enables participants to make abstract religious ideas relevant to their lives. Three important aspects of the practice are highlighted: 1) how testimonies are structured, 2) how they are performed in public, and 3) how they coexist among other individual narratives that together weave into a collective narrative. Testimonies help instantiate and localize various religious concepts that would otherwise remain abstract or foreign, providing a key mechanism through which new and old members of this religious community reconstruct their life stories and share their experiences with one another. I argue that the public sharing of conversion narratives represents a particular kind of storytelling, which helps participants of a religious movement originating from a foreign place (i.e. a Japanese religion in Africa) negotiate differences in language and culture over time.

3) Adam Lyons, Kyoto Consortium for Japanese Studies
The Last Heart-to-Heart: Death Row Chaplaincy in Japan

There are 1,848 prison chaplains in Japan, and several dozen serve 112 death row inmates in the seven penal institutions with execution chambers. Based on archival research and interviews with prison chaplains, this paper argues that chaplains working on death row face dilemmas arising from conflicting responsibilities to client, sect, and state. This paper contrasts the official doctrines of the prison chaplaincy with the private stories of individual chaplains to show that the role for religion in prisons is shaped around a contradiction. Officially, prison chaplains may only engage with problems of the heart (*kokoro no mondai*). In practice, this means that chaplains are expected to attend to private troubles while avoiding commenting on public issues or criticizing any aspect of the correctional system, including the death penalty. Until recently, almost no chaplains have taken such criticisms public, and scholarship has largely dismissed the chaplaincy as willing agents of the state. This paper rejects such an assessment by uncovering the death row chaplain's dilemma. If chaplains publicly oppose the death penalty, they lose access to the prison and effectively abandon the clients they feel morally obligated to help. The closer a chaplain gets to his clients, the less likely he is to support the death penalty—and the harder it becomes to express that opinion publicly. This paper explores how death row chaplains reckon with this impossible situation.

4) Dana Mirsalis, Harvard University
"Leveraging Our Special Skills": Strategic Gender Essentialism in Female Priests' Self-Evaluation

At the end of 2017, 15.7% of the priests affiliated with Jinja Honcho (the Association of Shinto Shrines; hereafter, JH) were women. The Shinto priesthood relies upon female

labor—demographic shifts have given rise to the "successor problem" for many shrines, and the number of male priests peaked in 2000 and has been steadily declining since while the number of female priests continues to increase. However, JH continues to problematize women's place within the priesthood. While the role of Shinto priest is theoretically gender-neutral, JH argues that women, being essentially different from men, should not fill the same roles, which necessitates the formulation of an "appropriate" way of being a female priest. In this paper, I discuss how female priests themselves conceptualize their position within the priesthood. Using interview and fieldwork data, I argue that rather than fighting for a gender-neutral priesthood, female priests use strategic gender essentialism to argue for their own value to the priesthood, mirroring much of JH's negative rhetoric. JH imagines two separate roles within the priesthood—(male) priests and female priests—with the latter a subpar substitute only being included due to scarcity of the former. Female priests, on the other hand, similarly imagine two separate gendered roles, and use their complementarity to argue that Shinto cannot progress without both male and female priests serving in shrines.

Discussant: Murakami Tatsuo, Sophia University

Session 3: Room 23
Intersectionality and Beyond: The Politics of the Gendered Body in Imperial Japan
Organizer/Chair: Wakako Suzuki, Bard College

This panel examines the politics of the gendered body within the various social apparatuses of imperial Japan, illuminating their complex interactions with other social factors such as race, ethnicity, class, and sexuality. Hayata explores Japanese housing reforms of Ainu villages during the 1920s and 1930s, tracing the transformation of gender relations with the domestic practices of women. Suzuki examines the motherhood protection debate (1918—1919) with a focus on Yamakawa Kikue's socialist critique of bourgeois feminism. Lee focuses on Katō Shizues's eugenic feminism to show how the idea of eugenics and feminism became incorporated in a utopian vision of modernity. Mendoza takes up Sara Ahmed's argument that the demand for disavowal to universalism is "melancholic" so as to examine the figure of the imperial masculine subject in Ōshima Nagisa's *Ai no korīda*. Through historical, cultural, film, and literary analyses, these works collectively show how bodies have acted as sites of social struggles throughout modern Japanese history, embodying an assemblage of categorical relations that have both reinforced and challenged established gendered identities. In revealing heterogeneous networks of discourses, institutions, and laws that structure modern society, the concept of "intersectionality" can be a critical methodological tool to interrogate how different systems of oppression over-determine individual experiences. Their overlapping and cumulative effects on people's everyday experiences underline the limits and contradictions of each individual category (i.e. race, ethnicity, class and gender), opening a new dialogue between intersectionality and imperial experiences in twentieth-century Japan.

1) Michael Hayata, University of Wisconsin, Madison
To Become Modern: The Intersectionality of Ainu Cultural Production, Domesticity, and Gender in Interwar Japan.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the Ainu domestic space became a critical site of intervention amongst Japanese officials, medical professionals, and Ainu local leaders to

reshape the everyday lives of the Ainu people in Hokkaido. In interrogating the housing reform movements of the Ainu communities at Asahikawa and Biratori during the 1920s and 1930s, this presentation argues that while the material transformation of Ainu homes into Japanese ones was primarily portrayed as a medical effort to improve hygiene, it also intersected with previous debates over the nature of Ainu domestic relations and had a profound impact on the gendered forms of cultural production that took place there. Whereas such household practices as weaving, tattooing, and oral storytelling marked the entrance of Ainu women into a collective temporality that united her with her matrilineal lineage, modern ideas of a homogenous body that was autonomous from its social environment deconstructed such a community and inserted her into the empty passage of linear progressive time, representing displacement as an advancement into modern society. By situating Ainu cultural production within its historical context, this presentation concludes by seeking to highlight the politics of Ainu women's handicrafts beyond their reconstituted primitive form, understanding their revival during the 1930s as an attempt to create new subjectivities that reflected the possibility of a post-colonial future.

2) Wakako Suzuki, Bard College
The Critique of Bourgeois Feminism: Debating the Motherhood, 1918–1919

Under the wave of democracy during the Taishō period, a group of women writers participated in debates over the protection of motherhood, called *bosei hogo ronsō* (1918–1919). Inspired by the translation of Ellen Key's essays, among them *The Century of the Child* (1909) and *Love and Marriage* (1911), each group discussed how mothers should reconcile their roles with their personal desires for gender equality and economic independence. This debate was initiated by the magazine *Fujin kōron* (Women's public debate), and was divided into several groups led by Hiratsuka Raichō (1886–1971), Yosano Akiko (1878–1942), Yamada Waka (1879–1957), and Yamakawa Kikue (1890–1980). This paper calls attention to Yamakawa's socialist critique of bourgeois feminism in early-twenty century Japan. Yamakawa argues how feminist debates often presupposes a gender-based politics in an uncritical way by failing to discuss "the people" as something more organic and living in a particular time and space. Apparently, for Yamakawa, the motherhood debates focus only a small portion of women within the privileged class that appears to be progressive but contains a reactionary nature, which is nothing more than an expression of superficial feminism and advocates of capitalism. This paper uses Yamakawa's claim as an analytical tool in locating the momentary rupture of the predictable linearity of motherhood discourses. In doing so, I investigate how feminist debates, though they often collided with each other, could have functioned as a force against modernization discourses.

3) Sujin Lee, University of Victoria
The Future of Motherhood: Ishimoto Shizue's Eugenic Feminism

My presentation traces the career of Ishimoto Shizue (1897–2001, later Katō Shizue) as a feminist pioneer of the birth control movement in Prewar Japan and discusses the troubling intersection of eugenics, feminism, and nationalism embedded in the trajectory of her feminist activism. Ishimoto established the first birth control organization in Japan, the Japan Birth Control Research Group (*Nihon Sanji Chōsetsu Kenkyūkai*) in May 1922 and devoted her life to the promotion of birth control campaigns. Although her involvement with the birth control movement shifted from being an ideologue to a pragmatist when she operated a birth-control clinic in Tokyo in the 1930s, her support of birth control remained consistently rooted in Neo-Malthusianism, eugenics, and feminism. For Ishimoto, birth control and eugenics

were the new tactics and discursive instruments of feminism by which the improvement of women's political status joined forces with the cause of race betterment. I apply Asha Nadkarni's (2014) concept of "eugenic feminism," used to illuminate the historical link between feminism, eugenics, and nationalism in twentieth century India and the United States, to Ishimoto's advocacy for birth control. My presentation casts a critical eye on the idealized form of motherhood, particularly eugenic-minded mothers by which Ishimoto reduced women to their reproductive roles and redefine motherhood as a prerequisite for women's autonomy.

4) Andrea Mendoza, Cornell University
Melancholic Masculinities: Chauvinistic Universalism and the Fatality of Imperial Nationalism, Japan 1936–1976

This paper suggests that we can critique imperial nationalism in interwar and wartime Japan through an intersectional feminist lens. We usually think about Japanese imperial nationalism as embedded in the hypocritical notion of a multiethnic/multiracial Pan-Asian co-prosperity sphere—a notion that heavily involved theorizing imperial subjectivity along racialized lines. For instance, in *Shū no ronri*, Tanabe Hajime posits that universal subjectivity can only be achieved by disavowing our relations to previous racial, ethnic identifications. Yet, I argue that, in conceiving national progress as attached to the mission for universality, this line of critique in fact rearticulated subjectivity in racialized *and* gendered terms. If the desire for universality in imperial nationalism is forged through disavowals in order to affirm and validate a mode of "being" an imperial subject, this desire cannot be read without the implication that the imperial subject was usually figured as a masculine subject. A disavowal of "differences" implies a disavowal or rejection of a feminine subject position. I take up Sara Ahmed's argument that the demand for disavowal in universalism is "melancholic" to examine the figure of the imperial masculine subject in the military march scene from Ōshima Nagisa's *Ai no korīda*. Drawing on the juxtaposition of different modes of gendered subjectivity in Ōshima's film, I suggest, overall structures the question of gender in imperialism as doubly melancholic and fatal. An intersectional feminist reading of the film and the history it interrogates helps us center our current understandings of imperialism and nationalism in typically unexplored terms.

Discussant: Akito Sakasai, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Session 4: Room 24
Transforming Taboos: Challenging Hegemonic Prohibitions in Japan's Past and Present
Organizer: Juljan Biontino, Chiba University
Chair: Maura Stephens, University of Hawaii

Across cultures, the crux of taboo – customary prohibitions against certain actions, places, or objects – lies in constructs and systems of power, along with challenges to or transformations of such power by various actors. It is most often those in positions of power who can define and enforce what is taboo and what is acceptable cultural behaviour. Moreover, the source or object of taboo is most often something that is powerful and therefore dangerous in its potential to disrupt the hegemonic status quo. The papers in this panel, drawing on theories and methodologies from history, sociology, anthropology, and religious studies, examine how different actors have created, co-opted, and/or resisted cultural taboo throughout Japan's

past and present. Biontino outlines how Korean subjects of the Japanese empire resisted government attempts to change their funerary practices. Szczygiel uses the concept of 'fecal habitus' to show the effect of international power relations on Japanese excretory practices. Stephens tracks a shift in societal views of menstruation, from a religious taboo to a hygiene issue. Gaitanidis discusses the recent phenomenon of the anti-spirituality (*datsu-supi*) movement and its relation to 'heretical' and 'anti-cult' discourses. As shown in these papers, taboo themselves and their cultural significance in society – as well as systems of power and hegemony more broadly – are open to challenge and transformation.

1) Juljan Biontino, Chiba University
Taboo-ization of Korean Funerary Culture during Japanese Rule (1910–1945)

Before Korea opened its ports, the perception of death and customs in burial practice had been thoroughly Confucian. Wailing was strictly systematized, while the sacred nature of ancestral bones allowed only for earth burial. Gravesites tended to be close to the house or on designated, so-called "sacred mountains". Because the deceased held the role of otherworldly guardians, costly festive funerals and yearly ancestor rituals were the norm. Japan, extending its influence on the Korean peninsula steadily since 1876, intensely challenged Korean burial practices in an attempt to align them with Japanese procedures. Public cemeteries were introduced, private Korean graveyards forcefully removed. Next to legalizing cremation, Japanese authorities regulated expenses, and time for funerals and other rituals was limited in order to change the Korean mindset into one of a loyal Japanese subject. This paper seeks to outline how, in the wake of these changes, a clash of taboos occurred. Japanese authorities were rounding up shamans and other divination professions who made a living in determining gravesites for the deceased. At the same time, Korean superstitions were heavily criticized and superstitious behaviour ridiculed. In the same vein Koreans were not willing to commit to Japanese changes to Korean funerary customs, for these changes were perceived as taboo according to the Confucian rites.

2) Marta Szczygiel, University of Tokyo
Ambiguity of Excretory Practice in Japan: Sociological Analysis

Japan proclaims itself "the Washlet country," with its high-tech toilets continuously gathering international attention. Based on my survey with non-Japanese, three characteristics of Japanese excretory spaces are especially distinctive: water spray feature, sound masking device and length of bathroom stall doors. These serve to completely separate the person inside, which suggests a high level of embarrassment regarding defecation. On the other hand, there is a high social visibility of excreta in Japan, such as poop characters in pop culture or commentaries on bowel movement on TV. In this paper, I will analyze this paradox and answer the question: How much of a taboo is poo in Japan? First, I introduce the sociological concept of Fecal habitus, used to understand a shared evaluation of excreta. After characterizing the original Japanese fecal habitus, I identify two events marking change in the country's excretory mores: the opening of Japan in 1853, and beginning of the American Occupation in 1945. When two antithetical fecal habitus – Japanese and Western – met, it triggered a distinction competition. Because of uneven power relations, Japan began to progressively adapt Western excretory mores to its cultural context, ultimately gaining dominance in the field with a high-tech privy. However, the original understanding of excreta remained the same. Consequently, in Japan we see a dichotomy of notion and practice of defecation – the former neutral, the latter taboo-ridden.

3) Maura Stephens, University of Hawaii
From Blood Pool Hell to Swimming Pool: Changing Views of Menstruation in Japan

This paper examines understandings and experiences of menstruation in Japan, by tracing shifts in views of menstruation throughout Japanese history and analyzing ethnographic interviews conducted with college-aged Japanese women in 2018. Ono (2009) outlines both the history of commercial menstrual products and the history of 'views of menstruation' (*gekkeikan*). She argues that from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, views of menstruation shifted; menstruation was no longer a source of spiritual defilement. Instead, ideologies of moral and physical hygiene that dominated education and public health discourse in twentieth-century Japan positioned menstruation as an issue of hygiene that should be managed through proper bodily comportment and careful use of commercial menstrual products (Frühstück 2003; Vostral 2005). While hypothetically "free" of connotations of impurity and pollution, women still were not – and are not – free from stigma surrounding menstruation. Today, public discourse on menstruation is virtually nonexistent outside of menstrual product commercials, and menstruating women carry out vigilant routines of concealing their menstrual status, creating an illusion of absence. Young women's reported experiences of compulsory swim class in grade school, as well as recent news articles discussing the topic, are used in this paper to highlight both the social and health issues currently surrounding young menstruators in Japan.

4) Ioannis Gaitanidis, Chiba University
Datsu-supi: Heretical Discourse and Spirituality in Contemporary Japan

In the last decades, *supirichuariti*, the katakana word that usually refers to the concept of "spirituality," which is generally understood as a post-1970s phenomenon in Japan, has been used to argue for the return of religiosity in domains outside "traditional religions." After the terrorist attack by the religious group Aum Shinrikyō in central Tokyo in 1995, *supirichuariti* was seen as a good replacement for "religion" (*shūkyō*), which especially in the media, had by then become something of a taboo concept. The first decade of the twenty-first century even saw what was termed a "spiritual boom" which was mostly fueled by an increased visibility on television and popular magazines of alternative therapies and self-development theories, resembling the spiritual-but-not-religious (SBNR) interests in other parts of the world, but basing themselves on an explicit boundary/heresiological work with established religious practice. This paper introduces a recent phenomenon that seems, however, to contradict existing debates on spirituality in Japan. In the last 5 years, criticism against "*supirichuariti*" (sometimes termed *datsu-supi*) seems to have risen from among the ranks of its most fervent followers, to attack an ideology that has become "too self-centred" as critics argue. Of course, criticism comes from different fields, and, as this presentation will show, a comparison with both "traditional" heretical discourse and "anti-cult" discourse reveals many commonalities.

Discussant: Tobias Weiss, Rikkyo University

Session 5: Room 31
Faith, Public Space, and Technology: Strategies of Filipino Migrants towards Social Inclusion and Belonging
Organizer: Riza Manalo Eteve, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology University
Chair: Chiho Ogaya, Ferris University

Our panel aims to explore the struggles and strategies of Filipino migrants in their plight towards social inclusion and belonging. Our panel investigates the spatial and temporal dimensions of the migrants' experiences in Hong Kong and Japan by deconstructing their everyday life narratives. We explore perspectives of various spaces that embody transient and transnational identities of migrants. These spaces are actively claimed and carefully appropriated for identity and social formation. We aim to elucidate this in three convergent, transient, and collective spaces. First, we explore the concept of "religious transnationalism" where the support of the Catholic Church has enabled Filipinos in Japan to maintain their religious and linguistic identities, preserve their ties to the homeland, and reinforce their sense of national belonging in the host society. Second, our panel looks at the idea of "temporal social spheres" where Filipino labour migrants appropriate public spaces into a claimed temporary refuge to empower themselves. Lastly, investigating the role of the Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), and identity formation and transnational belonging, we examine the nature and patterns of social ties created and maintained by migrants through the domestication of ICTs. Through these 'mediated relationships', we explore the economic, cultural, and symbolic resources appropriated by migrants and its implication in their future mobilities, and trajectories.

1) Riza Manalo Eteve
Transitory Encounters: Immersive Artistic Research to Understand Lived Experiences of Filipino Domestic Workers in Hong Kong

Transitory Encounters investigates spatial and temporal dimensions related to transient labour and the cohabitation of cultural identities in public spaces. Specifically, this embedded practice-led artistic research explores lived experiences based on sensoriality and sociality that focuses on the engagement of Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong's downtown Central district on their day-off. The workers' appropriation of sidewalks, walkway bridges, parks and streets into their personal spaces echo the problem of lack of privacy and cramped conditions of their living spaces in their workplace. I define these claimed social spaces in public space as "Temporal Social Spheres." "Temporal Social Spheres" are shaped, used and created by the migrant community during their day-off to relieve pressure from their everyday lives. These convergent temporal spaces exhibit the embodied experiences, dreams and aspirations of the transient migrant subject. While there have been many sociological and cultural studies on the phenomenon of temporary gatherings of domestic workers in Hong Kong, the creative approach used here is unique. Through repeated participation in gatherings, I design participatory artistic research projects to study the role of lived experiences and cultural identity in the transformation of a public space into a claimed temporary refuge and social outlet that alleviates feelings of displacement, disempowerment and discrimination.

2) Razel Andrea D. Navalta
Digital Transactions of Transnational Belonging: Narratives of Technologically Mediated Relationships and Identity Formation among Japanese-Filipino Children (JFC) in Japan

The presentation explores the innovative role of the Internet and Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in mediating relationships in the everyday life of a new migrant within the host society (Japan). Studies about "mediated relationships" usually focus on the sociality and intimacy in transnational families and among Diasporas and migrant social ties. However, there are fewer studies on this that focus on relationships between migrants and other social actors in the host society. The term "mediated relationships" is used in this paper to account for the relationships that are mediated by ICTs that migrants domesticate to forge relationships from the host society where barriers (e.g. distance, lingual, socio-cultural) exist. Ethnographic data reveals that the presence of ICTs facilitates creation of social spaces for identity and social formations, within and beyond territorial boundaries. The domestication of these technologies bridges the gap between existing inequalities that emerge from the various intersecting hierarchies of ethnicity, age, norms, etc. Using Social Network Analysis to analyze the patterns of relationships, this paper elucidates the implications of technologically mediated relationships that are created, maintained, and, of those that are not created due to the use of ICTs. Through mediated relationships, JFCs harness symbolic resources of feelings of recognition that constitute their transnational identities and feelings of belonging.

3) Ferth Vandensteen L. Manaysay
Singing for God and the Nation: Catholic Faith, Religious Transnationalism, and Identity Formation among Filipino Migrants in Japan

This paper examines how the Catholic Church has provided social and spiritual support towards the integration of Filipino migrants in Japan. Drawing from the concept of "religious transnationalism" this paper argues that Filipino migrants maintain their Catholic religious identity within the host society as a way to preserve their ties to the homeland. The paper is based on in-depth interviews with Tokyo-based Filipino migrants and clerics and participant observation in selected Catholic churches in the districts of Roppongi and Kamiōsaki. The data sheds light on two important issues about the Filipino migrants' relationship with their faith and migrant church. First, the data reveals the many ways in which the clergy recalibrate their practices in response to the needs of the migrants in the host society. Second, the paper also finds that the church serves as a social space for Filipinos to affirm their religious and linguistic identities, which then reinforces their sense of national belonging in the host society. Embedded in the discussion are the liturgical programs of the Gathering of Filipino Groups and Communities, which has been organized under the Catholic Tokyo International Center. In sum, the experiences of Filipinos also indicate that the linkages between migration and religion are mainly dependent on the manner the clerics and migrants are able to constantly re-negotiate the meanings of their cooperation within the context of faith-based transnational spaces.

Discussant: Maria Kristina Alinsunurin , Nagoya University/University of the Philippines, Los Banos

Session 6: Room 32
<u>**The Imagined others: The Representations of China and Japan in Korean Writings from the Early Modern to the Contemporary**</u>
Organizer/Chair: Ki-In Chong, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

This panel explores cultural interactions between Koreans and their East Asian neighbors from the early modern through the contemporary periods. It revisits various points of accidental, diplomatic, and textual encounters with China and Japan in Korean history. The panelists discuss how Korean writers appropriated the imagined entities named China and Japan in order to reflect upon their own political and cultural agendas. Hyun Suk Park explores how the sea between Chosŏn and Ming is represented in the travel account of Ch'oe Pu (1488). She discusses how Ch'oe redefines the boundaries of the human world, of the sovereign power of the state, and of the interstate relations between Chosŏn and Ming. Hyo Won Lee examines the accounts of Korean officials' diplomatic visits to Japan in the eighteenth century. He argues Korean emissaries represent Japan as the uncivilized, while their Japanese counterparts assume that Koreans' visits mark their position of deference toward the military authority of Japan. Ki-in Chong examines the poems of a modern Korean poet, Chŏng Chi-yong, and discusses how they implicitly refer to Japan when they represent the West, and how they create imaginary connections between Asia. Jin-kyu Kim reads contemporary Korean novels to examine how Korean intellectuals' translations of Japanese texts into Korean, treated as reminders of the colonial legacy in the 1960s, were understood differently as a clandestine venue for banned radical ideas in the 1980s.

1) Ki-In Chong, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
A Study on Asian Representation in Colonial Korea –Focusing on Chŏng Chiyong's Poetry

This study aims to discuss how Asia is represented in the poetry of Chŏng Chiyong, the representative poet of the colonial period. Until now, Japanese representations in colonial Korea poetry have not been explored. Because "Japan" itself is rarely appeared in the colonial period. This is a very paradoxical situation on the condition of colonization. Needless to say, Japan was the most influential power in the colonial period of Korea, the colonial poets studied in Japan, and colonial Korea introduced many Japanese and Japanese cultures. Although the Japanese representation is not revealed on the surface, this study attempts to reveal that the 'representation of Japan' is hidden under West and the Korea representation. Japan was represented as "fake West" and criticized, when Chŏng Chiyong was writing in Japan. But, in the poetry that he wrote back in Colonial Korea, representations that hinted Japan was often what he longed for. Based on these analyses, I demonstrate the ambivalence of Japanese representation and how the representations of the West, Korea, China, and Japan are related to each other.

2) Hyo-won Lee, Tokyo University
Civilization and Military Prowess: Representation of the Other during Korean Diplomatic Visits to Japan in the Eighteenth Century

This study examines how Korean and Japanese scholars represent each other in their accounts of Korean officials' diplomatic visits to Japan in the eighteenth century, focusing on the interactions between the Korean emissaries and the school of Sorai. Some Korean scholars who joined the company of emissaries to Japan left detailed accounts of Japanese politics,

institutions, culture, and customs. In those records, Japan is often represented as a barbarian country and is criticized for the lack of Confucian decorum, the admiration of martial prowess, and the underdevelopment of literature in classical Chinese. Such a representation is driven by Koreans' sense of superiority derived from the belief that Chosŏn Korea had inherited the universal civilization of the Middle Kingdom. For their part, Japanese accounts represent Korean emissaries as the transmitters of civilization and, at the same time, as representatives of a country that had submitted to the military authority of Tokugawa *bakufu*. Some of the Japanese scholars admire the civilization of Chosŏn, and aspire to align themselves with Koreans as equal participants in the civilization of the Middle Kingdom. And yet they look down on Koreans while assuming that the Chosŏn court pays tribute to *bakufu* out of the fear of Japan's military power. Such a contradictory understanding of Korea is related to the Japanese scholars' self-consciousness as samurai on the one hand and Confucian literati on the other.

3) Hyun Suk Park, University of California, Los Angeles
The Sea Where Monsters, Pirates, and Foreigners Roam: The Marine Imagination in Ch'oe Pu's Diary: A Record of Drifting across the Sea *(1488)*

This paper examines how the sea between Chosŏn Korea and Ming China is represented by a Korean scholar-official, Ch'oe Pu 崔溥 (1454–1504), who left a detailed account of his experiences when his ship was blown off course by a storm while sailing from Cheju Island to the mainland and arrived by accident at the southern coast of Ming China in the fifteenth century. Most existing studies recognize Ch'oe's diary, *A Record of Drifting across the Sea* 漂海錄 (1488), as one of the earliest records of a Korean scholar-official's visit to the land of Ming China as a foreign country. This paper is concerned with how Ch'oe represented the marine space separating the two terrestrial national entities. It delineates the representation of the sea on three different levels in Ch'oe's diary, namely as a space outside of the human realm, a space outside of the state, and a space in-between two foreign states. The paper accordingly asks questions concerning how Ch'oe recognizes and redefines the boundaries of the human, the sovereign power of the state, and the interstate relations between Chosŏn Korea and Ming China, in the sea occupied by nonhumans, stateless people, and foreign travelers. Ultimately it ponders upon the question of how the foundation of hospitality, or mutual trust, among people who are not securely associated with the state could be imagined in the marine space of fifteenth-century East Asia.

4) JinGyu Kim, Seoul National University
A Study on the Change of Self-Consciousness about Translating Japanese Text in the Korean Novels (1960–1980)

The purpose of this study is to trace the change in self-consciousness of Korean novelists about the translating Japanese texts in Korean novels from 1960 to 1980s. Korea had acquired knowledge through various Japanese texts in colonial period. From the liberation to 1960, Japanese texts could not be officially translated in the Syngman Rhee's regime based on the anti-Japanese sentiments, but demand of Japanese texts had persisted. After collapsing of the Rhee regime by 4.19 Revolution, Japanese translation was officially resumed, but the hostility against translating Japanese texts did not disappear easily. This study traces the internal conflicts of intellectuals who had to translate Japanese texts for their livelihoods. In the 1960s, translating Japanese texts was depicted as a disgraceful act. In the 1970s works, the hostility against large-scale translation of Japanese texts had remained. However, protagonist of "distant days" (1989), who had been frustrated with the results of the June

Democracy Movement in 1987, found the meaning of life while translating the Marxist texts in Japanese which was prohibited in Korea. The translating Japanese text, which had been neglected due to the antagonism against colonial dominance and dependency on Japan of the time, had a new significance in terms of criticism and resistance to the oppressive ruling regime.

Discussant: Naoki Watanabe, Musashi University

Session 7: Room 34 Individual Papers Session 1: Male East Asian Writers
Chair: Yoshie Moriki, International Christian University

1) **Tanya Barnett, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa**
Erasure as Self-Fashioning: Reading Intentionality and Performance in Miyazawa Kenji's **Bungoshikō ippyappen**

This paper attempts to reexamine critical discourse surrounding Miyazawa Kenji's last completed work, *Manuscript of Poems in the Literary Style* (Bungoshikō ippyappen) before his death in 1933. Many of these poems contain multiple drafts that appear intertextually across notebooks, literary works, and compilations over the course of his life. This manuscript has largely been viewed as a comprehensive collection of his life's work and a faithful representation of Kenji's authentic self. This reading supports the longstanding narrative that Kenji's *Nichirenshugi* fanaticism to a specific moment in Kenji's life, instead of a lifelong devoted practice. I seek to address the question of why explicit references to Buddhism that appear in earlier poetry drafts have been removed from some of the manuscript's final versions. In this paper, I wish to question these assumptions by examining Kenji's intentionality through his process of removal, replacement, and revision among the various drafts of poems. I will examine the Buddhist terminology that was removed from his final drafts and reoccurring secular tropes that carry religious symbolism for Kenji specifically to challenge assertions that Nichiren ideology is absent in Kenji's later works. By looking at the performative nature of *Nichirenshugi*, I also wish to present the idea of Kenji's agrarianism as performative and examine how it reflected an attempt to proselytize his beliefs through his farming and agrarian practices.

2) **Yingzhi Lu, Stanford University**
Reconstructing Jun'ichirō Tanizaki's Narrative Structure: A Study of the Ellipses in **Diary of a Mad Old Man**

In his *Diary of a Mad Old Man*, Jun'ichirō Tanizaki developed a unique use of long ellipses present already in his earlier diary novels. These significantly charged ellipses point to the existence of a heterodiegetic narrator in charge of the middle layer of the story, nested between the outer (the implied author's story) and the inner (the four diaries) layers. Former studies have rarely noticed this middle dimension and focused instead on the self-ironic style of the inner layer, the old man's diary as well as the three following notes. In this paper, I introduce James Phelon's theory of rhetoric narratology in order to reconstruct the narrative power of Diary of a Mad Old Man. I follow the three narrative layers to show parallel rhetorical exchanges that draw authorial readers' attention to the play of contradictions. By highlighting such a multi-layered structure, I expect this study to call for a further

understanding of Tanizaki in his later years who unperturbedly lived with conflicts: fantasy and reality, east and west, convention and contemporary.

3) Josh Trichilo, York University
Vibrant Materialisms: Shiga Naoya's "Night Fires" and the Role of Things

Jane Bennett's vital materialism (2009) asserts that any reality, and therefore any future, is contingent on specific relations between parties, both human and nonhuman, that play a constituting role in the conditions of that reality's manifestation. Does this insight resonate with non-western ideas, histories, and imaginaries? My paper explores this question through Shiga Naoya's short story "Night Fires" (1920). It mobilizes Bennett's theory of the affective influence of things, termed thing-power, to analyze a technique in Shiga's text: the emphasis on "natural objects" that ambiguously advance narrative, which I argue representationally recreates and fosters the privileging of human-nonhuman assemblages. Essentially, without downplaying the destructive anthropogenic effects on the globe, exploring the relationship between Bennett's philosophy and Shiga's story further problematizes human-world dichotomies inherent in notions like the Anthropocene and human-centered concepts of causal agency. Attending to and mobilizing socio-cultural specificities, I argue that "Night Fires" dramatizes the notion that there is instead no future becoming without becoming-with. Indeed, any common future must be a future that takes into account the role of both human and nonhuman things, since not only do nonhuman things have stakes in the future to come, but any "human" relation to the future is influenced by, embedded in, and therefore dependent on these stakes.

4) Jiajun Liang, University of California, Los Angeles
"Perhaps Japan Doesn't Exist Anywhere": The Impossible Return in Abe Kōbō's **Beasts Head for Home** *(1957)*

This paper examines Abe Kōbō's novel *Beasts Head for Home*, which depicts the struggles of Kuki Kyūzō, a Japanese orphan who trudged the vast, frozen Manchurian wasteland in hopes of returning to Japan, his spiritual homeland that he had never seen, in the immediate aftermath of Japan's defeat in World War II. At the end of the novel, the protagonist Kyūzō finally boarded a ship bound for Japan after months of arduous journey, yet he was detained in the ship's hold without ever reaching his ultimate destination. Despite the prominence of Abe in the postwar Japanese literary world, this novel has largely been dismissed by literary critics and scholars alike. Whereas Abe's literature is often characterized for its anonymity and surrealism, this work stands out in his oeuvre for its realistic depictions and geographical specificity. The focus of my paper, however, is not simply to reevaluate the novel's literary merits, but rather to show that the theme of the impossible return, which recurs throughout early postwar literature, cannot be dissociated from the imagination of "home" (*kokyō*), which evokes not a sense of fixity or belonging but instead the precarious images of irrecoverable loss and indefinite deferral. When Kyūzō laments at the end of the novel that "perhaps Japan doesn't exist anywhere," he finally comes to the bitter realization that the idealized home as the repository of nostalgic memories exists nowhere but in the fantastic realm of borderlands.

5) Jessica Ka Yee Chan, University of Richmond
Indirect Translation through Japanese as a Vehicular Language: Lu Xun and Sino-Russian Literary Translation

In *Celebrating Sino-Russian Literary Encounter* (1932), Chinese writer Lu Xun reflected on his epiphanic discovery of Russian literature in the late nineteenth century: "That was when they [our young people] discovered Russian literature. That was when they learned that Russian literature was our guide and friend. For from it we can see the kindly soul of the oppressed, their sufferings and struggles." This essay traces Lu Xun's early fashioning of an aesthetic bond with Russian letters and his emerging conception of a "literature of the oppressed" in the 1930s. In his translational praxis and creative writing, Lu Xun sought to develop in the Chinese vernacular a "literature of the oppressed," modeled after Russian literature, especially Nikolai Gogol's works. My close readings of Lu Xun's *Diary of a Madman* (Kuangren riji, 1918) and his 1934 translation of Gogol's *The Nose* (Bizi) highlight the mediating role of Japanese as a vehicular language in this Sino-Russian translational dynamic. Lu Xun had very limited, if any, command of Russian. Linguistic distance allowed him greater agency, freedom, and creativity in his translation and imagination of the original to which he did not have access.

LUNCH BREAK: 12:00 NOON – 13:30 P.M.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSIONS I: 13:30 P.M. – 15:30 P.M.

Session 8: Room 31
Social Memory and War Commemoration During the Occupation of Japan, 1945–1952
Organizer/Chair: Sven Saaler, Sophia University

Japan's unconditional surrender in September 1945 brought unprecedented changes to Japanese politics and society. The occupation authorities initiated far-reaching reforms aiming at the demilitarization and democratization of the country. One of the areas most affected by these reforms was the politics of memory and the ways in which the war – and the war dead – were commemorated. The presentations of this panel address different fields and media that were reshaped by occupation policies and raises questions regarding the agency behind these changes. We will argue that notwithstanding the leading role of the occupation in initiating reforms, Japanese agency in the shaping of new ways to commemorate the war must not be underestimated. Collin Rusneac looks at changes in how the war dead were commemorated after the ban of enshrinement rites at Yasukuni and other religious institutions after the Shinto Directive. M.G. Sheftall maps early atomic bombing memorialization in Hiroshima and Nagasaki as a contested discourse in which rhetorical campaigns of cultural rebirth versus cultural continuity vied for dominance in the public imagination. Sven Saaler analyzes the occupation's policy towards public statuary and Japanese attempts to save the (few) statues that had survived wartime requisitioning. Christopher Ramsbottom-Isherwood looks at how attitudes towards the wartime regime were renegotiated in the educational sector and how they were expressed in literature.

1) Collin Rusneac, Ruprecht-Karls-University Heidelberg
Remembering the Japanese War Dead under SCAP: Consent and Censure

Soon after the infrastructure for the Allied occupation of Japan was set in place, occupation authorities were faced with the responsibility of supervising the return of Japanese war dead remains and their public commemoration. However, SCAP's implementation of the 1945

Shinto Directive – aiming to replace "militaristic and ultra-nationalistic propaganda" with democratic ideals – resulted in a slow and protracted recovery process of these remains which continues to this day. Public forms of commemoration for the war dead were heavily scrutinized and some practices were outright banned, amongst others through the issuing of the document "On Public Funerals." The sluggish pace of action in this area and the high-handed prohibitions led to friction between the occupiers and the occupied. In this presentation, I will show that obfuscation and disregard by SCAP of the needs of the Japanese people to retrieve, bury and memorialize their war dead put a strain on the relationship between the occupying forces and the local population. Based on a survey of records from SCAP's Civil Information and Education Section (CIE), which dealt with religious matters including commemoration, I will discuss the ways in which the Japanese population actively defied or cooperated with the occupation authorities over the handling of the war dead, concluding that SCAP strictly regulated commemorative events hosted by organizations, but took a softer approach towards individual forms of mourning.

2) M.G. Sheftall, Shizuoka University
Hiroshima Protests, Nagasaki Prays: Rebirth vs. Continuity in Early Postwar Atomic Bombing Memorialization Discourse

When a community suffers a sudden catastrophic disaster, such as being unexpectedly destroyed by an earthquake – or by an atomic bomb – its cultural authority is compelled, within a reasonable span of time, to come up with an explanatory narrative to help members of the affected community make sense of and "digest" the experience of the disaster. This is essential if the cultural space is to survive as such – that is, as a legitimate, stable Lifeworld venue for meaningful human individual and collective existence. In early postwar Japan, there were no two communities so immediately and urgently challenged in this sense than the atomic-bombed cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the early postwar period, different cultural authority actors in these cities (including various Allied Occupation agencies) cooperated, negotiated, and vied for control over the explanatory "official narratives" through which the respective affected communities would filter, frame, and pass on to future generations images and memories of the experience of atomic bombing. Sheftall's paper will trace the discursive history of that process of creation, negotiation, and contestation, and also explain how differences in local history and culture – as well as immediate social, political, and economic conditions "on the ground" in the immediate aftermath of the bombings – led the two atom-bombed communities to take very different paths in developing and maintaining their respective explanatory narratives.

3) Sven Saaler, Sophia University
Public Statuary during the Occupation of Japan, 1945–1952

When the Allied occupation forces arrived in Japan, education was high on the list of areas selected as in need of fundamental reform. Public statuary, an important medium of social education, was one sector that the occupation closely scrutinized – notwithstanding the fact that from approximately 900 statues of historical personalities built in public spaces between 1880 and 1940, less than 100 had survived the wartime metal requisitioning campaigns. Most of Japan's public statues were demolished between late 1943 and 1945, melted down and recycled into weapons or munition. SCAP's Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) commissioned several "War Monument Studies" and concluded that the remaining monuments were no threat to its policies of democratizing Japan. Thus, SCAP rarely intervened in the changes occurring in public spaces after Japan's surrender. It was Japanese

politicians and administrators who pointed out that the remaining statues, most of which had survived because they were considered "essential for the purposes of national education" during the war, were out of sync with the ideas of a "New Japan," i.e. a cultural and peaceful state. Thus, public statues were discussed by local committees, which sometimes decided to remove or relocate statues. In this presentation I will analyze the decision-making process regarding public statuary in occupied Japan and tackle the myth that a considerable number of public statues was destroyed as a result of SCAP orders

4) Christopher Ramsbottom-Isherwood, Sophia University
Kojima Nobuo's **The American School** *and Postwar Education*

In 1954, two years after the official end of the occupation of Japan by the Allied Forces, author Kojima Nobuo published the novella *The American School* (Amerikan Sukuuru). This satirical account of an excursion by thirty Japanese 'English teachers' to observe an American school received critical acclaim and won Kojima the prestigious Akutagawa Prize for new writers. *The American School* depicts a group of teachers whose responsibility is to learn from an American style education and then promote "American values" among the next generation of Japanese. Set in 1948, one year after the Fundamental Law of Education was enacted under the auspices of SCAP, *The American School* lambasts the US/Japan relationship as one of colonizer/colonized. Kojima categorizes the teachers into "types" that signify attributes of the US/Japan relationship during (and after) the occupation: sharks (leftover militarists), gold fish (those on the US pay role), and flying fish (non-conformists). In this paper I argue that by inserting references to militarist "shark" teachers Kojima links the Fundamental Law of Education and the American "reverse course" policy and remilitarization of Japan symbolized by the release of suspected war criminal Kishi Nobusuke in 1948. Finally, I suggest that *The American School* can be read as a prophetic warning to readers, in that it accurately predicts the 2006 revision of the education law by Kishi's grandson Abe Shinzo.

Discussant: Sven Saaler, Sophia University

Session 9: Room 32
Popular Culture and Transnational Fandoms in East Asia
Organizer and Chair: Jayson M Chun, University of Hawaii, West Oahu

Because the Internet has blurred national boundaries for East Asian popular culture, "Japanese" or "Korean" popular culture is increasingly consumed by international audiences and can be better described as transnational culture. And people in East Asia are voracious consumers of both "Western" and "Asian" cultures. This panel will look at fan cultures from a wider perspective with a focus on the production of content by national artists and its consumption by a transnational and inter-Asian audience. On the production side, the change from analog to technology, from records to the Internet, and now the rise of streaming media, along with a globalized factory system of making popular culture, and market access has further accelerated popular culture flows across permeable borders in East Asia. And even more importantly, audiences are no longer limited to national borders or national consumer cultures, but have now blurred the lines, creating a larger trans-Asia and even trans-pacific audience. What can be conceived of as national popular culture genres, for example K-pop in Korea, are better conceptualized as a transpacific culture, reaching from East Asia to North

America. Therefore, a study of these transnational consumptions of popular culture will show the strength of national identity and changes wrought by globalization.

1) Jayson Makoto Chun, University of Hawaii - West Oahu
The Korean Takeover of Japan: Japanese Reactions to the Kohaku *of 2011*

This presentation looks at Japanese reactions to the rise of K-pop in the early 2010s. The appearance of Korean groups KARA, SNSD and Tōhōshinki on the Kohaku Uta Gassen New Year's Eve show of 2011 resulted in a backlash by Japanese right-wing commentators. Due to the intensity of these protests, no Korean group appeared on Kohaku until 2017. Interestingly, though, Korean acts had often appeared for years before with little outcry, and the American artist Lady Gaga had appeared on the same 2011 show with little controversy. This presentation will analyze the Internet discourse to see why these Korean groups created such an outcry in the year 2011. This criticism will be examined in the context of alarm over Japan's national decline and economic competition from Korea. This appearance by Korean groups on a prestigious show led to a gradual realization by critics that K-pop rather than J-pop, had become the most admired cultural expression for Asian youth in general. This also fit in with the Japanese discourse of the time: a panic over the inability of Japan's analog based media exports to compete with digital-age competitors like Apple and Samsung, rising nationalism engineered by the rise of Asian competitors, political tensions with Korea and the devastation of the Tohoku earthquake and tsunami. Thus, this outcry was less about K-pop and more about the perception of Japan's decline among nationalists fearful of Japan's place in Asia.

2) Michael Furmanovsky, Ryukoku University
Putting the K-Pop Boy Band BTS and its Fandom into Historical Context

Michael Furmanovsky uses a historical perspective to put the worldwide commercial success and intense fan behavior associated with the K-Pop boy band "BTS" into a meaningful context. He begins by examining and deconstructing the achievements, status and fan base of two British and two American boy bands who achieved a wide international audience in the pre-Internet and pre-social media era. This analysis will then be used to assess and explain the popularity of the Korean group BTS, which has recently achieved an unprecedented degree of cross cultural and transnational attention. Particular attention will be paid to the activities and behavior of the largely female online fan communities in countries outside Asia.

3) Jessica Bauwens-Sugimoto, Ryukoku University
Contemporary rewritings of Frankenstein in manga and TV drama

Two hundred years after Mary Frankenstein's sci fi novel, *Frankenstein*: *The Modern Prometheus*, first appeared, the tragedy of the monster still speaks to contemporary audiences and creators. Novel interpretations of the creature, whose name is now synonymous with its creator's, appear in musicals, soap series, manga, anime, and games. While older and orthodox versions rely on audiences to find beauty behind his fearsome appearance, recent versions of the monster present him as beautiful or cute from the get go. From the angelic monster *Seraph in Frankenstein's Descendants* (by Higuri Yu,「フランケンシュタインの末裔」, Akita comics, 2017–ongoing) who's hunted by Nazis, over the salary man Franken Stein from *Wage Slave Franken* (by Toriya,「社畜フランケン」, Kodansha, 2017–ongoing), who's hounded by deadlines, to the 120 year old monster Fukashi Ken from the TV series

Frankenstein's Love (「フランケンシュタインの恋」, Nippon Television Network Corporation, ten episodes, April ~ June 2017), and many more. Like the original monster, these rewritings of Frankenstein make him more humane than his human creators and tormentors, but more than that, he also appeals to audiences for his physical appearance as well as his sense of humor. This presentation looks at the transformation of the monster's character, as well as the existence of the scientist and creator being little more than an afterthought in these recent works.

Discussant: Patrick Patterson, Honolulu Community College

Session 10: Room 33
The Transmission of Information and the Space of Speech in Modern China: The Historical Meaning of the Official Bulletins and the Journals published in the late Qing and the Republican China
Organizer: Mariko Kubo, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science
Chair: Linda Grove, Sophia University

This panel will explore changes in the transmission of information and the space of speech in modern China, by analyzing information and discussions in official bulletins or journals published in China during the early twentieth century, the period of the late Qing and the early Republic. For the government, it was important to bring people appropriate information with regard to governance. On the other hand, people needed a lot of information to understand trends in the world and to enrich their daily lives. In response to these demands, various official bulletins and journals were issued. In addition, since people got a lot of information from various publications and used them as the basis for discussions, new knowledge and thought spread in society. In this way, the transmission of information and the space of discussion changed and this change had great impact on society. Panelists will focus on some important official bulletins and journals published in China in the first half of the twentieth century and analyze the following questions: what kind of people produced and read these publications; why, when and how were these publications issued; what kind of information and discussions were published? Summarizing the above analysis, this panel will show the historical meaning of the change of the transmission of information and the space of speech in modern China.

1) Qing Yin, The University of Tokyo
The Birth of the Official Gazette in Late Qing China: The Transition of the Qing Government's Promulgation System

This report traces the establishment of the official gazette in Late Qing China to analyze how the central and local governments of the Qing Dynasty responded to changes in the information dissemination environment since the late 19th century and reformed the methods of promulgating laws, regulations, and other official documents in the process of modernization. By the mid-19th century, the government news of the Qing Dynasty had been spreading to all parts of China mainly through imperial bulletins. However, some Chinese intellectuals urged the government to directly create an official journal. In the late Qing era, despite the proposal to set up official journals by the central government not being approved, official journals appeared in Zhili and other local provinces. What these official journals had

in common was the publication of documents by local governments, though they had different column settings. After an exploration of local official journals, the central government issued the State's Official Gazette in 1907. Consequently, with the development of constitutional practices, legal scholars recommended that laws should become effective only after their publication in the official gazette. In 1911, the central government renamed the Zhengzhi Guanbao as Neige Guanbao, clearly specifying it as "the public organ of laws and orders." Thus, the official gazette system in the modern sense was fully established.

2) Mariko Kubo, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science
The Dissemination of Information on New Laws and the Legal Expert Forum:* Law Journal *in Republican-Era Shanghai

This presentation focuses on *Law Journal* (Faxue Zazhi), which was one of the famous law journals published in Shanghai during the Republican Era. I will analyze how knowledge and opinions about new laws were disseminated to society, what kind of information was needed by people, and what kind of issues were discussed by legal experts. In China, from the late Qing Dynasty into the Republican Era, legal reform was essential to the construction of a new, modern nation. Many people, including the central government and bureaucrats, recognized the importance of legal reform and tried to inform themselves about modern Western law. Legal journals provided information on foreign and Chinese laws; they also played an important role as a venue for discussions among legal experts. Law Journal was created in the 1920s by American and Chinese members of the Faculty of Law at Dongwu University in Shanghai; teachers and students of the University edited the journal until the early 1940s. The *Law Journal* published articles about new trends concerning legal reform in China and foreign countries, various theories of the field of law, translations of foreign masterpieces, and comparative studies on Chinese and foreign law. It also became the forum for high-level discussions on law.

3) Ko Suzuki, Bunkyo University
The Monthly Zhejiang Development and its Influence on Regional Nationalism

The monthly *Zhejiang Development* (1927–1937), was an official bulletin of the local department which promoted development in Zhejiang province in the Republic of China. While working in close cooperation with both the central and local governments, it provided a unique space for speech where experts could express their opinions relatively freely. The bulletin played a vital role in three areas. First, it expanded the policies and thoughts of experts on the controlled economy at the regional level, aiming for a balanced development. A similar process can be seen in present day China. Second, the bulletin provided a space for discussion on rural reconstruction after the Great Depression, though these were the Kuomintang's countermeasures against the communists and the "rural construction" movement. Third, the publication formed the basis of regional nationalism by promoting the idea that Zhejiang province, where the national government was based, was the center of southeast China. Conventional studies of modern Chinese history emphasize the role of nationalism on the central government's foreign policy, such as tariff autonomy and monetary reform. However, there has not been much attention paid to how regional nationalism influenced national development. In essence, the bulletin played an important role in setting the precedent for regional economic development as well as forming a regional consciousness to support the subsequent war against Japan in the area.

4) Noriyoshi Yakubo, Chiba University of Commerce
The Islamic journal in Wartime China and Their Recognition of Muslim Communities, and the Space of Speech

During the Republic of China period, the government pursued centralization and national integration aiming to build a nation-state. Therefore, Chinese Muslims need to reconceive their way of thinking and behavior regarding their relationship with the state. During this period, they tried to improve their circumstances by incorporating modern institutions into their religion and life. Among these reform campaigns, the Islamic journal *Yuehua* played a central role. The journal advertised the principles of their reform. However, as the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out, the Nationalist government received domestic and international pressure, so they were forced to integrate the citizens of the nation to fight the war. However, immediately before this war, as no organization could integrate Chinese Muslims nationally, a unified organization needed to be formed. Consequently, the China Islamic Association for National Salvation was established as a Chinese Muslim organization aiming to integrate the Muslim group. They issued an institution journal, the *Bulletin of The China Islamic Association for National Salvation*. In this journal, the blueprints of social reforms and social improvement of their ideology were vividly drawn. The space of speech reflecting the social and national perspective of Chinese Muslim intellectuals and the means and awareness for them to survive formed in the crisis of the Sino-Japanese War. Thus, many years of the reform movement had progressed.

Discussant: Motoya Nakamura, Tsuda University

Session 11: Room 34
Reading Resistance: Japanese Women Writers and the Reproduction of the Hetero-Normative Nation-State
Organizer: Letizia Guarini, Ochanomizu University
Chair: Juliana Buriticá Alzate, International Christian University

This panel revisits texts by Japanese women writers from four generations that, despite having gained attention by the Japanese public and the literary establishment, have been met with a problematic flexibility. That is, they tend to be read in a way that acknowledges their feminist/queer potential and renders this potential secondary. Re-reading these writers, we show not only how they pose a threat to the ideologies that sustain the heteronormative nation-state of Japan, but also, that it is through this flexibility that the heteronormative status-quo within literary discourses in Japan is maintained. Sasaki Yuko rereads texts by Yuasa Yoshiko and Miyamoto Yuriko, arguing that the emphasis on the question of whether their relationship was 'lesbian' or not reproduces the ideal of the "happy couple," and invisibilizes more subversive aspects. Letizia Guarini analyzes Kurahashi Yumiko's novel *Amanonkoku ōkanki*, focusing on how this novel problematizes the control of women's sexuality through the interplay between patriarchy, religion and national ideology. Juliana Buriticá examines the representation of non-normative families in works by Murata Sayaka and explores how these subversive aspects are being regarded as horrific in popular and academic discourses. Stefan Wuerrer looks at Shōno Yoriko's *Uramizumo dorei senkyō* and

discusses its renegotiation of the exclusionary and inclusionary mechanism of sexual citizenship in the context of contemporary sexual politics in Japan.

1) Yuko Sasaki, The University of Tokyo
Rejecting the 'Happy' Ending: Moments of Queer Women's Resistance and Victories

This paper examines the relationship between Yuasa Yoshiko, a translator and critic of Russian literature, and Miyamoto Yuriko, a communist novelist, who had lived together for seven years (1924–31) from the perspective of queer historiography, focusing on traces of negative effects in their literary works, letters and diaries. While previous studies on Miyamoto's life and works tend to ignore the presence of Yuasa, a few scholars have focused on their intimate relationship. These studies, however, hardly succeed in accounting for non-normative aspects regarding their female bodies and sexuality, and are often stuck in the question of whether they can be regarded as "lesbian" or not. Though it is remarkable that Yuasa and Miyamoto left numerous texts that give an account of the vicissitudes of their affection, it is inadequate to limit our attention to the positive aspects; such as, mutual love and coupledom. For this perspective reinforces the norm of 'happiness' that recognizes only those lives who happen or aspire to assimilate into the heteronormative family model (Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness*, 2010). Instead, more subversive possibilities of female political agency can be found in moments of quarrels and breakups. Furthermore, Yuasa's life after the end of the relationship shows how negative aspects, such as the painfully internalized homophobia and solitude can have alternative meanings that expand other queer women's prospects for survival.

2) Letizia Guarini, Ochanomizu University
Invading the Daughter's Body: An Analysis of the Father/Daughter Relationship in Kurahashi Yumiko's Amanonkoku ōkanki *(1986)*

In the long novel *Amanonkoku ōkanki* (A Record of Voyage to Amanon, 1986), Kurahashi Yumiko (1935–2005) creates a dystopic world where men are considered inferior beings used as breeders in sperm banks, whereas women are in control of society. The novel opens with the arrival of P, a missionary sent from the theocracy of Monokami to convert the secular world of Amanon; it is only at the end of the novel that the reader finds out that P's travel to Amanon was actually a medical experiment that attempted to create a virgin birth through an incestuous relationship between father and daughter. The father/daughter pair is a pivotal element in some of the most famous works by Kurahashi Yumiko, such as Seishōjo (1965) and Hanhigeki (1971) in which incest between father and daughter is discussed. Nevertheless, the representation of father/daughter relationship in her works is a theme that has been left mostly unexplored in previous scholarship, and *Amanonkoku ōkanki* is not an exception. This paper provides a new perspective on the representation of language and bodies in Kurahashi's fiction by exploring the representation of the father/daughter pair. In particular, it examines the connection between the father/daughter relationship and the *tennōsei* ideology, as it is depicted in the novel *Amanonkoku ōkanki*, and the way women's sexuality is constructed and controlled by the patriarchal system through the mechanisms of religion and nation-state.

3) Juliana Buriticá Alzate, International Christian University
Imagining the Future: Reproduction, Sexuality and Marriage in the Works of Murata Sayaka

This presentation considers the portrayal of reproduction, sexuality and marriage in a selection of Murata Sayaka's works—*Satsujin Shussan* (Birth Murder, 2014), *Shōmetsu sekai* (Dwindling World, 2015), *Konbini ningen* (2016, *Convenience Store Woman*, trans. 2018), and *Manchō* (Full-tide, 2018)—and argues that through her consistent non-normative and unconventional stories, she forces a critical consideration of contemporary sociocultural models of family. I read her works from a feminist perspective and as a challenge to reproductive futurity, but not as a negation of possible futures. In addition, I focus on Murata's direct reference to the body and bodily fluids in order to situate her depictions farther from idealized and sanitized versions of sexuality. Murata's worlds respond to the pressures of a declining birthrate, and offer fictional solutions. At the story level, Murata's characters' values regarding sexuality and family are normalized and accepted, and within the narrative of the story it may read as optimistic worlds. Yet, if we consider contemporary expectations and values regarding sexuality, marriage, love and reproduction at the social level, Murata's portrayal is deemed as odd and strange. In fact, her works have been described as a horrific, reproductive dystopia. This paper seeks to understand the interaction between these levels, and in order to do so, I also engage with media and scholarly reception of these works.

4) Stefan Wuerrer, The University of Tokyo
Reading Shōno Yoriko's Uramizumo Dorei Senkyō *(The Enslaved Voting to Join Uramizumo, 2018) in the Context of Contemporary Sexual Politics in Japan*

In July 2018, Sugita Mio (LDP) in an article for the magazine *Shinchō45* claimed that LGBT couples, as they do not procreate, are "unproductive" and thus not worthy of recognition by the state in the form of marriage and tax concessions. That is, she argued for the continued restriction of LGBTs' citizenship; an argument defended by *Shinchō45* later. Shōno Yoriko was one of the first prominent literary figures who spoke out against this backlash. This is not surprising, given that Shōno is a fierce critic of neoliberal Japan and its sexual politics ever since the earliest days of her career. This is true for her most recent novel *Uramizumo Dorei Senkyō* as well. As this paper demonstrates, this novel can be read as a potent strategy to counter Sugita Mio's claims. By placing the female narrator-protagonist in the ambivalent position of neither fully belonging to heteronormative, neoliberal Japan nor it's alternative— the fictional neighboring country uramizumo, a women-only-state where same-sex marriage is the norm—Shōno opens up a discursive space in which the necessity for institutional inclusion of those excluded is argued, while at the same time the neoliberal foundations of that inclusion are critically renegotiated. That is, Shōno avoids both: escapism into the fantasy of an alternative world and assimilation into—and thus reinforcement of—the given neoliberal world in which the social and/or political 'worth' and inclusion of the individual is tied to its productivity.

Discussant: Hitomi Yoshio, Waseda University

Session 12: Room 35
Mitigating risks and threats in Northeast Asia: the role of Japan and Korea
Organizer: Chiew-Ping Hoo, National University of Malaysia
Chair: Poowin Bunyavejchewin, Thammasat University

This panel explores the risks of threat escalation in East Asia, and how two regional powers, Japan and South Korea, are entrapped by the intractable conflicts at the nexus of competition between China and the U.S., while adopting strategies aimed at mitigating those risks. Since Xi Jinping takes the helm of leadership, the ever-growing influence that China projected has increasingly validated China's threat hypothesis and prompted regional stakeholders to find ways to manage Beijing's influence. Meanwhile, the Korean peninsula continues to be mired in strategic uncertainties as Kim Jong-un regime continues to hold the nuclear card against major powers' plan to negotiate for denuclearization of North Korea. As the allies of the United States, Japan and South Korea continue to seek alternative policy options to offset the risks they face with the foundation of their security guarantee by the US shaken by an inconsistent Trump administration. Under the current challenging strategic circumstances, both Japan and South Korea seek the capacity to independently defend itself against North Korea; while prepare to face China in worst-case scenarios, especially over military escalation and/or economic retaliation or confrontation. This panel examines to what extent Japan and South Korea's strategies have evolved in facing security threats that are detrimental to regional order and stability.

1) Chiew-Ping Hoo, National University of Malaysia
Mitigating Risks on the Korean Peninsula: South Korea's Responses towards North Korean Provocations and China's North Korea Policy

This paper examines South Korea's policy options on North Korean provocations since the discovery of North Korean nuclear weapons program in late 1980s. The role of China over the course of North Korean nuclear weapons development is seldom cross-examined with South Korea's policy responses. Thus, this study aims to highlight South Korea's responses towards North Korea vis-à-vis China's influence over North Korea, from 1988 to 2018, covering Roh Tae-Woo to the present Moon Jae-In's administrations. Addressing the ongoing debate as to whether South Korea's North Korea policy had been held hostage by China's actions on the Korean Peninsula, and that China actually posits greater risks to South Korea than the convention perception. This paper argues that South Korea should refine its hedging strategy between the United States and China to strengthen South Korea's position against North Korean threat, as historical cases demonstrated that many South Korean initiatives were neutralized by either US or China's policy towards North Korea, especially when US and China differ greatly on approaches towards the North. The paper concludes by recommending policy options that could enhance the effectiveness of risk mitigation strategy in managing international conflicts via sophisticated multi-pronged diplomacy aimed at offsetting the risks of political, economic, and military confrontations.

2) Nobuhiko Tamaki, Chuo University
Threats from China and North Korea: Implications for the US-Japan alliance

This paper reveals the relationship between the transition of the US–Japan alliance and the emergence of external threats. Many scholars and analysts have argued that the rise of China and North Korea's nuclear armaments strengthened the US–Japan alliance and enlarged Japan's military activities outside its territory, known as the "globalization of the US–Japan alliance." This paper disputes this claim by proposing two arguments. First, from the end of the Cold War until 2010, threats from China and North Korea only had limited impact on the US–Japan alliance. The major driving force behind the globalization of the US–Japan alliance emerged from both nations' strategies, which had minor relationships with China and North Korea. The US wanted to enlarge its liberal international order and receive Japan's

military contributions to that order, and Japan desired to manage its friendship and alliance with the US. Second, after 2010, the emergence of external threats increased suspicion within the US–Japan alliance. Japan's conflict with China in 2010 and 2012 over the Senkaku Islands revealed the perception gap between Japan and the US regarding China. The Obama administration's reaction was moderate; while under the Trump administration, Japan's tough stance against North Korea diverges from Trump's negotiation tactics, and Trump's harsh China policy is now deeply embarrassing Japan.

3) Akira Igata, Tama University
Japan-US-ROK trilateral cyber security cooperation: mitigating and countering threats from North Korea

This paper analyzes how Japan, US, and ROK have been: (1) facing a rapidly changing cyber threat environment; (2) developing their national cybersecurity strategies; and (3) engaging in trilateral cybersecurity cooperation over the years. There have been numerous instances of North Korean cyberattacks against these three countries, most notably the Sony Pictures hack of 2014. Various malicious cyber activities have been attributed to China, such as cyber economic espionage conducted by APT 1. Russian cyber warfare activities have been on the rise, including its influence operations to sway the US midterm elections in 2016. Three countries have created new national cyber strategies and capabilities to deal with these emerging threats. Cooperation among the three countries has also begun to take place, albeit to a limited extent. This paper argues that further trilateral cooperation in addressing these problems in the cyber realm will be beneficial to all parties. These include, but not limited to: (1) increasing cyber coordination in protecting critical assets, which will improve deterrence against potential provocations by North Korea; (2) increasing sharing of threat information, which enables countries to better defend themselves from malicious activities of state and non-state actors; and (3) identifying effective ways to respond against influence operations, which can be shared amongst the three countries as well as smaller countries more susceptible to such actions.

Discussant: Eunjung Lim, Ritsumeikan University

Session 13: Room 22
<u>Moto no mi ni shite: The Anti-Symbolism of Japanese Poetics</u>
Organizer and Chair: Jeffrey Knott, Stanford University

Easy to translate, hard to convey. Such is the experience of Englishing Japanese poetry. Many words and images typical of traditional verse transfer out of Japanese well enough, but translate poorly. The loss is often phrased in terms of a vast undergirding interweave of poetic associations, yet such a hermeneutic is too symbolist. Blossoms are not associated with impermanence, but embody it. No isolable abstract is merely betokened: the dynamism of Japanese poetic diction lies instead in the productive identity of flower with idea. The panelists explore this dynamic from the genres of *waka*, *renga*, and *monogatari*. McClure examines sky imagery in early medieval *waka*, tracing its development as an articulation of the inner landscape of emotional space. Ikuta reevaluates the role of poetic "rules" against the context of *renga* as event, noting how symbolic poetic restrictions were in fact interpersonal restrictions, reflecting the communal character of expression in the assembled *renga za*. Knott argues that the extensive citation of court lore in medieval Genji exegesis, often characterized as a scholastic signal of elevated status, represented the values of an emergent

poetic sensibility in which such antiquarianism prominently featured. Uniquely in each case, the three approaches highlight, collectively, the interpretive potential of due appreciation for the non-symbolist character of Japanese poetic discourse, for the stuff of Japanese poetic diction not as-like, but as-is.

1) Bonnie McClure, University of California, Berkeley
Clouds Parting at Dawn: Poetics of the Sky in Early Medieval Waka

Images of weather and atmosphere feature prominently in *waka* of the Shinkokinshū era, where they can serve to establish a sense of spatial scale and convey an immersive sensory experience of nature. Sky-related imagery recurs in poetry not only on seasonal topics but also on "human" topics such as love, where it may act most simply as overt metaphor, or may aid in evoking scenes specific to certain times of the day or night. This paper will look at poetics of sky and air in waka from around the turn of the 13th century, including works from Shinkokinshū and other major poetic texts of the same era, and will focus especially on the way images of sky are used to suggest emotions of longing and desire in love poetry. In some striking cases, sensory-rich imagery of the air can serve to convey the experience of romantic desire in terms of affect, or to fill the "space" caused by the absence of the object of desire. In ways such as these, early medieval poetry displays a relationship between exterior atmospheric space and interior emotional space that is often complex and far from limited to metaphorical symbolism. Taking the case of atmospheric imagery as a major example, this paper will examine some of the workings of the loose, flexible, and mutually informing relationship between outer and inner landscape that forms an important feature of early medieval *waka* poetics.

2) Ikuta Yoshiho, Ochanomizu University
Language Games: Renga as Event in the Works and Criticism of Nijō Yoshimoto

Renga, the verse-linking art of pre-modern Japan, is famous as a poetry of rules. Its medieval heyday saw the serial production of manuals offering ever more detailed composition guidelines, each defining what kind of poetic vocabulary and content would be acceptable in the za, the group linking-session where *renga* production ideally took place. Less widely appreciated is how deeply *renga* manuals were also concerned with the conduct of these sessions. For the uniqueness of *renga* lay less in its artistic restrictions than in the communal nature of the art itself: the *za* session was above all an event. Per its very structure, the growing *renga* chain, modified link-by-link with each subsequent poet, necessarily lacked any organizing theme. As an event, however, the genre derived unity from codes of rules (*shikimoku*) and manners (*sahō*) that equally bound all participants to a single language game. In this paper I consider the event-centric nature of *renga* as an artform through the works of one of its foremost practitioners, Nijo Yoshimoto (1320–88). In *renga* sequences such as *Ishiyama hyakuin* and treatises such as *Renri hishō*, his output shows by example and explicit discussion the generative tensions of the genre's social character: the combination of competition and cooperation, the unity and disjunction of a single link-chain forged by a diversity of hands. It is this composition space, I argue, that explains the nature of art–and its appreciation–within the *renga* genre.

3) Jeffrey Knott, Stanford University
The Splendor of Antiquarianism: Court Lore and the Poetics of Genji Exegesis

How to understand the *Tale of Genji*? Inevitably the answer reflects our assumptions about the text's structuring poetics. It has always been a difficult text, and in the millennium since our oldest extant commentaries began to appear–barely a century after the author's own death–many different answers have been given. We do find substantial continuities in reader understanding: perusal of the mid-11c. *Genji shaku* presents a comforting familiarity, above all in its focus on allusions to Japanese and Chinese literature. More revealing, however, is the contrary case of exegetical priorities–and by inference interpretations–that skew radically different from our own. Chief among these is medieval commentaries' truly extensive citation of ancient Japanese and Chinese court lore. What understanding of the Genji explains this? Most theories yet offered see in such lore a symbolic significance. And indeed, medieval exegetes' focus on court traditions and history – above all in the Kakaishō (1367) – far outstrips anything necessary for reading the Genji. Rather than as gratuitous trivia, however, I argue that such literary scholarship is more plausibly – and straightforwardly – the motivated product of an engaged poetic sensibility. Drawing parallels with other products of medieval antiquarianism, and noting the persistence of such Genji scholarship well into the Edo period, I outline the nature of such a sensibility, considering its continued influence on Genji interpretation today.

Discussant: Unno Keisuke, National Institute of Japanese Literature

Session 14: Room 21
Individual Papers Session 3: Performances in Gender and Beyond
Chair: Edward Drott, Sophia University

1) Tomoko Seto, Yonsei University
Negotiating Gender and Labor: Japanese Female Professional Wrestlers, 1948–1958

This paper examines the early years of Japanese female professional wrestling during and after the US Occupation and the ways in which multiple ideals of womanhood and professionalism were promoted and negotiated through popular culture in light of the discourse of the "new nation." Some scholars of gendered experience in early postwar Japan have often focused on popular stars and sex workers, while others dealing with postwar labor have illustrated the state and corporate initiatives to mobilize women as both factory work forces and rationalized wives of workers. To complicate our understanding of the field deepened by these scholarly works, we can further question multiple temporalities by tracing uneven perceptions and experiences of women engaging in a nonconventional style of sports entertainment in a familiar format of itinerant performance. My paper analyzes contemporaneous media sources and recent interviews with the former female wrestlers and explores how media representations of the new category of the professional women's wrestling provided nuanced narratives of ideal national working womanhood through both their "unwomanly" actions and "liberated" female bodies. These narratives, together with the former wrestlers' accounts, indicate multiple perceptions of working women; they generated their own awareness as well-trained professionals, while unwittingly promoting images of filial daughters working hard to for their family, and by extension national, economy.

2) Wei-Chih Wang, National Tsing Hua University
The Japanized Posthuman Theatre in Taiwan

While the historical influences on the modern theatre brought by the Japanese to Taiwan in the early twentieth century were undeniable, how Japanese culture affects the theatrical practice in Taiwan up to the present time receives relatively little attention. This paper argues that Japanese subculture also becomes a form of "database," to borrow Azuma Hiroki's terminology, for Taiwanese people in artistic creations. This paper thus explores the Japanese factors embedded in modern Taiwanese theatre through analyzing two performances, Arc (2017) and The Earth Self-Defense Co., LTD. (2018), two episodes that illustrate a dystopian saga of the human extermination in future. Japanese subculture provides theatre practitioners in Taiwan a hyper-real framework of depicting reality; it enables practitioners to depict post-human fantasy that transcends national boundaries and engenders the aesthetics of cultural cosmopolitanism. Such creative preference, however, also conveys power negotiation between the two places. In both works, the bodily gestures are highly "Japanized," revealing distinctly the Japanese references in Taiwan's daily life, anime, comics, video games, TV drama, and so on. Ultimately, what the audience sees on stage is a historical accumulation of the localization of Japanese culture that re-entered Taiwan in the post-cold war era. How modern Taiwanese theatre writes back to Japan will be the primary question this paper attempts to investigate.

3) Bart Dashorst, National Taiwan University
When Post-isms Collide: Re-Reading Taiwan's Postcolonialism and Postmodernism through A Brighter Summer Day and Super Citizen Ko

In 2016 digital restorations were released of two important Taiwanese movies from the 1990s: Edward Yang's 1991 A Brighter Summer Day and Wan Jen's 1995 Super Citizen Ko. Both movies deal with the White Terror period that took place in Taiwan from 1949 to 1992, although they treat their subject matter in different ways. A Brighter Summer Day tells the story of second-generation refugees from China and the alienation they experience in the oppressive 1960s as their parents long to return to China; Super Citizen Ko is about a political prisoner released after the lifting of martial law in 1987 and explores the guilt he feels for having betrayed his comrades. Despite these differences, both movies reflect debates that took place in the 1990s regarding the condition of Taiwan as a "postmodern" or a "postcolonial" nation and the search for new Taiwanese identities and histories. This paper aims to continue Taiwan's critical leftist tradition while being critical of both pro-unification and pro-independence nationalisms. By analyzing these two films, this paper shows that the 1990s debate on Taiwan's condition as postmodern or postcolonial first of all overlooks its neocolonial reliance on borrowed concepts such as "postmodern" and "postcolonial", and secondly that the debate is restricted to the realm of culture and history, thus ignoring the economic reality that Taiwan at this time had already entered the stage of late capitalism and in many ways has become neo-imperial itself.

4) Yanling Li, Stony Brook University
Love, Pleasure and Escape: Women's Viewership of Gay Pornography in China

Under the long-time and influential activities lead by anti-porn feminists Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon, pornography tends to be read as synonyms with objectification and victimization of women or physical violence against women. However, despite the degrading and dehumanizing image of women in pornography, cultures have witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of female consumers of pornography since 1990s. Interestingly and surprisingly, in China, gay pornography becomes a significant category drawing more and more women's interest. This paper intends to present a general picture of

Chinese women's consumption of gay pornography and tries to explore the social reasons why Chinese women should be so interested in gay sex despite its apparent absence in the real world. I argue that gay pornography provides an alternative space for Chinese women to express their sexuality and an imagined utopian world distinct from the heteropatriarchal society. In order to do this, I first look at media's derogatory representation of Chinese women's sexuality, especially that of well-educated, urban and professional women, to show that the biased representation is a major reason for women to watch gay pornography for comfort. I then focus on the fan community of the Nagi-Sho couple who were Japanese gay sex performers to analyze how gay pornography helps to construct a space for women to imagine alternatives to heteronormativity.

Session 15: Room 23
Individual Papers 3: Publishing and Social Issues
Chair: Bettina Gramlich-Oka, Sophia University

1) Maria Grazia Petrucci, University of British Columbia
Hasegawa Gonroku and the Manila Trade in the Early Years of the Tokugawa Shogunate

This presentation analyzes the Manila trade and the role of the Nagasaki Magistrates, in favoring or in prohibiting groups of merchants who had no ties to the Tokugawa elite from the lucrative trade. Recent studies on the history of Nagasaki related to Christianity and Trade in Japan have portrayed the Hasegawa Magistrates at the sold of Tokugawa Ieyasu and Hidetada tied to them by political, economic, as well as family relations. Their roles were instrumental in the elimination of Christianity in Japan as they obeyed Tokugawa orders and persecuted the Christian Fathers and their followers in Nagasaki since 1612, and by comparing Christianity as the worst of crimes in their punishment scale, which resulted in the 1620s cruel persecutions and martyrdom of several Europeans and Japanese Christians. While this presentation does not intend to reassess the characters of the Hasegawa, it instead reassesses the trade relations between Manila and Japan under their office. In fact it was under their offices that the Manila trade underwent some changes and while scholars have focused their attention of the expulsion of Christianity it is the scope of this presentation to reveal who was being assigned to it and how trade, diplomacy, and piracy had influenced the Tokugawa and their Nagasaki Magistrates in exploiting instead other venues and in eliminating a potential threat constituted by the merchants who dealt with the Manila trade not directly under Tokugawa control.

2) Eiko Saeki, Hosei University
The Fetus as an Emerging Social Actor: Theory of Fetal Development in the Tokugawa Period

One of the significant social changes in the Tokugawa period was an increasing interest in children. As the family became the independent economic unit, even ordinary people began to consider the continuation of family lineage important. Confucian childrearing manuals became popular as parents tried to maximize their children's potential. Such texts often included the discussions of fetal development, which affected people's understanding of the genesis of life. Tracing changes in the explanations of fetal development in childrearing manuals as well as medical and popular texts, this paper illustrates how the fetus became an important social actor at the discursive level in the Tokugawa period. Texts on pregnancy up to the mid-Tokugawa period were based on Chinese classical texts, which stressed the role of meridians in nurturing the fetus, but once the ideas from the syncretic religion, *shugendō*,

were taken up by the authors of childrearing manuals and by various forms of mass entertainment, it was popularized quickly. Authors of the *shugendō* texts represented the fetus in early pregnancy with Buddhist altar fittings, and argued that the fetus was protected by different gods during each month of gestation. While such notions came to be ridiculed toward the end of the Tokugawa period, strong alternative ideas did not emerge. Though losing the power as the basis of belief, the theory of Buddhist altar fittings as part of fetal development remained significant among ordinary people.

3) Andrew T. Kamei-Dyche, Saitama University
Purveyors of Books and Nodes in Networks: Bookstores in the Cultural Landscape of Early Twentieth-Century Japan

At the start of the twentieth century, improved printing technology and a growing educated middle class drove the growth of the Japanese book trade both in scale and content. Through the 1910s and 1920s there occurred a veritable boom in print culture, one aspect of which was the proliferation of bookstores, especially in Tokyo. In addition to offering their wares, bookstores performed a range of complementary roles for the intellectual community. Many served as salons, providing key social spaces for students and intellectuals to meet and socialize. In addition to social networking they could also represent career opportunities because many bookstores were connected to publishers and some became publishers themselves. Connections with a bookstore could therefore offer aspiring writer avenues to publication, or involvement in the publication of the work of peers. This paper will examine these various aspects of bookstores in the context of the era's transforming print culture and intellectual climate, shedding light on a relatively unexplored area of prewar Japanese cultural history.

4) Dylan McGee, Nagoya University
Kinome Dengaku (fl. 1796–1816) and the Path to Commercial Publication in Nineteenth-Century Japan

One testament to the popularity of *gesaku* in early nineteenth-century Japan was the preponderance of amateur writers who aspired to publish in the genre. While most labored in obscurity, far from the literary center of Edo, a select few caught the attention of celebrity authors like Kyokutei Bakin (1767–1848) and Jippensha Ikku (1765–1831), and with their help, debuted in print. The manner in which these writers typically transitioned from local amateurs to commercial authors reveals much about how the literary marketplace was taking shape in the early nineteenth century, and how hierarchies of literary production were mediating exchanges between Edo and the periphery. This paper examines the career of amateur *gesaku* writer Kinome Dengaku (fl. 1796–1816), who produced several works of gesaku for lending libraries in his hometown of Nagoya before coming to the attention of both Bakin and Ikku in 1802. While ostensibly written for a small, local readership, his early manuscripts evince a remarkable concern for authorial self-promotion, featuring frontispiece portraits and metafictional devices that allow him to appear in the story. Once in print, Dengaku stressed his relationships to Bakin and Ikku by way of establishing his literary pedigree. Drawing on manuscripts and letters, this paper details Dengaku's transition from aspiring amateur to commercial author and considers the importance of literary lineage or discipleship in the marketplace of nineteenth-century *gesaku*.

5) Ye Yuan, Columbia University
Sawada Issai and the Tōwa Study: Publishing, Neo-Confucianism, and Colloquial Chinese

The discussion on the *tōwa* study 唐話学 (study on Chinese speech) that was popular in eighteenth century often features the renowned Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728) and his *Ken'en* 蘐園 school. The neo-Confucian school led by Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎(1619–1682) , however, shared the interest in studying colloquial Chinese with the *Ken'en* school that seems to be its opposite. Keen on understanding *yulu* 語錄 (J: *goroku*) of the masters, the disciples of the Ansai school also studied colloquial Chinese and produced glossaries concerning the colloquial Chinese words and expressions. The present study examines the works on colloquial Chinese by the Ansai disciples and especially focuses on the Kyoto publisher Sawada Issai 沢田一斎 (1701–1782), who was a disciple of the Ansai school and also an expert on Chinese speech. His family bookstore, Fūgetsudō 風月堂, was a powerful publishing house; it exerted its influence through its branch stores and produced works on both neo-Confucianism and colloquial Chinese—even including even Sorai's brother, Ogyū Hokkei 荻生北渓 (1670–1754). Issai and his Fūgetsudō, this article points out, is a fruitful site to probe into the world of the *tōwa* study beyond the scholar-bureaucrats, the Nagasaki interpreters, and the Chinese scholars and monks. It interweaves the spheres that were previous studied independently yet are highly relevant to each other in the realm of the Tokugawa fascination towards colloquial Chinese language and literature.

Session 16: Room 24
Individual Papers Session 5: Nuclear power in East Asia
Chair: Tom Gill, Meiji Gakuin University

1) Tarek Katramiz, United Nations University Institute for the Advanced Study of Sustainability
Living with Nuclear Power: Risk, Uncertainty and Hope in a Host Community in Japan

The paper explores the work of hope in local residents' narratives in relation to living near a nuclear power plant (NPP) in the aftermath of the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster. It is a part of a qualitative study based on extensive interviews with local residents during 10 rounds of fieldwork (2012–2017) in Omaezaki City in Shizuoka Prefecture, where the Hamaoka NPP is located. While it had not been physically affected by the events of 3.11 triple disaster, the Omaezaki community was faced with unanticipated crisis. In the wake of the Fukushima nuclear meltdown, the operation at the Hamaoka NPP was suspended and has since remained so, upon a request from the government on 9 May 2011. This paper focuses on the notion of hope as one of the complex and different ways in which local residents deal with risks and uncertainty, stemming from financial, communal, familial and other concerns. I argue that while hope might appear as an irrational strategy to the outsider who views the nuclear risk only in abstract term, it is an important and reasonable strategy that enable local residents to embrace risk and manage uncertainty in situations that may appear hopeless. Overall, the working of hope among my Omaezaki interlocutors in the context of their everyday life contextualizes the dichotomous stance towards nuclear power (for or against).

2) Yousun Chung, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies
*A Bumpy Road to 'Nuclear-Free Homeland (*Feihe jiayuan*)': Debate over Nuclear Power Phase-Out in Taiwan*

The energy policy in Taiwan has evolved towards reducing reliance on nuclear power, which is a rare case in East Asia. The fourth nuclear power plant (FNPP) has been at the center of such path: (1) The early Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)'s regime (2000–2008) has attempted yet failed to stop constructing it, due to the backlash from the legislature. (2) The

Kuomingtang (Chinese Nationalist Party)'s regime (2008–2016) kept constructing it yet made an uneasy decision to freeze it, facing strong countrywide anti-nuclear activism. (3) The current DPP's regime (2016 and onward) has proposed an ambitious plan of nuclear-phase out, yet has difficulties over how to realize it. Actually, the debate over FNPP is about the interaction between important actors regarding development of nuclear power: government, political parties, electricity company, and environmental groups. While focusing on the latest phase of controversy over FNPP (2016 and onward), this article analyzes the ongoing dynamics between the relevant actors over the issue of nuclear power phase-out in Taiwan. While discussing the possibility and limit of realizing nuclear power phase-out in Taiwan, this article attempts to identify recurring and/or changing pattern of interaction between the relevant actors surrounding the development of nuclear power.

3) Agota Duro, Hiroshima Peace Institute
The Role of Christianity in the Support of South Korean Atomic Bomb Victims in Japan

This paper examines the process that Japanese adherents of Christianity – despite Japan being one of the least Christian nations in the world – were at the forefront when civil society movements formed in the early 1970s to advocate for the rights of atomic bomb survivors (*hibakusha*) returning to South Korea after 1945. Many Christians, when considering Japan's accountability in World War II, were driven by remorse, a strong sense of righteousness, and they considered reconciliation with other Asian nations of utmost importance. The paper introduces the activities of three Japanese individuals who were driven by personal, yet identical motives rooted in Christianity to advocate for the rights of South Korean A-bomb survivors. Kawamura Toratarō provided Korean *hibakusha* with medical assistance in Hiroshima. Matsui Yoshiko was a distinguished member of the main Korean *hibakusha* support association in Osaka, who succeeded in recruiting hundreds of advocates. Oka Masaharu was a Protestant minister in Nagasaki devoted to seeking redress for Korean *hibakusha*. Christian ethics strengthened their sense of justice and helped them critically interpret Japan's imperial past and wartime atrocities. The paper also emphasizes that the long-term suffering of the Japanese Christian community contributed to Christians being more inclined to identify with other minority groups who were oppressed, discriminated against, or neglected by the mainstream society and the ruling government.

4) Friso G.W. Morand, City University of Hong Kong
Green Techno-Nationalism: Japan's Use of Green Technology as National Asset

Since the early 1990s, Japan has actively promoted its green technology abroad as part of its diplomatic efforts to present itself as an environmental champion in international affairs. Using its financial and technological assets, Japan is keen to participate in multilateral and bilateral initiatives in order to contribute to solving global environmental issues, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region. Japan is one of the top inventors of green technology and the country has economic, political and ethical incentives for promoting the diffusion of Japanese green technology overseas. However, evidence suggests that the country is reluctant to share this technology, preferring to keep tight control over it. This project aims to explain this contradiction by applying the concept of techno-nationalism to examine how the Japanese government is promoting the development and the oversea transfer of green technology. It argues that the Japanese government views green technology as a national asset crucial for the country's prosperity and security. As a result, the government tends to promote the domestic development of complex new green innovations while transferring less recent technologies abroad. In the long term, such a policy is likely to damage the country's

reputation internationally and diminish Japanese diplomacy's ability to resolve environmental issues, which in turn will threaten the country's security.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSIONS II: 15:40 P.M. - 17:40 P.M.

Session 17: Room 31
Roundtable: Imagined Futures: Spaces, Places, Architectures of Pyongyang and North Korea
Organizer/Chair: Robert Winstanley-Chesters, University of Leeds/Birkbeck, University of London

North Korea's future is marked by possibilities and presumptions. Much analysis of the Pyongyang and North Korea to come focuses on future relationships with the south, political vacuums, population displacements, security threats and hypotheticals; few questions are asked of the nation's current materialities. Future landscapes north of the 38th parallel however will not be theoretical or conceptual nor those of collapse/usurpation by the structures/logics of democracy and Capitalism, but complex co-productions of past, present and future, generating new terrains not in the minds of North Korea's current government, nor those who seek to replace it. The roundtable's premise is that new terrains resulting from such co-productions require extensive and engaged imagination/creativity. The roundtable's foci are to present North Korean urban, topographic and geographical futures and the methodological/empirical frameworks through which they are derived from different disciplines such as Geography, Architecture, Design and Future Studies. Contributions are based on different articulations of the co-production of past, present and future with imagination both as aspiration and methodological operative, resulting in new terrains impossible in current frameworks of management, containment or restriction. This roundtable imagines places and spaces in transformation in the present, marked by a distinct and determined past, yet whose futures are rarely imaginatively or creatively considered.

1. Robert Winstanley-Chesters, University of Leeds/Birkbeck, University of London
2. Annie Pedret, Seoul National University
3. Jelena Mandic, Seoul National University
4. Lee Jae-ho, Seoul National University
5. Dongwoo Yim, Hongik University
6. Jelena Prokopljevic, Autonomous University of Barcelona
7. Sandra Fahy, Sophia University

Session 18: Room 32
Shanghai Exile in History and Story
Organizer/Chair: Christian W. Spang, Daito Bunka Unversity

This interdisciplinary panel brings together American and German scholars involved in Asian-German Studies, a field that has greatly developed over the last decade. Recently, Shanghai as a rather unlikely safe haven for refugees from Nazi-dominated Central Europe has become the focus of much scholarly attention. After World War I, Shanghai was one of the few areas where representatives of the former allies Britain, the USA, and France

interacted with people from Russia / the USSR, Japan, Germany, and China on a daily basis. The Sino-Japanese conflict and World War II changed the situation of groups within this multi-ethnic city, most intensely that of the local Chinese populace and the Jewish minority. This panel sheds new light on Shanghai as a place of exile. Thomas Pekar provides a research overview of the Shanghai exile. Christian W. Spang looks at the local branch group of the German East Asiatic Society (OAG), an institution of the established German Shanghailanders. Joanne Miyang Cho talks about the changing situation of the exile community between the Japanese surrender and the establishment of the People's Republic of China. Lee M. Roberts looks at recent literary works dealing with the suffering of refugees in Shanghai during the 1930s and 1940s. Finally, the discussant Torsten Weber, who was trained as a historian in Germany but researches East Asian affairs, is the perfect person to kick off a lively discussion about "Shanghai Exile in History and Story."

1) Thomas Pekar, Gakushuin University
Research Overview of the Shanghai Exile

Research into the Shanghai exile got underway relatively slowly and still has some deficits concerning the integration of this exile into the larger context, especially regarding the role of Japan as the dominating power of Asia at that time. The fact that research into the Shanghai exile got underway late is largely due to the original orientation of exile research, which, originating in the USA, was at first primarily interested in the biographies and products of the cultural elite. For example, research into exile literature was and still is an essential part of this traditional exile research. The Shanghai exile, on the contrary, was regarded as a marginal exile on the periphery and of the, so to speak, "ordinary people." Early reports had appeared during or shortly after World War II from those who had been in exile in Shanghai, but these texts were almost exclusively read among the (former) emigrants themselves. Historical research into the Shanghai exile only began in earnest in the 1960s or 70s. This paper is going to present an overview of the results of this research, focusing on the main works from this time to the present. A special emphasis is placed on the current connection between exile research and Asian-German Studies, which could generate a reorientation of exile research itself.

2) Christian W. Spang, Daito Bunka University
The German East Asiatic Society in Shanghai. Local leaders, Nazi pressure and the Jews

In the early 1930s, the German East Asiatic Society (OAG, est. 1873 in Tokyo) experienced the founding of branch groups in Leipzig (Germany, 1930), Shanghai (China, 1931) and Batavia (now Jakarta, Indonesia, 1934). From the mid-1930s onward, around half of the OAG-members lived outside Japan, something unimaginable before. Along with their counterparts in Shanghai and Batavia, the majority of the new members in Leipzig were more interested in China than in Japan. Thus, the OAG developed into a truly "East Asiatic Society", a trend that the local OAG activities in Shanghai strongly underscore. The OAG in Shanghai was less Nazi-oriented than in Tokyo, where the board was completely made up by NSDAP members from 1934 to 1945. In Shanghai, it took until 1937 before half of the board members were party members. Even in the early 1940s, there were always two or three non-party members on the local OAG board. The only Jewish board member had been deputy chairman from 1931 onward but left the board after being released from his job at the Consulate General in late 1933. While some Jewish members and Jewish speakers can be confirmed, there is little evidence that the OAG used the distance (it tried to keep) from the Nazi movement to support the Jewish community in Shanghai. Nevertheless, some of the

local OAG leaders did confront the Nazis and their cases will be introduced along with some statistics about the local membership and OAG activities.

3) Joanne Miyang Cho, Wiliam Paterson University of New Jersey
German-Speaking Jewish Refugees in Shanghai

After Japan was defeated in August 1945, German-speaking Jews in Shanghai were no longer under Japan's control and thus they could leave the designated area in Hongkew without a pass. Two aspects of their post-war experiences stand out. First, their lives became better in several areas. Their economic situation improved, since they could now find jobs with the US military and outside of the designated area. Their living conditions also improved, as they could now supplement their diet with rations from the US. More medicine became available and the introduction of DDT and other measures combated germs and bugs. At the same time, these Jewish refugees experienced profound sadness, as they learned for the first time that many of their relatives died in extermination camps in Eastern Europe. Consequently, they realized that despite their difficulties during the war years, they owed to Shanghai their survival. They also appreciated that East Asians showed no real anti-Semitism toward them. The second prominent experience of Shanghai Jews after 1945 is their efforts to leave Shanghai. Most of them did not want to go back to Europe; instead, they chose the US, Canada, Australia, and Palestine/Israel. This process was quickened due to Mao's communist victories. By 1949, practically all German-speaking Jewish refugees left China. As their arrival from Germany and Austria to Shanghai was sudden, their departure from Shanghai to the West was equally sudden.

4) Lee M. Roberts, Purdue University Fort Wayne
Distinguishing East from West in Novels about 1930s and 1940s Shanghai

In *Holocaust as Fiction* (2010), William Collins Donahue argues that many young people had become exhausted with regard to the Holocaust and that the popularity of historical fictions about the Holocaust was based on their power to "enable us to 'feel' at once engaged with the Holocaust while enforcing an absolute distance from its essential character of atrocity … and human suffering" (xii). Over the last two decades, a striking number of works of Holocaust-related historical fiction offering a view of Shanghai during the 1930s and 1940s has appeared, including Kazuo Ishiguro's *When We Were Orphans* (2001), Angel Wagenstein's *Farewell Shanghai* (2008), Lois Ruby's *Shanghai Shadows* (2015), and Karin Tanabe's *The Diplomat's Daughter* (2017). Shanghai was home to the Chinese populace, European entrepreneurs, Jewish refugees fleeing the Third Reich, and the often-brutal Japanese military. Although intriguing stuff for a novel, historical fiction contains some factuality, too, which is especially important here, given the horrors of the time. This presentation examines the portrayal of peoples from West and East living in Shanghai in such works: How are Jewish refugees distinguished from the Chinese? Are Japanese cast as Asian Nazi-types? Finally, should these works be categorized as Holocaust fiction set in Shanghai or Asia-Pacific war novels with Jewish refugees merely as part of the scene?

Discussant: Torsten Weber, German Institute for Japanese Studies

Session 19: Room 33
<u>**Chinese Masculinity and Femininity Re-imagined: Transnationality, Technology and State Control**</u>
Organizer: Xin Yang, Macalester College
Chair: Yipeng Shen, Trinity College

With transnational mobility and technological advancement on the one hand, and tightened state control on the other, Chinese masculinity and femininity are undergoing reconstruction in the 2010s. While we do see representations of multiple gender norms, the leading official media also openly bans the "sissies" (*niang pao*) to be on the bigger screen. Meanwhile the new technology presents itself as a double-edged sword that offers opportunities for the articulation of alternative identities, and also brings state control to the closest distance of fingertips. This panel seeks to address the recent imagination of masculinity and femininity in Chinese cinema, science fiction, social media and transnational fandom. Yipeng Shen's paper studies the articulation of masculinity in Jiang Wen's film as a defiance of the present. Xin Yang discusses the emasculation in Chinese science fiction as a way to reflect a larger social crisis. Jiaxi Hou examines how the socially disadvantaged group utilizes *kuaishou*, a digital platform, to articulate an imagined masculinity. Jia Yang's paper argues that the transnational mobility of young Chinese urban females is motivated by popular fandom and its imagined possibility to break gender inequalities. The four papers suggest that the recent imagination of gender norms is a result of the interplay of anesthetized politics, technology and the state control, which reflects a collective uncertainty of globalized Chinese culture.

1) Yipeng Shen, Trinity College
Let the Bullets Fly: History, Excessive Masculinity, and China's Globalization

This paper studies the articulation of masculinity in Jiang Wen's 2010 film "Let the Bullets Fly." After 30 years of Reform and Opening-up since 1978, two trends were identifiable in mainland Chinese mass culture. First, the recent history from the founding of the Republic (1912) to the end of the Cultural Revolution (1976) was simplified, marginalized, or entertainment-ized. Second, the representation of men was feminized because of changes of bodily ethics (how people perceive and regulate bodies). I argue that despite these trends of de-historicization and feminization, in "Let the Bullets Fly," the monstrosity of history exists as the male self's excessive other and defines Chinese masculinity, yet it only emerges through the male self's traumatic encounter with revolution. The articulation of masculinity in this film therefore highlights Jiang Wen's defiance of the "ideology of the present" that embraces global capitalist logics and bids farewell to China's revolutionary past. The film's reception at Douban, the most influential Chinese website for communitarian communication of audience experiences regarding books, films, and other mass cultural products, nevertheless indicates that the online receptions of Jiang's articulation of masculinity are dispersed across the social spectrums of gender, profession, and region. I argue that these dispersed receptions are an important part of life-making in contemporary Chinese neoliberalism.

2) Xin Yang, Macalester College
Technology, Politics and Emasculation: on Ma Boyong's Science Fiction

Ma Boyong's novelette the *Silent City* (Jijing zhi cheng, 2005) is a social commentary, as well as a political prophecy. Situated in an imagined space of America in an unknown future, the story revolves around the way the state exercises its power to silence people on the Internet and in daily life, depicting a gloomy picture of political control, technology and failed resistance. The paper employs Foucault's idea of heterotopia, and places Ma Boyong's novelette in the trajectory of Chinese science fiction and its critical intervention into the social reality. Particularly, the paper discusses emasculation under the interplay of the political control and technological innovation, which, unfortunately, have become the reality ten years after the novelette was published.

3) Jiaxi Hou, University of Tokyo
The Authenticity and Vulgarity in Kuaishou videos: The Visual Representation of Chinese Underclass in the age of Platformization

This presentation examines Kuaishou, an emerging digital platform with 700 million users for video-clip sharing in Chinese virtual communication, and discusses how the underclass utilizes the social medium to express their experiences and desires. Through an ethnographic exploration of the platform and *hanmai*, its most representative genre of user-generated music videos, the article argues that previously silent groups mobilize the affordable technology to represent their social realities by sharing short videos. In particular, the young male users yearn to construct the imagined masculinity while simultaneously embracing and resisting the global pop culture. However, such agency is not only structured in the frame of Kuaishou's technological affordances, but also through the negotiation with the state's control in the name of vulgarity. Therefore, the study investigates the precarious situation impacted by technological affordances, platform, and the state, wherein young underclass Chinese men endeavor to construct their "authentic" and "vulgar" identities in videos.

4) Jia Yang, University of Tokyo
Transnational Mobility and Popular Culture Fandom: International Migration among Chinese Fans of Japanese Idols

This paper is an ethnographic study of a type of transnational mobility inspired by popular culture fandom. As a social affordance of the globalization of the media, the affect towards Japanese idols, along with the affinity for other Japanese popular culture contents, constitutes one of the leading motivations for Chinese students to study in Japan. This project examines the migration experience of Chinese female fans of Japanese male idols. Despite their relatively high social status in China, these women migrate to seek better opportunities not particular related to economics but for personal development and escape from the pressures of gender expectations in China. By fantasizing the Japanese male idols as the ideal representation of either, if not both, a romantic partner or a symbol of a better future, the female fans in this article utilize migration as a way to resist the resurgence of gender inequalities in Mainland China. Through these fans' accounts of their own self-discovery, this paper will contribute to a better understanding of an emerging female subjectivity in contemporary China.

Discussant: Zhuoyi Wang, Hamilton College

Session 20: Room 34
The Possibilities of Commoners: The Role and Significance of "People" in Japanese History
Organizer and Chair: Akira Shimizu, Wilkes University

This panel aims to demonstrate various approaches to premodern and early-modern Japanese history through the lens of commoners. Historians studying these periods have paid attention to commoners primarily in relation to their "marginal" social status and their roles in major historical events or political and commercial institutions. Against this major scholarly scheme, the panel proposes that close examinations of historical documents that record the daily lives of commoners reveal their active participation in the making of Japan's past. What can literary sources tell us about commoners in the medieval era? Why, despite the recent scholarly assertion of individuality embraced and expressed by early-modern Japanese, did commoners choose not to be identified in popular prints? How were peasants able to take proactive roles to ensure "benevolent" treatment from political authorities? In what ways did urban residents influence a political decision in the Tokugawa-Meiji transformative period? Conceiving this broadly defined social constellation of people as a unique category of historical analysis, four papers explore the above four questions in distinct moments in Japanese history, and see the commoners as a indispensable arbitrator of policy making as well as an active generator of new cultural norms and practice.

1) Niels Van Steenpaal, Kyoto University
What's in a Name: Fame and Anonymity in Early Modern Free Print

Whether as the negative consequence of Asian despotism or a positive lack of Western egoism, the idea that the early modern Japanese were devoid of individuality was long considered an uncontroversial fact of life. While recent studies have debunked such stereotypes by showing that the Edo period, too, was home to a wide array of complex and eccentric personalities, they have failed to follow up on the question that naturally flows from such a revision. That is, if we assert that the early modern person did indeed possess an almost "modern" capacity towards self-assertion, then why don't we see more of it? Maybe the question we should be asking is not why a few individuals maneuvered themselves into the limelight, but rather, why the majority preferred to remain off-stage. This paper will offer a tentative exploration of the above problematic through the genre of *sein* (freely distributed prints). By collating multiple prints and analyzing the varied ways in which they are signed, or not signed, I would like to make the case that anonymity, rather than being the incapable and uninspired cousin of fame, was a conscious choice that came with its own religious, social, and moral rewards.

2) Rieko Kamei-Dyche, Risshō University
A Literary Lens on Social Lives: The Spectrum of Commoners in Medieval Tales

In contrast to various literary works in earlier times, in which court nobles or military elites were usually protagonists, in the medieval era tales based on the lives of commoners came to emerge. Commoners, who used to be merely minor, archetypal characters in the earlier literary tradition, now came to the forefront. This corresponded to the social context of the time. While there has been a tendency to see commoners as a single suppressed group at the mercy of historical change and devoid of agency, the reality was not so simple. Commoners were not always directly influenced by political and military matters at the top, and they responded to their daily concerns in a variety of ways. Hardly a monolith, commoners could be active and adjusted to their shifting social and economic environment through the course of the medieval era. How did commoners live during the often-turbulent years of the period? What kind of occupations did they engage in? What were their relations like within their families and communities? What were their fears or aspirations? Tales reflected all of these concerns and can thus offer substantial insight into understudied aspects of the lives of commoners in medieval Japan. By examining a range of contemporary literary works, this paper demonstrates how they can serve as a thought-provoking window into medieval life.

3) Yoshihiro Yamasaki, Tokyo Future University
Commoners' Political Action and Demands to the Bakufu; Large-scale Petitionary Protests (Kokuso) in the Late Tokugawa Period

Large-scale petitionary protests (*kokuso*), occurring predominantly in the Kinai region, were legal. Unlike smaller, illegal peasant protests directed against domain authorities, they were organized to present demands to the *bakufu* authority. Especially in the late Tokugawa period, more than one thousand villages often united to lead *kokuso*. The emergence of these actions was epoch-making in Japanese history. However, while unprecedented, such large-scale movements failed to bring a significant social change in Japan. This presentation seeks a new understanding of *kokuso* by examining their nature. In the early nineteenth century, *kokuso* petitioned the *bakufu* against the monopoly of *bakufu*-chartered merchants in the cotton and oil markets. These merchants purchased cotton with seeds and rapeseed at low prices from peasants, due to which the latter group experienced difficulty in paying the land tax to their domain lords. Therefore, the leaders of *kokuso* expressed their disapproval of the *bakufu*'s control over the distribution of these products through the merchants. However, the *bakufu*'s existence was never denied in *kokuso*; the peasants appealed to its benevolence—so that they could continue their production and "maintain their status as peasants." In this presentation, I redefine *kokuso* by paying sufficient attention to these aspects, and argue that this perspective allows us to discover the characteristics of commoners' political action and demands to the *bakufu*.

4) Akira Shimizu, Wilkes University
Shaking the "Impure" Ground from Below: The Role of Commoners in the Early Meiji Slaughterhouse Construction in the Fukagawa Neighborhood in Tokyo

After the end of "seclusion" in the 1850s, Japanese political authorities urgently sought to meet the demand of foreign residents for the construction of slaughterhouses to secure constant supply of beef. In early modern Japan, the *shogunate* prohibited the killing of livestock to promote agriculture, while the physical contact with animal corpses was considered a cause of defilement. My presentation explores the role that commoners played in government efforts to overcome old attitudes toward dead animals by focusing in the construction of a slaughter house in 1872 in the Fukagawa neighborhood in Tokyo. What plan did the Meiji government initially present to the Fukagawa residents in regard to the

legalization of slaughterhouses? How did commoners respond to such an unprecedented change, and in what ways did the political authorities reconfigure the initial plan, so that both Japanese citizens and foreign nationals could ensure the continuation of their cultural practices. To answer these questions, I examine a set of administrative documents recorded by the Tokyo metropolitan office that traces the process through which foreigners and Japanese negotiated the laws through the mediation of the government.

Discussant: Ellen Nakamura, University of Auckland
Session 21: Room 35
Defining Space in East Asian Ritual and Performance
Organizer/Chair: Kim Hunter Gordon, Duke Kunshan University

This panel considers space in East Asian ritual and performance. Drawing on examples from China, Taiwan, Japan and Indonesia, it first describes practices in which performance was either situated within or near religious space or for which performance carried out the function of consecrating space itself. Historical practices are then traced onto modern contexts, in which religious and public space have in some cases become implicated in secular functions, in particular the perpetuation and projection of group identity and heritage. It will also consider how space itself determines how performance is generated and interpreted. Robin Ruizendaal describes how Marionette string puppets are used to cleanse space with three modern examples from Fujian, Taipei and Macau. Galia Petkova examines the ways in which performance space has been defined at local *matsuri* festivals in Japan, focusing on the concept of space in *noh* and sumo practices in these community contexts. Kaori Fushiki focuses on *Wayang Potehi* glove puppetry brought to Indonesia by Chinese migrants, and how the effects of suppression altered both its religious function and traditional performance space. Kim Hunter Gordon considers the recent increase of *xiqu* productions staged in gardens and other heritage sites in China.

1) Robin Ruizendaal, Taipei Puppet Museum
Ambulant Marionette Stages and Altars in Contemporary Fujian and Taiwan

Marionette (string puppet) companies and individual religious practitioners who use marionettes bring their own altars to the temporary stages where they perform. The ambulant altars are dedicated to consecrated marionette deities, who dispense blessings and conduct exorcisms while being manipulated by the performer. The main function of these performances is the cleansing of the space where the performance takes place. The object of the cleansing is sometimes clearly described, such as the removal of ghosts, and sometimes more ambiguous as cleansing of anything harmful. The space is sometimes clearly delineated as just the performance area itself and sometimes the whole cosmos needs to be recreated in situ by ritual. In this paper we chart how puppet deities are used in the context of both traditional and modern performance. This will include a performance in the Fujian countryside as a Thanksgiving to Heaven in 1993; a performance with a marionette of *Zhongkui* after a suicide in urban Taipei in 2017, and an exorcism and cleansing of a large performance area before a modern theatre performance in the harbor of Macau by a traditional Daoist master in 2004. Although the ways in which these performances are enacted may vary widely, their goal is always to temporarily create a peaceful and harmonious space in which a family or community can thrive. Thus we find in the marionette theatre one of the oldest functions of Chinese religious performance in a contemporary context.

2) Galia Petkova, International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken)
Enacting Sumo and Noh: Communal Performance Spaces in Japan

Performance has played a central role in traditional societies, literally taking place in the most central space – in or close to a main religious site. Particularly in Asia, numerous dance and dramatic forms have been staged at festivals, along with the rituals, to both entertain and strengthen the community whose members become both actors and spectators. This presentation will look at the ways in which performance space has been defined at local festivals in Japan – in shrines but, most of all, in community areas. I will focus on two examples. The first is *Kurokawa noh*, a form of *noh* theatre with a 500-year old tradition, performed in winter during the Ogi Festival in the Kurokawa area of Kushibiki town in Yamagata prefecture. The second is the Honen Festival held in the villages on Amami Islands, usually in September, that features sumo wrestling and various folk dances. Both are harvest festivals, in which the whole community takes part. I will explore the specifics of and the changes in the respective performance spaces – *noh* stage and sumo ring (*dohyō*) – where the local people turn into *noh* actors, sumo wrestlers and traditional dancers, in celebration of community spirit and gratitude to the deities for the abundant crops. As both *noh* and sumo are all-male shows, special attention will be paid to the gender aspects of these performance spaces: their usage as a site for enactment of and initiation into masculinity, and the access, participation and role of women.

3) Kaori Fushiki, Taisho University
Embracing New Performance Spaces as a Method for Survival: The Changing Social Context of Indonesian Wayang Potehi

Wayang Potehi is a form of glove puppetry brought to Indonesia by Hokkien migrants in the 19th century. Its current performers are mainly Javanese and the language used for the most part is now Bahasa Indonesia. Moreover, many other elements of the performance have also been "*Wayang*-ized." Due to its suppression in the recent past, *Wayang Potehi* performance was restricted in many ways. In some cases, performance was forbidden outright. In others, it was limited to the inside of temples, thus hiding it from the public. In recent years, opportunities to perform at temple festivals have returned. However, revived or re-introduced *Wayang Potehi* returns to these spaces in a new context and its performance form, style and meaning are changed as a result. Opportunities to perform in contexts other than religious ones have also increased, such as in shopping malls and shops. Performances in these spaces tend to be subsidized by patrons who wish to project their Chinese roots or the specific character of the Tionghua community with a public arena. However, these performances hold another meaning for practitioners of *Wayang Potehi*, who recognize them as a strategy to increase opportunities for paid performance and thus the succession of the tradition. Therefore, while it is difficult to make a living by *Wayang Potehi*, by emphasizing its "Indonesia-ness," practitioners are able to both develop performance opportunities and play a part in "Indonesian culture."

4) Kim Hunter Gordon, Duke Kunshan University
Heritage Sites as Performance Space in Contemporary China

In recent years an increasing number of traditional Chinese opera productions, in particular *kunqu*, have been staged in gardens and other heritage sites. Since the 16th century, performances of Chinese theatre outside of temple settings took place either at private residences of the elite, which often contained walled gardens with pavilions and/or purpose-

built stages, merchant guilds, or, latterly, commercial tea-houses in large cities. Over the course of the 20th century, most professional theatre moved into western style proscenium arch theatres. In recent years, however, an increasing demand among urban consumers for site-specific experiences has generated a demand for performance to be brought into heritage spaces. Traditional genres have struggled to maintain large audiences in proscenium style theatres. Furthermore, the scale and format of modern theatres has significantly impacted many aspects of performance, including style, choreography and vocal training. The trend towards performance in heritage spaces provides an opportunity to consider how space creates both limitations and opportunities for performance of traditional forms. This paper takes the specific example of the 2018 *kunqu* performance of the 19th century book Six Chapters of a Floating Life by Shen Fu set in the Canglang Pavilion, a garden which features in the original work.

Discussant: Mayumi Tsuda, Keio University

Session 22: Room 21
Making Landscapes: Refiguring Subjectivity, Nationality, and Narrativity in (Post-) Colonial Spaces
Organizer: Huang-wen Lai, Wake Forest University
Chair: Robert Tierney, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Extending recent scholarship on (post-) colonial studies in East Asia, this panel proposes new ways of conceptualizing literary and cultural accounts of subjectivity, identity, and tensions between the physical and psychological "landscapes" of Imperial Japan. The panel crosses geographical and disciplinary borders by refiguring in landscapes the dynamics of tradition/innovation, old empire/new empire, good/bad subject, and *naichi/gaichi* from the 1920s to the 1960s. Focusing on the complex moments that creating diverse colonial "landscapes," the panelists address overlooked historical and cultural agents including colonized subjects, repatriated civilians, colonial travelers, and folkloristic performers. Haag looks to the fractured internal landscapes revealed in colonial narratives focalized through unreliable "good Korean" subjects. Lai explores how colonial landscapes portrayed by Satō Haruo reveal cultural domination rather than emphasizing exoticism and romanticism. Poland argues the function of landscape is a formal mechanism for trans-imperial subjectivities, proposing a decolonial ecocriticism rejecting the notion of landscape. Konagaya considers the social and political implications of *minzoku geinō* (folkloristic performance) for reconstructing landscapes of nation-state and modernity. Overall, the panel utilizes methodologies from literature, history, and cultural studies to critically rediscover the disparate "landscapes" of the colonial/post-colonial periods.

1) Andre Haag, University of Hawaii at Manoa
Unknowable Colonial Frontiers: Japanese Literature and the Treacherous Internal Landscapes of the "Korean Mind"

By the late 1920s, it appeared on the surface that imperial Japan's policy of harmoniously integrating and assimilating the people of Korea into the center (*naisen yūwa*) was at last showing results. Yet, anxieties lingered on the shadowy interiorities of Korean minds. As one official put it, "outwardly they appear to be submissive, but inwardly they rebel." Although imperial bureaucrats and scholars had produced a massive body of knowledge about Korea's culture and "national character," colonized hearts and minds remained an impenetrable,

unknowable frontier accessible only in literary fiction. This paper examines colonial literature as an epistemological and affective instrument rendering "Korean minds" legible to Japanese readers, to explain and reconcile internal differences. If most Japanese travel literature offered unchanging, exterior landscapes of Korea (with the inhabitants reduced to scenery), I turn to the potentialities and perils of fictional narratives that anxiously braved the interior terrain of colonial subjectivity. My discussion traces how stories narrated by or focalized through Korean figures, including Nakajima Atsushi's *Landscape with Policeman* (1929), Tokugawa Musei's *Green Peppers* (1938), and passing Korean novelist Imamura Eiji's *Fellow Travelers* (1939), discover the dilemmas and double binds of harmonization in the mind of the semi-assimilated "good Korean" subject who longs for acceptance into the imperial fold but finds himself denied.

2) Huang-wen Lai, Wake Forest University
Landscape in Binary: Love Triangle, National Identity, and Satō Haruo's Colonial Journey in Taiwan

Japan's imperial project and colonial expansion in the early twentieth century involved various people and groups from both *naichi* (inner territory) and *gaichi* (outside territories). Satō Haruo was one of the literati travelers from *naichi* who visited Taiwan (*gaichi*) in 1920, and later provided his unique perspective on the colony through literature. During his voyage in Taiwan, Satō traveled to many aboriginal sites and places that a normal visitor could never have had a chance to visit. Thus, Satō's uncanny expedition in Taiwan was often seen as an anthropological trip because he portrayed much of the culture and customs of the Taiwanese aborigines (as well as the Han Chinese/Taiwanese) in his literary works. While Satō's literature on Taiwan was said to be works of exoticism and romanticism, this paper argues that the colonial landscape through Satō's literary eyes was full of clear shapes that displayed the contradictions between ghost/science, tradition/modernity, and China/Japan. His distinct visions of nationality, identity, and cultural differences were not a result of being a temporary traveler, but rather a consequence of the cultural domination of *naichi*. By emphasizing several binaries of the colony, it is clear that Satō's voyage began with a personal problem— a love triangle with Tanizaki Junichirō and his wife Chiyo—but ended as a national and imperial matter—another love triangle between *naichi* and *gaichi*.

3) Stephen Poland, Yale University
The Prison-House of Landscape: Empire and Ecology in Kobayashi Masaki and Abe Kōbō

If the passage of the revised U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in 1960 amid mass popular opposition marked the solidification of Japan's place in the Cold War order, the cultural production of the years straddling this landmark year in Japanese history can be understood as exploring the uncertain shift from the Japanese empire to a new order of Soviet-American empire. Between 1957 and 1962, novelist Abe Kōbō and director Kobayashi Masaki each tackled this uncertainty in narratives of failed repatriation by Japanese subjects living in the "puppet-state" of Manchukuo. Notably, both Abe's novel Beasts Head for Home and Kobayashi's epic film trilogy The Human Condition feature landscape as a major narrative device in their respective media. This paper argues that landscape functions as a formal mechanism for examining the former imperial subjectivities that were rendered incomprehensible in and inadmissible to the cultures of the new order of empire. I turn to Abe's novel The Woman in the Dunes to propose a decolonial ecocriticism rejecting the notion of landscape as an aesthetic ideology constitutive in the extractive anthropocentrism of empire. Instead, I draw on Abe's "desert thought" to focus on how the coding of bodies and

earth do not adhere to divisions between human/nature or living/nonliving, calling for us to rethink the role of narrative form in the Anthropocene.

4) Hideyo Konagaya, Waseda University
The Discourse of Minzoku Geinō and the Modern Nation-State in the Early Nineteenth Century Japan

Folkloristic interest in Japanese performance genres has developed, centering on the concept of "*minzoku geinō.*" It refers to the performance of dances, songs, and rituals that researchers find are rooted in the life, religion, and customs of local communities. The term, the compound of *minzoku* (folk), and *geinō* (performing arts), gained currency in the early 1950s, but rather should be seen as a product of the vibrant prewar discourse on performance. During the 1920s there had been an outpouring of enthusiasm in discussing and documenting performance practices in rural villages, using various new terms. It illuminates the time when intellectuals had reinterpreted and reorganized the Japanese terminologies and taxonomies of cultural practices, by inventing new words or modifying the meanings of existing words, while encountering modern Western cultural concepts and theories. Among the researchers of local performance forms, two principal lines of discourse had emerged. One came from modern literary theatre movement, and the other came from the formation of folkloristic ethnological studies. Suggesting the interaction and counteraction of these discourses have constituted the process that had led to the conceptualization of *minzoku geinō*, I will explore the social and political implications of the categorization of folkloristic performance in relation to modernity, and nation-state building, by looking into the larger context of Japanese culture, politics, and history.

Discussant: Robert Tierney, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Session 23: Room 22
<u>**Re-Engaging with Papua New Guinea during the Asia-Pacific War: Views from Japan, Australia and Papua New Guinea**</u>
Organizer/Chair: Ryota Nishino, University of the South Pacific

This panel examines the interactions between Japanese and Allies military personnel, and Papua New Guineans from the wartime to the early postwar war era. Papua New Guinea (PNG) is unique in that it became an assembly for competing imperial powers: Japan, the United States and Australia (the latter of which was its colonizer). Moreover, the war subsumed the geographically and ethnically diverse indigenous population who found themselves caught between foreign intruders. Thus, PNG offers various angles from which to analyze interactions between Japanese soldiers, the Allied combatants and the indigenous peoples. The panelists approach PNG and Japan as a contested space that led to co-operation, collaboration and reflection. Our presentations explore the issues of military sexual slavery, interrogation reports of Prisoners-of-War, health of soldiers from medical officers' memoirs, and the oral testimonies of indigenous men who suffered under the Japanese occupation. These case studies presented in this panel contribute to a finer socio-cultural understanding of the Asia-Pacific War and its aftermaths.

1) Ryota Nishino, The University of the South Pacific
Japanese Medical Personnel in the Papua New Guinean Campaign of the Asia-Pacific War

This exploratory presentation offers readings into selected published and unpublished memoirs by Japanese army doctors and medics from various parts of the Papua New Guinea (PNG) campaign of the Asia-Pacific War. While military psychiatry and medicine have gained scholarly recognition, studies into medical personnel's wartime experience remains largely unexplored. This presentation adds a human dimension to the history of military medicine. The medical personnel occupy a morally ambiguous position: they restore soldiers' health who in turn inflict harm on enemy combatants. The memoirs raise ethical and practical questions that the Japanese medical personnel faced, and relate the difficulties of practicing medicine in a land with different and much harsher natural conditions from than those at home. What killed an estimated 80% of the Japanese soldiers deployed to PNG was not combat, but tropical diseases and starvation. This presentation shows Japanese army doctors and medics from various parts of PNG were frustrated by their inability to execute their duties. It stemmed from the lack of medical supplies and un-cooperative military officers who ignored their advice. The memoirs illuminate the significance of health, diet and hygiene in the tropics, and the challenges of working under adverse and foreign conditions.

2) Jonathan Ritchie, Deakin University, Australia
Memories of Suffering: Indigenous Accounts of Japanese Military Occupation, New Ireland 1942–1945

From the first air raids on Kavieng on January 21, 1942, until the surrender in September 1945, New Ireland, the large island situated to the northeast of New Guinea, was occupied by Japanese military forces. For the Japanese military, New Ireland was an important strategic location that supported the major base at Rabaul. As the Allied counter-offensive gathered momentum from 1943 onwards, the occupying forces became increasingly isolated and subjected to bombardment from the air and sea, bringing great privation to the soldiers garrisoning the island. For the indigenous people of New Ireland, however, the occupation was a period of unrelenting suffering. The presentation will be one of the first opportunities to air in public some of the recollections of indigenous men and women from New Ireland about their experiences of the Pacific War in their island. In 2017, as part of the large 'PNG in World War Two' oral history research project conducted by Australian and Papua New Guinean researchers and supported by the Australian Government, interviews were conducted with people in New Ireland which provide rich details about how they perceived the War. Their memories of suffering demand to be told, not least to remind us of the need for their experiences to never happen again.

3) Yasuko Hassall Kobayashi, Osaka University
WWII and Global Mobilities: Solders as Mobile Subjects through ATIS Interrogation Reports

Wars cause extraordinary movements of people and WWII scattered 'Japanese' around the Asia and Pacific region. Both English and Japanese literature has studied soldiers of the Japanese Imperial Army and has portrayed particular representations of them during WWII: that they refused to surrender, and took their own lives when defeated in order to show their loyalty to the emperor or to save themselves or their own families from the national shame of becoming prisoners of war. The source of such representations in English is a well-cited "ATIS Report No.76," by the Allied Translator and Intelligence Service (ATIS), which Australia played a vital role with the United State. ATIS Report No. 76's main source is a plethora of files of interrogations. Those actual interrogation reports reveal much richer tales narrated by Japanese POWs than the particular summary report. This presentation attempts to

'unmute' narratives of Japanese soldiers, by reading them as migrants' experiences. Their narratives revealed shifts in their views about the centrality of the Japanese empire. Fighting for one's own country provided a way for them to decentralise the power and authority of the Japanese empire. These soldiers' narratives beg us to devise a way to understand them differently.

4) Caroline Norma, RMIT University, Australia
Australian Encounters with Japanese Military Prostitution in the New Guinea War

This presentation will contrast a lack of Australian post-war support of wartime military sexual slavery survivors with evidence by Australian military personnel having known about and encountered, during the New Guinea War. Only in the early 1990s did the world come to learn of the history of Japanese military sexual slavery in the Second World War. The revelation prompted global action on many fronts. But allied nations had known of enforced prostitution's status as a war crime after its declaration as such by the UN War Crimes Commission in 1943. Moreover, they knew of its perpetration in Japan-occupied areas of colonial territories. The operation of Japanese military brothels in Rabaul, New Guinea, became known to Australian high-ranking officers as early as September 1942. Troops came across evidence of them as they chased Japanese troops out of areas they had occupied. Spies behind enemy lines reported back to superiors that "[w]ork in brothels [is] particularly popular" in Japanese-occupied areas. This awareness did not lead, however, to prosecution of enforced prostitution at Australia's 300 post-war trials. In fact, the crime was left off a survey sheet investigating items in Australia's 1947 War Crimes Act. The presentation describes Japanese military prostitution in wartime New Guinea. Australian military documents and veterans' memoirs show Japanese military sexual slavery taking place in this occupied colony of Australia.

Discussant: Yoshikazu Shiobara , The Faculty of Law, Keio University

Session 24: Room 23
Individual Papers Session 5: The Cultural and Transcultural Female in Literature
Chair: Lisa Yinghong li, J. F. Oberlin University

1) Sachi Schmidt-Hori, Dartmouth College
Female-on-Female Violence in Premodern Japanese Narratives: Romantic Rivalry and Mamako Ijime

This paper examines representations of violence in premodern (10th–16th c.) Japanese prose narratives, with a focus on the cases involving female perpetrators and victims: romantic rivalry and *mamako-ijime* (stepmother' abuse of her stepdaughter). In the literary tradition of premodern Japan, these two types of female-on-female violence exhibit curious commonalities and fundamental differences. On the one hand, a woman's violence against another woman normally takes place within the confinement of a household and it is almost never physical or directly lethal. On the other hand, the outcomes of the two types of violence could not be any more different. That is to say, the victims of jealousy-driven assault often die or are forced to live in fear with few positive prospects, whereas the abused stepdaughters are destined to bounce back from the predicaments and earn a series of this-worldly rewards: happy marriage, beautiful and talented children, wealth, and prosperity. For the

representations of romantic rivalry, this paper will examine *Genji monogatari* and the *noh* play *Kanawa*. Also, the Heian tale, *Ochikubo monogatari*, and the *otogi-zoshi*, *Hachi-kazuki*, will be analyzed as most representative examples of *mamako ijime* stories. Through the detailed literary analyses of female-on-female violence, this study attempts to shine a light on ideal courtly femininity that intersects with class and age and the plight of women in the culture of polygamy and polyamory.

2) Frank Witkam, Tokyo National Museum
From Petty Brigands to Exemplary Women: Gender Inversion in a 19th c. Japanese **Water Margin** *Adaptation*

In the late Edo period (1800-1868), when Chinese vernacular tales became increasingly accessible in Japan, a large number of translations, commentaries and rewritings of *The Water Margin* (C. *Shuihu zhuan,* J. *Suikoden,*) were published. While the text was criticized by commentators because it insufficiently taught morality, the *gōkan* (bound illustrated book series) *Keisei suikoden* (1825-1835), written by the popular fiction author Kyokutei Bakin, instigated a true *Water Margin* craze in the Bunsei-Tenpō era (1818-1844). This adaptation not only resituated the story of *the Water Margin* in a medieval Japanese context, but also reversed the gender of its characters, turning its violent bandit protagonists into courageous heroines and alluring women into seductive men. In this paper I demonstrate that by creating an adaptation of *the Water Margin* with more virtuous protagonists than its source text, Bakin resolved the moral criticism he and his contemporaries had expressed towards *the Water Margin*. Moreover, by inverting the gender of the protagonists, a well-known practice from the Japanese theater to revive older plays in a new format, *Keisei suikoden* subverted the view that the female body makes women less capable of moral behavior than men. In other words, by creating virtuous heroines, Bakin's rewriting of *Water Margin* challenged contemporary notions of femininity and gendered virtue and vice found in both Edo literature and its Chinese source text.

3) Ying Huang, The Chinese University of Hong Kong
Exploring the Global-Local Nexus: **Shōjo Manga** *and* **Shaonu Manhua** *in Contemporary China*

This paper investigates globalization and localization through the lens of Japanese *shōjo manga* and local *shaonu manhua* in the context of contemporary Mainland China. *Shōjo manga* refers to girls' comics from Japan. It is popular not only in Japan, but also in China. While it has influenced China, Chinese producers create localized *shaonu manhua* based on *shōjo manga*. Accordingly, this paper first explores the globalization of *shōjo manga* in terms of its dissemination and consumption in China. Second, the paper examines *shōjo manga*'s localization in China, which is, the local production of *shaonu manhua* under the influence of *shōjo manga*. The methodology draws on cultural studies and anthropology. Visual and textual analysis is conducted to compare *shōjo manga* and *shaonu manhua*. The methods also include interviews with readers of both Japanese and Chinese girls' comics and local producers of *shaonu manhua*. It argues that the relationship between globalization and localization is interactive: the globalization of *shōjo manga* affects local producers and readers, and yet it does not homogenize local *shaonu manhua*. Neither do the Chinese readers totally accept the values in *shōjo manga*. For localization, *shaonu manhua* does not only emphasize Chinese-ness, but Japanese elements are sometimes used as an appeal.

4) Catherine Ryu, Michigan State University
When Poetry Meets Politics: Illuminating the Creative Process through the Zainichi Poet Chong Ch'u-wŏl's Verse "Ningo"

Chong Ch'u-wŏl (1944–2011; Sō Shūgetsu in Japanese) is a second-generation zainichi, known for her keen poetic vision through which she actively observes and vividly captures the rhythms and textures of the everydayness of zainichi existence. Chong's literary output chronicles the modes of living and remembering specifically as zainichi, a Korean diasporic community in Japan that has been historically discriminated against. Her sustained writings over several decades on the theme of *Ningo*, which was the particular way her mother, a first-generation zainichi, (mis)pronounced the word "*ringo*" (apple), offers a unique opportunity to illuminate the creative process as exemplified by this poet. This study focuses specifically on an early draft of the verse *Ningo oiwake* (Dividing Ningo, 1968), *Ningo* (composition date unknown; included in the poet's first poetry collection, 1971), the poet's supplementary note on *Ningo* (1984), and *Mother Mun Ko-bun's Ningo* (Mun Kobun omoni no ningo, 1986). By analyzing this body of writings, this study elucidates the emergence of Chong's personal poetic language as her aesthetic negotiations with the political forces that impinge on the zainichi consciousness and shape their everyday reality. This study thus aims to broaden the scope of the zainichi discourse that has conventionally focused largely on the lived-experience of this diasporic community in Japan, while rendering her creative enterprise relevant even to non-zainichi writers.

5) Ying-kit Chan, Princeton University
Little Thailand: Golden Mile Complex in Singapore

Completed in 1973, Golden Mile Complex is one of Singapore's first shopping malls. Built as part of the Singaporean government's plan to expand and redevelop the urban center, the complex houses both commercial and residential units. According to architectural historians, the complex's iconic terraced design makes it a "mega-structure" and "vertical city," characterized by its diverse and high-density functions. Serving also as a transportation hub from which coaches and tour buses depart for Malaysia and Thailand, Golden Mile Complex hosts numerous Thai eateries, shops, and remittance centers and has become the "Little Thailand" of Singapore. This paper traces the history of the complex and suggests how consumption habits and urban renewal have shaped its functions. By analyzing Singaporeans' perception of the complex, the paper also examines why, despite the rise in their discretionary income and hence their increased appreciation of Thailand through gastronomy and travel, Singaporeans have come to view the complex as a "vertical slum" frequented by the Thai migrant workers whom they disdain. As proprietors of the complex seek to preserve or even exaggerate the authenticity of their goods and services by becoming "more Thai than Thailand," "Thai-ness" becomes commodified for consumption by both Singaporeans and Thais. The complex is thus a microcosm of Singapore that highlights the contradictions between development and diversity.

Session 25: Room 24
Individual Papers session 6: China, Korea and Japan, 1900—1945
Chair: Robert Eskildsen, International Christian University

1) Ling-chieh Chen, SOAS, University of London
Censorship and the Postal Service in China during World War One

This paper will focus on the effects of World War One on the postal service to discuss the first state-organised nationwide postal censorship in China. With the Beiyang government's declaration of war on 14th August 1917, China officially participated in WWI. This war had far-reaching effects for China, both in terms of the subsequent development of the internal political situation and her international relations. Although scholars share a meaningful view of China's "internationalization" during and after WWI, the instant impact of China is rarely discussed. One area where the war did have a significant effect was Sino-European postal communication, as this could be the first time that mail was subjected to censorship in China. This research will base on the postal service's effects of WWI to discuss how the nationwide postal censorship was established in China and how it impacted on the public during the war. I will argue that WWI was a crucial moment for the Chinese government to establish a comprehensive and nationwide system of postal censorship. In fact, censorship was not only a policy of the government for the war purpose but foremost something that was requested by both China's allies and enemies. I will suggest that this form of censorship during and after WWI overall reflects that not only did the Chinese government regard it as a strategy to prevent information leakage during the war, but it was a useful tool in domestic policy and diplomacy.

2) Paul Sinclair, University of Regina
China's Complex Business Environment in the Early 20th Century: Banking Content from the* Tō-A Dōbun Shoin*'s* Kago Suihen *Textbook Series

The political history of the *Tō-A Dōbun Shoin* (1901–1945) has been thoroughly researched. This paper discusses the *Tō-A Dōbun Shoin* from a different perspective: We demonstrate the Shoin students at the institution faced a challenging Chinese business environment and almost insurmountable linguistic difficulties. Our presentation explores the the *Tō-A Dōbun Shoin'*s in-house *Kago Suihen* textbook series published 1916–1933, discussing how these texts not only taught Chinese language but also gave students a "crash course" in trade practice, Chinese social relations, and geographical diversity (Matsuda, 2001). We focus on the third book in the *Kago Suihen* series. Complex domestic Chinese banking practices were particularly troublesome for industry outsiders, we note, and occupy the entire first eighteen chapters of the text (*Tō-A Dōbun Shoin*, 1925). Our presentation adds to the existing research on the *Tō-A Dōbun Shoin* in two significant ways. We argue that Kago Suihen series provides important clues about the complex business environment in early 20th-century China. Meanwhile, we point out the *Tō-A Dōbun Shoin* was a business language school with a distinctly modern feel. In this respect, the school was not entirely dissimilar in method to current US business programs experimenting with a prominent Chinese language component (Sacco, 2014) and Language Flagship programs aiming for fluency through in-situ study (Spring, 2012).

3) Duim Huh, University of Tokyo
Science Textbooks in Occupation: Contrasting Vicissitudes of "Busshō" in Japan and Korea in the 1940s

School textbooks, particularly in history and literature, have played a crucial role in nation building. The role of Science textbooks, however, has long been neglected possibly on the assumption that science is universal and therefore trans-national. In order to redress such negligence, this paper aims to trace contrasting trajectories of a type of science textbooks, *Busshō* (物象, the science of inanimate nature), in Japan and Korea around World War II. *Busshō* was originally designed and implemented to cultivate "Japanese indigenous scientific

spirit" in 1943 across the Empire. In Japan, the subject soon disappeared after the defeat in 1945, but rather rapidly adapted itself to American style textbooks, under the U.S. occupying forces' democratic educational reform. In Korea, by contrast, the subject survived in junior high schools and its textbooks were published, despite the U.S. Military Government's promotion of democratic and post-colonial education during 1945–48. By juxtaposing two cases, this paper aims to demonstrate science textbooks' ideological role in forging national identities. For that, I will investigate: a) what constituted "Japanese indigenous scientific spirit" in the wartime textbooks; b) how was this spirit replaced with, or adapted to, the democratic ideals of American textbooks, both in Japan and Korea. In conclusion, I will suggest that science textbooks should be regarded as a medium where nationalistic narratives are created and disseminated.

4) Max Ward, Middlebury College
Thinking Like a State: Japan's Interwar Thought Crime Apparatus

In the 1930s, the Japanese imperial state developed an extensive apparatus to police political ideologies, or what it called "thought crime" (*shisō hanzai*). The notion of "dangerous thought" (*kiken shisō*) first took shape around the time of the Great Treason Incident of 1911 in reference to the danger of foreign ideologies such as anarchism. By the 1920s, "thought crime" signified communist internationalism which threatened the very foundations of the Japanese Empire. Conceptualized in this way, government ministries, including the Home, Justice and Education ministries, created their own "thought sections," which published their own thought manuals to train officials how to recognize thought crime, and coordinated with each other through regular "thought specialist assemblies" (*shisō jimu kaidō*). This paper explores the collective work of these bureaus, focusing in particular on the handbooks they published and how they catalogued the changing nature of "thought crime." My analysis of these manuals reveals not only the Japanese state's increasing knowledge of the theoretical and organizational complexity of the international socialist movement in the 1930s, but also how such knowledge produced a particular type of policing. I thereby approach these manuals as constituting a kind of intellectual history of the imperial state, and will consider Japan's thought crime apparatus in relation to on-going debates in state theory.

5) Ari Lee, Seoul National University
Emergence of Domestic Service Work as a Modern job at the Margins: Korean and Japanese Housemaids in Colonial Keijō (Seoul)

This study explores the meaning of women's work and reproductive labor in the early modernization of Korea by illuminating housemaids during the colonial period. In 1930, the most common occupation in Keijō (Seoul of today) was a domestic servant whose majority were Korean women working as maids. But the term "maid" in Korea usually meant "Japanese maid" until the 1910s. They became much more likely to be a local mistress, not just to help with housework, for Japanese men staying alone in Korea, and soon to be despised in the sense that they had the potential to engage in prostitution. In the mid-1920s, the number of Korean women willing to work as maids, who migrated from rural to urban areas due to the economic crisis, rocketed. Not surprisingly, they took the unfavorable positions with class, race, and gender discrimination. Newspapers at that time constantly covered stories about sexual abuse against them and often depicted that their job located between factory work and prostitution. To sum up, the job as a maid gave women the opportunity to labor migration and to enter the labor market, but only allowed the marginal place. It was the most unstandardized, low-paid occupation, and, more importantly, showed

how a patriarchal society labels and controls over women by sexuality. The attributes of 'feminine job' did not differentiate Japanese women from Korean women, although the situation of Korean maids who were suffering from racial discrimination was more complicated.

Session 26: Room 36
Individual Papers Session 7: Historical Memory in East Asia
Chair: Mark E. Caprio, Rikkyo University

1) Lun Jing, Duke University
Re(-) forming Meiji in Postwar Japan: The Architectural Representation of Museum Meiji-mura

This paper discusses the brief history and the representation logic of Museum Meiji-mura located in Inuyama, Aichi Prefecture in Japan from the perspectives of historical and cultural studies as well as postmodernism. Initiated by Taniguchi Yoshiro and Tsuchikawa Moto-o in 1955, the enterprise of Meiji-mura developed to a large-scale nongovernmental collaboration, and finally turned out to be a postwar social movement aiming to preserve Meiji culture. Meiji-mura has, by means of relocation, been successful in rescuing a good number of historically and aesthetically valuable modern buildings and artifacts that were once set in peril. What's more, by the reconstruction and creation of spaces, the open-air museum, which also possesses the characteristics of a theme park, provides a dynamic and interactive way of interpreting Meiji history. Meiji-mura is essentially a product of the negotiation between prewar modernity and postwar modernity in Japan. Propelled by historical yearning, it has been labeled and crystallized as a "Meiji" entity through beautification, sanitation, and romanticization. Eventually, Meiji-mura helped initiate the social trend of rediscovering the value of Meiji as well as preserving Meiji and even modern architecture, which makes it a monument in Japan's social and cultural history. In essence, Meiji-mura is a project inspired by postwar modernity, established in postwar context, and operated for postwar people.

2) Ryoko Nakano, Kanazawa University
Japan's Struggle with the Internationalization of Memory and Heritage

In this ever-changing, globalized society, having an anxiety about the future is not surprising. When anxiety threatens the existential being, destabilizing the sense of the self or identity, it can create a strong incentive for individuals, groups, and states to act. Japan is not an exception. Like other economically developed countries, Japan has experienced the surge of globalization and financial crises since the 1990s. At the same time, the legacy of post-war Japan, which constitutes the core part of Japan's national identity, has been questioned for the lack of remorse over the wartime aggression during World War II. Under those circumstances, the successive conservative governments have made attempts to reconstruct a new Self while accommodating the old one in the way to reshape security and foreign policies. This paper builds on Ontological Security Theory in International Relations to explore how Japan's sense of insecurity, both in terms of shame and anxiety, has increased in the changing international environment and in what ways Japan has responded to it. In particular, Japan's diplomatic and political reactions to UNESCO's inscription of the "Documents of Nanjing Massacre" in 2015 will be used to showcase a complex mechanism

in which state actors respond to ontological insecurity. This paper contributes to International Relations, Heritage and Memory Studies as well as Japanese Studies.

3) Huynh Thanh-Phong, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg
Historical Authenticity of the "Three Kingdoms Culture" in the Sino-Japanese Context of the 20th Century

This project examines the historical authenticity of the "Three Kingdoms culture" in a transcultural context of the 20th century. Its concept is based on research activities of the Leibniz Research Alliance, which strives to investigate on how contemporary ideas of authenticity influence our perception of and dealing with cultural heritage. It embraces the idea of human longing for the origin and his desire for past reality and historical experience. These feelings in turn are manifested by means of preservative instruments. In my understanding, the scope further comprises textual sources in different medial shapes. Consequently, the conflict between facticity and fictivity arises and often results in a prerogative of interpretation. The reconstruction of this authentication process and the discourse about its cultural-historical significance constitute the primary concerns of this study. Furthermore, I argue that a cultural phenomenon may carry different meanings and functions in another cultural context. As the "secularisation" of the "Three Kingdoms culture" has set in in the 20th century, textual analyses of *Sanguo yanyi* and *Sangokushi* as urtexts of China and Japan respectively will help to identify prevailing authenticity concepts. Also but rather than gaining a deeper understanding of Sino-Japanese relations, this exemplification ultimately serves the more general purpose of discussing the role of authentication processes in times of transculturalism and globalisation.

4) Marta Paolesse, Roma Tre University
Images of Memory and War: Murakami and Wu Ming-yi's Quest for Identity

At the dawn of the new millennium, Taiwanese Literature has been characterised by fin-de-siècle overtones interpreted, as in Homi Bhabha's stance, as a transit moment where space and time intertwine to create new identities and complex images. Due to this reason, the most recent literary production in the island has been imbued with new interpretations of the concepts of time, space, and memory. One of the most distinguished interpreters of Taiwan's society is the young and acclaimed writer Wu Ming-yi (1971–). Long-list nominee of the 2018 Man Booker International Prize for his latest novel *The Stolen Bicycle* (單車的失竊記), Wu is one of the most brilliant writers of his generation and his works often deal with Taiwanese memory. His literary production presents some influences derived from Haruki Murakami's novels and short stories. Specifically, this paper aims at demonstrating the resemblance of *The Stolen Bicycle* and *The Wind-up Bird Chronicle*. Both novels start with a research of something lost, later expanding into a quest for memory, truth and identity. While presenting an original reflection on war and post-memory, both authors are trying to produce an answer to the evergreen question: "Who am I?." The paper will reveal the different nuances of being Japanese and being Taiwanese at the cornerstone of both works and provide readers with a general analysis of Japanese culture influence on present Taiwan and its implications during the new millennium.

ASCJ BUSINESS MEETING: 9:30 A.M. – 9:50 A.M.
Room 201, Liberal Arts Building

SUNDAY MORNING SESSIONS: 10:00 A.M. – 12:00 NOON

Session 27: Room 31
Pornography as Sexual Education in Japan: Case Studies of Men's Consumption of
Pornographic Texts
Organizer/Chair: Thomas Baudinette, Macquarie University

The Japanese pornographic industry is one of the largest in the world. The industry's influence within Japan is immense, emerging as a significant source of knowledge concerning sexuality. Recent years have seen a growing condemnation of the negative impacts consumption of pornography is having on sex education in Japan, with many arguing pornography contributes to patriarchy and a culture of sexual violence. Within this panel, we respond to these critical voices to explore the role of pornographic texts as both socio-economic commodities and cultural tools in the production of knowledge concerning sexual desire amongst Japanese men, both heterosexual and homosexual. We draw upon the critical investigation of pornography to deepen scholarly understanding of the constantly changing nature of masculinity at a time when strongman politics, patriarchal backlash and anti-LGBT rhetoric is drawing attention once more in Japanese public life. We thus read pornography as cultural texts that reveal tensions surrounding understandings of masculinity, patriarchy, and heteronormativity during a period when Japanese masculinity has been said to be in crisis. Our papers deploy a range of methodologies to explore how porn educates men about their desires, interrogating how diverse pornographies (including straight, female-friendly, and queer) either reinforce dominant gender norms or challenge them, attending to the slippages between pro and anti-porn discourses within the Japanese context.

1) Alexandra Hambleton, Bunkyo Gakuin University
Gold Fingers or Golden Opportunity? Porn Stars and Sex Education in Contemporary Japan

Recent years have seen a surge of articles media discussing the issue of pornography as sex education in Japan, many focusing on how porn encourages men to view women as objects to be used for pleasure, to learn painful and potentially harmful techniques, and pushes young men to try increasingly hardcore sexual practices at ever younger ages. Yet porn has long served as a form of sex education, particularly as open discussions of sexuality in other forums remain taboo. Many porn performers even see it as their role to teach fans about sex, drawing on their experience in the industry. In this paper I examine two very different series of pornography explicitly created for education purposes and the men who star in them. The

infamous *Higi Denju* (Lessons in Secret Technique) DVD and book series in which veteran porn actor Kato Taka (also known as "Gold Finger") launched the genre of porn as education and is known for Kato's enthusiastic demonstration of explicit techniques designed to force women to orgasm. In contrast, the Body Talk Lesson for Couples series in which female-friendly porn star Suzuki Ittetsu features takes a more communicative approach, encouraging couples to discuss their likes and dislikes before embarking on a gentler kind of sex. Both huge stars in the porn industry, Kato and Ittetsu exemplify diametrically opposing images of masculinity. Their work reveals much about the difficulties men in contemporary Japan face in constructing sexual identities

2) Patrick Galbraith, University of Tokyo
Akihabara and Sex in Public: On Social Learning and Desire in the Visual Culture of a Tokyo Neighborhood

The Akihabara neighborhood has developed into a unique space in Japan and the world. Historically known as a center for home appliances, consumer electronics and personal computers, Akihabara was transformed by the high concentration of stores dealing in adult computer games in the 1990s. These games focus on cute, cartoony characters and interactions with them, which range from casual conversation to explicit sex. Even as these games experienced a creative renaissance and explosion of popularity in the 1990s, stores in Akihabara became bolder in advertising, which included placing sexually provocative images of characters on the street, in windows and even blown up on massive billboards. In the process, Akihabara emerged as space where sexual orientation toward and desire for cartoon characters became more visible than anywhere else in Tokyo, Japan or the world. Drawing on 17 months of fieldwork among producers and players of adult computer games in the neighborhood, this paper argues that Akihabara is best understood in terms of "sex in public," specifically imaginary sex in public. Attracted to and affected by cartoon characters and one another, men gathering in the Akihabara neighborhood share and reinforce their orientation and desires in ways that are not possible in the privacy of the home. While much of the adult content in Akihabara is considered "weird" or "abnormal," there are very clear norms to orientation and desire in the neighborhood, which the paper explores

3) Thomas Baudinette, Macquarie University
Regimes of Desire: Consumption of Japanese Gay Pornographic Texts and Its Impacts on Notions of Desirability

In this presentation, I explore how consuming two genres of gay pornographic texts — video pornography and erotic comics produced in Japan — influences young gay Japanese men's understandings of their desires and sexual identities. Forming part of a broader ethnographic project conducted between 2012 and 2017 that explores how specific ideological regimes of desire circulate throughout Japan's increasingly neo-liberalised gay culture, I argue that consumption of Japanese gay pornography bolsters the primacy of heteronormative conceptualisations of sexual desire. I reveal through content analysis that Japanese gay pornography fetishizes idealised straight men through an interrogation of how the sexual objectification of the white-collar worker or "salaryman" operates within these texts to privilege heteronormatively masculine men as ideal for gay male consumption. I then draw upon extensive interviews with four key informants to investigate the effects that consuming such media has on their highly subjective sexual behaviours and desires. I suggest that consuming Japanese gay pornography inculcates desires for heteronormative masculinity and desires for "normalness" amongst young gay male consumers, focusing especially on their

fantasies of "fucking straight guys." Overall, through my discussion I demonstrate that pornographic texts represent crucial cultural tools that men in Japan draw upon to make sense of their sexual behaviours and identities.

4) Kyohei Itakura, University of California Davis
"What Are You Watching?": Audience Engagement among Japanese and American Consumers of Japanese Gay Video Porn

This paper analyzes audience engagement among those who consume Japanese gay video porn in the digital age. Today, consumers no longer have to visit urban gay commercial hubs in Japan to purchase VCDs/DVDs, as the Internet facilitates the circulation of Japanese gay video porn through official downloading websites. Out of aggregated websites such as Pornhub dart audience discussions, involving both Japanese and non-Japanese consumers of Japanese gay video porn. Against this backdrop, I interviewed Japanese and American (English-speaking) gay men about their video porn consumer experiences, asking them to comment on a few sampling products, and examined what they "see." Unlike American audiences who often complain about the absence of "gays" in Japanese gay video porn, Japanese audiences cherish *nonkerashisa* (straightness) as predominantly eroticized by the Japanese gay video porn industry. When it comes to video commentary, Japanese audiences tend to enjoy power play (*senpai-kohai*/older-younger, *jōshi-buka*/boss-subordinate, *otoko-onna*/man-woman, *nonke-gei*/straight-gay, etc.) as represented by much of the sampling set, while American audiences more often than not project gay affection onto "Asian" models as if to "mistranslate" their Japanese-male same-sex sex as described in production ads and performed through in-film dialogues. I end my presentation by identifying a few theoretical challenges attendant on porn research today

Discussant: Jason G. Karlin, University of Tokyo

Session 28: Room 32
Tossing Out Tired Stereotypes: Picture Books, Graphic Novels and a New Way of Looking at Japan in the Undergraduate Classroom
Organizer/Chair: Sharon H. Domier, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

This panel represents collaborative work between specialists in literature, language pedagogy, and library science who are interested in how picture books and graphic novels can be used in both scholarly research and the undergraduate classroom. Such materials can serve as excellent texts for the study of both language and culture: not only do they delve into diverse aspects of Japanese culture and society, they can also function as effective teaching material for language acquisition and critical reading. Two of the papers present a close reading of picture books on contemporary social and environmental issues. Kathryn Tanaka looks at the significance of the 2016 republication of Hansen's disease writer Hōjō Tamio's writings for children. Mika Endo examines how post March 11 nuclear politics is presented to children through picture books. The other two pedagogically-oriented papers provide models for using these materials in the classroom. Catherine Ryu's paper focuses on how *e-hon* made available on Youtube can be used as a digital tool to enhance linguistic proficiency and cultural literacy in L2 Japanese students. Keiko Konoeda's paper explores the use of English language picture books about Japan to critically examine how multicultural picture

books participate in cultural representation. The panel organizer will share booklists and resources for Japanese picture books that focus on race, gender, child abuse, mental health, war, disasters, and the ecology.

1) Kathryn M. Tanaka, Otemae University
Hōjō Tamio's Children's Stories in the 1930s and Today

Hōjō Tamio (1914–1937) is perhaps the best-known author of a genre of writing in Japan known as Hansen's disease literature, or work by people diagnosed with Hansen's disease (leprosy) who were subject to Japan's post-1931 quarantine policies. Hōjō's work has been variously read as a window in patient subjectivity, as a protest against government policies, or as acceptance of life in a quarantine hospital. Overlooked in his oeuvre, however, are his two children's stories. In direct contrast to his writing for adults, these works do not specifically mention his illness; yet, for children diagnosed with a stigmatized illness and in many cases living in isolation from their families, these stories would have a different meaning. The stories were first published and circulated in the Tokyo hospital's monthly magazine Yamazakura, but in 2016 both stories were republished as illustrated children's books. The timing is significant, coming after survivors of Hansen's disease successfully sued the Japanese government for violating their human rights and the publication of Hōjō's real name and family history. This presentation provides a close reading of the two stories and explores the significance of the republication and addition of illustrations to the texts, ultimately arguing that the republication can be understood as part of a broader contemporary process of historical reconciliation and human rights education about Hansen's disease.

2) Mika Endo, Independent Scholar
3/11 Through Picture Books: Introducing Nuclear Politics for Children

The triple disaster of March 11, 2011 changed Japan forever: so much so that for anyone who lived through it, the phrase "*ano hi*" (that day) now immediately recalls that singular day of staggering devastation. As the struggle to grapple with the still-unfolding disaster continues, this presentation examines how the picture book community in Japan has responded by creating works for young readers. Books about March 11 have begun to memorialize the event and present the challenges of living in a post 3・11 world by addressing topics as widely divergent as fact-based accounts of taking refuge during the earthquake and tsunami, narratives of death and loss, lives lived in displacement, the promise of restoration and revival, disaster preparedness, and the long-lasting consequences of radiation fallout. But it is perhaps the nuclear consequences of the Fukushima disaster that remain the most controversial of these topics to broach with young children, especially given the contentious nature of contemporary nuclear politics and the salience of radiation exposure for young children. In this presentation, I will consider three recent picture books that address this topic by physician Kamata Minoru, novelist Mori Eto, and picture book critic Matsumoto Takeshi. By examining each of these works, I ask how they attend to the question of nuclear fallout by examining the interplay between text and image, the pacing and narrative perspective, and the succinct and pithy nature of the form.

3) Keiko Konoeda, Bates College

Critical Exploration of Multicultural Picturebooks on Japan as "Windows" in First-Year Writing Course

This paper presents the curriculum design of and insights from teaching a first-year seminar "Reading Japan in Multicultural Picture Books" at a small liberal arts college in the Northeast United States. English-language multicultural picture books that are published in the United States portray diverse cultural practices, experiences, and demographics. Therefore, they can become "mirrors" for children of diverse background and "windows" for all other children to learn about other cultures (Bishop, 1990). While multicultural picture books have recently increased in numbers, the imbalance in themes represented in these books risk sending a false message that other cultures are stable, homogenous, or backward (Aronson, Callahan, & O'Brien, 2018). Wee, Kura, and Kim (2018) recommends critical unpacking of cultural authenticity and accuracy in picture book representation to raise awareness of unequal power relations. Drawing on picture books that represent Japanese culture, and comparing and contrasting the picture books with interdisciplinary research studies on Japanese culture, the class examined what picture books can and cannot teach us about Japanese culture. The strategies include 1) reading the whole book (Lambert, 2015) and examining illustrations and written words, 2) juxtaposing picture books of similar themes or on the same historical event, and 3) discussing what is missing as well as what is represented.

4) Catherine Ryu, Michigan State University
Japanese Children's E-hon as a Digital Tool for Language Learning and Cultural Translation

This presentation focuses on how to utilize Japanese children's e-hon (illustrated books), on YouTube, as a digital tool for enhancing the linguistic proficiency and cultural literacy of L2 Japanese students. The genre in question is designed to inform, educate, and delight children through image, word, and sound about the complex workings of Japanese society into which they are ushered. Such modes of communication also offer multiple ways for developing Japanese students' auditory and oral proficiency, as well as cultural sensitivity. Based on a 15-week course designed for the mid-novice level of Japanese proficiency (second-year Japanese) and taught at Michigan State University (Fall of 2017 &18), this presentation addresses four ways of optimizing the benefits of *e-hon* as authentic materials for L2 learning: (1) how to redefine *e-hon* beyond its target audiences and genre; (2) how to select theme-based contemporary *e-hon* for L2 Japanese students; (3) how to empower students for self-guided learning with a streamlined process of transcribing, translating, and analyzing *e-hon*; and (4) how to assess the outcomes of an *e-hon*-mediated course. This presentation also includes examples of translation challenges (both linguistic and cultural) and the process through which students can develop their translation approaches and articulate their understanding of children's *e-hon* in conversation with larger social, historical, and cultural issues pertaining to Japan in global contexts.

Discussant: Sharon Domier, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Session 29: Room 22
Approaching Anime: Mediating Disciplines and Region
Organizer/Chair: Jaqueline Berndt, Stockholm University

Anime has become increasingly popular as a topic for both research and pedagogy in the university, but as this new field matures, it is important to examine its historical development and explore the potential that anime studies has for academia. This panel will begin with an analysis of disciplinary tendencies through an examination of anime research, concentrating on how anime has moved between area studies (Japan studies, Asian studies) and media studies. Here, close attention to the modalities and forms is suggested as providing important relevance to anime studies and Asian studies as they both struggle to move away from nation-focused paradigms. This presentation will be the point of departure for the following two papers, framing them as they each engage anime from different perspectives to explore alternative approaches to anime research. The second paper takes an approach that attends to the dynamics of anime as a serialized, commercial TV media, examining how the often disregarded and derided re-use of bank (stock) footage can actually operate subversively. Utilizing tools from media studies and performance studies, the final paper will examine anime's transnationality through its media form, providing an example of how anime's production network in Asia reveals a very different type of geography than received paradigms, where the tensions of globalization become visible, even as it interconnects with the framework of the nation.

1) Jaqueline Berndt, Stockholm University
Anime Research and Asian Studies: Object and Area, Modalities and Forms

The transcultural consumption of Japan-derived popular media has prompted a significant amount of academic research and teaching in the field of Asian studies. Anime, a TV-prone, highly conventionalized media form with specific, yet transcultural viewer demographics, is enjoying particular attention due to its popularity among younger generations but also its entwinement with digitalization and media ecologies. Anime research has been pioneered by historical and theoretical accounts with a background in Japanese studies. Yet, the institution of Japanese studies, especially insofar as it is guided by anthropological concerns, tends to foreground societal as national aspects of a transnational media form like anime. Recently, media regionalism offers itself as an alternative to this inclination. But a mere broadening of "area" as such and the pursuit of international connections therein do not necessarily accommodate the study of anime better than the traditional Japan-centered approach. This paper highlights the close interrelation between "area," and anime as "object," and it demonstrates in what way a conceptualization of anime in view of modalities and forms (including genre affinity and seriality) proves vital for Asian studies to become a platform of anime research.

2) Ida Kirkegaard, Stockholm University
Run it again: Repeat images and bank footage in anime

The use of stock or "bank" footage constitutes a significant characteristic of the visual vocabulary of Japanese anime. While the use of bank footage was crucial to the industrial development of limited animation, and thus the specific media form of TV anime, previous analyses largely ignore the aesthetic potential of this conventional device. Contemporary anime series deliberately create and use bank sequences, in the form of thoroughly-composed, well-animated clips of significant repeating occurrences accompanied by specific musical ques, despite this no longer being a financial necessity. This suggests that rather than being simply a condition of the limited scope of TV anime, bank footage contains the potential of subversion, innovation and variation within its conventionality. Likewise, the interest in such footage in transnational fandom as well as the repetition of motifs first

introduced as bank footage in later anime, suggests an affective response to this footage that intersects with the concept of Azuma Hiroki's "database." This paper looks at the 1995 series Evangelion, analyzing the composition and visual language of the most commonly repeated sequences of this anime, showing the crucial importance of these sequences to the overall effect of the series, as well as its continuing influence on anime as a media form. The paper examines the interplay of stock footage and music, repeat images, and the effect of subverting expectations triggered by such footage.

3) Stevie Suan, Doshisha University
Anime's Geography: Media-form and Transnational Production

Nation-branding campaigns promote anime as a Japanese media, conceiving anime's global spread as an inter-national distribution stemming from Japan, nationalizing the claim to this media-form, and "authenticating" anime by exclusive relation to Japan. However, significant portions of anime's animation were actually produced throughout Asia for decades. A view of anime's media-form, attending to its conventionality and the material actualities of its production process, would allow us to see anime not as a local product gone global, but as a transnational product made national. In this way there is a contestation about geography at play in the claim to anime's media-form and multiple inquiries that arise from this formation: How do we account for the transnational labor operating inside and outside of Japan? Can we conceive of a new geography to engage with this transnational dynamic? How does anime's media-form itself reflect this dynamic? Contrary to the tendency to "read Japan through anime," there is a complex politics of place that intersects with the framework of the nation, in conflict with the transnational flows that define this moment of globalization, all enacted through the performance of the media-form of anime. This paper explores how this performance does not insist on the neat, ordered world of the nation-state, as on multiple different levels anime explores a difficult, complex geography, enacting the tensions of contemporary globalization.

Discussant: Joon Yang Kim, Niigata University

Session 30: Room 33
Shaping Literatures. Translation and Circulation Between Japan and the West in the First Half of the Twentieth-Century
Organizer/Chair: Isabelle Lavelle, Waseda University

David Damrosch calls for the construction of a new comparative approach to literature: "works of literature take on a new life as they move into the world at large, and to understand this new life we need to look closely at the ways the work becomes reframed in its translations and in its new cultural contexts" (2003:24). Under the impulse of world literature studies, the role of translation is thus being reevaluated as necessarily more than a purely linguistic transfer: understood in terms of transmission and displacement, it entails inflected meanings according to the networks and contexts through which words circulate. Following the hypothesis that "transmissive means" are also "transfigurative" (Gaonkar & Povinelli 2003:392), translation is articulated in this panel as both the agent and the object of complex processes that stretch over space, texts, and languages. The panel aims at shedding light upon the role of translation in shaping the representation of national identities and Western literary canons in Japan in the first half of the twentieth-century. Starting with the Japanese

translation of literatures belonging to what Milan Kundera called small nations, it focuses on the circulation of Scandinavian literature in Japan; secondly, on the Japanese reception of French Symbolism in the 1900s; it ends with an analysis of translation's role in shaping the American perception of Japan in the immediate post-war as the result of a multilateral and collaborative process.

1) Annette Thorsen Vilslev, University of Copenhagen
Meiji-Taisho Literary Circulation between Japan and Scandinavia

Following the Meiji restoration of 1868, Scandinavian (-language) literature began to be discussed in Japan. Eventually, Scandinavian literature was also translated to Japanese, albeit, in the beginning, often through the translations of translations, as was the case with the fairy tales of H.C. Andersen, or to choose another prominent example, the dramas of Henrik Ibsen. The many Meiji and Taisho period translations were thus not only important to the circulation of the major European language literatures in East Asia, but also to the circulation of "smaller" language literatures like the Scandinavian in Japan and East Asia. Centers and peripheries have played a major part in the revived debates about world literature (Spivak, Moretti, Casanova, Prendergast). Different "distant" reading and sociological approaches have been suggested for describing the circulation. However, the recent increased debates about translation (Apter, Bassnett), stress the need of more linguistic diversity and more translation and multilanguage approaches to the field. Focusing on the relations between translated literary criticism and prose fiction, this paper will discuss some early twentieth century examples of "circulation through translation" and "translation through circulation" between Scandinavia and Japan.

2) Isabelle Lavelle, Waseda University
Aestheticizing Symbolism. The Role of Ueda Bin's Translation Strategies in the Japanese Reception of French Poetry in the 1900s

This paper elaborates on Lawrence Venuti's view that "translation wields enormous power in constructing representations of foreign cultures. The selection of foreign texts and the development of translation strategies can establish peculiarly domestic canons for foreign literatures" (Venuti 1998:67). Ueda Bin's anthology of translated poetry Kaichōon (*The Sound of the Tide*, 1905) is widely credited as introducing French late nineteenth-century poetry to Japan. This paper argues that the role of his translation strategies in shaping the Japanese reception of Symbolism has been underevaluated. In Kaichōon's Introduction, Bin draws a portrait of the translator as far from "invisible" and does not shy away from stating the impact of his personal taste on the anthology: "The translator's sympathy lies with the Parnassians rather than the Symbolists" (UBZ 1:25). The five poems from Baudelaire selected by Bin as well as their translation strategies have shaped a re-interpretation of French Symbolism as a continuation of the aestheticisim of Walter Pater, whose texts Bin had been translating prior to Kaichōon. The role of Kaichōon is thus seen here in terms of its contribution to what Jordan Y. Smith calls the translationscape of early twentieth century Japanese poetry, the "global flows of language-based culture via translation that forms a selective, metonymic, partial picture of a 'national culture' for the target language community" (Smith 2017:750).

3) Yumiko Hayakawa, Waseda University
Promoting "Japanese-ness" through Translation. The Collaboration between Edward Seidensticker and the Japanese Literary Circles in the 1950s

Originally trained as a language officer by the US Navy, Edward Seidensticker served in the Marines during the war and worked for the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in the occupation period. Seidensticker entered Tokyo University to study Japanese literature and prepared for his first publication of *Kagerō Nikki* in 1955, producing translations for Japan Quarterly magazine published by Asahi Shimbunsha. As Edward Fowler pointed out, Japanese literature in English translation in 1950s reflected the image of Japan as an exotic, aesthetic, foreign land, which diverged from the reality of contemporary Japan (Fowler 1992:3). Laurence Venuti adopted this concept and argued that "the nostalgia expressed by the canon [of Japanese literature in English] was distinctly American, not necessarily shared by Japanese readers" (Venuti 1998:72). In recent years, Seidensticker has been criticized as an American Japanologist who exploited Japanese culture to satisfy American readers' Orientalism rather than presenting the up-to-date image of postwar Japan. However, Japanese authors and publishers acting as a willing partner of American translators and publishers has been eliminated from Venuti's original theory. In this presentation, I will focus on Seidensticker's career as a translator in early 1950s to examine his relationship with Japanese literary circles as an interactive, collaborative partnership to advertise Japan to the American audiences.

Discussant: Marie-Noelle Beauvieux, Hiroshima University

Session 31: Room 34
China-ASEAN cooperation in Non-Traditional Security Issues
Organizer/Chair: Lina Gong, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Non-traditional security (NTS) issues refer to non-military challenges that pose existential threats to the security of the state and the well-beings of its population, such as climate change, food insecurity, natural disasters and water scarcity. China and the member states of the Association of Southeast Asia (ASEAN) are particularly affected by NTS challenges, evidenced by an array of major episodes in the past ten decades, like Wenchuan Earthquake in 2008, the severe transboundary haze in 2013, Typhoon Haiyan in 2013, and the avian flu H5N1 that broke out in China and ASEAN member states between 2005 and 2010. These incidents have highlighted the importance and urgency for China and the ASEAN member states (AMS) to improve resilience to various vulnerabilities and threats. The complex, uncertain and transboundary nature of NTS issues have made it difficult for countries to contain and address the challenges individually. Geographic proximity and close socio-economic ties make China and the AMS more vulnerable to each other's NTS challenges. Cooperation and coordination between and among countries in this region are thus critical to tackle the common challenges more effectively. This panel consists of four papers that examine disaster response, water security, health security and energy security in China-ASEAN relations from different perspectives.

1) Lina Gong, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
Comparing the Role of Non-State Actors in Disaster Response in China and ASEAN

East and Southeast Asia are prone to natural disasters and climate change further increases this risk. Regional countries have developed their own approach to disaster response based on their respective national conditions and experience. Developing Southeast Asian countries like Indonesia and the Philippines have dynamic civil society that forms a strong force for disaster response, but their national governments face the challenge of lack of resources. China has a strong government that has good capacities in disaster response and the space for non-state actors (NSAs) contribute is smaller. Nevertheless, a general trend has been seen across the region that NSAs are playing a greater role. This paper seeks to examine how NSAs engage in disaster response in different contexts and the factors that shape the role of NSAs. Based on the findings, the paper also aims to identify opportunities for enhancing China-ASEAN cooperation in disaster response at the level of society.

2) Zhang Hongzhou, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
China's Water Diplomacy in the Mekong River: From Conflict to Cooperation

Many articles have been written on the Mekong River water conflicts. Some described China, the upstream riparian state, as a malevolent hydro-hegemon while others highlighted the risk of water wars arising from China's unilateral actions to utilize the shared water resources. For years, China has been criticized for not joining the Mekong River Commission (MRC) and for unilaterally building dams on the upstream. However, in the past few years, China made major policy changes by taking the lead in establishing multilateral transboundary water cooperation in the Mekong River Basin through the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation Mechanism (LMC). This paper aims to examine the recent changes in China's Mekong River policy and to investigate the causes.

3) Yang Zi, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
China-ASEAN Cooperation on Combatting Infectious Diseases

In recent years, China-ASEAN relations have been through a number of ups and downs. Yet in spite of diverging positions on some issues, China continues to share numerous common interests with ASEAN partners. The control of infectious diseases is a consequential matter that brings China and ASEAN close together. Every year, trade and tourism move millions of people across borders between China and Southeast Asia. In the past, infectious diseases such as SARS, H1N1 and H5N1 have affected both China and ASEAN, prompting the demand for greater cooperation in control and prevention. Based on fieldwork in a number of ASEAN countries, this paper seeks to answer the following questions. What are the policies and mechanisms thus far adopted to enhance China-ASEAN collaboration in combatting emerging infectious diseases? What are the remaining hurdles? Why do challenges persist despite sustained efforts in addressing these problems?

4) Gong Xue, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
Corporate Social Responsibility Entanglement in Southeast Asia: China's state-driven investment in infrastructure

Discussant: Li Mingjiang, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

Session 32: Room 35
Female Authorship, Readership, and Reception of Premodern Japanese Literature
Organizer: Danica Truscott, University of California, Los Angeles

Chair: Gaye Rowley, Waseda University

This panel explores the ways in which premodern Japanese women were constructed as both producers and consumers of literature, whether through their own agency or historical contingencies that designated particular practices of reading and writing for women. By exploring how women engaged in literature, whether as authors or readers, this panel contends that not only did women participate in the rich literary activity of premodern Japan, but also that literature played a role in constructing — at least in part — possibilities of female participation in the social, intellectual, and cultural activities of both the elite and popular realms. By taking such a position, this panel calls into question certain problematic categories, tropes, and generic classifications, that still maintain a degree of currency in scholarship today. Individual papers will examine both poetic and prosaic literary works, including the work of a major female poet in the *Man'yōshū*, Japan's oldest extant poetry anthology; *The Pillow Book*, one of the so-called "three great *zuihitsu* (miscellaneous writings)"; and *Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki*, an early medieval poetic text memorializing an emperor who died in political exile after the failed Jōkyū Rebellion of 1221. By exploring modes of authorship and readership practiced by premodern women, this panel will shed new light on how to continue asking after the question of gender in premodern Japanese literature.

1) Danica Truscott, University of California, Los Angeles
The Role of Anthologization in the Portrayal of Ōtomo no Sakanoue no Iratsume

In the *Man'yōshū*, Ōtomo no Sakanoue no Iratsume is the best-represented female poet, with eighty-four poems attributed to her. Though her work appears in multiple volumes on a variety of topics, past scholarship focuses on her abilities as a love poet, especially her use of the "waiting woman" voice that became emblematic of premodern Japanese women's poetry. While some of her most well-regarded works are romantic in nature, there have been instances where poems are interpreted out of context as love poems. As a result, Sakanoue's importance as a writer of women's poetry outside of the amorous mode has been diminished. Using a selection of poems from the *Man'yōshū*'s third and fourth volumes as its case study, this paper explores how Sakanoue's figure changes depending on anthological context. I focus not only on how objects such as the topic heading and commentary that follows the poem frame our interpretations, but also how the placement of poems in individual volumes influences our understanding of their authors. This paper contends that the representation of female poets such as Sakanoue and her work relies on information provided or masked by outside forces. In the process of anthologization, the acts of arranging poems and creating sequences also construct the authors.

2) Kim Mc Nelly, University of California, Los Angeles
Aristocratic Women Taking Up the Historical Brush: The Rehabilitation of Former Japanese Emperors through Classical Chinese Rhetoric

The demonstration of classical Chinese knowledge by Heian/medieval Japanese aristocratic women has long been considered taboo or restricted to occasional reference to certain tropes and sources incorporated into influential vernacular (*wabun*) texts or literary primers, such Bai Juyi's poetry in *Genji monogatari* or selections in *Wakan rōeishū* (Collection of Japanese and Chinese poems for Recitation, 1013). My analysis challenges this by showing extensive adoption of classical Chinese rhetoric into a female-authored vernacular text. This paper compares two understudied early medieval vernacular texts and their use of classical ideals of Chinese sovereignty to rehabilitate *emperors who died in politically tumultuous*

circumstances. Tsuchimikado'in nyōbō nikki (The poetic memoirs of a female court attendant of Retired Emperor Tsuchimikado, after 1231) commemorates Tsuchimikado, who died in exile after his father Retired Emperor GoToba's failed Jōkyū Rebellion of 1221. The text ignores GoToba, instead recounting the glory of Tsuchimikado's reign. The author draws heavily from the male-authored *Takakura'in shōkaki* (The ascension of Retired Emperor Takakura, after 1182) by *Minamoto no Michichika*, which commemorates and mourns Takakura (1161–1181, r. 1168–1180), Taira no Kiyomori's son-in-law who died at age 19 on the brink of the Genpei War (1180–1185).

3) Makiko Tsuneda, Waseda University
Female Readers of Sei Shōnagon's* Pillow Book*: Genre, Usage, and Readership in the Reception of a Japanese "Essay"

This paper reconsiders the reception of Sei Shōnagon's *Pillow Book* by exploring the history of its generic classification as a "miscellaneous writing" or "essay" (*zuihitsu*), and suggests instead that the Pillow Book should be considered in terms of its active usage, rather than its genre. This paper therefore questions the limits of the category of *zuihitsu* in general, but also as an appropriate classification for the *Pillow Book* more specifically. To better grasp how the text came to be understood as a *zuihitsu*, this paper reflects not only on its Japanese reception, but also on its global reception through acts of translation, which also served to cement its position as a *zuihitsu* par excellence. In particular I will assess how the issue of the text's genre has been handled in both English and French language translations. After critically examining the term *zuihitsu*, this paper suggests that by understanding how the text was used, especially by female readers in the Edo period, we can better appreciate its significance as it may have been received by a particular audience, in a given historical moment. Specifically, I consider the text's usage as a guide for female etiquette. In this way, this paper suggests that the reception of the *Pillow Book* not only shaped the text's legacy itself, but also played a part in the construction of female social norms. As such, this paper seeks to explore how readers helped to construct the Pillow Book, and how it constructed its readers.

Discussant: Gaye Rowley, Waseda University

Session 33: Room 21
Religion and Recreation in Greater Taishō Japan
Organizer/Chair: Kevin McDowell, University of Oregon

In early modern Japan, temple visits and pilgrimage travel were, to a certain extent, also a form of recreation. This continued into the Meiji and Taishō periods. Interconnected cultural networks mainly based in Tokyo, including Japanese votive slip exchange clubs (*nōsatsu-kai*), "tattoo appreciation groups," Mt. Fuji worshippers, Shikoku pilgrimage groups and antique collectors' clubs that combined their varied, often overlapping interests with pleasure and reverence in equal measure. Although much of traditional Edo culture largely died out after the Meiji Restoration, this networking, imbued with a sense of nostalgia for the traditional cultural practices of the Edo period and given impetus by the scholarly imprimatur of a University of Chicago anthropologist, Frederick Starr, who was actively involved in Greater Taishō cultural networks, sparked a revival of interest in Edo period religious and recreational practices. This panel will address the legacy of Starr's pilgrimages in Shikoku, the cultural networks that revived Edo period culture and efforts to preserve and promote the surviving material culture of the *nōsatsu-kai* from that period through digitization and crowdsourcing.

1) David Moreton, Tokushima University
Shikoku: The Centenarian Perspective of Frederick Star

For hundreds of years, people from around the world have recorded observations of their experience in Japan, in diaries, letters, and books thus permitting readers the opportunity to gain further insights about Japan. Many wrote about the religious and recreational life of people on the main island Honshu, and in such large cities as Kobe, Osaka, Nagoya, and Tokyo. While these accounts are numerous and intriguing, little attention has been given to the accounts left behind by foreigners visiting regional areas, such as the island of Shikoku. One person who came was University of Chicago anthropology professor Frederick Starr (1858–1933) who visited Japan fifteen times. Unfortunately, despite being famous in Japan and respected among the local people during his lifetime and for a substantial period time after his death he has been somewhat overlooked and forgotten. Nevertheless, the records of his two visits to Shikoku during the Taisho period, offer the reader a detailed description of the Buddhist pilgrimage route and other famous religious sites around the island as well as of topics related to the everyday life of the people. One hundred years ago, few foreigners traveled to the extent that Starr did around Japan and few others presented descriptions of places and people of regional areas like Starr. Thus, a close examination of his diaries, letters, etc. documenting his time on Shikoku is extremely informative and significant.

2) Kevin McDowell, University of Oregon
Common(er) Culture: Crowdsourcing the Cataloging of Japanese Votive Slips

During the late Edo period, a craze for pasting and exchanging votive slips (nōsatsu) swept through the city of Edo. *Nōsatsu* enthusiasts would meet to go on pasting trips to shrines and temples and at *nōsatsu* exchange club meetings (*nōsatsu-kai*) where members swapped decorative, individually commissioned prints. With the Meiji Restoration and the move towards modernization and Westernization, the practice of pasting and exchanging votive slips almost completely disappeared. Later, a sense of nostalgia for Edo period customs and traditions started to develop among some groups of people, especially in the *shitamachi* areas of Tokyo, resulting in a rekindling of interest in *nōsatsu* and the formation of new exchange clubs in Tokyo and other urban areas. This was furthered by the arrival of Professor Frederick Starr from the University of Chicago, who became a fervent participant in the *nōsatsu* milieu and dedicated *nōsatsu* collector. The University of Oregon holds Starr's entire *nōsatsu* collection and has begun the process of digitizing it and uploading the images to the Oregon Digital Archive. An issue that has delayed the project, however, is the difficulty of deciphering early modern Japanese script and creating metadata. For that reason, the project is moving towards developing a crowdsourcing cataloging component to the digitization process. The UO is now using a platform called "Ten Thousand Rooms" to add transcription, translation and annotation to each individual image.

3) Kumiko McDowell, University of Oregon
Nōsatsu, Networking and Frederick Starr in the Revival of Japanese Votive Slip Exchange Clubs.

The practice of pasting and exchanging votive slips (*nōsatsu*) was a boom among commoners in mid-19th century Edo (Tokyo). Modernization and Westernization caused by the Meiji Restoration swept away traditional Edo culture. In the early 20th century, *nōsatsu* culture largely revived and even expanded to areas outside of Tokyo, including Okazaki, Kyoto, and

Osaka and some groups of *nōsatsu* people are still active in contemporary Japan. The cultural and regional networks of *nōsatsu* enthusiasts played an important role in the revival of *nōsatsu* culture. This paper explores the function of those networks in the revival of *nōsatsu*, with a focus on Frederic Starr. Starr was an American anthropologist who collected various kinds of Japanese antiques, including folk toys. His interests in Japanese popular culture varied from religious ones including the worship of Mt. Fuji to lower class cultural groups such as tattoo appreciation clubs. He became acquainted with a great number of people in antique collectors' groups through sharing interests in Japanese folk antiques. He was also an enthusiastic *nōsatsu* practitioner. Japanese people affectionately called him "Professor Votive Slip (*O-fuda hakase*)". His memory lingers on in contemporary nōsatsu groups. As an American scholar as well as a celebrity who frequently appeared in newspaper articles during his numerous trips to Japan, Starr played an important role in connecting people from *nōsatsu*-related cultural networks

Discussant: Alisa Freedman, University of Oregon

Session 34: Room 23
Individual Papers Session 8: Religion and Cultural Production
Chair: Alex Vesey, Meiji Gakuin University

1) Yang Gu Kang, Kyoto University
Caring Bodies, Caring Spirits, Increasing Productivity: Contemporary Animism of the Indigenous Raglai under the Socialist Vietnam Reign

East Asia society is historically subject to ideologies that project hierarchical and patriarchal mentality and culture to the people. The historical influence inevitably leads to gender-based marginalization in modern East Asian politics. However, in the past decades, East Asia has witnessed several top female leaders, such as Park Geun-hye, Carrie Lam and Tsai Ing-wen, breaking the highest glass ceiling. This research focuses on this irony, and endeavors to understand it from the gender perspective. As widely observed, a top politician in the East Asian context is a historically established role, and this particular position is associated with masculinity. Therefore, when female political leaders enter the setting and take the politician roles, they have to think inside the boxes, by adopting masculine features to promote themselves as likeable individuals. The research tries to analyze the gender stereotyping strategy on particularly Tsai Ing-wen's three social media platforms Facebook, Twitter and Instagram by utilizing two crucial concepts, namely branded-self/performance and mediated persona. Through the empirical research methods, the research supposes that female identity as a double-edged sword is branded in the request of the electorate to benefit the role of political leader.

2) Soichi Tsuchiya, Waseda University
The Revival Movement for Onmyōdō Divination Studies and Practice in Meiji Period

This presentation explores the revival movement for Onmyōdō divination studies and practice in Meiji period. The principles and techniques of yin-yang and the five elements were introduced to Japan from China in the sixth century. These ideas and techniques, thought essential for the smooth operation of government, were placed under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Onmyōryō in the imperial court. Later the technique was called Onmyōdō, and its practitioners were called Onmyōji. One of the most famous Onmyōji was Abe no

Seimei (921–1005). From medieval times, the practice of Onmyōdō gradually spread among the common people. Although the Bureau of Onmyōryō was still in operation at the time of the Meiji Restoration (1868), the new Meiji government abolished it. This presentation will deal with the Onmyōdō and Onmyōji in the late nineteenth century. After being abolished, Yasunori Wakasugi, Masaki Mikami, Aritaka Yoshida and Hiromichi Minagawa, initiated a revival campaign. They tried to establish an association and reconstruct (and even modernize) its doctrine. At the same time, they established a school in order to train followers. Although there are many studies on Onmyōdō, most do not go beyond the Edo period. There are no studies that deal with Onmyōdō in the late nineteenth century. Nonetheless, alongside the introduction of Western ideas and goods we must pay attention to areas of continuity with past practices and ideologies. Such is the goal of this presentation.

3) Yuki Ohsawa, Josai International University
What does Anime Tourism Really Mean? The Locals Meet the Anime Fans Who Celebrate Anime Pilgrimage Sites

Anime Tourism has been discussed as a vital and viable form of community revitalization since the 2010s; however, the origin of anime tourism saw anime fans visiting sites that were introduced in their favorite series, and which have become pilgrimage sites. We find differences between thinking of anime tourism as a form of community revitalization or anime pilgrimage; the biggest of these is the perspectives of the local people, living at these sites, or travelers, the anime fans themselves. Anime sites are very important for the visitors and the community, and anime tourism has encouraged and created connections between both of them. This research analyzes anime pilgrimage sites in order to explore how they become a pilgrimage site, and how anime fans and locals create and maintain the sites. One further aspect covers how the sites may become unpopular over time for the fans. To explore these issues, this paper analyzes three different anime sites—1) Oarai, Ibaraki, 2) Kamogawa, Chiba, 3) Sakaiminato, Tottori. All three anime pilgrimages sites are located in rural Japan, and all have common features relevant to this study. This research utilizes fieldwork and textual analysis to compare all the aspects of these three anime and anime pilgrimages sites, and demonstrates the power and function of anime as not just an attraction for the audience, but also as a force of connection for diverse people in countryside Japan.

4) Matias Chiappe Ippolito, Waseda University
The Utopian Image of Latin America in Japanese Literature: Catholic Redemptions in Kenzaburō Ōe's Mexico

Nobel prize winner Kenzaburō Ōe (1935) visited Mexico between 1976 and 1977, a time in which he gave classes at El Colegio de México and kept contact with scholars on Japanese Literature such as Oscar Montes, Atsuko Tanabe and Guillermo Quartucci, and with writers like Octavio Paz and Gabriel García Márquez. Ōe later described, in several interviews and in *Letter to Nostalgia* (Natsukashii e no tegami, 1987), that he was going through a writer's blockade during those years and that his contact with Mexican culture, muralism and literature (but also with fiction linked to Mexico, such as Malcom Lowry's *Under the Volcano*) was a respite within his crisis and a ray of hope. The paper will follow his travel and analyze his works that depict this country. Particular interest will be given to his novel *Life Relatives* [Jinsei no Shinseki] (1987), which deals with Marie Kuraki, a character who escapes to the Americas after the suicide of her sons and who ends up working on a cooperative farm in Mexico while being venerated as a saint. I will argue that Ōe's travel was far from an escapist flight such as Marie's. Quite the contrary, he sought to renew Japanese

literature by incorporating topics of Mexican culture and Catholic traditions. If he was able to do this is quite debatable. The links he established with Latin American institutions such as *El Colegio de México*, however, have grown ever since, making Ōe a cornerstone in the cultural relationships of both regions.

Session 35: room 24
Individual Papers Session 9: Postwar Capitalism
Chair: Curtis Gayle, Waseda University

1) Simon James Bytheway, Nihon University
Zaibatsu Dissolution and Post-War Reorganization

Foremost amongst the proposed economic deconcentration policy reforms of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) were policy measures designed to facilitate the deconcentration of economic power from the zaibatsu, and the leading families or institutions that controlled or owned them. Often perceived and presented for present-day purposes as multinational business enterprises, or as depoliticized industrial conglomerates, the term zaibatsu in fact refers to financial cliques whose commercial influence and capital resources allowed for control over significant parts of the Japanese political economy in the period from 1868 to 1945. Against this background, what were SCAP's deconcentration policies, and how were they implemented against the zaibatsu in post-war Japan? Which individuals or institutions benefited most from the reform processes, and how successful were these deconcentration reforms? Ultimately, how did the former zaibatsu fare in the post-war period, distinguished by its high-speed economic growth? In order to answer these questions, and to explain how they relate to contemporary Japanese economy, my presentation aims to examine the cause and effects of Japan's zaibatsu dissolution, in particularly the reorganization of the Yasuda 'financial' zaibatsu detailing how dissolution of their parent, family-based holding company ensured immunity against SCAP's proposed deconcentration measures.

2) Alexander Brown, Japan Women's University
Prefigurative Politics at the Anti-G8 Summit Protests in Hokkaido: The Sociology of Translation in Transnational Activist Space

The notion of "prefigurative politics" has been a key concept in the resurgence of a global activist politics since the mass protests against the World Trade Organization ministerial meeting in Seattle in 1999. It refers to the attempt to create alternative ways of being and relating within protest spaces. Advocates of prefigurative politics reject the separation of means from ends and insist that protesting can be a joyful and inherently meaningful activity. In 2008, the alter-globalization movement came to Japan to protest the G8 Summit meeting in Hokkaido. In the lead up to the mobilization, activists and scholars translated a number of key alter-globalization movement texts as part of an attempt to develop what Shiraishi & Yabu (2009) call the movement's "new theoretical armory." Shibuya Nozomu's translation of John Holloway's essay, "1968 and the Crisis of Abstract Labour," appeared as part of a series of such texts that were published online and in print. Since then, the term has been employed by thinkers writing in Japanese to describe the politics of other social movements,

including homeless peoples' movements and the anti-nuclear movement. This paper takes a sociological approach to translation within social movement culture. By examining the processes by which the English concept of 'prefigurative politics' became the Japanese "*yojiteki seiji*" (予示的政治) it will highlight some of the circuits by which new political concepts develop in transnational political space.

3) Noriaki Hoshino, Hong Kong Baptist University
On Transpacific Knowledge Production and Japanese Migrants

This paper examines the relationship between modern Japanese intellectual discourse on transpacific Japanese migrations and American social scientific research on such migrations during the interwar years. Since the 1920s, Japanese migrants' bodily transformations and racial/ethnic contacts in the United States had captured the interest of some Japanese natural and social scientists. Importantly, these scientists' discourses on race/ethnicity had developed in the context of the rising necessity to promote the migration and manage heterogeneous populations within the Japanese empire. Meanwhile, American social scientists also developed their study of Japanese immigrants on the American West Coast and in Hawaii. By focusing on the work of a Japanese sociologist (Koyama Eizō) and American Chicago sociologists (Andrew Lind, Robert Park), this paper critically explores the mechanism of Japanese and American intellectual discourses concerning migrations and racial/ethnic contacts in the 1930s and 1940s. In addition, this exploration also reveals that Japanese sociological studies intersected with the discourse of American social scientists because of their common interest in transpacific Japanese migrations. Rather than separating out the field of Japanese Studies from that of American Studies, my work addresses the uncanny co-presence of imperial knowledge productions from both sides of the Pacific and their contribution to ongoing imperial expansions during the interwar years.

4) Nichamon Hiranpruek, Waseda University
Decoding the Success of Craft Knowledge Survival: The Roles of Master Carpenter and the Influences from Capital and Habitus in Japanese Carpentry Field

While some craft knowledge has disappeared with its master, Japanese carpentry successfully disseminate implicit craft knowledge despite the shift in innovation and sociocultural situation. This article aims to unfold the underlying structure and interrelations in Japanese carpentry field in order to examine master carpenters as the most relevant unit of analysis since they are most dominant actor who remain active and facilitate the survival of this craft knowledge. Hence, field-theoretical approach was adopted to clarify the arguments as the position in a given field depends on type, volume and legitimacy of capital and the habitus, while their actions and practices are the result of their habitus and capital in the field. The finding suggests that master carpenter successfully mobilize all four capital; economic, cultural, social and symbolic, to multiple the effects socially and sustain the dominant position despite the new innovation and social change. Since economic capital cannot be reconverted into master carpenter's cultural, social and symbolic capital, these forms of capital provide leverage to the possessor tremendously. Master carpenters convert their embodied and institutionalized cultural capital into a control over other actors and also exploit their social capital and symbolic capital to maintain exclusivity of the field entry. This results in acknowledgement of their valuable limited inheritance and long-lasting symbolic capital.

LUNCH BREAK: 12:00 NOON – 13:30 P.M.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSIONS I: 13:30 P.M. – 15:30 P.M.

Session 36: Room 31
Preservation of the National Polity in Prewar, Wartime, and Postwar Japan
Organizer: Noriko Kawamura, Washington State University
Chair: Mark E. Caprio, Rikkyo University

The Japanese term "*kokutai*" (national polity) is closely tied to the imperial ideology of the Japanese Empire, which was vanquished at the close of World War II. During the war, the Japanese government and military pushed the entire nation to fight to the bitter end to protect the national polity (*kokutai-goji*). However, historians are still struggling to define the elusive concept of *kokutai*, which meant different things to different people. Moreover, the state's methods of propagating and protecting the *kokutai* changed as internal and external circumstances changed. The papers in this panel will examine three different efforts to protect the *kokutai* in the prewar years, during the war, and after the war under the U.S. occupation. W. Puck Brecher will examine the Japanese government's use of athletic events to maintain the *kokutai* from 1924 to 1943. Roger H. Brown will explore the outlook and activities of conservative nationalists and officials during the final stages of the war and the outset of the U.S. occupation. Noriko Kawamura will focus on Emperor Hirohito's efforts to preserve the *kokutai* as he saw it at the time of Japan's surrender and the subsequent days of uncertainty under the U.S. occupation.

1) W. Puck Brecher, Washington State University
War Games: Athletics as National Defense in Imperial Japan

For the Imperial Japanese state, maintaining a mutually supportive relationship with its own citizenry was fundamental to preserving the national polity (*kokutai goji*). This was no simple proposition, however. Not only did the state need to demonstrate its benevolence and moral leadership, it also had to prepare its populace to collectively confront an array of domestic and international challenges. This paper looks at the state's use of athletics, and the Meiji Shrine Games (*Meiji Jingū kyōgi taikai*) particularly, for this purpose. Held fourteen times between 1924 and 1943, the Games sought to inspire reverence for the national polity, but also assumed myriad other roles. The paper begins by outlining how the Games' ceremonies and athletic competitions evolved over the course of their twenty-year lifespan. It then offers analysis of these shifts as responses to changing national needs and the state's ideological agendas. The Games' rituals and iconography, it shows, reveal that athletics came to assume a bundle of mutually inclusive functions: demonstrating the polity's benevolence and moral righteousness; providing entertainment and recreation; and maximizing physical fitness and

martial readiness. The paper concludes by arguing that the state's use of athletics to help sustain a mutually supportive relationship with its citizenry served as a multifaceted method of *kokutai goji*.

2) Roger H. Brown, Saitama University
Preserving the National Polity in War and Peace: Japanese Conservative Reactions to Wartime Defeat and Occupation Reform

Once Japan expanded the war in China to the Pacific, moderate conservatives of the so-called "pro-Anglo-American faction" were as desirous of victory as anyone, yet also keen to seize the earliest opportunity for bringing the war to a negotiated end. One reason for this stance was their apprehension over the possible consequences prolonged total war might have for domestic political stability and the emperor-centered constitutional order, trepidation that escalated into distress as Japan's impending defeat became evident. By 1945, "preservation of the national polity" (*kokutai-goji*) had become the state's primary war objective and the one condition for surrender shared by all factions of the political leadership. The efforts of conservatives in support of *kokutai-goji* did not, however, end with the cessation of hostilities, for these men immediately confronted the potential threat posed not just by the matter of the emperor's war responsibility but also by the democratic reform agenda of occupation authorities and the resurgence of radical political forces. This presentation will examine the outlook and activities of such representative individuals as the nationalist ideologue Yasuoka Masahiro and court official Sekiya Teizaburo in order to shed light on conservative anxiety regarding *kokutai* preservation in the final stages of the war and in the earliest days of the occupation.

3) Noriko Kawamura, Washington State University
Emperor Hirohito and the National Polity from Japan's Surrender to the US Occupation

After Japan's surrender in World War II, during the U.S. led Allied occupation (1945–1952) Emperor Hirohito underwent an extraordinary transformation from a divine absolute monarch to a humanized symbolic monarch with no political power under the new democratic constitution written by the U.S. occupiers. Against the backdrop of this extraordinary transformation of the emperor, historians continue to debate why he failed to take responsibility for the war and abdicate. Some sources indicate that Hirohito's ultimate goal during this period of uncertainty was the preservation of the imperial court and Japan's sovereignty, which to him was one and the same. To achieve that goal he was prepared to take responsibility for Japan's past conduct, but his question was how assuming war responsibility would help preserve the imperial house. He wrestled with the dilemma between war responsibility and abdication, wondering whether it would save the imperial court or backfire and endanger the throne itself. The court advisers who believed in the continuation of the *kokutai* worked strenuously to protect Emperor Hirohito and the imperial court. Did it mean that Hirohito's effort to preserve the imperial house amounted to an effort to preserve the *kokutai* in postwar Japan? If so, what kind of *kokutai*? This paper will examine what the *kokutai* meant to Emperor Hirohito after Japan's surrender and how he intended to preserve it during the subsequent uncertain days under U.S. occupation.

Discussant: Mark E. Caprio, Rikkyo University

Session 37: Room 32

A Place to Practice: Space and Place in Japanese Religions
Organizer/Chair: Matthew Mitchell, Allegheny College

Moving space and place to the center of analysis has greatly improved our knowledge of Japanese religions. Scholars have uncovered the relationship between religious institutions and the imperial court (Grapard), demonstrated the impact of political changes on the power dynamics and identities of sacred sites (Ambros and Thal), and highlighted the ways that pilgrims affect, and are affected, by the space of the pilgrimage route (Reader), to name a few. The members of this panel further this work by examining religious space and place in light of new trends in scholarship on bodies, localization, and the law. Starling examines Buddhist responses to social and physical suffering caused by Hansen's Disease, which take the form of physical closeness and intimacy. Proffitt discusses the *Himitsu nenbutsu sho* ritual that places devotion to Kukai in the center of Pure Land beliefs that were localized on Mt. Koya. Carter discusses the dynamics of narrative, ritual, and place on the early modern formation of Shugendō through a look at one mountain's historical record. Mitchell highlights how the legal arena became the location where sectarian arguments over temple space played out. These papers, which span the Kamakura to the contemporary periods, demonstrate the roles of space and place in creating and destabilizing stigma, delivering the dead to the Pure Land, interweaving the local and translocal in the formation of a national tradition, and litigating against one's rivals.

1) Jessica Starling, Lewis and Clark College
Closing the Distance: Physical Intimacy as Pure Land Buddhist Response to Social Suffering

This paper utilizes ethnographic fieldwork to shed light on contemporary Japanese Buddhist responses to leprosy, also known as Hansen's disease. My informants, male and female *Jōdo Shinshū* adherents, monthly traverse the distance between their home temples in cities and suburbs across Japan in order visit remote sanitaria to which those who suffered from the effects of the Mycobacterium leprae were relocated in the 1930s and 1940s. Leprosy has long been a morally ambiguous and affectively charged disease in Japan; in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the scientific discourse of contagion added another layer to earlier forms of stigmatization, and Buddhist leaders of the time lent their ideological support to the state's efforts to quarantine patients. My contemporary informants' journeys to befriend and advocate for elderly survivors is therefore both a spatial and historical journey, as well as a moral one. The karmic thread of history offers my informants the opportunity (*goen*) to visit the leprosarium in the first place, as well as the moral imperative to atone for past acts of discrimination by cultivating friendship and intimacy with the leprosy survivors. I argue that Buddhist social work at these sites of social isolation is in fact an ethical front line, where the concept of life (*inochi*) and experiences of suffering, friendship and physical intimacy are the building blocks of Buddhist ethical action aimed at re-humanizing leprosy survivors.

2) Aaron Proffitt, State University of New York, University at Albany
Emplacing Kōbō Daishi

In this paper, I will examine a deathbed ritual that appears in the third fascicle of Dōhan's (1179–1252) *Himitsu nenbutsu shō*. In this ritual, Dōhan presents Kōbō Daishi Kūkai (774–835) as a bodhisattva-like savior figure capable of leading beings to *Sukhāvatī*, the Pure Land of Amitābha Buddha. This paper situates this ritual in the local and devotional context of early-medieval Kōyasan, examining in particular the role that sacred space and the mapping

of symbolic and hagiographic elements played in the negotiation of the perceived gulf between the seen and unseen realms. Scholars of Esoteric Buddhism have tended to focus on either ritual or doctrine in their investigation of the contours of *Shingon* Buddhism and East Asian Esoteric Buddhism. This paper will argue that in order to better understand the interconnections between doctrine and ritual in this ritual text we must look to the particular and localized contexts of the evolution of the *Shingon* tradition on Kōyasan and the centrality of certain spaces and places associated with Kōbō Daishi's life and career.

3) Matthew Mitchell, Allegheny College
Suing for Space: The Legal Battle to Maintain Sectarian Diversity, Ritual Space, and Administrative Power at the Zenkōji Temple Complex in the Eighteenth Century

In the 18th century, Tendai monks accomplished a sectarian coup at the popular pilgrimage temple Zenkōji. After years of political maneuvering, the temple complex, which had been known for its diverse sectarian makeup, was reduced to two sects: Tendai and Pure Land. Of the almost forty subtemples in the complex, only the nuns of the administrative subtemple Daihongan retained their sectarian affiliation. More was at stake than simply sectarian affiliation, however. Before the change, the Pure Land subtemples had been affiliated directly with Daihongan; after, all subtemples reported to the Tendai administrative subtemple Daikanjin. This was the final push in an effort to consolidate ritual and administrative control with the Tendai monks of Daikanjin and effectively push the Pure Land nuns to the sidelines for the remainder of the early modern period. Altering the sectarian landscape at Zenkōji did not occur without a fight, however. The Pure Land nuns turned to the legal system to support their claims that the subtemples, especially the ones that had originally been Pure Land temples, should not change affiliation. In this presentation, I examine court documents from this lawsuit to discuss how Daihongan's nuns sued in an effort to retain a modicum of administrative control and ritual backing within the Zenkōji temple complex. In other words, I show how the nuns operated within legal spaces to fight against loss that would affect their standing within Zenkōji's landscape.

4) Caleb Carter, Kyushu University
Placing Early Modern Shugendō: The Case of Mount Togakushi

Place has always been intrinsic to the historical formation of ritual, institution, and religious identity. While this holds true for the mountain religion of Shugendō, its common treatment as a national tradition (stemming from the field's emergence within folk studies) has often blurred its temporal and spatial contours. Indeed, there is ample evidence that Shugendō did mature into a national system well before Japan's modernity, but much of this development rested on efforts to embed it in regional sites where its historical roots were shallow. To accomplish this task, religious communities had to reimagine the legacy of Shugendō at their sites and reconfigure ritual and practice to align themselves with the school. This talk will discuss the early modern development of Shugendō through the case of Mount Togakushi, paying special attention to the role of narrative and ritual in this process. Previous scholarship has situated Shugendō as thriving at Togakushi throughout the medieval period, only to decline in the Edo period. In contrast, research from Carter's larger project demonstrates that the school most likely emerged there only in the sixteenth century and rather than declining, expanded in the centuries that followed. At the center of this growth was a dialectic between the local and translocal, through which Shugendō practitioners (*yamabushi*) and Tendai clerics reimagined Shugendō as a local tradition while participating in its development on a national scale.

Discussant: Alex Vesey, Meiji Gakuin Daigaku

Session 38: Room 22
<u>**Asian Heroes – Transmitting the Narratives of the Three Kingdoms**</u>
Organizer/Chair: Tove Bjoerk, Saitama University

This panel will explore how Guan Yu (関羽) and Zhuge Liang (諸葛亮), two of the heroes of the late imperial Three Kingdom narratives, have been transmitted and variously reconstructed in China and Japan. The characteristics of a 'hero' vary between cultures and over time, and exploring how heroes are transmitted in popular narratives is one way of measuring the change in social values, but also the methods of transmission in themselves are fundamental to the construction of a "hero." Our first presentation will focus on how Guan Yu was transmitted in popular Ming dynasty prints, juxtaposing his heroism with the eroticism of the pleasure quarters, and discuss how this editorial strategy influenced his image as a hero. The second presentation will deal with the transmission of the narrative to the early modern Japanese stage, and analyze the attempts to connect Guan Yu to the cult of medieval Japanese war heroes. The subsequent presentation will look at how Zhuge Liang's heroism was superimposed on Japanese historical and social matter in an 18th century *bunraku* puppet play. Our final presentation will take us to the 20th century, and considers how the techniques for enacting Guan Yu have been deployed in the People's Republic of China, discussing the survival of classical heroes to the present day. By focusing on how these characters were transmitted historically and geographically, we hope to create a basis for a fruitful discussion of what heroism is in an Asian perspective.

1) Shih-pe Wang, National Taiwan University
How the Three Kingdoms Hero Guan Yu Was Performed through Editing in Late Ming Drama Miscellanies

In early 17th century Yangzi river region, a new genre of printed books appeared. They could be categorized as drama miscellanies (戲曲選本), and what was new was the editing format—the new books were structured with three columns on each page. The upper and lower columns are the excerpts from Ming plays, while the middle narrow columns contain more diverse sources such as popular songs, drinking games, riddles or guidebook information. This paper will investigate the editing and reading strategy of the excerpts of the play "The Story of Three Kingdoms (三國記)" in these sources, focusing on general Guan Yu (關羽), a beacon of loyalty and courage, who was posthumously deified and worshiped in Chinese popular religion. Most of his martial scenes are put in the lower columns, but astonishingly these scenes are often juxtaposed with the middle columns composed of popular songs about courtesans, love or sex. If we read these columns simultaneously from top to the bottom, there may be two contradictory feelings aroused: on the one hand, the masculinity of Guan Yu is disintegrated by the tempting atmosphere of the middle columns, or, his heroic image is strengthened/sexualized by the linking to the women of the pleasure quarters. In both cases, the hero and the courtesan are displayed as performers side by side on the neighboring columns, creating an odd and intriguing effect for late Ming editors and readers.

2) Tove Bjoerk, Saitama University
Breaking Through Barriers?: Guan Yu on the Early Modern Kabuki Stage

The enactment of Chinese heroes and gods on the Japanese stage can be dated to the 6th century, and during the medieval time, *noh* featured heroes from The Records of the Grand Historian (史記). However, *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (三國志演義), which was published in China in the 14th century, only began to entice Japanese theatre makers after the Japanese translation was printed in 1689. This presentation will explore how Japanese drama constructs Asian heroes, focusing on kabuki actor Ichikawa Danjuro II's interpretations of Guan Yu in the mid-18th century. I will first make a comparison to the protagonists of the *noh* plays featuring Xiang Yu (項羽) and Zhang Liang (張良). Following that, I will analyze kabuki's enactment of Guan Yu's famous fight scene where he breaks through five barriers, displaying how the structure of the scene itself lent itself to various Japanese heroes on stage. Based on Danjuro II's diary, I will discuss his literacy in the original sources, and investigate his attempts to connect both the legends of supposedly immortal Japanese rebel Kagekiyo and the Acala deity to the cult of Guan Yu. Finally, I will explore how the image of Guan Yu lived on, both on stage and in prints featuring him enacted by courtesans of the Yoshiwara red light district, aiming at grasping the essence of what makes this hero appealing to a Japanese audience.

3) Masumi Harada, Japan Women's University
"The Three Kingdoms" in Japanese Early Modern Puppet Theatre: Looking at Three Kingdoms in This Country

Chikamatsu Monzaemon's work *Three Kingdoms in This Country* (本朝三国志)" is an 18th century bunraku puppet play directly based on the Japanese translation of *The Romance of Three Kingdoms* (三国志演義)," the *Popular Three Kingdoms* (通俗三国志)," printed in 1689. The play was first staged in 1719, and the performance was inspired by the Korean delegation rumored to visit Japan the autumn that year. However, instead of depicting the strife of the actual Three Kingdoms, the play focused on the Korean invasion led by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉) in the late 16th century. The play portrayed Toyotomi Hideyoshi as an avatar of Zhuge Liang (諸葛孔明). However, by examining the details of the plot, we come to know that it is actually the heroines, who showed the true heroic spirit and courage of the heroes in the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms." In this presentation, I will discuss how Chikamatsu Monzaemon changed the topic of the classical Chinese narrative to a (at the time) modern Japanese theatre, by making women representatives of the major heroic episodes depicted. Therefore, I will further argue that "This Country" of the title, does not only refer to Japan but also to the "Country of Theatre".

4) Josh Stenberg, University of Sydney
On the Uses of "Twenty Years of Heroes' Blood Unending"

With support from the highest levels of the Communist Party, a series of *yin pei xiang* (sound matched to image) recordings were made beginning in 1994, in which the recordings of *xiqu* actors of earlier generations were accompanied by the (presumably relatively faithful) stage actions and lip-synching of their disciples in full costumes. These remain among our best sources for performances of the early PRC, and of a generation of performers for which video is sparse. In the case under examination in this presentation, the audio recording actor (Hou Yongkui) was also the father of the video recording actor (*Hou Shaokui*). The recording is of

a Northern Kunqu scene derived from a Guan Hanqing play about Guan Yu, translatable as something like "Meeting Danger Alone." As the protagonist Guan Yu prepares to cross the river for a treacherous meeting, he contemplates the flowing river as metaphor for war and its sacrifices. This presentation proposes a presentist reading, by which we can interpret (admittedly for our own purposes) the recording of Hou mimicking Hou mimicking semi-divine Guan Yu as the operation for a metaphor for the transmission of theatre itself.

Discussant: Takafumi Marui, Shujitsu University

Session 39: Room 33
Reinterpreting, Retelling, Reimagining the Heike monogatari
Organizer: Roberta Strippoli, Binghamton University (SUNY)
Chair: Caroline Hirasawa, Waseda University

The Genpei War (1180–1185) was a devastating civil war with a major impact on the history of Japan. The thirteenth-century *Heike monogatari* narrates the rise and fall of the Taira clan in this war. Having originated from multiple authors in various places, the tale has been highly decentralized in terms of narratives, formats, media, loci, and audiences, and has been reshaped and reinterpreted throughout its history. This panel addresses the after-lives of people, events, and places connected to the Genpei War. Our focus is thus not on the Heike per se but rather on the representational practices—visual, literary, and ritual—that it has made possible. Working across media and genre, we ask how visual, textual, and verbal storytelling have conjured members of the Taira family, reinterpreted and revived events, and generated new audiences as well as new understandings of Japan's history. Naoko Gunji shows that the iconographical program of a sixteenth-century Heike painting was driven by a medieval ideology of imperial state, and explores how canonical paintings of the Tokugawa period (1603–1868) reinterpreted the Heike. Roberta Strippoli looks into Tokugawa-period legends and cultural heritage related to the death of Taira no Tokiko, Antoku's grandmother who drowned with him at Dannoura. Heather Blair examines the *Emaki Heike monogatari*, a multi-volume picture book from the 1980s at the intersection of storytelling, modern art, heritage, and children's literature.

1) Naoko Gunji, Independent Scholar
Reinterpreting a Reinterpretation: The Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku

My talk proposes a new interpretation of the Illustrated Story of Emperor Antoku, a sixteenth-century painting that once adorned sliding doors in Antoku's mortuary temple, Amidaji. Relying on the *Heike monogatari*, it depicts major events in the emperor's short life with a unique choice of themes. Previous interpretations saw this painting as a project by local warlords (toward the end of the Sengoku period and later) to boast of the imperial origin of Amidaji and to proclaim the prestige of the area. In contrast, I take the Illustrated Story as a story of the loss of imperial authority. I analyze the iconographic program of the work and compare its thematic elements to the *Heike monogatari* and historical sources. The Genpei War was a catastrophe that called for interpretation by medieval thinkers. My analysis reveals a medieval, aristocratic interpretation of the war's causality underlying the Illustrated Story. In this narrative, which is driven by an aristocratic ideology, Antoku and the Taira fall from the zenith of power and go to ruin because of their break from imperial legitimacy, but prayers for their salvation, which manifest Amidaji's original mission, lead them to reconcile and reunite with imperial authority. Comparing this medieval narrative to canonical paintings

of the Genpei War in the Edo period in turn shows how the latter, with a new audience and ideology emerging before them, reinterpreted the causality of the war.

2) Roberta Strippoli, Binghamton University (SUNY)
Retelling Taira no Tokiko through Legend and Cultural Heritage

The drowning of the child emperor Antoku (1178–1185) during the battle of Dannoura is one the most touching moments in *Heike monogatari*. This paper examines legends and cultural heritage concerning the woman who took Antoku to his death: his grandmother Taira no Tokiko (1126–1185), wife of Kiyomori, also known as Niidono, or Nii no ama, the Nun of Second Rank. Centuries after the Genpei War, legends featuring members of the Taira family developed all over Japan. They reimagine the war events, providing sequels and spinoff versions that connect the Taira to communities located far away from where the war took place. Stories regarding Taira no Tokiko provide at least three endings to her life: Antoku's grandmother drowned, and her body washed up in at least two locations; she and the child emperor went to the Dragon Palace under the sea; they were able to leave Dannoura unharmed and lived to old age in secret villages hidden in far-away mountains. The *Heike monogatari* and its connected legends also inspired the making of cultural heritage in the form of places and artifacts that date mostly to the Tokugawa Period (1603–1868). These temples, graves, monuments and artifacts of various kinds fulfill the needs, economic or otherwise, of the communities that created them. The study of cultural heritage reveals ways in which the events of the Genpei War as narrated in the *Heike monogatari* are reimagined, expanded, and made to serve practical purposes.

3) Heather Blair, Indiana University
Art / Heritage / Literature: Seeing the Heike in Picture books

As a means of exploring how narratives about the Genpei War reach and shape new audiences, this paper examines visual expression and style in picture book retellings of the *Heike monogatari* from the late twentieth century. In particular, it focuses on Kinoshita Junji and Segawa Yasuo's critically acclaimed, multi-volume *Emaki Heike monogatari* (Holp, 1987–89). This series' success rests largely upon illustrator Segawa Yasuo's use of distinctive visual stylization to position the series at the intersection of three distinct cultural vectors—modern art, heritage, and children's literature. To argue this point, this paper proceeds in three stages, beginning with an analysis of Segawa's use of stylistic pastiche to construct a bridge between the modern (visually represented, for instance, by Cubist geometry) and the medieval (embodied in, for example, golden embellishments that recall the Heike nōkyō). In the second section, the paper considers how Segawa's engagement with medieval storytelling and visual culture draws upon postwar figurations of picture books as a ground for the transmission and celebration of cultural heritage. Finally, the paper reflects on how the *Emaki Heike monogatari*'s self-presentation as modern children's literature constitutes a purposeful extension of Genpei lore's long-running tendency to cross boundaries between high and low, canonical and vernacular, national and local, adult and child.

Discussant: Caroline Hirasawa, Waseda University

Session 40: Room 34
Embodying Performance, Performing Embodiment: Corporealities of Japanese Cultural Production
Organizer: Jyana S. Browne, University of Maryland
Chair: Cindi Textor, University of Utah

In this panel, we move across time, space, and form in order to examine the ways in which embodiment has been imagined in Japanese performance cultures. How does the body become a site of emotional intensities, a platform for performative inflections, or even an impediment to representation? While our contributions range from theater, literary, and media studies, we define performance expansively and believe that an interdisciplinary approach is crucial to furthering the conversation on how the body is imagined, constructed, and instantiated in Japanese cultural production. Jyana Browne investigates spectatorship in the early modern puppet theatre to reveal how embodiment was a critical component of audience response. Mengyang Chen studies the cooperation between playwright Namiki Shōza and kabuki actors to develop a new representation of female roles through fierce fight scenes. Kimberlee Sanders challenges discourses of alienation that accompany the intersection of vocal performance and recording technology by exploring how listeners engaged with benshi recordings in the 1920s and 30s. Cindi Textor examines stuttering in Zainichi Korean fiction to rethink the politics of who can speak, foregrounding the embodied nature of speech itself. While the body is the fundamental medium through which we experience performance, we argue that a thorough consideration of performance should interrogate the body's role in mediating experience and engendering desire and identification.

1) Jyana S. Browne, University of Maryland
Spectating Bodies

In the early eighteenth century, censorship edicts blamed representations of love suicide for fueling the suicide crisis that ravaged the Osaka-Kyoto region. Aside from banning the treatment of love suicide on stage, in song, and in print, these sources tell us tantalizingly little of how they conceived of a performance, ballad, or book as being potent enough to spur its audience to suicide. Popular literature and plays provide more clues as to how early modern artists and audiences conceptualized the powers and limitations of representation. In this paper, I focus specifically on the performance of love suicide plays within the puppet theatre to tease out how Chikamatsu and his contemporaries theorized spectatorship. Through an analysis of the meta-theatrical scenes in Chikamatsu's plays, I examine how he depicted audience members responding to performances both real and imagined. These spectators embody their responses to the performances through gestures and tears. The emphasis on embodied spectatorship in the plays reveals how early modern artists and audiences thought of the body as a site of performative participation during the performance and in its aftermath.

2) Mengyang Chen, Waseda University
The Virile Onnagata in Namiki Shōza's Kabuki

When Namiki Shōza returned to kabuki after the death of his mentor Namiki Sōsuke, one of the most well-known playwrights for the puppet theatre (*ningyō jōruri*), he faced a difficult problem: how to make full use of veteran kabuki actors and while still making the story his own. Shōza's innovations in the representation of women in his kabuki plays are likely a result of those struggles. In Shōza's Kin'emon the *Notorious Pirate* (Sanzen sekai yarikuri orai, 1772), the female role (*onnagata*) reached a new stage in which they began to develop a high reputation in audiences' reviews of kabuki actors. This paper focuses on Shōza's representative kabuki plays and audiences' reviews of female-role actors' performances in Shōza's plays. I uncover the special features of his representation of women, such as casting female-role actors to play roles that were usually played by villain male-role actors. In particular, Shōza developed fierce battle scenes performed by feminine female role actors which challenged conventional notions of gender and embodiment. Shōza successfully surprised spectators and introduced a new way to use female-role actors: the virile onnagata.

3) Kimberlee Sanders, Harvard University
Playback Memories: Embodied Listening, Benshi *Recordings, and the Return of the Voice*

Benshi have been discussed in relation to the film screen or oft censored scripts; but the role of recordings of their performances, which proliferated with the development of the Japanese commercial recording industry, has been relatively overlooked. While the introduction of recording and playback devices has often been accompanied by anxiety over the separation of the voice from the body, or "schizophonia," in what ways did *benshi* recordings return the voice to dispersed bodies through their use as educational, practice, or performance tools? By examining listener accounts in film magazines, discussions of *benshi* training, and recordings themselves, this paper will trace the ways in which listening to the voice of the *benshi* was imagined and embodied. Additionally, the paper asks how can we understand the ways in which a film's narration and the *benshi*'s voice became fractured due to the technological affordances of early recording that only allowed for the inclusion of highlights on a disk? A *benshi*'s performance was transformed through the limitations of format, circumstances of circulation, and interpellation by individual listeners' experiences. In this paper, I argue that multiple layers of playback and fragmentation—technological, mental, and physical—came together to create an altered field of imagination for the relation of voice and body, which highlighted the inherent multiplicity and reproducibility of the voice and its potential for re-embodiment.

4) Cindi Textor, University of Utah
The Intersectional Politics of Speaking: Ethnicity, Disability, and the Othered Body in Kin Kakuei's Kogoeru kuchi

Kin Kakuei's *Kogoeru kuchi* (Frozen Mouth, 1970) is one of the central texts of "Zainichi literature," writing by the Korean minority in Japan. The novel, narrated by a person who stutters, is part of a substantial body of works by twentieth century Korean writers that portray characters with physical and cognitive disabilities, both within and outside the peninsula. However, typical readings of *Kogoeru kuchi* tend to subordinate disability to ethnicity, interpreting the stutter as a metaphor for colonial or minority oppression without attending to the specificity of disabled identity itself. This talk will explore the intersections

of ethnicity and disability by unpacking representations of foreign, disabled, and diseased bodies in Kin's text. In particular, I consider the politics of speaking as they act on the narrator by delineating not only how his speech disability restricts him from articulating his ethnic identity, but also, conversely, how his ethnic identity precludes him from articulating a disabled identity. Viewing disability as a potentially productive rather than inevitably restrictive condition, I argue that Kin's stuttering narrator allows for new possibilities in the enunciation and representation of identity, ethnic and otherwise. By disrupting the flow of meaning from the visual medium of text to the reader's sonic imagination, Kin is able to create a hybrid, ambiguous space in which to forge alternative modes of identification.

Discussant: Satoko Shimazaki, University of Southern California

Session 41: Room 35
Roundtable: Introducing Performing Arts to Teaching Histories and Conflict Resolution in Aisa: Pedagogical notes
Organizer/Chair: Shukuko Koyama, Waseda University

1. Shinya Araki, Seijo University
2. Naoyuki Umemori, Waseda University
3. Toshimitsu Kokido, Theatre for Peace and Conflict Resolution
4. Shukuko Koyama, Waseda Universty

Session 42: Room 36
Individual Papers Session 10: Korea the (Inter) National
Chair: Christopher Bondy, International Christian University

1) Inhan Kim, University of Colorado, Colorado Springs
The Rise and Fall of Inter-Korean Economic Relations

In early February 2016, then the South Korean President Park Geun-hye terminated economic interactions with North Korea, shutting down the Kaesong Industrial Complex in response to the north's test of nuclear weapons and an intercontinental ballistic missile. Despite the fall of President Park and the rise of more liberal President Moon Jae-in spring 2017, the economic linkages between North and South Korea remain severed. This paper aims at understanding the rise and fall of inter-Korean economic relations by drawing on theories of foreign policy choice from three different levels of analysis. At the individual level, this paper examines whether a chief political leader's belief in engagement toward North Korea before he/she arrives at office coincides with the ups and downs of economic cooperation between the two Koreas. At the domestic politics level, this paper discusses whether the nature of core ruling coalition has determined the degree of economic relations between Seoul and Pyongyang. At the systemic level, this paper examines whether the degree of security threat from Pyongyang has decided the fate of inter-Korean economic relations. By examining the five administrations in Seoul since the Kim Dae-jung era, this study discusses which theory provides the most convincing account.

2) Jung Eun Lee, Seoul National University
The Birth of New Symbolism: To Be an "Ideal Nation" of North Korea

After liberation (1945), socialist activists started to mobilize in North Korea. They promptly readied themselves to establish own government with the Soviet support. NK's national symbols were to be developed in a similar aim. This study explores the origins and characteristics of the visualizing method of key national symbol designs (national flag, coat of arms, etc.) established during the building period of the DPRK's regime (1945–1972). NK's aimed early on to take advantage of the political instability on the peninsula to seize sovereignty over the whole territory and build a new socialist nation. It required to an independent government with new set of symbols that were different from those of the feudalistic system of the Great Korean Empire or new regime of South Korea. Thus, new inspirations were drawn from the Socialist Realist art from the Soviet Union, with elements such as the red star, sickle and hammer, etc. and their design readily assimilated into NK national symbols and arts. However, this translation went beyond the stylistic appropriation to later start incorporating new meanings into these symbols. NK used imagery based on local nature and regional features and folktales to create, explicit illustration of the 'ideal nation' rather than using implicit and abstract imagery. In this way, the government devised a propaganda strategy that communicated to its people its vision of the 'ideal nation' in an intuitive, unambiguous and efficient manner.

3) Yeonju Lee, SOAS, University of London
The Construction of Nationalism in Ch'ŏndogyo after Liberation

Both nationalism and religion have complex implications of identity, history, and modernity. This paper examines how nationalism was constructed and manifested by Ch'ŏndogyo, the first organised new religion in Korea. Founded originally as Tonghak (Eastern Studies) in 1860, the movement was consolidated into a modern religious order called Ch'ŏndogyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way) in 1905. While the religious movement prospered and had significant social and political influence in Korean society towards the end of Chosŏn period and throughout the colonial era, it rapidly declined after 1945 liberation despite the efforts to establish its political influence. I analyse the nature of Ch'ŏndogyo nationalism through two themes: political ideals of a new Korean nation and pronounced advocacy of Korea's unification. The analysis is primarily based on my examination of how the movement's internal interpretations of its religious doctrines are expressed as nationalist political vision after liberation. As a new religious movement that originated with a strong social revolutionary character, Ch'ŏndogyo displays a manifestly political form of nationalism that incorporates cultural and ethnic elements as well. It is argued that the distinctly this-worldly characteristics of Ch'ŏndogyo doctrines and fluid conceptions of deity accommodated the religion's secular involvement through political nationalism.

Session 43: Room 23
Individual Papers Session 12: Transferred Identities
Chair: Matthew C. Strecher, Sophia University

1) Hyojin Kim, Waseda University
Between National Language and Ethnic Language: The Cia-Cia's Ongoing Challenges to Preserve its Mother Tongue

The Republic of Indonesia is one of the most diverse countries in the world in terms of its numerous ethnic groups, languages and cultures. The country officially recognizes Indonesian as its national language and meanwhile encourages ethnic languages as a part of local cultures under the national motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity).

Nonetheless, it is true that many of Indonesia's ethnic languages had been extinct, threatened and endangered, which means some ethnic minority groups are facing a crisis of losing their mother tongues. In the context of these linguistic issues between National language and ethnic languages in Indonesia, this study looks into an ethnic minority group called the "Cia-Cia Laporo" (hereafter "the Cia-Cia") living in Southeast Sulawesi. The Cia-Cia is well known as a new *hangŭl* (Korean alphabet) adopter, who is currently using the writing system as a script for its ethnic language, "*Cia-Cian.*" The Cia-Cia: *Hangŭl* education marks the 10th anniversary in July 2019. In light of language education in contemporary Indonesia, the paper aims to examine how the Cia-Cia challenge to preserve their ethnic language by using Cia-Cia: *Hangŭl* and also to provide findings from the author's analysis of the fieldwork carried out in 2012, 2015 and 2017, specifically focusing on the *Cia-Cia*'s autonomous refining process on the writing system derived from *hangŭl*.

2) Akadet Chaichanavichakit, Waseda University
Reconceptualize Migration Decision of Burmese Workers in Thailand: Invisible Forces Behind Perpetuating Cycle of International Movement

Manufacturing industries in Thailand are facing risky circumstance of labor shortage as Myanmar, the largest source of migrant workforce, has started to pick up the pace for its major economic development, resulted from regional economic integration as well as domestic political and economic reformations. To be precise, since regulated in 1992, low-skilled immigrants, chiefly employed in labor-intensive manufacturing industries, have always been predominated by the Burmese. In fact, in 2016, out of 2,469,255 low-skilled immigrants in Thailand, 67.11 percent of them were from Myanmar. Building on recent findings from modern migration studies that consistently cite socioeconomic conditions as influential factors, this study employed economic sociology framework to analyze migration decision as it allows exhaustive investigation on the matter from intertwining perspectives of sociology and economics. Data collection and analysis were based on mixed-method, with primary reliance on qualitative approach. Interviews and observations were the main vehicles of data collection during repeating fieldworks, both in destination and origin areas, between 2016 and 2018. Results reveal that, on the contrary to dominant literatures that portray Burmese immigrant's migration decision as individual's rational economic action, their perpetuating migration is, in fact, largely influenced by their community practice, community leader, community perception, and cumulative social networks.

3) K. A. Sandunika Hasangani, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
Virtual Construction of Sinhalaness on Social Media in Post-War Sri Lanka (2009–2018)

Social media has now become a powerful tool of social interaction with the immediacy, and circulability of visual (graphics and photos) and textual contents available in those platforms. Specifically, the visual contents are more powerful, since those are usually processed quicker than texts with immediate emotional responses and a higher degree of memorability. In such a context, this study analyzes the manner Sinhalese consciousness has been visually and textually represented on social media by Sinhalese themselves in the post-war period. What kind of changes can be traced in the mindset of ordinary Sinhalese population on their collective self-image after the war, particularly in a socio-political milieu where social media are thriving? First, based on a constructivist standpoint, this paper draws the origins and developments of Sinhalese consciousness and its multiple forms explicit during different periods of history (pre-colonial, colonial, pre-war and during the war). Secondly, this paper gathers primary evidence such as graphics/images produced on social media (Facebook) from

2009 to 2018 on the basis that social media posts are a genuine representation of independent public opinion of their internal hierarchies and their overall self-image of what "Sinhalaness" means to them. Data will be analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively using content analysis tools.

4) Qian Huang, Erasmus University Rotterdam
Chinese Vigilant Patriots on Social Media: "Defend Our Motherland Like We are Defending Our Idols"

Digital vigilantism (DV) is a process where citizens who are facilitated by digital media are collectively offended by other citizens' activities and use visibility as a means to conduct mediated policing and control (Trottier, 2016). The dynamics in such cases in China among various actors, including users, social media platforms, media and the state, demonstrate nuanced relationships among these actors, especially in cases that conform the state's ideology and agenda, among which patriotism/nationalism is a key narrative. Therefore, this research aims to understand how different actors interact in DV cases that are triggered by patriotism. Public discourse and media discourse of selected cases are collected and analyzed to answer the research question. Relevant public posts and comments on relevant social media platforms are collected. Guided by Grounded Theory, the research identifies motifs, patterns, and influence of patriotic DV activities in China. Secondly, the research collects journalistic articles from different media outlets and adopts Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to contextualize the discourse in the contemporary Chinese economic, political and cultural situation. The media discourse analysis demonstrates how different stakeholders react and response to such online participation. At last, the research proposes to understand such Chinese online participation as a surveillance assemblage (Haggerty & Ericson, 2000) that is driven by desire to control.

<div align="center">

SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSIONS II: 15:40 P.M. – 17:40 P.M.

</div>

Session 44: Room 21
<u>Under the Dragon's Shadow: China's Influence in the Asia-Pacific and Regional Responses</u>
Organizer/Chair: Pongphisoot Busbarat, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

This panel explores China's increasing influence in the Asia Pacific region, especially after the ascendance of Xi Jinping. This recent trend has increasingly validated China's threat hypothesis and prompted regional stakeholders to find ways to manage Beijing's influence. The panel will, therefore, explore two aspects of this regional development. First, it examines how China's influence penetrates different parts of the region. It also discusses different strategies and tools that China achieves such goal in these areas in different cases. Second, the panelists will assess policy responses undertaken by different groups of states or actors. It also reevaluates whether these actors have successfully balanced China's increasing influence to maintain their interest and autonomy or they are likely to accommodate China's role and leadership. Specifically, there will be four papers in this panel, each of which

focuses on one of the following layers of interactions with China, that is, great powers (United States), middle powers (South Korea), small states (Southeast Asia), and sub-state actors (diaspora). Through these papers, the panel aims to offer a comparative perspective on the region's policy convergence and divergence vis-à-vis China's influence.

1) Hoo Chiew Ping, National University of Malaysia
The Republic of Korea between the United States and China: From the Korean Peninsula to Southeast Asia

This paper aims to examine the Republic of Korea (ROK)'s responses to China's rise in the region vis-à-vis its ties with the United States (US). The study scrutinizes ROK's policy options between the two great powers, the US and China, under the Park Geun-hye and the Moon Jae-in governments. This paper argues that ROK responded in three different policy directions: first, the traditional position of upholding its alliance with the US and the primacy of US in policymaking; second, the simultaneous strengthening of relations with US and China; and third, simultaneously becoming less reliant on both US and China. The paper discusses two scenarios of policy outcome involving US, China, and ROK in their management of North Korea and the geopolitical competition in Southeast Asia. China's rise and much greater influence in both cases of North Korea and Southeast Asia yielded different responses from the two ROK administrations. The paper argues that when ROK faces difficulties dealing with North Korea, it chooses to adopt its traditional position of strengthening its relations with the US. However, it becomes less reliant on both the US and China when its relations with North Korea is stabilized. The paper will conclude by highlighting the major drivers of South Korean policy options, focusing on the strategy of mitigating the risk of the high level of strategic uncertainties from long-term US ally, the strong neighbour China, and the persistent threat from North Korea.

2) Pongphisoot Busbarat, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand
Anchoring Beijing's Regional Leadership: The China-Led Institutionalization of Lancang Mekong Cooperation (LMC)

This paper examines China's new round of policy assertiveness in Southeast Asia as manifested in its attempt to build a new regional initiative, Lancang Mekong Cooperation (LMC). The paper argues that mainland Southeast Asia has become a major focus on China's Southeast Asia policy, especially after Xi Jinping assuming his presidency. Within this policy, LMC is an important vehicle for Beijing to concretize its policy objective to consolidate its leadership. Beijing's investment of its resources to institutionalize LMC is a significant demarcation of its policy shift in this region considering its indifference towards existing sub-regional mechanisms. Facilitating factors for Beijing's initiative include its close relations with most of the states in mainland Southeast Asia and a relatively positive public perception towards China. Although mainland Southeast Asia possesses weaker power than that of China, it has attempted to adopt different strategies to balance Beijing's influence such as renewing existing mechanisms and enmeshing other regional powers into regional affairs. Therefore, mainland Southeast Asia case demonstrates the attempt by small states to diversify the risk of major power's domination and dependence. However, the autocratic orientation of

governments in mainland Southeast Asia is a major liability for its ability to sustain the support from other external powers, especially in the West.

3) *Irene Chan, Nanyang Technological University (NTU)*
Stirred but not Shaken? China and Diaspora Politics in Southeast Asia

To better communicate with and mobilize Chinese diaspora, the current Xi Jinping administration has enacted a series of proactive diaspora engagement policies in the recent years. This gave rise to much disquiet over growing Chinese influence activities – cultural, political and economic – and alleged Chinese interference in liberal democratic countries in the Asia-Pacific, such as Australia and New Zealand. Home to more than 20 million ethnic Chinese people, Southeast Asia is a natural target of such policies. Yet, Southeast Asian states seem unperturbed by China's influence activities, even as China now plays a major and growing role in Southeast Asian affairs. This paper focuses on sub-state actors which China attempts to influence and raises the following questions: Who in the Southeast Asian Chinese community engages with whom in China? Does the size of diaspora community and the existing domestic political structure matter? What are the dynamics within diaspora politics in Southeast Asia? What are the opportunities and limitations for China's diaspora engagement in this region? Examining these questions using case studies of Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia, this paper seeks to gain a better understanding of diaspora politics in China's diaspora engagement in Southeast Asia and responses, or the lack thereof, from Southeast Asian states to Chinese influence.

Discussant: Poowin Bunyavejchewin, Thammasat University

Session 45: Room 23
Isn't That Spatial? Imaginative Uses of Space in Japanese Narrative and Visual Arts
Organizer/Chair: Mina Qiao, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich

Space has profound implications regarding Japanese literary texts and visual arts. Maeda Ai argues for the textual nature of space and its power to unleash the marginal and the dubious that are excluded from everyday life. Authors and artists aspire to employ the representation of space to approach reality and what is beyond. Their engagement with space evolves towards more imaginative utilization. As space is lifted from being a mere stage to the front and center of modern narratives, it becomes increasingly important to explore the nature of these representations and to reveal the secret realities they only partially conceal. This panel will examine both textual and visual examples of such spatial representations. In writings by Ogawa Yōko, spatial settings mirror the protagonists' spiritual pursuits, while Murakami Haruki constructs hyperreal spaces as an alternative means to deal with traumatic historical memories. Ōta Yōko, in her writing on the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, represents the destroyed urbanscape as an unprecedented spatial dimension. The synergistic interactions between space and human as its perceiver (as well as creator) apply in visual arts as well as literature. The media artist Ochiai Yoichi uses new technologies in projection to create boundless ultra-subjective space in order to interact with the audience. The representation of space is ever-shifting, but the essence remains: using tangible spatial representation to reveal intangible qualities.

1) Mina Qiao, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich
Escaping the Physical: Liminal Body and Liminal Space in Ogawa Yōko's Writings

This paper offers a reading of Ogawa Yōko's writings by discussing the liminal space as an elemental paradigm found in the works. Liminal, as its Latin origin *limen* (which literally means "threshold") suggests, recites a borderline status and points to a spatial and symbolic threshold position. A liminal space is a self-contained world at a spatially peripheral and remote location. Through examining the liminal space, I will scrutinize the representations of bodies and fantastical spaces in relation with each other. In Ogawa's works, entering the liminal spaces usually implies some sort of changes, instant or forthcoming, visible or invisible, regarding the characters' physicality. Parts of the characters' bodies or their certain bodily functions will vanish. In return, the liminal bodies are rewarded with insubstantial endowment, such as love, companionship, inner peace, or freedom. Ogawa visualizes characters' psychological traumas, emotional distresses, and internal struggles in the liminal spaces. It is through the scope of spaces she scrutinizes the transformations of bodies. I will use the novel *Hotel Iris* (1996) as a case study to demonstrate my point. The seemingly carnal feast in the narrative is essentially the protagonist's escape from the physical. The sexual acts as well as the liminal spatial setting serve as a salvation by freeing the spirit from the body.

2) Matthew C. Strecher, Sophia University
Washing History through the Hyperreal in Murakami Haruki

Murakami Haruki is seen by many critics as an a-historical/a-political writer who avoids direct confrontation with the controversial questions of Japan's historical past. Instead, he constructs hyperreal spaces in which his characters appear to be confronting only themselves. This was one reason his early works were regarded by numerous critics (Karatani Kōjin, Kuroko Kazuo, Katō Norihiro) as disengaged, aloof, even autistic. One reason for this critique is that Murakami's texts tend to focus on a lone protagonist and his or her individual memories, explored through magical journeys into those hyperreal spaces. While such readings are difficult to refute, this paper argues that Murakami's explorations of the hyperreal can actually be read as an alternative historical method of confronting two types of historical narrative: one that has been sanitized and made wholesome for public consumption; and another, lurking deep within the hyperreal, that contains the traumatic horrors of major events in Japan's twentieth century. The reason these more traumatic historical memories are less clearly visible in the Murakami text, perhaps, is that they are expressed in the language of the hyperreal, which distorts and particularizes sublime events (the Nanjing massacre, the Hanshin earthquake, the 3.11 "triple disaster") into individual events related only to the character who confronts them. This paper examines this process in early and recent works by Murakami.

3) Francesca Bianco, Sophia University
The Third Space of Hiroshima in Ōta Yōko's City of Corpses

Shikabane no machi (City of corpses) by Ōta Yōko, as in many stories of the first generation of writers of the atomic bomb, is deeply linked to the body of the city Hiroshima. Due to the fear for a sudden death by radiation, Ōta completed the book within only three months and was unable to embellish the story in a proper literary style, as she admitted. After the explosion, the literary subjectivity was not ready to sublimate the reality of the atomic bomb. The streets, river, houses, industries become mementos of alternative space. Hiroshima is not only destroyed, but also transformed into a different entity, a mass of dead corpses. The literary crisis, born from the incapacity to express the nature of the first nuclear destruction in human history, led to the creation of the "third space." The narratives represent Hiroshima as a "third space," which I term as an existence of a new dimension, in neither the reality nor

any literary representation before the attack. There were no existing literary tools able to narrate Hiroshima. Ōta, as many writers who did not know how to cope with that reality, then turned to a reportage-like style as a vehicle. I will discuss the third space as a crucial intersection between the reportage-like style and the representation of the after-bombing Hiroshima.

4) Nicholas Lambrecht, Osaka University
Displacement: Settling Postwar Exile Through New Literary Journeys

Former settler colonists who returned to Japan in the aftermath of the Second World War often experienced postwar life in their "native place" as a sentence of exile. This was particularly true of ethnic Japanese youth who had been born and raised overseas and arrived in Japan for the first time only after traumatic journeys of repatriation. While many amateur writers and professional authors conveyed the trauma of their migration via memoirs and other forms of "repatriation literature" (*hikiage bungaku*), others worked through such trauma by writing about new journeys across Japan and abroad. This paper argues that the aftereffects of repatriation can be read into popular works of the 1960s that ostensibly depicted new postwar travels across Europe and the Soviet Union. It does so through an analysis of such pieces as *Boys Head for the Hills* (Seinen wa koya o mezasu) and the Naoki Prize-winning *Look Upon the Pale Horse* (Aozameta uma o miyo), each released in 1967 by the repatriate writer Itsuki Hiroyuki (1932–). I contend that these works displaced the author's sense of dislocation onto experiences that were more readily understood to be foreign, allowing Itsuki to deal with the issues raised by postwar "homeward migration" in a more socially acceptable and easily marketable manner. These themes reemerged in later works when Itsuki wrote directly about his own experience of repatriation and the process of loss that he experienced at the end of World War II.

Discussant: Hayashi Michio, Sophia University

Session 46: Room 22
What do We talk About When We Talk About *Kami*? Medieval Formations of *Kami* Identities
Organizer: Emanuela Sala, SOAS, University of London
Chair: Anna Dulina, Kyoto University

How did narratives about *kami* in Medieval Japan relate to institutional concerns, and how did these concerns reflect the conceptualisation of *kami* in terms of their "personal" identities? This panel seeks to answer this question by examining narratives that were produced between the 13th and the 15th centuries among monastic and shrine lineages, centred on Hachiman, on Inari, and on Ōmiya, the deity presiding over the main shrine of the Hie complex. These deities all rose to prominence in the Heian period, were connected to the imperial house and to major cultic centres of Medieval Japan. The first talk examines Hachiman as an imperial deity connected to war, reflecting on what this implies in terms of its dual Shintō and Buddhist nature. It thus sets the theme of the panel: how were conflicting conceptualisations of a deity accommodated in narrative texts? This theme is further explored

in the second talk, which focuses on narratives regarding Inari and its transformation from a local god to bestower of sovereignty. The third talk, on the coexistence of different explanations on the nature of the kami of the Hie shrine, offers a reason for this conceptualisation. At a first level, the panel demonstrates how kami identities in medieval Japan were fluid, to be manipulated according to institutional and ritual needs. At a broader level, it stresses the centrality of narrative texts as the locus where institutional networks were negotiated, conceptualized, and diffused.

1) Anna Dulina, Kyoto University
The Conflict between Shinto and Buddhist identities of the Japanese Combinatory Deities in Engi Texts

As the main protector of the state and the guardian of imperial legitimacy, combinatory Hachiman deity rose to the national prominence in the 8th century. It became one of the most popular Japanese deities during the Medieval Period. The origins of Hachiman worship and doctrine of Hachiman cult are described in the *engi*-type texts. The texts included Jōwa engi (IX century) and *Hachiman gudōkin* (14th century) etc. The shrine chronicle *Hachiman gudōkin* (the Admonition for Stupid Children about Hachiman, beginning of the 14th century) is one of the most significant medieval *Hachiman engi* narratives. The text was compiled after Mongol invasions (1271/1284), which was, according to the *engi*, subdued by Hachiman. This military aspect of Shinto deity as the state protector co-exists with another identity as a Bodhisattva who is supposed not to kill. In this presentation, I examine the shrine chronicle *Hachiman gudōkin* and analyze the conflict between Shinto and Buddhism identities of the Hachiman deity.

2) Matthew Keller, University of Southern California
Narratives of Inari: Network Identities of the Kami in the Fourteenth Century

How did the gods Inari 稲荷 and Dakiniten 荼吉尼天 rise to become the central deities in many commentaries for the esoteric accession rites (*sokui kanjō* 即位灌頂) of the Japanese sovereign during the medieval period? What might these deities bring to the accession rites that Amaterasu, the sun goddess and royal ancestor, could not? This paper will investigate one aspect of these questions by examining stories of the god Inari as found in the *Keiran shūyōshū* 渓嵐拾葉集 and the *Inariki* 稲荷記, both compiled in the mid-fourteenth century. In doing so, I propose to investigate how proponents of the combined deity Inari-Dakiniten tied together different narratives and used several elements of the cult's repertoire to create new identities for the well-known deity. This investigation in part reveals that compilers of both the *Keiran shūyōshū* and the *Inariki* were agents in a process transforming the identity of Inari from that of the family protector of the Hata clan into that of a protector of royal authority by marrying the kami's story to those of other well-known powerful families and Buddhist gods, while obscuring previous aspects of the god's identity. These conclusions also provide us with greater understanding as to how medieval authors worked to shape the religious landscape of Japan, and how identities of gods could affect and decide the courses authors might take in their shaping.

3) Emanuela Sala, SOAS, University of London
The Problem of Kami *Identity: A Case Study from the* Yōtenki

The production of *kami* discourses in medieval Japan was fostered at a local level by interactions between shrines and monastic institutions which, when in spatial proximity, were intertwined from an administrative, ritual and economical point of view. *Kami* narratives, however, also had a much-overlooked trans-local aspect to them: familiar ties and institutional affiliations connected shrines and temples to other religious institutions across the country. How did these relationships inform the conceptualisation of *kami*? I answer this question by focusing on the *Yōtenki*, a mythical and historical record on the Hie (now Hiyoshi) shrines compiled between the 13th and the 15th century, both by monastic lineages at the Enryakuji and by members of the Hafuribe, the shrine lineage administering ritual and cultic activities at Hie. My talk examines one section of the Yōtenki composed in the 13th century by members of the Hafuribe, which collects narratives on the kami of the main shrine of Hie, Ōmiya. I show how the narration produces multiple (sometimes conflicting) narratives which address different institutional concerns: the history of the Hafuribe lineage, its relation to other shrine lineages, monastic discussions on the nature of the kami. By not solving the question of the identity of the kami, the Hafuribe allowed themselves leeway to reach out to a multiplicity of institutional networks, and to discursively set themselves apart from the *Enryakuji* monastic lineages.

Discussant: Uejima Susumu, Kyoto University

Session 47: Room 24
An Alternative Arena: Creation, Change and Diffusion of Norms in the Sino-Japanese Rivalry
Organizer/Chair: Federico Tombari, Kobe University

This panel offers diverse perspectives on the role of norms and normative identities, how those change and develop overtime in a situation of competition, focusing on the Sino-Japanese rivalry. Both states create and diffuse their own norms, as well as influence each other in the process. The common theoretical standpoint is a constructivist one: we refer to norms as socially expected behaviors that regulate, constitute, or enable actors in global politics. Whilst an abundant number of studies have analyzed how norms become dominant and change, as well as the importance of shifting normative identities, the elements which matter in producing and diffusing those norms and the development of actors' self-images varies greatly and is still a matter of dispute. The choice of Sino-Japanese case-study stems from the changes these countries have suffered in reaction to developments in their relationship. The first presentation looks at the Sino-Japanese normative competition in Africa through a public opinion and media discourse analysis; the second discerns through an analysis of primary documents the historical crescendo of distrust between the two Asian powers normative identities; the two others focus on Japan's constitutionally enshrined pacifist norms in Article 9: while both argue that this norm has significantly been weakened, one analyses the role appraisals of humiliation play in weakening this norm, while the other focuses on communicative practices.

1) Shahana Thankachan, Jawaharlal Nehru University
The Normative Dimension in China and Japan's Presence in Africa: A Comparative Study

Japan is an excellent case study to measure the impact of norms in its domestic and international arena. However, the role of norms becomes clearer when the Japanese "rhetoric" and "reality" is contrasted with that of China. Africa offers a very fertile ground

for this study as it has maintained a historically neutral relationship with both China and Japan and is the focus of heavy investments by both countries. Japan began inroads into Africa in the 1960s through ODA, this evolved into a greater focus on FDI, and currently focuses on infrastructural investment in the East Coast of Africa. China, despite being a late entrant in Africa has overtaken Japan in terms of the volume of economic investment. The culmination of this came with the announcement of the Belt and Road Initiative. However, there is a major difference in the Japanese and Chinese approach in Africa. This is reflected very clearly in Japan's Asia Africa Growth Corridor, Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy, and initiatives like TICAD formed in 1993. The Japanese initiatives focus on the "rhetoric" of "holistic development" and "people to people connectivity". This is often contrasted with China's "cost effectiveness" and "debt trap diplomacy." This study aims to study the role of "norms" in the economic and geostrategic presence of the two countries in Africa, while seeking to measure the impact these norms have through an analysis of public opinion and media discourse.

2) Juan Luis Lopez-Aranguren, Francisco de Vitoria University
Si Vis Pacem Para Bellum? The Impact of the Communicative Dimension in the New Japanese Security Policy

Japan is facing a changing regional security environment, mainly due to three factors: 1) the emergence of non-state actors that are trying to modify the equilibrium point of the state actors in East Asia towards a more proactive position (e.g. *uyoku dantai* groups in Japan and *baodiao* movement in China); 2) the declining US role in the collective defense system due to economic reasons; 3) the growing Chinese military projection in the East and South China Sea. These three factors are pushing Japan to adopt a new security policy characterized by a growing assertiveness. Examples of this new role are Abe's 2017 victory based mainly on his Article 9 constitution amendment proposal, and the 2016 Japan-South Korea intelligence sharing agreement. In the advent and development of this political change, the communicative dimension played a critical function. Japanese public opinion is shifting towards a more supportive position of this strengthening security strategy due to the domestic acceptance that military enhancement can be an efficient deterrent against threats, and not necessarily a cause for them. This vision is reflected in the classic Latin adage *Si Vis Pacem Para Bellum* ("If you want peace, prepare for war"). This panel explores the effects of the communicative dimension in the generation of this new security policy and offers insights from the point of view of the rational choice theory about the possible evolution of this dualistic political-communicative symbiosis.

3) Diogo Santos, Kobe University
~~The Unwinding of Sino-Japanese Partnership in the 1990`s~~

4) Paulo Ribeiro, Kobe University
Emotions Impact in Affecting Norms: Japan's Crisis as an Opportunity to Shape Policy

In media and policy debates in Japan, the archipelago is depicted as facing several challenges, from North Korea's nuclear program to China's increasing belligerent behavior in its territorial dispute with Japan to name but a few. According to scholarly literature in policy-making, a crisis can be an opportunity to advance the desired agenda of policy-makers and influencers. Moreover, recent work has highlighted how emotions are key in the successful securitization of an issue and for making some policies possible and attractive. However, few scholars have analyzed the impact of emotions in Japan's security crises. This

work aims to fill that gap. Using the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute as a case study it uses both the theory of emotions as appraisals and as discourse to demonstrate how perceptions of humiliation and pride are fundamental in giving credence to policy-makers appraisals of the dispute, which in turn assists conservatives' quest to dismantle Japan's pacifist norms. Although, the impact of humiliation in China's relations with Japan is not new, less is known about the role it plays in Japan. It argues that the efforts of policy-makers to appraise an event as humiliating, and thus requiring a response to establish national pride, is key in shaping the securitization of the dispute in such manner as to increasingly make the public and media susceptible to changes in Japan's norms in defense.

Discussant: Federico Tombari, Kobe University

Session 48: Room 32
Individual Papers Session 12: Cultural Transmissions
Chair: Noriko Murai, Sophia University

1) Sheryl Man-Ying Chow, Princeton University
Remade in Transmission: Western Music Theory in 17th-Century China

Conventional narrative of the transmission of European knowledge to other parts of the world from the 16th to 18th centuries often focuses on the role of missionaries as translators and that of indigenous receivers as learners. Revising such a narrative, this paper examines both the transmitter and receiver sides as active creators of knowledge through the writings of Portuguese Jesuit Thomas Pereira (1645–1708). Pereira wrote a music treatise in Chinese, entitled *Lülü jieyao*, which discusses the theories of the physical properties of sound, pitch, and consonance. Pereira's focus on the theory of consonance reveals his agenda of promoting polyphonic music, perhaps church choral singing, in China. Yet Chinese receivers of the knowledge had their own agenda. Pereira's theory of consonance in pipe was used in *Lülü zhengyi* to explain a conundrum in tuning that had long existed in the history of Chinese music theory: the relationship between the pitch of the pipe and its length does not echo the case in string. Although the authors of *Lülü zhengyi* presented Pereira's theory differently from his original text, I do not see it as a misunderstanding. Rather, I locate the motivation behind their reinterpretation in the inherent problem of Pereira's theory, and suggest that the authors of *Lülü zhengyi* creatively made sense of the foreign knowledge by remaking it.

2) Mengwen Zhu, Hong Kong Baptist University
An Intertextual Brocade: Yu Xin's Imitations of 'Singing My Feelings'

The theory of "intertextuality," despite its coming into being merely fifty years ago, has undergone an active development and found echoes in astonishingly far-reaching length, both temporal and spatial. Drawing on one of its broader definitions, this paper attempts an examination through case study on the intricate textual relations manifested in classical Chinese poetry, the case being Yu Xin's 庾信 (513–581) lyric sequence titled *Imitation of Singing of My Feelings* (ni yong huai 擬詠懷). Arguably one of the greatest men of letters in early medieval China, Yu Xin left a poetic corpus laden with references, allusions, imitations and impersonations, and the above-mentioned lyric sequence embodies all these intertextual efforts. At the beginning, as the title openly states, these are poems of both "imitation" and self-expression, quietly indicating a paradox. As we read on, we find ourselves greeted and baffled at an alarmingly frequent pace, by events, places and personalities other than the

poet's own. In the end, it became almost impossible to tell the past from the present, or to distinguish a line, a voice or a feeling that exclusively belongs to the author. By closely observing the ways in which Yu Xin weaves his intertextual brocade and thereby constructing his literary self, this study aims to shed fresh light on the poetic functions and the cultural significance of conventional rhetoric devices such as "*ni*" 擬 and "*yong shi*" 用事 in classical Chinese poetry.

3) Miki Homma, Waseda University
The Adaption of Chinese Bird and Flower Painting to Islamic art

This paper examines how Chinese bird and flower painting was adapted into Islamic painting. The periods which are focused on in this paper are Ming (1368–1644) and Timurid (1370–1507), when many official missions were exchanged between the two regions. First, I examine the original Chinese paintings and those copies from Islamic painters in the Saray Albums (Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library). These albums are famous within the field of study on the relationship between Persian-Islamic art and Chinese art because they contain many Chinese-influenced paintings. However, previous research does not carefully examine these paintings alongside the original Chinese paintings, so I classify them by types of birds and painting techniques. Next, I compare them with Persian-Islamic paintings from the Timurid period and point out the Chinese-influenced landscape depictions with bird and flowers. In this way, this paper reveals the influence of Chinese bird and flower painting on Timurid painting. Finally, this paper also adds another point of view related to Chinese bird and flower painting, which is that this painting theme was popular in other East Asian countries during the Ming period, and that Japanese and Korean panting was influenced significantly. I explain the spread of Chinese bird and flower painting from east to west, as Japanese painters in the Muromachi period (1336–1573) followed the Lü Ji style Chinese bird and flower painting style and adapted it to *shoji* or *fusuma*.

4) Yufeng Wu, Shanghai University
The Operation Mode of the Commercial Performance of Li Yu's Family Troupe

Li Yu 李渔, one of a few literati who takes commercial performances as a means of earning a living in ancient China, has extensive experience in Traditional Chinese Opera creation and performance. However, it is still a mystery how he managed to make his family troupe a well-operated machine and became one of the most famous playwrights and directors at that time. Through the comparative analysis of Li Yu's performance notes and his friends' diary 文人筆記, we listed the network among Li Yu, the literati and the officials systematically, clarified the national tour path of his family troupe, and explore the operating mode of Li Yu's family troupe. We anticipate that this will give a clear understanding of the operation of the family troupe in the late Ming and early Qing.

5) Romulo da Silva Ehalt, Keio University
Molina, Rebelo and Fragoso and the Japanese Slavery Problem

Recent research has shown that, between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, slaves from Japan were taken to Europe, the Americas, and Asia, and could be found in cities such

as Lisbon, Seville, Goa, Macao, Malacca, Mexico City, and Lima. During this period, theologians took a very keen interest in these individuals and how they came to their condition. These scholars identified numerous differences between Black African and Japanese slaves: while the former were often subjected to perpetual slavery, the latter were generally bound by what came to be known as temporary slavery. By the end of the sixteenth century, the topic had influenced different contexts where enslaving and its legitimacy were questioned. For instance, in Brazil, the Jesuit Marçal Beliarte, in order to oppose the enslavement of Brazilian natives, referred in 1595 to a royal decree enacted twenty years earlier against the enslavement of Japanese people. Theological manuals and treatises were especially keen on using Japanese slavery to discuss the general problem of slavery and its legitimacy. These include the likes of Luis de Molina, Fernando Rebelo, Bautista Fragoso, Estevão Fagundes, Fernando Castro Palao, Ângelo Maria Verricelli, and Henrique de Villalobos. This presentation will focus on the first three and the discussions they developed regarding Japanese slavery and how it was used to assess different slaveries.