

ASCJ 2005
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Session 1: Images of Japanese Women: Interdisciplinary Analyses of the Persistent Paradigm

Organizer / Chair: Aya Kitamura, University of Tokyo

This panel presents interdisciplinary perspectives on stereotypical images of Japanese women. The panelists base their arguments on the notion that such prejudiced images as “geisha girl” and “Madame Butterfly” do not reflect the essential characteristics of Japanese women but are invented imagery deriving from the dual power structure of Orientalism and sexism. Yumiko Yamamori explores the historical background of such images, specifically examining the early-twentieth-century advertisements and trade catalogues of A. A. Vantine, an Asian store in the U.S. Her analysis, from an art historian point of view, reveals the roles played out by the exoticized images of Japan and Japanese women in commercial field. Aya Kitamura examines sociologically the ways in which the invented imagery influences the lives of Japanese women. She focuses on the manners in which her interviewees, thirty Japanese women living in Hawaii, enact their identities as Japanese women, deploying and subverting the commonly held images simultaneously. Ruth Martin’s anthropological study on wives of skilled Japanese transients in UK provides an example that defies a prevailing preconception of Japanese women. She demonstrates how, contrary to the image of accompanying spouse, these Japanese women are actually more effective than their working husbands in integrating with the British population and that they contribute more to Anglo-Japanese relations than men. The three case studies are followed by commentary from discussant Chizuko Ueno, whose expertise includes gender studies, sociology, anthropology, and beyond. By taking multiple approaches, this panel ultimately aims to problematize the persistent paradigm that objectifies Japanese women.

1) Yumiko Yamamori, Bard Graduate Center

A. A. Vantine and Company: Purveyor of an Image of Japan and the Japanese People, 1895-1920

My paper will explore the popular image of Japan in the United States in the early twentieth century. Many historians assume that the Japanese impact on American art and culture had essentially waned by the end of the nineteenth century. In reality, however, the fashion for things Japanese further penetrated society, from the upper middle class to the middle and the lower-middle classes, from urbanites to rural populations, in tandem with the evolution of mass marketing and mass consumption. The leading “Oriental” store, A.A. Vantine, will serve as a case study in the complex intermingling of taste, trade, and socioeconomic developments that took place in the two countries. Over its approximately seventy-year history, the company reacted to changing commercial and political environments and adjusted their business strategies accordingly. The timeframe, 1895-1920, corresponds to the period in which Vantine operated branches in Japan’s former treaty ports and heavily promoted things Japanese in America.

The “image of Japan” examined in this paper was not the one held within the educated elite. Instead it was the view held by a wide segment of the population of middle America, especially women. The majority of Americans developed their view of the Japanese people through articles and advertisements placed in popular magazines and through Japanese handcrafts, many of them imported by A.A. Vantine. I will examine its mail-order catalogues and advertisements to reveal the image of Japan Vantine wished to project. Then, its approach will be compared with other companies’ advertisements employing Japanese images.

2) Aya Kitamura, University of Tokyo

Gazed Upon and Gazing Back: Images and Identities of Japanese Women

This paper examines the persistent stereotype of docile, acquiescent and powerless Japanese women from a sociological perspective. It cannot be overemphasized that the stereotype is more than mere false representation; it is a political apparatus that casts diverse populations of Japanese women on a univocal canvas. It is therefore necessary to shift the focus on to those Japanese women who encounter such stereotypical notions in their everyday lives, that is, whose lives, experiences and identities are embedded within the enmeshing power of Orientalism and sexism. Are these women only entrapped in the imagery, or in what alternative ways do they enact the power-laden identity? Aiming to shed

light on this focal question, I will analyze identity narratives of thirty Japanese women currently living in Hawaii. The interview setting requires each woman to present herself primarily as a “Japanese woman”; they were asked to articulate and enact—“become”—the identity. The dominant images of Japanese women inevitably interfere with the women’s self-perception and self-presentation and their narratives on the surface seem to perpetuate the existing framework. However, a further analysis reveals that identity narratives are neither straightforward nor consistent. The interviewees craft their identities in selective and careful ways to strike complex self-images that cannot be reduced to any ready-made categories. By underscoring such subversive implications of identity narratives, this paper shows that Japanese woman is, in feminist historian Joan Scott’s words, an “at once empty and overflowing category.”

3) Ruth Martin, Oxford Brookes University

“Trailing spouses” No More: The Experience of Japanese Expatriate Wives in the UK

This paper challenges persistent paradigms of contemporary Japanese women by focusing on one particular group—expatriate Japanese women in the UK.

Studies on the Japanese global diaspora are typically related to the masculine business world and have ignored the experiences of wives. Expatriate wives have elsewhere been described as “trailing spouses.” I will show however, that many Japanese women are active agents both in the decision for their husband to be posted abroad and in their activities in the UK. I suggest that they are more dynamic in integration in the host country and contribute more to Anglo-Japanese relations than their working husbands.

Furthermore, children, notably daughters, of an increasing number of women are remaining in the UK for studies or even marriage after their parents have returned to Japan. Such children are helping to generate a new kind of mother who benefits from her children as a reason to travel across national borders frequently and with ease and to enjoy the personal benefits that brings.

Whether these daughters will return to Japan or seek fulfillment overseas is an important question, both for the future of women and Japan as a whole.

Session 2: Hybridity and Authenticity: Japanese Literature in Transition

Organizer / Chair: Masako Ono, Teikyo University

The panel examines four authors of Japanese literature, Murasaki Shikibu, Mizumura Minae, Tawada Yōko, and Ōshiro Tatsuhiko to focus on the problematics of the post-colonial concept “hybridity.”

Mizumura and Tawada represent multilingual intellectuals of modern Japan who cross the national-linguistic boundaries between Japan and the “West.” However, it should be noted that their trans-identities are paradoxically attached to the idea of the “tradition” of Japanese literature. Is it possible to say that they construct a mythic vision of “Japan” precisely because they attempt to adhere to “hybridity”?

Mizumura and Tawada express their nostalgia for their “home”—“Japan.” We wonder whether *The Tale of Genji*—the putative “origin” of the “tradition” of Japanese literature—could offer them “home.” Although it is often assumed that the Heian (794-1191) kana writing is a resistance to the hegemonic Chinese culture, we should remind ourselves that the dualistic notion of Chinese and Japanese is a modern construct.

The discourse of “hybridity” is interesting, because it discloses how the notion of “culture” is constituted on the idea that the political, ethnic, and linguistic structures coincide. Mizumura and Tawada’s typical aloofness from politics results in the oppression of minorities—such as Okinawans and Koreans—while their “multiculturalism” takes it for granted that “Japan” has fixed boundaries, which enable them to float beyond their “home.” Ōshiro Tatsuhiko shows that to be born as “hybrid” necessitates the struggle toward identity. Which is better—to be “hybrid” or to acquire “hybridity”?

1) Masako Ono, Teikyo University

Marginalization of Chinese, Essentialization of Japanese, and Hybridization of “The Tale of Genji”

With an ostensibly nationalistic framework, Motoori Norinaga (1783-1802) reads *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*, ca. 1005; by Murasaki Shikibu) against the dominant paradigm of Confucianism and Buddhism, which originate in ancient China and have informed Japanese critical thinking for centuries. Motoori extols *Genji monogatari* for its “essential” Japanese-ness. It is a common assumption of criticism that Motoori marks the beginning of the national imagination that forges a close tie between language and identity.

The putative dualism of “Chinese” (*kara*) and “Japanese” (*yamato*) lends itself to the post-war definition of Heian Japan as the pinnacle of Japanese culture—sophisticated, courtly, and feminine. It might have been part of the deliberate strategies of the post-war regime to rid Japan of its militaristic past that the Chinese elements and, further, those of Korea and other Asian countries in Japan were marginalized, suppressed, or ignored. Thus Japan gains “essential” Japanese-ness instead of “hybridity.”

My paper aims to explore how *Genji* is refracted through those criticisms to show its complex feature. I ask whether “hybridity” constitutes *Genji* as a natural consequence of the multi-cultural environment of the Heian court or whether “hybridity” is a self-conscious strategy of Murasaki Shikibu in order to gain her work an equal status to that of “masculine” literature. I raise questions not only about *Genji* but also about the ways in which Motoori’s *Genji* and the post-war scholars’ deliberations on it affect our imagination of Heian Japan, which certainly had different ways of configuring national boundaries.

2) Asako Nakai, Hitotsubashi University

Hybridity, Bilingualism, Untranslatability: Mizumura Minae and the Politics of “modern Japanese Literature”

Hybridity is a key word, or an already overused buzzword, in postcolonial criticism today. Since Homi Bhabha’s reformulation the concept has become a useful/convenient theoretical tool to reconsider Bakhtinian hybridization in terms of cultural politics. In this paper, I would like to investigate the problematics of hybridity by examining how Japan-based intellectuals are part of this global “hybridity discourse,” taking Mizumura Minae as a prime example.

Strategic essentialism is a controversial idea that can be associated with hybridity, and Mizumura, the Yale-educated intellectual conversant with academic theory, involves herself in this controversy. Not only her debut novel, *Zoku meian* (1990; a sequel to Natsume Soseki's unfinished *Meian*) but also the more experimental *Shishōsetsu: From Left to Right* (1995) and *Honkaku shōsetsu* (2003) are self-conscious replays of the "tradition" of "modern Japanese literature," which is by itself already hybrid. Despite her multicultural background Mizumura does not endorse creolization or cultural amalgamation, although she is certainly not a naïve essentialist. The textual foregrounding of hybridity, such as the bilingualism in *Shishōsetsu*, emphasizes the discordance and untranslatability, rather than the fusion and union, between different cultures; as it were, each culture resists being translated into the vocabularies of the other cultures. In Mizumura, this hybridity-as-untranslatability is a resistance to "universal" Americanism, supported and fortified by the essentialist idioms to which she frequently (albeit ambivalently) resorts—as seen typically in the motifs of genealogy and "place" in *Honkaku shōsetsu*. Her writing reveals how hybridity discourse could paradoxically reconstruct the idea of cultural authenticity.

3) Tomoko Kuribayashi, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point

Transformations Bodily and Linguistic: Tawada Yōko's Revisions of Ovid's "Metamorphoses"

The majority of Tawada Yōko's stories explore various processes of transformation mediated by language—or transformation occasioned by the author's act of "translating" from one culture to another, from one language to another. It is even more accurate to state that, rather than simply "translating," or moving between languages and cultures, Tawada creates a kind of new (or hybrid) writing space between the two linguistic and cultural confinements. In one of her most recent works, *Henshin no tame no opiumu*, Tawada again "translates" the familiar stories by Ovid which narrate the metamorphoses experienced by various Greco-Roman goddesses and human females into her own brand of narrative. In doing so, Tawada highlights a parallel between the transformation of narratives and the transformation of the female body, both of which can happen only through the mediation of language or languages. Both processes of transformation are, in fact, intensely linguistic processes in Tawada's stories; while the narrative is obviously under heavy influence of language, the female body also is one of the cultural constructs heavily dependent (or solely dependent according to much of Tawada's fiction) on language. Her narrative also extensively questions the legitimacy of any language; it questions language's claim to truth telling and construction of order. Tawada's stories of transformation attempt to transform the way we think about the world and ourselves, including gender and racial/ethnic identities. My discussion of Tawada's revisions of Ovid's narratives will be based in part on recent theoretical development concerning the body and feminist perspectives.

4) Leith Morton, Tokyo Institute of Technology

Yuta as Postcolonial Hybrid in Ōshiro Tatsuhiro's Fiction

This paper will examine a number of works of fiction written by the well-known Okinawan novelist Ōshiro Tatsuhiro (b. 1925) that were published in his 1992 collection of stories, *Gushō kara no koe* (Voices from the Next World) that deal with yuta (shamans) as an expression of Okinawan hybridity. Yuta can be read in Ōshiro's fiction as symbolic of the hybridity of contemporary Okinawan identity, and the multifold dilemmas arising from this. Such women (yuta are almost always depicted as female in Ōshiro's writing) often seek to establish a stable sense of self amid competing self-images of Okinawans as victims of Japanese (or Yamato imperialism), American Cold War imperialism, and also struggle to create a sense of what it is to be Okinawan, given that the myriad islands of Okinawa are all micro-cultures in their own right with their competing languages and ethnicities.

Ania Loomba in her 1998 book *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, which surveys theories and studies of postcolonialism over the last two or three decades has written about the view that "postcolonial" theory and criticism are inadequate to the task of either understanding or changing our world because they are the children of "postmodernism".

Such a viewpoint grounds itself in a Marxian frame that is ultimately teleological in its conceptual criteria. Not sharing this same vision of Telos, Okinawan writers like Ōshiro have constructed several views of hybridity that vary widely across a spectrum that can be characterized as “postcolonial.” This paper seeks to explore such views, while rooting the analysis firmly in the specificity of Ōshiro’s texts.

Session 3: Contentious Politics in Contemporary China

Organizer / Chair: Hiroki Takeuchi, University of California, Los Angeles

This panel examines dynamism of contentious politics in contemporary China from local perspectives. In China, as well in other authoritarian countries, much political behavior does not take place in institutionalized channels. This is mainly because Party/State aggregates popular preferences poorly and people often become frustrated with existing opportunities for participation. In this circumstance, how do ordinary Chinese people press for attention to their grievances and for a modicum of responsiveness? How does the regime respond to people's behavior? We try to answer these questions from local perspectives. It is a local government that faces popular protest, request, and dissatisfactions directly. Most studies on state capacity have focused on the capacity of the central government. This panel takes the local perspective, or the bottom-up perspective, and explores the state capacity from the viewpoint of local people. Every presenter has taken one or several regions to discuss how the (local) state responds to popular preferences or how it fails to respond to them.

1) Shinichi Tanigawa, Stanford University

Political Processes of Violence Escalation: Toward A Three-Step Model of Cultural Revolution Violence

This study finds that the escalation of political violence in China's Cultural Revolution was conditioned by sequences and combinations of political processes and mechanisms, rather than preexisting social structures. While social backgrounds of warring groups varied, they do not by themselves explain the varying degree of the armed battle (*wudou*) violence. The intensity of the factional violence was a function of three mutually related mechanisms: polarization, the intervention by the PLA (People's Liberation Army), and the interference by outside factional allies. How these mechanisms were combined one another in what sequences determined the degree of political violence in a locality.

This study differs from most of the past Cultural Revolution studies in its emphasis on processes and mechanisms (the second step), rather than on preexisting structural conditions (the first step). The past studies most prominently focused on the relationships between social structures/behaviors and factional conflicts. They debated such issues as the relative importance of status groups versus political networks, and rational choices vs. "psychocultural" dispositions. This study argues that these structural/behavioral "causes" do not by themselves produce violence, unless they are transposed by three intervening mechanisms—polarization, PLA intervention, and outside interference. This study uses 95 volumes of county annals (*xianzhi*) of Shaanxi Province as a primary source of data.

2) Hiroki Takeuchi, University of California, Los Angeles

Petitioning and Political Participation in Rural China

This paper explores how petitioning, one of the institutional channels of political participation in rural China, is effective (or ineffective) to help villagers express their grievances with the regime. Petitioning is one of the institutions that the central government revamped along with the post-Mao reform, a remonstrative mechanism that allows villagers to write about their dissatisfaction with a local government and bring those complaints to higher authorities. The Chinese central government has revamped this participatory channel to give political voice—albeit a limited, controlled voice—to villagers, thereby hoping to ease rural discontent. Yet, recent experience in rural China has been disappointing. Petitioning at times interact with violent popular protests to worsen the tension between villagers and their local governments.

This paper finds that local governments may respond to actual and potential petitions by lowering tax and/or providing public goods. Local government's behavior for these economic policies varies depending on the original condition of the local economy. In relatively rich regions, the petitioning mechanism leads to virtuous cycles of provision of public goods and/or lowering tax and economic growth. In relatively poor regions, the petitioning mechanism can lead to vicious cycles of too small revenues to provide public goods or lower tax, villagers' dissatisfaction with the petitioning outcome, and escalation of their protest and social instability. Empirical evidence is based on my interviews

with local cadres in seven provinces of Guangdong, Guizhou, Hebei, Hubei, Jiangxi, Shanxi, and Zhejiang conducted in 2004-2005.

3) Erik Mobernd, Princeton University

Workers' Conflict in Chengdu

When rural migrants first entered Chinese cities in large numbers in the mid-1980s they tended to take jobs that complemented those of longer-term urban residents. But as migration to cities continued and as state sector employment opportunities dwindled in the late 1990s, migrant and native urban workers found themselves increasingly in competition for the same work. Tacit conflict has resulted from this competition, and urban leaders have joined in. On one hand, leaders want to maintain their oldest constituency and they do this through well-publicized re-employment campaigns and by listing categories of work in which migrants are not supposed to be employed. On the other hand, leaders also need to protect their locality's competitiveness for business, and migrants workers help keep wages low. Do re-employment programs actually help urban workers? Are recent efforts to prevent firms from owing migrant workers wages in arrear signs that authorities are turning in support of migrants? This paper will trace local government participation in these conflicts between migrant and urban workers in Chengdu.

4) Hyejin Kim, Rutgers University

The Ethnic Korean Network and South Koreans' Responses to Chinese Authority

Since the early 1990s South Koreans have flocked to China for business and education. While cheap labor and inexpensive schooling opportunities have drawn them, in China they have found obstacles bureaucratic regulations on foreigners and in local officials and departments seeking to gain from their sojourn. One strategy that South Koreans have pursued in response has been to link up with ethnic Koreans (*chaoxian zu* or Korean-Chinese) in China. Through Korean-Chinese South Koreans have been able to dodge rules and negotiate harder with government representatives. Korean-Chinese brokers assist South Korean firms in their dealings with governments and also help South Korean parents place their children in Chinese universities and secondary schools. Similar networks have emerged for evading property ownership laws. This paper will draw on fieldwork conducted in Korean enclaves in Shenyang, Dalian, and Beijing to show how this ethnic network has helped South Korean businessmen and students deal with Chinese efforts to govern them.

Session 4: Individual Papers on Intellectual History

Chair: Kate Wildman Nakai, Sophia University

1) Jungwon Kim, Harvard University

Revisiting the Cult of Chastity: State Ideology and Actual Practice in Late Chosŏn Dynasty Korea

Confucian reformers in the early Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) endeavored to propagate female chastity broadly by rewarding or honoring chaste women in shrines. The ideal of the chaste women, who remained faithful to her deceased husband and did not remarry, became more dominant as the privileges of women were further eroded through the steady reinforcement of the Neo-Confucian rituals that were dominant in the latter part of the Chosŏn period. How powerful or successful was the expansion of the cult of chastity in the late Chosŏn? Did it penetrate to the bottom rungs of society? Did it really have any impact on the ordinary women who were its target? What does the Confucian state's very ardor about female chastity in the 18th and 19th centuries suggest?

By examining legal archives, such as lawsuits, interrogation records, and postmortem examinations of the late Chosŏn dynasty, which lay bare invisible dimensions of social practice on sex, marriage, and family, this paper attempts to investigate the disparity between official ideology in the cult of chastity and the actual sexual and familial patterns exposed in the legal cases, especially among non-elite women. While recognition of chastity became a useful indicator for retaining elite status, the stories of people in the lower strata of society reveal various forms that were excluded from the archetype of marriage due to financial conditions and other factors. My study will propose that the prevailing ideal of chastity rather implies increasing alarm at the breakdown of moral and social order under the pressure of socio-economic realities toward the end of the Chosŏn dynasty.

2) Yoshiko Okamoto, International Christian University

Japanese Propaganda by Intellectuals during the Russo-Japanese War: The Case of Okakura Kakuzō (1862-1913) in the United States

During Russo-Japanese War from 1904 to 1905, the Japanese government competed with Russia not only on the battlefield but also in self-justification in the foreign journalism trying to defend its own war aims, to deny talks about so-called "Yellow Peril," and to foster pro-Japanese public opinion in the West. The foreign activities of Japanese intellectuals during this period, whether governmental or non-governmental, to interpret and introduce the characteristics of Japanese "traditional" culture to a Western audience were related in a way to support for Japanese self-advertisement at the war from the cultural domain.

As one of such intellectuals, Okakura Kakuzō (1862-1913), who departed to the United States on the very day of the outbreak of the war, appeared in the American journalism as an expert of Asian art history. He appealed his anti-"Yellow Peril" discourse and Japanese reluctance in fighting at the war referring to the very nature of our civilization. His figure as an intellectual equipped with the broad knowledge of Asian cultures, fluent English and dignified behavior, dressed always in Japanese costume, was welcomed in the United States in the context of positive images of Japan facing the war. This paper will focus on his position in the contemporary trend of mobilization of culture in war propaganda and the distortion of his idea of Asian civilization caused by a political purpose for this current affair.

3) Kazuo Yagami, University of Northern Colorado

Konoe Fumimaro and Communism

Konoe Fumimaro stepped down from the premiership in 1941. A couple of months later, the Pacific War broke out. Having been absolutely convinced that it was insanity for Japan to go to war against the United States, Konoe became a strong advocate for an early termination of the war.

Such conviction of Konoe about Japan's war defeat was undoubtedly a driving force for Konoe's effort to

achieve early termination of the war. According to Konoe's own words, however, it turned out to be secondary. Shortly after the breakout of the war, Konoe became certain that Japan's ordeal since the Manchurian Incident in 1931 was a vast communist conspiracy to bring Japan into a catastrophic war against the Allied Powers and to establish Japan as a communist nation in aftermath of the war. Therefore, to Konoe, what was the most ominous to Japan was not Japan's defeat in the war but communization of Japan, with which, Konoe was convinced, the polity of Japan would cease to exist.

It is interesting to note that Konoe's conviction about communist conspiracy came only after the war broke out. This was rather strange leap from Konoe's previous conviction that Japan's aggression was the result of unfairly structured world political and economic settings. So, it raises some questions about how and why Konoe reached such a drastic change in his view. My paper attempts to provide answers to the questions.

4) Wei Ting Jen, Osaka University of Foreign Studies

"To the Mainland!" – An Analysis of the Construction and Articulation of Japan's "Special Interests" in China in the 1930s

In a key pamphlet published first by the Sino-Japanese Manchuria Association, and then by Pacific Affairs in 1929, Yosuke Matsuoka, vice-president of the South Manchuria Railway company, argued that Japan and China should cooperate to develop Manchuria, in order to follow "the true path of international family life and to serve its purpose". Couching his argument in the language of fraternal brotherhood, he argued that only by mutual economic cooperation would it be possible for Japan and China to attain "consummation of such an ideal". Soon after, China's leading representative on Manchuria, legal expert Hsu Shu-hsi published an extensive rebuke sharply critical of Matsuoka's argument, rejecting Japan's familial claims and accusing it instead of harboring "designs upon China's national security".

The above debate has been cited not because it is unusual, but because it foreshadows the ensuing gamut of disagreements that would rock Sino-Japanese relations in the 1930s and ultimately lead to the outbreak of full-scale hostilities. Japan, contrasting its strong economic and political position with China, "the sick man of Asia", came to base its claims to "special interests" on the mainland on the proposition that it would save a willful China from destruction at its own hands. China, on the other hand, grew increasingly indignant and conscious of a nascent national integrity threatened by what it saw as Japan's rapaciousness. What were the reasons underlying this gap in perceptions, and how did each side seek to back up their case? In particular, how was China perceived and understood by Japan, and how did this inform and shape its ambitions to conquer the mainland? Furthermore, as a country which constantly sought legitimization by Western powers, and called international cooperation the cornerstone of its foreign policy, how did Japan present its mainland ambitions to the world, while at the same time claiming to pursue a peaceful agenda?

This paper traces the development of Japanese conceptions of mainland China in the years leading up to the outbreak of war in 1937, and explores how Japan sought to articulate the legitimacy of its mainland ambitions in the West. My research will draw on a variety of sources from domestic film to news media, as well as archives from the Institute of Pacific Relations' flagship journal *Pacific Affairs*. I would like to present the different ways in which the mainland was conceived of in the 1930s, and outline the progression of Japan's claim to "special rights" on the mainland from mere economic cooperation in Manchuria to the ultimate launch of its full-scale overland invasion. In addition, by comparing and contrasting how Japan sought to legitimize its position in China – both domestically as well as to the West, this paper seeks to reveal the underlying perceptions and idealizations of China which drove Japanese ambitions towards conquest of the mainland.

5) Taku Tamaki, International Christian University

Confucius as a Constructivist: Re-reading the Analects

It is tempting to interpret Confucius as a Realist who believes in coercion as a means to achieve good governance. Parallels can easily be drawn between him and Machiavelli, with *ren* fusing with *virtù* to represent Confucius as interested

in political control at any price. Southeast Asian leaders compound the problem by misappropriating the Sage to justify their intolerance for dissent, as exemplified within Asian Values discourse. This article, on the contrary, seeks to reveal a glimpse of Confucius that has been missing in International Relations (IR) literature: that of Confucius as a Constructivist. I argue that *ren* needs to be translated as honesty behavioral norm required of a responsible member of society. Applied to IR, *ren* constitutes a crucial ingredient in the reconstruction of norms regulating the intersubjective structure of international society. The implications of Constructivist Confucius is significant. Confucius as a Constructivist provides clues towards further integration of East Asia in a significant move away from the sclerosis that currently afflicts ASEAN. This article concludes by laying out the Confucian implications for further institutionalization in the region.

Session 5: Translating Asian Modernity: The Border-crossing Performance of Subjectivity, Nation, and History

Organizer / Chair: I-fen Wu, Tamkang University, Taipei, Taiwan

This panel proposes a consistent discussion on history and modernity in relation to colonial legacy and urban culture, hoping to provide inspiring thoughts on Asian cultural study. Yu-lin Lee's paper seeks to investigate the linguistic expression of Japan's imperialization implemented in colonial Taiwan through *kōmin* (imperial) literature. By tracing the line of flight, a term devised by Deleuze and Guattari indicating the act and trace of an absolute deterritorialization from structured regimes, Lee explores the intensity of the colonised people and the transformation of socio-political configuration dominated by imperialization. Similar to Lee's concern on colonial past, Chia-chi Wu's paper zooms in onto Hong Kong filmmaker Tsui-Hark's Huang Fei-hong series, *Once Upon a Time in China*, offering a sharp insight looking at China's "encounter with modernity" in the late nineteenth century, pointing to a complex transactions encapsulated by this film series between modernity and tradition, nation and history, as well as man and woman. With a coherent discussion on modernity, Ming-hong Tu's paper shifts its focus to modern Japan examining Japanese television dramas as a fertile site to re-define and re-imagine the "natural" and national communities. Suggesting that popular media texts at their most imaginative to social norms, Tu investigates the roles of seriality, visual/spatial articulation, and generic variations in *torendi-dorama*'s challenge to the contingencies and constructedness of natural and national communities in Japan. Still coming to grip with the concern of modern Japan, I-fen Wu's paper tackles the cultural landscape of urban Tokyo presented in Taiwanese director Hou Hsiao-Hsien's recent feature, *Café Lumière (Kōhi Jikō)*. Wu's paper considers history as the most important element that shapes Hou's [*encoding problem—several lines missing in abstract*] imperialization in Taiwan.

1) Yu-lin Lee, Tamkang University

Tracing the Line of Flight: the translation of Japan's imperialization in Taiwan

Drawing on Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's idea of semiotic regime mainly developed in *A Thousand Plateaus*, this paper seeks to investigate the linguistic expression of Japan's imperialization implemented in colonial Taiwan. Assimilation, with *isshi dōjin* (impartiality and equal favor) and *dōbun doshu* (same script, same race) as its primary appeals, had been adopted by Japan as its primary colonial policy towards Taiwan, and imperialization, an intensified form of assimilation during later phase of Japanese occupation, functioned as a tool to mobilize all the imperial subjects for the coming war. Both assimilation policy and the imperialization movement had great impacts on Taiwan. Placing its focus on "*kōmin* (imperial) literature" produced by local writers, this paper specifically addresses the significance of the "line of flight" for colonized literature and culture. The line of flight, a term devised by Deleuze and Guattari, indicates both the act and trace of an absolute deterritorialization from structured regimes. By tracing the line of flight, this paper explores the intensity of the colonized people and the transformation of sociopolitical configuration dominated by imperialization. It argues that the line of flight actualized by the act of writing escapes from the imperial regime and thus initiates an alternative semiotic regime, which composes a process of transformation and a "translation" of the semiotic regime. What the line draws is maps of multiple semiotic regimes, the geography of a migration of the colonized people with signs in which the subjects-in-transit inscribe their own history of subjectivity.

2) Chia-chi Wu, Tamkang University

Undoing Translation: Reconsidering History, Nation and Gender in the "Once Upon a Time in China" Series

The essay zooms in onto Hong Kong filmmaker Tsui Hark's refashioning of Huang Fei-hong's (1847-1924, martial artist and physician) myth in the *Once Upon a Time in China* series (Part 1-Part V, 1992-1994). Inspired by Prasenjit Duara's investigation of modern Chinese history as well as Fanon's writing on woman in the process of decolonization, the essay looks at the "encounter with modernity" and delves in the complex transactions encapsulated by this series between modernity and tradition, nation and history, as well as man and woman. I start with Hong Kong

historians' accusation of the film for committing "historical imbecility" or "historical amnesia" (i.e. the blatantly obvious errors of historical fact), but contend that the problematic of *Once Upon a Time in China*, if seen as a case of popular historiography, lies not so much in the series' historical anachronism as in the Manichean logic of colonialism that underlies its conception of history. I argue that, in the films' configuration of martial arts, male body and Chinese medicine, as well as in its refutation of mystic, superstitious communal societies (White Lotus Clan), the series inevitably subscribes to a linear, teleological model of Enlightenment History, and evidently constructs a modern historical subject at the crossroads of empire and nation.

Yet if, dictated by the teleological model of History, it is implied that "Chinese traditional culture" is not "scientific" or knowable from the approach of Western epistemology, these films at the same time work toward erasing such "epistemic distinction" (hence undermining the act of "translation") and point at a possibility of establishing a more sustainable "colonial difference." The essay then looks at how the film aligns woman (Auntie Thirteen) with western technology (film camera), but neutralizes the woman's use of it (i.e. neither as a corrupting threat nor as simply emancipatory possibility of modernization). In a high spirit of cinematic reflexivity, Tsui's characterization of the woman with a movie camera reveals both the limits and the potential of cinema (as western technology and thought) in articulating and transcribing martial arts (as conflated with Confucian values). Hence the gendered division evoked by the film right in the collision of epistemological views (Confucianism vs. Western capitalism) assigns woman a more transitional space between these views, and to a great extent, and offers a possibility of imagining woman as historically legitimated and significant, though not as an active historical agent.

3) Ming-hung Tu, Tamkang University

The Popular Imaginary of Communities in torendi-dorama: Philia, Family Spirit, and nakama-ishiki

This paper will examine Japanese television dramas as a fertile site for efforts to re-define and re-imagine the "natural" and national communities (i.e. communities that are constituted on bases of blood, heritage, and state laws) in Japan and Taiwan. More specifically, this paper will investigate the roles of seriality, visual/spatial articulation, and generic variations in *torendi-dorama's* challenge to the contingencies and constructedness of national and "natural" communities in Japan. Furthermore, it will inquire into questions of genres, structure, and visual and auditory rhetoric in these Japanese televisual texts as they call into question natural/national communities in Taiwan and Japan. In fact, such popular media texts at their most imaginative, in their engagement with the consideration of exceptions to social norms, or in their proposal of imaginary solutions, fuel significant theoretical innovation in *torendi-dorama's* re-imagining of notions of community.

In order to frame the argument on *nakamaishiki* in *torendi-dorama*, I compare and contrast the notion of "philia" in the Aristotelian sense and the notion of "family spirit" defined by Bourdieu. In fact, Aristotelian philia is essentially inscribed by principles of reciprocity, legality, and citizenship, which in the Aristotelian configuration is a male privilege. Such a view of "friendship," gendered as distinctively male, is closer to the notion of a "naturalized" brotherhood/fraternity. Philia is a supplementary "system of feelings" outside of that of family units (though philia borrows its rhetoric by selectively naturalizing the notion of paternal and fraternal love). It is an indispensable ideological construct that informs the rhetoric and safeguards the stability of national community. *Nakamaishiki* in *torendi-dorama* is essentially a performative consciousness contingent on temporary alliance. It designates a non-static model of decentered grouping and membership in reaction to the reification of modern communities. In other words, we may see *nakamaishiki* as a "family-like" spirit outside or on the margin of the configuration of "natural" communities.

4) I-fen Wu, Assistant Professor, Tamkang University

Translating Ozu? Historical Continuation and Cultural Presentation in Hou Hsiao-Hsien's "Café Lumière"

Invited by Shochikou Films to make a Japanese film and pay homage to film master Ozu Yasujiro on the

occasion of his 100th birthday, Taiwanese director Hou Hsiao-Hsien shot his first foreign film, *Café Lumière* (*Kōhi Jikō*, 2003), in which a modern Japanese society is portrayed through Hou's trademark long shots. There are indeed a few elements that Hou borrowed from Ozu's *Tokyo Story* (1953): the parents-daughter relationship, giving watch as a present; borrowing sake from neighbour; and low angle location shot.

While most reviews are keen to find the connections between Hou's latest and Ozu's work, this paper does not consider Ozu's cinematic style as the essential element that shapes *Café Lumière*, nor does it argue the similarities and differences between the two films. This essay tends to consider history as the most important concern that shapes Hou's presentation of modern culture and city space in the film. With the references of 1930s and 1950s, Hou has the urban *mise-en-scène* of Tokyo foregrounded in nostalgic atmosphere, a narrative strategy to address the strong connection between historical continuation and cultural presentation. Following Yoko's search of Jiang Wen-yeh's life in Tokyo, the viewer is led to experience history, through which the sense of the past as a collective continuity of experiences is built up, indicating the past is essentially the pattern for the present. While Hou's *Café Lumière* generates a considerable debate on whether the director is able to cross cultural boundary and make a film about contemporary Japanese society that would be resonant to Ozu's presentation of Japan's modernity in his era, this paper suggests that, with palpable traces of the past (such as the café and bookstore Yoko visited), Hou presents a modern culture distinctly stamped with memories, which could be any moment appearing in Ozu's later films. Hou's arrest of history through "traces" expresses the possibility that a culture can be perceived through the understanding of its history. Cultural boundary can be crossed as long as historical chasm is bridged. For Hou Hsiao-Hsien, Ozu's "present" is a moment of "the past," which is not being translated but is being read and understood from the perspective of history.

Session 6: Tokyo: Planned and Unplanned, 1870s-1960

Organizer / Chair: Rod Wilson, Stanford University / Hosei University

Tokyo has been both a work in progress and a contested territory since its inception in 1868. In this panel, we examine specific points in the history of Tokyo to reveal the interactions between those with the authority to develop and implement urban plans, and those who use, appropriate, and inhabit urban spaces. We show how successive generations of planners drew on transnational technologies, models, and images to give the city boundaries, expand its economic potential, and to promote particular forms of public spaces. In doing so, though, we also reveal ways in which these interventions meshed with, overlooked, or collided with preexisting communities and interests with their own practices and understandings of urban space.

In her paper on urban renewal in the 1870s, Matsuyama argues against the bifurcated view of that identifies urban renewal with the government or “public” and continuity with “private” interests. Wilson explores the connections between two of Tokyo’s largest civil works projects—Port of Tokyo and Arakawa Drainage Canal—and the social response incurred by this violent transformation of the environment. Focusing on the Tokyo Metropolitan Government’s chief planner Ishikawa Eiyo, Hatsuda shows how Ishikawa promoted the transnational Garden City model for the rebuilding postwar Tokyo with a local twist that involved working with locals to transform the city’s many black markets into new “sakariba.” Finally, looking at the design and furnishing of train station plazas, Worrall examines the divergences and interactions in understandings of urban public space exhibited by city planners and local worthies.

1) Megumi Matsuyama, University of Tokyo

Public and Private: Urban Renewal in Early Meiji Tokyo

In the early Meiji period, Tokyo consisted of two major districts: the inner precinct (*kakunai*) and the outer precinct (*kakugai*). Established when transferring the national capital from Kyoto to Tokyo, these two districts are seen to have fundamentally shaped the new government’s efforts of urban renewal within Tokyo. As such, the government is seen to have committed itself to Western-style urban renewal solely within the inner district by building groups of government buildings and official residences. On the other hand, the outer precinct has been seen as being in the hands of private landowners and well beyond the reach of the government’s efforts at “urban planning.” In this bifurcated telling, Tokyo’s inner precinct is seen as laying within the government or “public” domain and the outer precinct as being dominated by “private” interests, which the school of Edo-Tokyo Studies have also erroneously identified as emblematic of the larger “Enduring” or “Unchanging” Edo thesis.

In contrast, I argue that to understand the nature of urban morphology in Tokyo we need to adopt a view that does not stand upon a bifurcated confrontation of interests between “private” and “public” domains. For example, in his well known “Tokyo Shin-Hanjōki” (1874), Hattori Bushō describes several “new” amusement spots within private lands of the outer precinct. Furthermore, other documents show that in the outer precinct that high-ranking officials like Kuroda Kiyotsuna and Mishima Michitsune acted in their own “private” interest to collude with landowners in the granting government favors.

2) Roderick Wilson, Stanford University / Hōsei University

Civil Works and Civil Discontent: The Building of the Port of Tokyo and the Arakawa Drainage Canal

Built on the reclaimed delta of the Ara River, the commercial and industrial areas of Tokyo relied on a dense network of waterways to transport fuel, building materials, and products in to, out of, and throughout the city. Tokyo’s booming industries also depended on the Arakawa (Sumida River at its lower extremity) to link them with the global economy through the shallow waters of Tokyo Bay to the deepwater port at Yokohama. Beginning in the 1890s, Tokyo politicians and industrialists sought to enhance Tokyo’s natural bounty of waterways and cut the expense of shipping goods through Yokohama by building the city’s own deepwater port in the Sumida’s estuary. Stymied by chronic

sedimentation and occasional flooding, however, the completion of the Port of Tokyo had to await the thirty-year long construction of the massive Arakawa Drainage Canal to channel water and sediment alike to the east of Tokyo.

While these two civil works projects have been studied individually, the connection between the two projects has hitherto been overlooked. Moreover, none of the scholarship relating to these two projects has examined the social and environmental consequences of their construction. In my paper, I use planning documents and an engineering magazine to discuss the geologic and planning connections between these two triumphal projects of modern city planning and engineering. Then, I use newspaper articles, published recollections, and legal disputes to show how farmers living in the path of the drainage channel and fishermen and seaweed farmers working the bay protested both projects.

3) Kosei Hatsuda, University of Tokyo

The Potential and Limitations of Ishikawa Eiyō's "Sakariba-ron"

In this paper, I investigate the ideas and activities of Ishikawa Eiyō, a leading city planner for the Tokyo Metropolitan Government from the 1930s to the 1950s. In 1946, he authored the well known plan for the postwar reconstruction of Tokyo that included a network of green belts and commercial cores centered around major railway hubs. Until that time in Japan, city planners tended to disregard commercial areas. In contrast, however, Ishikawa was vitally concerned with "sakariba" and how to create modern versions of this kind of urban space, which he saw as being a distinctive and positive element of the Japanese city. Ishikawa was closely involved in the postwar formation of public spaces around major stations, such as Ikebukuro, Shinjuku, and Shibuya, and planned new "sakariba" like Kabukichō in collaboration with local elites. One aspect of this involved helping to transform the energetic commercial spaces of the black-markets that sprang up spontaneously after the war to a more permanently housed form, often in underground spaces which still exist today (e.g. Shibuya Hachiko Exit, Ikebukuro East Exit).

In his role as head of the planning division of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Ishikawa, Ishikawa certainly represented government authority. But, in this paper, I argue that he also demonstrated a keen appreciation of the role of small-scale private-sector players in the formation of lively urban spaces. In addition, I contextualize his 1946 vision for Tokyo within the transnational context of the "garden city" movement.

4) Julian Worrall, University of Tokyo / University of New South Wales

Loyal Dogs and Peace Fountains: The Station Plaza Monument in Twentieth-Century Tokyo

Station plazas are a distinctive form of urban public space that have resulted from the implementation of commuter rail infrastructure in the urban fabric of Tokyo. These spaces sport a variety of accoutrements that carry symbolic or civic intentions. Most notable among them are the station plaza statues or "local monuments." Nearly all stations or station squares have statues — often some kind of classical nude in bronze—or some other kind of monument that has been consciously established and more or less "artistically" produced. Their existence and form pose a number of questions. What is the history of this phenomenon? Who commissions these works? Who makes them? What processes and rationale have led to their creation? What artistic or symbolic ideas inform their form? How are they "used" and what meanings accrue to them once they become an element in urban space?

Using examples drawn from both prewar and postwar periods, this paper investigates these monuments as manifestations of a kind of local "civic-mindedness" driven by committees of local notables, operating "below the radar" of the planning rationality and agencies that structure the traffic, built form, and engineering aspects of station-front spaces. In this paper, I argue that they represent a form of "middle-down" intervention in urban space, a level that has its own perspective on urban space and implements it with its own distinctive meanings and forms of monumentality — its own sense of "the public" to express in a "public space".

Session 7: The Family Revisited

Organizer / Chair: Gavin Whitelaw, Yale University / Waseda University

Obviously the family matters in contemporary Japan, but how and in what ways does it matter, and for whom? How might family and familial ties be dissolving, strengthening, or even transforming in places such as school classrooms, convenience stores, or sites of life-long learning? The following panel uses notions of family as ideology, policy, and practice in order to focus on the interface between the family and other institutions in contemporary Japanese life. Demographic, economic, and political shifts over the past decades have generated new conditions within Japan today. Corporate restructuring, declining birth rates, later marriage, and the rise of a graying society have been coupled with a growing dissatisfaction with institutions and contributed to intensified public and private reflection on the role and function of family. The following collection of papers draws upon various ethnographic and theoretical perspectives in order to examine the blurred boundaries between family and institutions and highlight the spaces within and ways in which the family as symbol and functional unit are both influencing behavior and decision making.

1) Yukari Kawahara, Waseda University

What is the Family for? Constructing Family and Gender Roles in Japanese Secondary Schools

Since the last part of the twentieth century, Japanese government agencies have joined forces to deploy both pro-family and pro-natal policies, in which the Ministry of Education has expanded sex education guidelines. This paper analyzes the ways in which Japanese secondary schools have incorporated state guidelines and implemented sex education instruction. This paper focuses on issues of special relevance to state policy agenda: marriage, family and gender roles. Using records of classroom interaction and essays written by students after the class, this paper aims to elucidate the way in which the concept of family is constructed and reconstructed through the interaction between teachers and students in a Japanese classroom context.

2) Katrina Moore, Harvard University / University of Tokyo

The Family in Zen Life

What does “family” mean to Zen nuns? I explore this question drawing on fieldwork carried out in two Zen temples in Tokyo and Kyoto over twelve months. The nuns’ age ranges from 60-80, and they have charted a lifecourse that is unique in its freedom from the familial ties and obligations that mark the lives of most women of their generation. They have chosen to enter communities where relatedness is conceptualized in new ways, based not on blood but the enigmatic concept of “zen.” Like conventional families, however, Zen nuns must find someone to carry on their traditions. They have an obligation to cultivate a disciple who will continue the legacy and spirit of the temple into a new age. How do nuns identify a suitable “heir?” Do familial idioms figure in the ways they sustain continuity from one generation to the next? In this paper, I offer insights into the nuns’ conceptualization of family by tracing the webs of connectedness they identify across generations and within contemporary communities. I highlight the ways in which nuns’ conceptualization of self and family intersect and diverge from those prevailing among lay women of the same generation in contemporary Japan.

3) Gavin Whitelaw, Yale University / Waseda University

Behind the Counter: Corporations, Families, and the Changing Face of the Mom and Pop

Shopkeepers, neighborhood stores, and politically powerful merchant associations have been an important dimension of Japanese community life, local identity, and social class formation in contemporary Japan. However, within the national landscape of small, family-run “mom and pop” businesses, a key new player has emerged and flourished over the past three decades—the convenience store franchise (*konbini*). Introduced to Japan in the 1960s, this franchise system was heralded by some as a means to infuse Japan’s small retail sector with new vitality while assisting to revolutionize the

country's Byzantine-esque distribution system. Today there are nearly 51,000 *konbini* and almost sixty chains operating nation-wide. From the establishment of the first *konbini* to the present day, the convenience store system continues to heavily rely upon families, both as customers and as franchisees. In creating new stores, convenience store corporations actively recruit and train married couples. Indeed, a majority of Japan's *konbini* are managed by husband and wife teams who possess both local knowledge and are able to draw on familial networks to staff their stores. However, the past decade of economic recession and *konbini* hyper-expansion have generated new conditions that make it more challenging to recruit families from the small retail sector. Recent trends suggest that former salaried employees and their spouses are now swelling ranks of *konbini* management and ownership. The following paper examines the interface between family, corporation, and store in light these trends and explores the greater meanings and impact these developments may have for merchant identity and conceptualizations of community.

Session 8: The Botany of Representations

Organizer / Chair: Denntiza Gabrakova, University of Tokyo

In this panel, we will try to investigate the possibilities the botanical imagination gives to modes of literary or visual and material representation. The panel will include four presentations focused on Japanese culture from Heian era, through the medieval era, up to the modern era. Representations of plants will be seen in scroll paintings, court dress, and traditional and modern poetry, so that an inversion of vegetation from being an object of representation into being a question of the mechanics of representation itself, is achieved.

1) Denntiza Gabrakova, University of Tokyo

A Poetics of Weeds

The presentation will attempt an original approach to the Japanese poetic imagination/imagery in the 1910s and 1920s. The image of “weeds” (*zassō*) will serve not only as a medium where the aesthetic, the ethical and the political are intertwined but also as a specific mode of experiencing literary creativity. The presentation will place the above problematics against concrete uses of the image of “weeds” in various genres of the period.

2) Mariko Naito, University of Tokyo

The Botany of “waka” of the Japanese Middle Ages

This paper examines the relationship between waka of the Japanese Middle Ages and botany. Ki no Tsurayuki, a poet from the Early Heian era, argued the formation of Japanese poetry and described myriads of words of waka as leaves of plants which sprouted from the seeds as the human heart in the preface to the *Kokin Wakashū*. Fujiwara no Toshinari, a poet from the Insei period, referred to Tsurayuki’s description and advanced his view in *Kōrai futeishō*, his treatise on waka. He argued that the words of waka likened to the leaves of plants were so established that no one could perceive the color or the scent of vernal flowers and autumn leaves without poetry.

Tsurayuki proclaimed that poetry was the right way to represent things. On the contrary, Toshinari insisted that only poetry could make people understand the state of things. This change of their attitudes toward poetry reflected the representations of botany in these treatises. Tsurayuki used the growth of plants as a metaphor for the formation of Japanese poetry. Toshinari attempted to reveal the relationship between poetry and things such as botany using Tsurayuki’s linkage of the words and plants.

I will consider some works of Tsurayuki and other poets of the Insei period on the subject of botany and analyse how medieval waka settled the attitude toward poetry concerning the relationship with things.

3) Maki Nakai, University of Tokyo

The Garden of Color: Color and Pattern in Medieval Japanese Costume

In medieval Japan, books about dress that advised courtiers what clothes to wear and how to wear them were highly valued. While the style and color of formal dress were severely regulated, for less formal or festive wear, courtiers were supposed to show good sense and knowledge of appropriate colors and patterns. Thus these books were supposed to help them to gain this knowledge. These books often included lists of colors in the order of the season that look as if they were lists of plants and flowers. Many colors were related to a specific flower or plant and organized into an annual calendar. And curiously there are very few names of color taken from animals. This becomes more clear when medieval colors are compared with the highly varied names of color in the Edo period. Yet, medieval textile patterns do not seem to be so much decided by the season or occasion, but by personal rank and taste. Following the reorganization of the court under the concept of house (*ie*), crests became more important, and often house or personal crests were used in textile patterns. Here, not only plants but also animals and abstract elements were used. In this paper, I want to consider the

intersection of these two representations of botany (and other objects) on costume and how it reflects the concept of proper knowledge of good manner and taste.

4) Kumiko Nagai, University of Tokyo

Ornamental Plants for the Aristocrats and the Commoners: Reading the Heian Period Painting Scrolls

The 12th-century Japanese painting *Nenjū Gyōji Emaki*, the scroll of annual events, shows us how people lived with plants in the late Heian period. We can see in this painting that both noblemen and commoners like flowers and grasses; they enjoyed arranging plants as decorations, choosing the best flowers and grasses and playing games using plants.

Before the *Nenjū Gyōji Emaki*, few paintings depict how the Heian period commoners used and enjoyed plants in their lives, except for descriptions about their farm work. The *Nenjū Gyōji Emaki* showed commoners' ways of enjoying plants as well as those of aristocrats. Plants in the aristocrats' gardens were represented in the Heian paintings not only as mere scenery but sometimes as symbols of the feelings of the noblemen who viewed the gardens. These symbolic plants can be read in terms of the symbolic meanings used in the literary conventions which were developed in Japanese waka poetry. Commoners, on the other hand, did not use plants in this symbolical way, and they had another style of enjoying plants, in a more practical way.

This paper examines how the 12th century nobility and common people enjoyed plants and discusses the problem of the viewpoint in *Nenjū Gyōji Emaki*.

Session 9: Violence and the State: Public Perceptions and Political Constructions in Modern Japan

Organizer / Chair: Eiko Maruko, Williams College

This interdisciplinary panel seeks to address several questions. What has been the relationship between violence and the state in modern Japan? How has that relationship been perceived by various groups of people? And how have those perceptions led to constructions of larger social and political issues?

Eiko Maruko will examine these questions in historical perspective, exploring how various intellectuals understood and spoke about political violence in interwar Japan. Of particular concern to these intellectuals was the seemingly close relationship between a criminal element and politics, raising issues about the extent to which the state should maintain a monopoly on the use of force. Tom Ellis brings his knowledge of criminal justice to bear on the subject, analyzing media reports and crime statistics to argue that the high level of Japanese fear of violent crime in the 1990s was exacerbated by press coverage of crime statistics and was linked to poor levels of confidence in the police. Kaori Miyanishi, a cultural anthropologist, explores how a variety of women on and around American bases in Okinawa and Puerto Rico make sense of the various forms of state violence that are intrinsic to their everyday lives. The discussant will be social anthropologist Tom Gill.

1) Eiko Maruko, Williams College

Discursive Constructions of Political Violence in Interwar Japan

In 1923, journalist and liberal critic Hasegawa Nyozeikan branded violence a social ill (*shakai byōri*) in a Chūō kōron series that inquired into the various implications of intimidation, coercion, and violence for Taishō-era society and politics. Hasegawa's essay was part of a burgeoning discourse in the interwar period that explicitly and directly engaged the phenomenon of "violence" (*bōryoku*) and "violent groups" (*bōryokudan*) in political life. This paper will examine the emergence of violence as a subject of discourse in the interwar period and the various ways in which understandings of violence were manipulated to serve political aims—be they the preservation of imperial democracy, condemnations of party politics, or criticisms of an increasingly fascist Japan. At stake in this discourse was the social and political construction of political violence, and the very legitimacy of the state's monopoly on violence.

2) Tom Ellis, University of Portsmouth

Violent Crime in Japan? Myths, Media and the Role of the Police

By comparing media reports with reported crime statistics, this paper argues that the criminological differences between Japan and other developed nations have been overstated, are not empirically based, and are overly reliant on cultural explanations. In the late 1990s, a series of police scandals in Japan fundamentally changed the way the Japanese press reported policing issues. Such changes in reporting provoked key policy changes toward the reporting and recording of Japanese crime. These in turn resulted in a sharp increase in the number of crimes recorded, and a sharp decrease in the clear up rates. This paper goes on to show the high level of Japanese fear of crime to be inextricably linked to poor levels of confidence in, and satisfaction with, the police. Finally, the moral panic created by the press coverage of crime statistics appears to have resulted in increasingly punitive public views about offenders and sentencing in Japan.

3) Kaori Miyanishi, Kyoto University

Local Women's Views of State Violence and the Military

In base towns around the world, state violence manifests itself in a variety of ways, including the deprivation of land by force, restrictions of movements of local people, and everyday kinds of violence by soldiers against local women. Women in base towns are exposed to the constant threat of sexual exploitations and, in fact, many of them have become victims of sex crimes such as rape. Whereas in cases of rape women are clearly identified as victims, there are a much larger number of women living on and off base who experience state violence that is more or less subtly mediated in a

variety of ways through their roles as wives of soldiers, base employees, prostitutes, and activists against military bases, among others. This paper is based on extensive field work on towns whose everyday life is very much shaped by the presence of thousands of U.S. soldiers. It discusses a variety of women on and around bases as an important nexus of conflicts between the U.S. armed forces and the local population in both Okinawa and Puerto Rico, and addresses the question of how they make sense of the kinds of state violence that have become an intrinsic element of their everyday lives.

Session 10: Individual Papers on Nationalism and Colonialism

Chair: Koichiro Matsuda, Rikkyō University

1) Debashrita Ghosh Dastidar, University of Tsukuba

Deconstructing Kipling: A Post-Colonial Perspective

This paper deals with the complexities of post-colonial studies, in terms of distorted depiction of the colonized by the colonizers in literature. It will be an analysis of Rudyard Kipling's short story "Strange ride of Morrowbie Jukes" from the perspective of the colonized, highlighting the way in which literature by the colonizing culture distorts the experience and realities, and inscribes the inferiority of the colonized people.

The protagonist of the story is a British civil engineer posted in India, who gets trapped in a village which is located inside a sand crater. Inside the crater there is a community which is separated from the real world in the sense that, these people are awaiting their death. The depiction of the village through the vision of the "sahib" (White Man) is especially intriguing. It gives a new dimension in the study of post-colonial literature, because the colonizer in this context is not in control of the situation, anymore. He is in the mercy of the natives, with whom he cannot even communicate. We see a situation of "reversal of power" in between the colonized and the colonizer.

Even though this story was written by Kipling in 1885, it is very relevant in our study of post colonial literature in the present times. I will be comparing the concept of the "Other" in this work with Edward Said's influential critique of Western constructions of the Orient in his 1978 book, *Orientalism*. I will also cite an example of a very famous Japanese literary masterpiece which has been influenced by the "Strange ride of Morrowbie Jukes," that not been discovered by any of the contemporary critics or researchers of the Japanese author in question.

2) Marc Andre Matten, University of Tokyo

Patriotic Feelings among Chinese Students in Japan (1895-1911): A Reevaluation

After the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War 1895, many Chinese have gone to Japan in order to learn how a country can be modernized in a short time, enabling it to survive in a highly competitive international environment. At the same time, they developed a strong feeling of national consciousness. The nation was considered to be in danger, and the only way to avoid its "extinction" was to modernize China, making it a rich and strong nation.

Many researchers dealing with the foreign students' movement claim this concern about the own nation to be one of the main reasons why thousands of Chinese went to Japan to study.

Yet, when having a closer look at the kind of education most of the Chinese had in Japan (mostly short-term courses in administration and police studies), it becomes obvious that it maybe was not the concern about China (though also being a big incentive), but rather some tangible motivations like the hope of being employed in the civil service. The interesting question now is, how to accommodate this with the common view that the students were the most influential force in the nationalist anti-Qing movement.

The second question would be if characterizations like "loyal to the dynasty," "nationalist" or "patriotic" are helpful categories when trying to judge the historic role of the foreign students in the revolution of 1911, and if so, how these categories shall be defined.

3) Feng Lan, Florida State University

Re-reading Yu Dafu's "Sinking" as a Diasporic Configuration of the De-Based Chinese Man in Japan

According to a prevalent opinion in the studies of modern Chinese literature, Chinese writers of the May Fourth generation are so "obsessed" with the Chinese nationhood that they generally share a neglect of the fate of the individual, a neglect that costs their potential ability to explore further the complex nature of humanity in literary representations. Critics with this assumption, however, have failed to note that such an "obsession" is derived precisely from an

increasingly deepening sense of dilemma that the deterritorialized Chinese individual encountered in the early years of modern China. Nowhere is this sense of dilemma more clearly articulated than in some of the founding works of the May Fourth literature created by their authors when they lived abroad. Yu Dafu's "Sinking" is representative of such works.

Interpreting "Sinking" from the perspective of diaspora studies, my paper makes the central argument that Yu Dafu's story of a psychologically and morally "debased" Chinese student in Japan should be construed as a diasporic configuration of the last generation of the Confucian literati who are socially and ideologically "de-based." My analysis will demonstrate that the story brings into play a new set of spatial and temporal concepts which, besides enriching modern Chinese discourse of individualism, shed light on the protagonist's struggle to renegotiate his relations to the traditional paradigms of an essentializing collectivity of moral-ethnic Chineseness, a struggle that tragically ends when he fails to establish a compelling subjectivity capable of surviving the separation from the feudal hierarchy of *guojia* or state-family. My presentation will end with a brief comparison of "Sinking" with some recent Chinese diasporic works, concluding that "Sinking" represents an earlier fear of diasporicity on the part of the Chinese as different from their late-modern embrace of the diasporic situation.

4) Shino Toyoshima, University of London

The Making of the New Local Community in Colonial Korea: Reorganisation of the Local Korean Community by Common School

As the Meiji Education Reform played a major role in making Japan a modern nation, education in colonial Korea was regarded as a fundamental means of reinforcing colonial developments. However, installation of new system did not process smoothly. It often clashed with pre-existing institutions which had taken roots in the local community, and therefore it was adopted as it took into account the local situation and avoided drastic changes.

Nevertheless the new education system exerted a major influence over the local Korean community. School in modern education system came to interfere with various aspects of people's lives, and it was sought as means to organise the local community. School became central institution in which people from wide range of area came to gather to share knowledge and experiences.

Taking into account such characteristic of modern school, this paper explores the changing phases of the local Korean community under colonial rule. Focusing attention on common school, it seeks to look into the process by which traditional community was transformed into new kind of community through people's involvement with this state institution. By using student registry, household registry and cadastral map of three different school districts, it takes a closer approach in looking into the ways in which children, families and other members in the school district were involved with school. Furthermore it seeks to illuminate the ways in which the school-community relations drawn from the analyses demonstrate continuity and discontinuity from the traditional community.

5) Mike Shi-chi Lan, Nanyang Technological University

Between Empire and Nation: The Taiwanese Transition from Japanese Subjects to Chinese Citizens, 1945-1947

This paper examines the process in which Taiwan was turned from Japanese colonial rule into the hands of Chinese Nationalist government after the Second World War. It analyzes how a former subject of an empire (Japan) like the Taiwanese people was re-defined by a nation-state (China). Following Étienne Balibar's reading of a significant difference between territorial boundary (the external border) and the contour of a nation (the internal border), this paper shows how territorial reconfiguration of Taiwan across 1945 unravels the changing and often conflicting definitions of nation. Based on governmental archival materials, newspapers/journals, and memoirs/oral history records, this paper examines Chinese governments of postwar policies regarding the obligations and rights of the Taiwanese as citizens in issues such as the trials of Taiwanese as *Hanjian* (traitor of the Han nation) and/or war criminals, wartime reparation, property disposition, relief and repatriation services, and political participation through civil services and self-government.

It finds that in spite of having being granted new citizenship of a nation-state (China), the Taiwanese continued to be defined as a subject different from the rest of China due to the colonial and wartime legacy invested in them by a former empire (Japan) and consequently were denied from exercising their citizen rights and treated as lesser national in government policies. Such unsettling condition between empire and nation eventually contributed to an unprecedented island-wide conflict between the native Taiwanese population and the newly established Chinese rule and the subsequent brutal government oppression known as the 2/28 Event in 1947.

Session 11: Individual Papers on Culture and Modernity

Chair: M. William Steele, International Christian University

1) Kelly Hansen, University of Hawai'i

Multiple Discourses in Futabatei's Ukigumo

Ukigumo, or *The Floating Cloud* by Futabatei Shimei, is often described as Japan's first modern novel. Despite this high praise, twentieth century literary criticism has generally situated Futabatei's fiction as a flawed imitation of the Western realist novel. Only recently have scholars begun to move away from the position of studying the modern Japanese novel, or *shosetsu*, predominately within the framework of Western critical notions of the novel. Recent scholarship seeks a broader perspective which takes into account the multiplicity of discourses, including Western, Japanese and Chinese, which Futabatei and other early Meiji writers drew upon. In particular, the notion of space, as taken up by Maeda Ai and others, can serve as a useful framework for exposing these multiple discourses.

This paper will use the notion of space to situate Futabatei's writing within the multiple discourses present in early Meiji Japanese literature. Drawing upon the works of the early Meiji writer Takamizawa Shigeru, who blends a writing style containing classical *kanbun* elements with lively descriptions of contemporary Meiji Japan, as well as the works of the woodblock artist Kobayashi Kiyochika, whose pictures also reflect the fluid landscape of early Meiji Japan, I will show how the notion of space in *Ukigumo* is not simply a poor but valiant attempt at an alien literary form, but rather a true expression of the complex literary landscape of Meiji Japan.

2) Elaine Gerbert, University of Kansas

The Double, the Doppelgänger, and the Doll in Taisho Literature

While the double in literature has been with us from the time of Plautus, critics point out that the double did not begin to appear on a large scale in literary texts until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some suggest that the "multiplication of reflecting surfaces in modern architecture—whether in mirrors or plate glass windows—enhanced "the self-consciousness of society." Others point to breakthroughs in the understanding of the layered quality of human consciousness. Others yet argue that materialization of the double in literature is less a symptom of death (a reference to the folkloristic fear of the double as an omen of death) than of transformation—the dying of an old imaginary order. In Japan as well, the emerging mechanical visual regime of Taisho and early Showa coincided with many instances of the double in literature. These figures were sometimes associated with crime, producing effects of the eerie, the uncanny, and dread. But they were also deployed in the service of humor and satire. This paper examines the appearance of the double, the doppelganger, the almost-human doll, and the doll-like human in literature of the Taisho period.

3) Yoshihiro Yasuhara, Florida State University

The Cultural Translation of Dandyism in Japanese Modernity: The Performances of Ethnic and Cosmopolitan Identities

The questioning of Japan's homogeneity from various perspectives—whether in the humanities or in the social sciences—has gained critical importance in both the US and Japanese academic circles. This paper studies the reception of Western dandyism in Japanese culture, from the 1920s to 1930s as a counter-discourse to the homogeneity of Japanese modernity, focusing on the works of Kuki Shūzō (1888-1941) and Tanizaki Junichirō (1886-1965).

Following the influx of Western culture after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the period from the 1920s to 1930s can also be described as a process toward the homogenization of Japanese identity under the imperial system. The reception of Western dandyism during this period centers on two major discourses against such a dominant identity—the ethnic identity and the cosmopolitan identity; both discourses were, however, intertwined with a result that they posit a counter-discourse to Japanese modernity. For instance, Kuki located the Japanese ethnicity in pre-modern (i.e., before

1868) Edo culture, a notion that was rejected by the dominant discourse of Japanese modernity. Conversely, Tanizaki furthered the incorporation of Western elements—particularly of the Anglophone culture—into his literary expressions, attempting to realize diversity in Japanese culture. But at the same time, both approaches are realized through the other perspectives, namely the cosmopolitan in Kuki and the ethnic in Tanizaki. Hence, my study will seek to provide a new theorization of such a multifaceted meaning of dandyism, which has received insufficient attention in current scholarship on Japanese identity.

4) Atsuko Handa, International Christian University

Murakami Haruki: His Cross-Cultural Experience in the West and the East

In my paper, I discuss what Murakami Haruki learned abroad through his cross-cultural experience in the West and the East, and how his literary world changed afterwards. Murakami stayed in America for four years, as a visiting professor at Princeton University (January 1991- June 1993), and subsequently at Tufts University (July 1993-May 1995). Based on his experience, he published two essays: “Yagate kanashiki gaikokugo” (The Ultimate Sorrow of A Foreign Language, 1994), and “Uzumaki neko no mitsukekata” (How to Find A Whirlpool-cat, 1996). Through life in America, Murakami discovered his national identity, and became more responsive to Japanese society. In June 1994, Murakami visited the places related to the Nomonhan Incident in Inner and Outer Mongolia, and saw traces of Japanese colonialism. Murakami serialized his travel journal, “Nomonhan no tetsu no hakaba” (The Iron Graveyard in Nomonhan) in the monthly magazine Marco Polo between September and November of 1994, and his experience informed *The Wind-up Bird Chronicle, part III* (1995). There have already been many discussions of the influence of American culture on Murakami’s works. In contrast, only a few researchers deal with the relationship between Murakami and other Asian countries. I also compare his experience with Natsume Soseki’s, who studied in England between 1900 and 1902, and traveled in Manchuria in 1909, when Japanese imperialism expanded in other Asian countries. Interestingly, although nearly one hundred years passed by, Murakami made similar observations and had similar impressions to Soseki’s in the West and the East in the early twentieth century.

5) Lorraine Plourde, Columbia University / Waseda University

Staging Noise

In the early twentieth century, noise came to be viewed as a negative outcome of industrialization; a putative symptom of urban and moral decay to be regulated and suppressed. Alongside these anti-noise discourses however, was the adoption of noise by the avant-garde as a new musical aesthetic. The Italian Futurists in particular, seized these new sounds, noises and energies of the modern, particularly those generated by industrial machinery and the technologies of war, in order to liberate music from the structural confines of European classical music. Their fascination with the visceral sensations of war and urban machinery led them to lyrically express these sounds through noise orchestras, concurrent with their actual participation in war. And yet, how is the Futurist legacy maintained, if at all, and how is it taken up by the contemporary avant-garde musical scene in Japan—a country which is most often invoked as the primary inspiration and source of the contemporary genre of noise (*noizu*)? Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Tokyo, this presentation will attempt to untangle this history by examining two moments: the 1913 publication of the manifesto, “The Art of Noises,” and a 2002 noise orchestra performance at Tama Art University in Tokyo, which featured replicas of the original Futurist noise intoners (*intonarumori*).

Session 12: Lost in Transportation: Japanese Public and Popular Culture in Generational Time Travel

Organizer / Chair: Marie Thorsten, Doshisha University

Cultural symbols specify not only the uniqueness of place, but also of time. One of the defining features of globalization is motion—the acceleration of images and imagination processes across ever more porous borders. Though often characterized as stable and unique, the symbolic realm of what constitutes “Japan” is also caught in the flux of global, interdisciplinary convergences of knowledge over time. Japan’s generations—wartime and postwar, bubble and post-bubble—continuously re-navigate their ways through the cultural policies and expressions of popular culture that situate imaginings of Japan. This panel addresses the flow through generational borders of Japanese symbolic discourses, icons and memories. Kawaguchi and Toyoda address the Occupation era, a time consumed with defining a new era of peace and democracy. Kawaguchi emphasizes that the American hand in designating Hiroshima as a “Symbol of Peace” silenced the intentions of local authorities. Toyoda draws attention to the mixture of apprehension and enthusiasm that fueled the development of separate Women’s Sections within labor movements; she then fast forwards to the 1960s, and considers how these sections were seen in another political context highly critical of American power. Seaton’s work compares war crimes testimonies in a variety of media, as such memories have been handed down to postwar generations. Re-visiting the “New Wave” films of the 1960s, Karatsu questions the contrast between the political statements expressed then to the apparently more incoherent ideas revealed in the New Wave film movement of the 1990s, exemplified in the films of Takashi Miike.

1) Yuko Kawaguchi, University of Tokyo

The Atomic Bomb and the “Symbol of Peace” Discourse: Hiroshima City in the Early Postwar Years

In the early postwar years, the city authorities of Hiroshima explicitly maintained that Hiroshima had become a symbol of world peace at the moment when the atomic bombing put an end to the Second World War. However, this was too optimistic a way to talk about the catastrophe they had just suffered. This paper investigates why the city authorities of Hiroshima came to define their city as the “symbol of peace,” paying attention to the social circumstances of the period from August 1945 to August 1947.

One aspect considered is the censorship policy of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). Another aspect concerns issues dealt with by municipal administration, such as the reconstruction problem and so-called “peace ceremonies,” in which the discourse which associated Hiroshima with peace appeared relatively early and distinctly. The city government of Hiroshima utilized the discourse of the U.S. officials as a way of appealing for preferential financial aid for the reconstruction of the city. This appeal was not only effective; it was the only communication option left to Hiroshima, because SCAP censorship did not allow the city government to speak freely about the atomic bomb. Thus, several of the factors associating Hiroshima with peace were not spontaneous or “natural” but socially constructed. Yet this does not imply that people in Hiroshima fully accepted or actively advocated the U.S. narrative that justified the atomic bombing.

2) Maho Toyoda, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science

Women Trade Unionists and their Memories of the US Occupation of Japan

With the aim of democratizing Japan, US Occupation leaders strongly encouraged labor movements. Women workers, in due course, organized and created within trade unions such separate organizations as Women’s Sections. SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) staff members, in part apprehensive of such Women’s Sections, yet not intending to abolish them, released to the press their ideas on the proper functions of the Women’s Sections, which came to be known as “Stander Statement” in January 1948. After the Occupation, women unionists documented thirty years of their activities. Influenced by the anti-American enthusiasm in 1960-70s, the former women unionists recorded that SCAP had urged the dissolution of Women’s Section. They inferred this from the fact that “Stander Statement” was

issued around the time of “reverse course,” when SCAP started to restrict labor movements. This paper tries to clarify the SCAP intentions in the “Stander Statement,” and to trace how discussion in the trade union developed around the structural problems of the Women’s Sections. Then it explains why women trade unionists ultimately found in the “Stander Statement” an SCAP “order to disorganize” the Women’s Sections.

3) Philip Seaton, Hokkaido University

Handing Down Memories: The Generational Reconstruction of War Crimes Testimony

As the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II approaches, those in the war generation old enough to have personal memories of the war are now well beyond their sixties. Thus, personal and collective memories of the conflict are being handed down to the guardianship of their children and grandchildren. However, in a country where memories of the war remain as contested as they are in Japan, handed-down memories can be extremely difficult for successive generations. In Japan’s case, continued debates over the nature and scale of Japanese aggression and atrocities constitute a very real and painful issue for the descendents of those people who have confessed to or been found guilty of war crimes. This presentation will look at some of the ways in which Japanese people have come to terms with the war crimes of family members through a survey of testimony by the postwar generation in books, magazines, oral history and television documentaries.

4) Rie Karatsu, Massey University

Takashi Miike and the Japanese Cinematic New Wave: The Next Generation

This paper will explore Takashi Miike’s “next-generation” New Wave films in comparison to New Wave films of the 1960s. New Wave film-makers of the 1960s such as Shohei Imamura and Nagisa Oshima, took a progressive political stance, or an ethical style revealing the contradictions within Japanese society. This 1960s’ cinematic movement focused on social and psychological themes, such as delinquency and mindless crime, which reflect the confusion of a generation that has rejected Japanese society. After nearly two decades of stagnation of the 1970s and 1980s, Japanese cinema production has experienced a dramatic increase of independent, innovative works produced outside the big three studio system. A representative director of the New Wave of the 1990s is Takashi Miike, who has built his international reputation on his works including *Audition*, *Dead or Alive*, *Ichi the Killer* and *Happiness of the Katakuris*. However, his films have been controversial: They are often regarded as lacking in a coherent political agenda. The subjects displayed are the people and places traditionally left out of “official” images of Japan. They contain extreme scenes of violence, brutality toward women, masochism, sadomasochism and necrophilia. Through a study of Miike’s films, this paper will explore the aesthetic and ethical continuities or discontinuities with the filmmakers of Japanese New Waves. The research will address the following questions: How have Miike’s films been influenced by the Japanese New Wave movement of the 1960s? What is the fundamental difference between Miike’s films and those of the Japanese New Wave in the 1960s?

Session 13: Japanese Culturescapes: Global Encounters, Local Interactions

Organizer / Chair: Martin Roberts, New School University, New York

Drawing on Rafael Reyes-Ruiz's useful concept of "culturescapes" (itself based on Arjun Appadurai's influential model of the global cultural economy), this panel presents a series of case studies in what may be called Japanese culturescapes, or flows and exchanges of cultural symbols between Japan and the world at large in the contemporary global culture industries. Its three papers focus on three spaces of transcultural exchange involving Japanese cultural relations with, respectively, Latin America, Taiwan, and the United States: Rafael Reyes-Ruiz's anthropological study of Latin-American restaurants and dance clubs in Tokyo, Jiwon Ahn's examination of figurations of Japan in recent Taiwan cinema and vice versa, and Martin Roberts's study of Japanese art and design stores in New York City. Each of these papers is concerned with theorizing the historical conditions for the transcultural exchanges it documents. While fully recognizing their inscription within global symbolic markets, the panelists are also interested in exploring their more progressive implications, as new spaces of cultural encounter and discovery.

1) Rafael Reyes-Ruiz, Zayed University, Dubai

Music and the (Re)creation of Latino Culture in Japan

Using an ethnographic and Cultural Studies approach, I trace the flow of Latin American culture, particularly popular music, to Japan from the arrival of the tango and rumba in the 1930s to a Latin music award show that Latino immigrants watched at a Peruvian restaurant in Tokyo in 1998. The focus of this article is to trace the cultural flows that bring pan-Latino culture to Japan and to link this process to the dynamics of immigrant social networks and the reception of Latin American culture and immigrants in Japanese society.

2) Jiwon Ahn, Keene State College

Transnational Postcoloniality: The Japanese and the Taiwanese in Recent Auteur Cinema(s)

This paper considers transnational encounters between Taiwanese or Chinese and Japanese cultural identities represented in several recent films critically acclaimed in international film circuits—including *Millennium Mambo* (2001) and *Café Lumière* (2003) by Hou Hsiao-hsien and *City of Lost Souls* (2000) by Takashi Miike. The paper examines the noticeably a-political and personal tones consistently found in the contemporary depictions of the historically traumatic relations between Taiwanese (or Chinese) and Japanese people and reflects upon the implications of such microscopic view of the encounters in the context of globalization. In particular, the paper focuses on the central role of young female characters—Vicky in *Millennium Mambo*, Yoko in *Café Lumière*, and Kei in *City of Lost Souls*—in embodying the unprecedented level of fluidity and mobility within the current dynamics of cultural relations in East Asia. The main questions the paper aims to deal with through the discussions of the films include: Are the postcolonial issues so readily replaceable by the pan-Asian or cosmopolitan youth/consumer culture in the contemporary international cinema? How do the experiences and memories of colonial relations within East Asia implicate in the current discussions of globalization or transnational exchanges of cultural influences? And most importantly, how do we understand the context of international auteur cinema, mainly targeted at western film festivals and art house distributions as an important venue for the border-crossing connection and reconciliation of Asian national identities? The paper reflects upon these issues through a close examination of both the texts and the contexts of production and reception of the three recent films.

3) Martin Roberts, New School University, New York

Designer Japan: Globalization and the Subculture Industry

While popular Western discourses on Japan today remain fixated on the alleged Japanese "obsession" with all things Western, they have conveniently ignored the more pressing question of the continuing Western fascination with Japan. The Western imaginary of Japan continues to reproduce the familiar worlds-fair repertoire of zen gardens, geishas,

and tea ceremonies, but over the past decade this modernist cultural mythology has been increasingly displaced by a postmodernist one which figures “Japan” as a space of excess, deviant sexualities, or simply as “the future.” This is the hyper-consumerist, futuristic, eroticized Japan of *idoru* and humanoid robots, Pokemon and Hello Kitty, love hotels and anime porn, obsessive otakus and cyberpunk kogals. An important aspect of this transformation has been the emergence of Japan as a privileged site in a Western subcultural imaginary, evidenced by Anglo-American subcultures organized around the consumption of Japanese popular cultural products, or the success of Takashi Murakami and the now-ubiquitous “punk” art of Yoshitomo Nara. How did all this happen? How and when exactly did Japan become “cool”? The paper explores such questions by focusing on the growing number of stores in New York City (many, albeit not all, Japanese-owned) selling and exhibiting Japanese toys and other popular-cultural products, which are avidly collected by Anglo-American youth. The popularity of such stores and their products among non-Japanese, the paper argues, is on the one hand symptomatic of the cosmopolitanism of Western subcultures and subcultural capital today. It also exemplifies how the emergence of the new “cool Japan” has opened up new symbolic markets for Japanese artists and designers in the global subcultural economy, problematizing easy dismissals of the phenomenon as postmodern exoticism.

Session 14: The Book in Modern Japan: Bookstores, Collections, Genres, and Libraries

Organizer / Chair: Sari Kawana, University of Massachusetts Boston/ JSPS Fellow

This panel looks beyond the act of literary creation to focus upon the people and ideas that have driven the production and consumption of the modern Japanese book. By drawing attention to the global circulation of books and the individual contributions of bookstore owners, bibliophiles, and librarians, this panel will cast light upon some of the non-literary forces that contribute to the publication and dissemination of a literary text.

Arboleda will open the panel with a general examination of the role of bookstore owners in the circulation of books and knowledge in Japan. Hill's paper focuses on Meiji Japan and provides an overview of the worldwide traffic of the book as a vehicle through which new forms of literary narrative, in this case naturalism and other cognate genres devoted to the representation of social conditions, were circulated on a global scale. Marcus's paper surveys the essays of Uchida Roan, a passionate bibliophile for whom the book was not only a vehicle for transmitting knowledge and art but also a prized object in and of itself and a key cultural icon. Domier's paper examines librarians, those have typically been considered peripheral to the author-centric world of publishing and book circulation, by studying the contribution of public librarians to the preservation and subsequent transformation of knowledge. Sari Kawana will close the panel by identifying some of the problems, tensions, and future directions in the study of the Japanese book.

1) Sari Kawana

Mass-Produced Must-Haves: Owning Detective Fiction “zenshū” in 1920s Japan

As part of the enbon boom, the craze for mass-produced, one-yen-per-volume series of literary works that swept through the publishing industry shortly after the Great Kanto Earthquake, several major publishing houses marketed various “complete works” series [zenshū] in detective fiction [tantei shōsetsu]. By the early 1930s, most of the major publishers in Tokyo—including Hakubunkan, Kaizōsha, Heibonsha, and Shinchōsha—came up with their own *zenshū* of detective fiction. How could these obviously mass-produced *zenshū*, which lacked any “one-of-a-kind” mystique, appeal to consumers as must-have items? Owning rather than borrowing a work of detective fiction would have been counterintuitive because of the genre's highly disposable nature, so why would there be a market for such series that would have been considered collectibles? This paper examines the aura created by the *zenshū* label and the effect that this particular rubric had upon the content of such collected works. It also investigates the additional functions of detective fiction *zenshū* beyond conveying the solution to a whodunit. To own a *zenshū* meant to symbolically possess the total knowledge of the genre or theme that the series claimed to represent. The label implied that texts selected for inclusion possessed the essence of the genre to a greater degree than the omitted titles. I argue that the onslaught of *zenshū* that purported to collect masterpieces of detective fiction actually diluted the definition of the genre, and caused its proponents to question the definition and nature of detective fiction itself.

2) Christopher Hill, Yale University

Naturalist Literature and Social Imaginaries

The naturalist novel appeared in Japan alongside several cognate genres, including slum reportage and the earliest forms of minzokugaku. This paper examines the history of this constellation of genres, to argue that the rise of naturalism shows the emergence of a new social imaginary in Japan in the first decade of the twentieth century. The history of the naturalist novel in Japan was part of the worldwide travel of the genre in the late nineteenth century, supported by easier conditions for the transport of books, the international prestige of European literature and social thought, and changing social conditions in the countries where naturalism and its fellow travelers were embraced. In Japan, writers' early encounters with Zola and Maupassant in the 1890s were followed by translations into Japanese, such as Zola's *Nana* (trans. Nagai Kafū, 1902), that offered new methods for representing society. At the same time volumes of reportage including William Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890) inspired Japanese efforts at

urban sociology in the work of Matsubara Iwagorō and Yokoyama Gennosuke. The memoiristic writings of Kunikida Doppo and the early works that became Yanagita Kunio's *minzokugaku* reveal parallel efforts to devise new techniques of social representation. The confluence of these currents in the efflorescence of the naturalist novel after the Russo-Japanese War shows the importance of viewing the history of naturalism as part of a broad history of ideas and publishing, contrary to the common view of it as the forerunner of a self-absorbed *shishōsetsu*.

3) Sharon Domier, University of Massachusetts at Amherst

Conflicted Loyalties: Banned Books and Public Librarians in Prewar Japan

In prewar Japan, public librarians were considered civil servants and required to express their loyalty to the Emperor and his decrees. However, during World War II, they also tried hard to protect censored library materials from destruction even though doing so betrayed their supposed dedication to their country. The police made regular visits to public libraries to collect the readers' request slips in order to survey the users' reading habits and brought lists of banned books to remove them from the libraries. The restrictions were much tighter for public libraries than university libraries as the authorities deemed that the users of the former were not sufficiently educated to be able to handle "dangerous" materials. Study circles, private libraries, and underground reading movements developed in Japan in order to counteract the careful scrutiny of the police. Librarians who could not countenance the increasing restrictions left the profession and retired military and principals were brought in to provide appropriate supervision, and sometimes the readers' slips were unwillingly turned over.

However, some librarians found a compromise with regard to banned library materials. Instead of turning them over for destruction, they were boxed and sealed until the storm of war waned. Thanks to such bravery, many valuable materials in Japan were protected from police and fire-bombing, unlike in Nazi Germany. This paper traces the development of public libraries in prewar Japan to provide an important perspective on the connection between the library movement and the intellectual freedom movement in the postwar period.

Session 15: Political Participation and Social Capital in Japan

Organizer / Chair: Ken'ichi Ikeda, University of Tokyo

This panel will examine the important changes that are happening to Japanese civic engagement. The papers will present results of sophisticated empirical analyses of changes in the ways that Japanese people participate in social networks and politics. As Japan's civil sector grows, it is increasingly important to understand the impact on society of community involvement. At present, there is not enough research on why Japanese people participate, the impact of involvement in social networks, and what are the social mechanisms that contribute to these interactions. This panel adds to our understanding of the causal mechanisms that are instigating the changes in Japanese political behavior.

1) Ken'ichi Ikeda, University of Tokyo

The Dark Side of Social Capital-Intolerance and Social Networks in Japan

I have conducted a new Japanese national-sample panel survey that includes snowball data to test the impact of social networking on tolerance. I test the bridging and bonding theory of the influence of social networking on tolerance by comparing this data with data from the United States. Bridging social capital theory suggests that the more someone is exposed to diverse populations through heterogeneous social networks, the more tolerance for these people they will have. Bonding social capital theory also suggests that if social networks are homogenous, there will be more intolerance for outsiders. I use this new data to test these assumptions in Japan, and also use the Annenberg 2000 National Election Survey for the United States. I conducted the Japanese survey by face-to-face interviews in April during non-election time. The response rate was 64.7%, the N=1,618 and 794 for the snowball sample. I also study whether hierarchical networks have a different impact on tolerance than equal relationships. I use dyadic snowball data to obtain information on those in the respondent's social networks, and measure the homogeneity of the networks with these objective data. Multiple regression analyses from individual and dyadic data clearly indicate a positive relationship between formal and informal social networking and tolerance. This research has important implications because it tests the impact of social networking on political participation in the context of a Western and a non-Western democracy, where networks are purportedly more closed and hierarchical than the United States.

2) Tetsuro Kobayashi, University of Tokyo

Internet Use and Network Diversity in Japan: Putting Political Intolerance into Perspective

Social consequences of Internet use have been one of the hottest issues in social sciences in this decade. Research shows that e-mail exchanges by personal computers have positive effect on political and social participation, while e-mail exchanges by mobile phones do not. This implies social consequences of Internet use depend on social contexts it occurs. Research also shows a negative effect of PC e-mail and positive effect of mobile phone e-mail on intolerance to others.

In this research paper, we investigate the relationship between Internet use and social/political tolerance in more detail using national random sampled data. As determinants of tolerance, network diversity has been focused in the context of social capital research. Network diversity measures to what extent their weak ties are spread in the social strata beyond their daily strong ties. Therefore, we investigate two research questions.

- 1 . What kind of social context enables people to broaden their network diversity by using Internet?
- 2 . Does Internet use reduce tolerance directly through encountering heterogeneous others? Or, does Internet use reduce tolerance indirectly mediated by network diversity?

Investigating the relationship between Internet use and intolerance to others are important agenda because Japanese people's information and communication behavior are rapidly changing, and this change might accumulate to have certain effects on social and political system. Exploring how new communication technologies affect democratic system can contribute to future policy making and social science itself.

3) Sean Richey, University of Tokyo

Japanese Network Capital: The Impact of Social Networks on Japanese Political Participation

I test whether social interactions change the likelihood of participating in politics in Japan using data from the Japanese Election and Democracy Study 2000. Recent research shows that social capital has a large influence on political behavior. The standard definition describes social capital as trust, norms of reciprocity, and social networks. Yet, most social capital studies focus only on the political impact of trust and reciprocity. Here, I examine the networking component. There are, however, vast differences in networks and in the types of communication in these networks. I, therefore, separately examine the influence of involvement with formally organized voluntary associations and informal social networks. I also study whether hierarchical networks have a different impact on participation than equal relationships. To determine if networks with bridging or bonding social capital affect participation differently, I also measure the openness to outsiders of these networks. I theorize that social networking increases one's political discussions, information, and interest, and thus facilitates participation. Multiple regression analyses from individual and dyadic data clearly indicate a positive relationship between formal and informal social networking and political participation. This research has important implications because it tests the impact of social networking on political participation in the context of a non-Western democracy, where networks are purportedly more closed and hierarchical.

Session 16: Individual Papers on Past Beliefs and Present Practices

Chair: Patricia Sippel, Toyo Eiwa University

1) Wilburn Hansen, Stanford University

Tengu Medium

Senkyō ibun is a nineteenth century work centered around the Kokugakusha Hirata Atsutane's interviews of the so-called Tengu Kozō Torakichi. The book is Atsutane's retelling of approximately eight months of interviews with the tengu boy who eventually came to live in his house. The great innovation of *Senkyō ibun* was the use of a visitor from the Other World, a supernatural medium, to back historical, scientific and religious claims. Torakichi's arrival allowed Atsutane to claim superiority over practitioners of philological methods reliant upon ancient written texts. His arrival also allowed him to make a theological assertions which would establish a native Japanese religious culture hero, the Sanjin. In addition, Torakichi and the new culture hero were helpful in bolstering his arguments for Japanese cultural superiority over India, China and Western nations.

In 1820, Atsutane introduced Torakichi to Edo society as his informant on the ways of the Other World. He held a series of small group interviews among the influential and the intellectuals of the time where Torakichi acted as the representative of the Other World and Atsutane became an ethnographer of that world. However, Atsutane's own written record proves that he manipulated the imaginative Tengu Kozō Torakichi into acting as his medium. Atsutane altered Torakichi's tengu testimony in hopes of lending supernatural authority to his own theories of the Other World, its theologically important inhabitant, the Sanjin and his version of a Japan centered history.

2) Christopher Thompson, Ohio University

The Resurgence of the Hearth God Tradition: Kamadogami Shinkō in Northeastern Japan

The study of household folk deities has been a staple of Japanese ethnology since the early 20th century. However, most studies focus on localized beliefs and rituals in historical practice, assuming that these faith systems are gradually fading into obscurity. But this is not necessarily the case. In a resurgence movement different from the State driven *furusatōzukuri* (hometown building) initiatives designed for the municipal level prevalent during the 1980s, since the late 1990s, local residents (particularly in rural, peripheral communities throughout Japan), have been rediscovering and reincorporating the culture and customs of their household folk heritage on an individual and family basis. Using data derived from long-term ethnographic fieldwork in Miyagi and Iwate, two prefectures in Tohoku (Northeast) Japan, this paper explores the resurgence of Kamadogami Shinkō (the Hearth God Faith), in this region, as an expression of Edo period (1604 -1868) folk values that is once again gaining popularity in many households. The Hearth God is a protector of the household flame, efficient management of which is necessary for a prosperous and fulfilling life for its members. Practice of the faith also confers a prestigious regional identity and implied acceptance of an age-old moral order thought by many to be lacking within contemporary Japanese society. A closer analysis of the Kamadogami tradition in Miyagi and Iwate today reveals how ultimately, this folk belief system empowers its participants with symbolic capital to counter the many social, political, and economic changes being experienced locally at the start of the new millennium.

3) Benjamin Freeland, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies / University of British Columbia

Troublesome Sects, Totalitarian Aspirations: The Cases of Ōmotokyō and Falun Gong

In this paper I intend to argue that the Japanese government brutal 1935 crackdown on the popular religious movement Ōmotokyō serves as an apt model for understanding the motivations behind the Chinese Communist Party continued campaign against the Falun Gong spiritual movement. Beyond the obvious doctrinal similarities between the two sects millenarian beliefs, esoteric practices, charismatic sect leaders the two groups share a similar history of rapid growth, counting at their peak a comparable percentage of their respective countries total populations as followers, and

incurred the wrath of their respective authorities in virtually identical fashions. Both Ōmotokyō and Falun Gong succeeded in filling a societal void characterized by strikingly similar socio-economic conditions: widening economic inequality, rural impoverishment, mass internal migration, and disillusionment with official ideologies. Their spectacular growth, in turn, came to be viewed by their respective states as a threat to their primacy at points when the governments of Japan and China were mired in factionalism and ideological disintegration, and seeking to re-assert absolute control. In the end, the suppressions of Ōmotokyō and Falun Gong were brought about not by any actual defiance of the state, but rather by the challenge that their mere existence as popular, highly visible religious organizations independent from state control posed to regimes aspiring to totalitarianism. I also intend to argue that the year 1935 represents the point at which prewar Japan became a bona-fide dictatorship, and that religious suppression along these lines represents a quintessential element of totalitarianism.

4) Lorinda Kiyama, Tokyo Institute of Technology

Therapeutic Theatres: Noh and Playback Theatre at a Japanese Clinic

Playback theatre, established by Jonathan Fox in the 1970s, exhibits a structure similar to noh. The *waki* is called the conductor. The *maejite* is the storyteller, a role also filled by the *kyōgen* monologue in noh. The *nohijite* is the teller's actor. Other actors correspond to the *tsure* and *wakitsure*. Some varieties of playback theatre include musicians, the *hayashi*, a chorus, the *jiutai*, and dancing, or *mai*.

Parallels between noh and playback theatre have not been lost on the doctors and patients at Matsubara Hospital. The hospital is located in Kanazawa, stronghold of the Hōshō tradition of noh. Twice a month, a doctor leads a group session. He is trained in noh and playback theatre, as well as dance therapy and psychodrama. Sometimes he begins the gatherings with a performance of noh. Then clients warm up using dance therapy techniques. Next they move on to a series of playback theatre enactments where the doctor is conductor and the patients determine the stories to be performed. Once all have participated, the conductor closes. Audiences are fellow patients and staff.

In this paper, I will introduce the activities at Matsubara Hospital, then move on to a more general discussion of noh and drama as therapy. What healing mechanisms operate in playback theatre, and can these be assumed to have functioned over the history of noh? Does noh have anything to contribute to the various psychodramas practiced today? If permission is granted, video clips will be shown.

Session 17: Korea in Japan's Gaze, Japan in Korea's Gaze

Organizer / Chair: Stephen Epstein, University of Wellington

This panel engages in a series of case studies that examine how Japan and Korea have mutually constructed and represented one another, with particular attention to changes in these representations over time. Covering over a one hundred year period that extends from the early intimations of Japan's imperial project to the present, each paper shares as a common theme an emphasis on the constitutive role of the imagination in establishing dynamics between the two nations in actual life. As Homi Bhabha argues in *The Location of Culture*, despite a disdain for the Other, difference also creates desire, as repulsion mixes with attraction: the political realities of power differentials and a shared history as colonizer and colonized have tinged the relationship between Japan and Korea with a heady mix of emotions. While the papers approach this issue through a variety of topics, they share a methodological perspective of not simply seeing Korea-Japan relations as existing within a bicultural vacuum, but embedding arguments within a larger international context.

1) Jung-Sun Han, Korea University

Invitations to Empire: Japan-Korea Relations Imagined in Japanese Cartoon Journalism, 1876-1910

This essay examines the development of modern Japanese cartoon journalism with a special focus on its construction of Japan-Korea relations. Methodologically, it analyzes the development of political cartoons within the context of technological development and emerging mass society. While tracing how the cartoons became commercial goods through mechanical reproduction, this essay explores the process in which particular perspectives and ideas on Korea were formed. By the end of the nineteenth century, I argue, Japanese cartoon journalism made an "artistic discovery" in which equivalence between imperialist relations and everyday business was created. In doing so, the Japanese political cartoons attempted to familiarize and naturalize imperial matters for ordinary readers. Inviting the populace to the national project of building overseas empire, Japanese cartoon journalism transformed imperial matters into commercial goods.

2) Robert J. Fouser, Kyoto University

Korean Spaces in Japan: Korea Towns, Historical Sites, Theme Parks

This paper will focus on the evolution of "Korean spaces" in Japan as experiential landscapes. I will begin the paper with background information of the emergence of Korea towns and other ethnic spaces in Japan during the first half of the 20th century. Next, I will discuss the development of "foreign theme parks," such as Dutch-motif Huis ten Bosch in Nagasaki Prefecture, and the boom in overseas travel in the 1980s and the 1990s. Then, I will discuss the current state of Korea towns and the emergence of new types of Korean spaces, such as historical sites, cultural facilities, and museums, since the 1980s. The discussion will focus on the following places: Osaka Tsuruhashi Korea Town, Tokyo Shinokubu Korea Town, Kawasaki Korea Town, Miyazaki Prefecture Nango Village, and Yamagata Prefecture Koraikan. From this background discussion, I will answer the following research question: how does the evolution of Korean spaces reflect changes in the image of Korea in popular consciousness in Japan? I will argue that growing popularity of Korean food in the 1990s and of Korean popular culture in the 2000s has created a demand for "Korean experiences" in Japan and that Korean spaces have adapted quickly to this demand. In the process, they have transformed themselves from ethnic neighborhoods or specialized historical sites to mainstream experiential landscapes. I will conclude the paper with speculation on the future direction of Korean spaces in Japan.

3) Hyangjin Lee, University of Sheffield

Japanese Consumption of Korean Romance: The Creation of a New Asian Identity or the Expression of Colonial Reflection?

This paper examines the extent to which the Japanese consumption of Korea's popular culture can contribute to the evaluation of discussions regarding intra-Asian cultural flows in recent years. Since the late 1990s, a variety of Korean popular films and TV dramas, such as *JSA*, *Taegukgi* [The Brotherhood of War] and *Winter Sonata* have been greatly successful in Japan. The growing Japanese interest of Korean popular culture can highlight Asian audiences' increasing preference of cultural familiarity and historical intimacy, which cannot be penetrated by products from the West. On the other hand, the locality presented by the cultural products imported from its neighboring countries still suggests the Japanese fantasy of the foreignness and exoticism. In this paper, I will discuss the way how the nostalgic sentimentalism and romance created by Korean TV dramas and films has been received by Japanese critics, in order to explore Japanese self-reflective ideas on their collective identity which have been formed by Asian cultural tradition but, at the same time, have undergone transitional experience

4) Stephen Epstein, University of Wellington

Drinking Beer in Sapporo: Changing Images of Japan in South Korea

Ilboneun eopda. Ilboneun ittda. "There is nothing to learn from Japan." "There is something to learn from Japan." The elliptical and mutually exclusive titles of Jeon Yeo-ok's and Seo Hyeon-seop's attention-grabbing texts of the mid-'90s suggest the contested nature of Korea's relationship with its former colonizer. Recent years have, however, seen a significant rapprochement with Japan at the level of popular culture and a veritable explosion of Korean travel narratives about journeys to Japan. In this paper I examine changing images of Japan in contemporary South Korea, and consider the effect of eased restrictions on the importation of Japanese cultural productions into Korea. In doing so, I will be drawing on and analyzing the aforementioned books as well as the volumes of Yi Won-bok's popular *manhwa* (manga) series *Meon nara iutnara* (Distant Land, Neighboring Land) dedicated to Japan, Pak Chang-su's *Ilbon geugose gamyeon jeonngmal gunggeumhan geosi manta?* (Are there lots of things you really want to know when you go to Japan?), and Jeon Yeo-ok's own revisionist *Satpporoeseo maekjureul masida* (Drinking Beer in Sapporo). I will argue that Korea's ongoing engagement with globalization and increased contact with the world as a whole have played a particular role in provoking a reassessment of its closest yet most distant neighbor.

Session 19: From Occupation to War: The United States in Northeast Asia, 1945-1953

Organizer / Chair: Mark Caprio, Rikkyō University

United States policy in postwar Japan and southern Korea is often described as a process of demilitarization and democratization. Contemporary research argues a counter interpretation of this period: occupation and war solidifying the United States hegemonic control over the region. In the case of Japan the “reverse course” policies from 1947 rejuvenated Japanese prewar and wartime institutions and pushed for state rearmament. The Korean peninsula, divided and occupied directly under U.S. and Soviet military administrations, soon became a magnet for civil conflict as both sides groped to establish influence in the opposition’s sphere. In the early 1950s, the end of both Japan’s occupation and the Korean War found the United States military stationed in both archipelago and peninsula with political influence over the two governments that it nurtured under its watch. The papers of this panel seek to develop themes under this latter interpretation. Yu Jia examines United States remilitarization policies in Japan and Korea as a response to events outside the U.S. sphere of influence in the region. Mark Caprio considers South Korean, U.S. and Japanese contacts prior to the outbreak of the Korean War to establish the role of this triangular relationship in the war’s origins. Kobayashi Somei’s paper focuses on the U.S. development of ideological distinction by analyzing approaches used by its military to use North Korean and Chinese prisoners of war as objects of propaganda. Christine de Matos’s paper considers this topic from the perspective of U.S.-Australian rivalry in the region.

1) Jia Yu, Rikkyo University

United States Militarization Policies in Occupied Japan and Korea

While most Japanese regard the postwar occupation of their country as inevitable, the majority of Korean people saw little reason for American troops to remain on their soil after the United States and the Soviet Union had received Japan’s surrender and repatriated its Korea-based nationals. Yet, the United States administration was to last for three years, its military for an additional year. The Cold War, however, initiated new responsibilities to this mission, one of the more important tasks being to develop the South Korean military. Thus, up until 1947 among the challenges that the United States’ Northeast Asian occupation faced was the militarization the southern part of the Korean peninsula and the demilitarization and democratization of the Japanese archipelago. These two approaches converged in the late 1940s as the United States began to pressure Japan to remilitarize. The purpose of this paper is to compare these two militarization processes. It considers the reactions both in Far Eastern Command located in Tokyo and the United States government in Washington to plans to build constabularies in South Korea and Japan. It also examines the effect that South Korean militarization had on U.S. plans to rearm Japan. Lastly, it compares the processes of how constabularies were developed in each state. Central to this discussion are the effects that international events in the region had on U.S. decisions to arm or rearm these occupied territories.

2) Mark Caprio, Rikkyo University

Neglected Questions on the “Forgotten War”: ROK-US Preparation for the Korean War

From 1992 a lively discussion on the Korean War has relied on telegrams and other materials released by Russia to revise old arguments of the war’s origins. Specifically, communique between Kim Il Sung, Josef Stalin, and Mao Zedong demonstrate the North Korea’s efforts to enlist the Soviet leaders reluctant permission to attack south in June 1950. These documents have led many to rethink one belief—that the Soviet Union directed the North Korean attack, while refuting another—that South Korean aggressive actions prior to the war sought to entice a North Korean southern attack. This argument, however, has to date failed to consider the diplomatic activities of the South Korean government during the two-year period leading up to the outbreak of war. It does not address, for example, communication exchanged between South Korean President Syngman Rhee and U.S. General Douglas MacArthur, including their Tokyo meeting in February 1950. This paper considers the content of these newly released documents against events taking place in the southern half

of the peninsula over this two-year period to better understand the U.S.-ROK contribution to the Korean War's origins. It argues that prior knowledge of the North's plans enabled the United States to not only control the aggressive intentions of its South Korean ally, but also to forge a response that fit its long term policy aspirations in the region. Rethinking the traditional view of the war's origin carries a further need for more balance in our approach to resolving present-day Korean peninsular differences.

3) Somei Kobayashi, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science

Korean War POWs under United Nation Forces Control: U.S. Propaganda and the CIE Orientation Programs

Though the North Korean and Chinese governments often accused United States and South Korea of abusing their prisoners of war (POWs), few scholarly attempts have been made to investigate what really happened in the United Nations POW camps. This study attempts to consider these accusations against the reality of the prison camps. From the outbreak of war the Psychological Warfare Section (PWS) began an intensive program to use radio broadcasts and leaflets to disseminate propaganda. PWS efforts exploited POWs by using their voices in the recordings and their faces on leaflets. U.S. efforts targeted the POWs themselves from spring 1951 when it established the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) to reorient the prisoners' communist dispositions. Through the CIE programs, it established hegemony over POWs in the war prisoner camps. This study focuses on these three efforts to understand the following: 1) the degree that PWS used enemy POWs for propaganda purposes; 2) the extent to which efforts made by the CIE's orientation and education programs enlisted voluntary change in the POWs; and 3) the POW's response to these efforts. By analyzing these points, this paper attempts to clarify the mechanism of constructing U.S. hegemony among POW camps to understand how this local formation of hegemony contributed to a greater U.S. regional hegemony in Northeast Asia.

4) Christine de Matos, University of Western Sydney

Challenging the Hegemon: Australia-US Rivalry over the Progress of Democratization in Occupied Japan

The Occupation of Japan is generally viewed as an American one, but there was allied involvement. In the case of the professed aim of "democratization," often the US and its allies found themselves in disagreement over the form this should take. The Australian government was most vociferous on this issue, and attempted to mediate an alternative vision of democratization, and later challenge the "reverse course," through the instruments of the Far Eastern Commission (FEC) in Washington DC, and as the British Commonwealth representative on the Allied Council for Japan (ACJ) in Tokyo. Case studies on Australia-U.S. rivalry to be examined in this paper will include debate over the postwar constitution. Efforts to challenge the U.S. attempt to forge a hegemonic position in Japan were impeded by a number of factors, including the international context—the emerging Cold War, and the very hot war in Korea. As well as using official government documents, this paper will draw upon the grass roots experience. Oral testimonies from Australians, especially those in intelligence operations, who participated in the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces (BCOF), and from Japanese peace and labor activists, all based in Hiroshima-ken, will be utilized to further demonstrate Australia-US rivalry, and to illuminate the paradoxical relationships between military occupation and "democracy," and "peace" through war.

Session 20: The Fixed and the Floating World: Reinterpreting the Fiction of Images in Early Modern and Meiji Japan

Organizer / Chair: Julie Nelson Davis, University of Pennsylvania

In this panel, four papers investigate the ways in which pictures reiterated and responded to economies of consumption, politics, and power in Tokugawa and Meiji period Japan. Each considers the ways in which a group of images stand at the point of tension between official discourses and popular culture, as pictures located between the fixed and the floating worlds.

In his study of Matsudaira Sadanobu as patron, Timon Screech proposes that the shogunal councilor's private painters Tani Bunchō and Maruyama Ōkyo offered a new rhetoric for pictures as “modern” and challenged the contentions of the Kano school. Julie Nelson Davis considers the notorious censorship of a group of ukiyo-e practitioners in 1804 for making pictures of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and their appropriation of history for a new popular gaze. The crackdown of the Tenpō Reforms and its targeting of erotica was, according to Tamiko Nakagawa, a response to concerns of the corrupting power of luxury and sex within an administration seeking to redefine moral order. Looking to the later nineteenth century, Sherry Fowler addresses similar tensions inherent in the genre of religious prints: as these images mapped and replicated pilgrimage sites, and as the distance between makers and religious institutions increased, the image shifted from the venerated to the commercial.

Through these four case studies, the panel explores how images served to reiterate and challenge the representation of the present and the past as a contested territory between the makers, their patrons, and the larger status quo.

1) Timon Screech, University of London

Matsudaira Sadanobu and the Floating World

Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758-1829) is widely known as the author of the Kansei Reforms, a raft of legislation generally interpreted as an attempt to rectify problems in shogunal finances. But it may equally be regarded as an attempt to rectify problems in shogunal iconography—of the types of images they used to manifest and project their power.

Since the beginning of the Edo Period, the production of authoritative images had been in the hands of the Kano school. They painted birds and trees with political symbolism, Chinese-derived ink themes displaying a moral order, and visual records for handing on the forms of things and events to future ages. Increasingly, however, Kano painting was decried as failing to engage with what people actually wanted. Rigid Kano academicism meant that many of their best pupils defected to other, looser styles. But the Kano were caught in a bind: their school was supposed to be unchanging, and they could not encompass clients' evolving requirements without being untrue to the premises of their group ideology. Non-Kano schools began to encroach, and notably under Sadanobu, Maruyama Ōkyo and Tani Bunchō became exemplars of a new breed of private official artists.

This paper considers the case of the third Kano theme, pictures for record-keeping (*kiroku-ga*). It was appalling to the minds of the authorities that their contemporary age had come to be represented not by such pictures, but by ukiyo-e. Sadanobu argued for a clamp-down and for the new “pictures of modern life” (*imaga*) by Bunchō and Ōkyo.

2) Julie Nelson Davis, University of Pennsylvania

The Trouble with Hideyoshi: Ukiyo-e and the Ehon Taikōki Incident of 1804

Something big happened in Edo in 1804. Ukiyo-e artists Kitagawa Utamaro, Utagawa Toyokuni, Katsukawa Shuntei, Kitagawa Tsukimaro, Katsukawa Shun'ei, and the popular writer Jippensha Ikkū were prosecuted for illustrating scenes from the *Ehon Taikō ki* [(The Illustrated Life of the Taikō (Hideyoshi))] in single-sheet prints and illustrated books (*kibyōshi*). They were severely punished and their publishers paid heavy fines. Soon after, the trouble spread to Osaka, where the booksellers of the *Ehon Taikōki* had their inventories summarily seized.

This talk presents research the first thorough study of the extant prints and books in their context, and argues for a new interpretation of the event by investigating period documents and related historical events to investigate their censure. I shall argue that the problem was not simply that popular printing had insolently taken on the prohibited subject of historical and political events. After all, since the first volumes of the *Ehon Taikōki* had come out in 1797, the book and its dramatizations had fully entered popular culture, and these artists, writer, and their publishers were surely capitalizing on a fad. Instead, as this talk will demonstrate, the problem was how these repeat offenders represented Hideyoshi within a moment fraught with scandal.

3) Tamiko Nakagawa, University of London

The Awkward Object of Desire: The Tenpō Reforms and Erotic Images

On New Year's Eve 1841 a raid on publishing houses was ordered by the Edo town magistrate that resulted in the confiscation of books of erotic prints (*ehon*) and their woodblocks. In June 1842, an ordinance was issued to reinforce this and many previous attempts to ban publication of erotic material.

These two specific actions were part of an initiative by the chief councillor (*rōjū shuza*), Mizuno Tadakuni, which have come to be referred to as the Tenpō Reforms. They aimed at prohibiting material extravagance and behavior considered corrupting of public morality (*fūgi*), and the control of printed matter featured prominently. Not only was the shogunate interested in censorship of information, but it also sought to regulate production and distribution of luxury books, among which erotic prints played a major part.

The quantitative peak of *ehon* production seems to have been reached in the decades prior to the Tenpō Reforms, after which it slumped. This presentation will seek to assess how shogunal ordinances affected this. Also important is to assess the role of official surveillance in what is generally considered as the aesthetic degeneration of *ehon*.

4) Sherry Fowler, University of Kansas

Printing Religious Imagery in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Japan

For centuries temples and shrines have sold pious souvenirs, including printed charms, reproductions of temple icons, and pictures and maps of their precincts, which were used as guides on site and then carried home as mementos. The development of printing techniques from woodblock to copperplate to lithography affected the way religious institutions were able to produce and distribute their printed representations. With a focus on the nineteenth century, my talk will investigate where and by whom these prints were made, bought, and sold with a consideration of how developments in printing technology related to their distribution.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the rise in popularity of pilgrimage routes led to a boom in printed Buddhist imagery, much of which was produced on site. Later as technology of printing became more sophisticated, religious establishments could no longer produce the prints themselves so the distance between sacred sites and their printmakers widened. By the mid 1800s, a group of Kyoto artists called Gengendō popularized images of temples and shrines made in the newly advanced technique of copperplate printing with a Western style that gave new perspectives to old and venerable sights. Soon afterward, the introduction of lithography provided new stylistic opportunities as well as greater yields of prints. Religious institutions were then easily able to incorporate the sale of commercially printed images along with their other religious goods.

Session 21: National Kids: Political Subjectivity in Popular Representations of Shonen in Modern Japan

Organizer / Chair: Brian Bergstrom, University of Chicago

The links between representations of young people and the nation-building projects of modern states have been observed by many theorists, from Phillippe Ariès to Karatani Kōjin. This panel explores the gendered nature of this connection, focusing specifically on the role that popular representations of young boys, or shonen, have played in the imagining of the Japanese nation from the prewar period until today. What are the political valences of the deployment of these boyish figures and the definitions of “proper” modes of maturation, masculinity, and citizenship they exemplify and sometimes bring into crisis?

In order to explore this issue, this panel examines representations of shonen as they are produced, reproduced, and circulated within a variety of historical and discursive contexts. The first presenter, Mimi Plauche, investigates the implications of the introduction of heroic figures from historical popular fiction (or *jidai shōsetsu*) into the nascent discourse surrounding fiction for young boys (*shōnen shōsetsu*) in Japan in the late 1920s and early 30s. Alwyn Spies will then present her work on the 1972-73 manga *Hadashi no Gen* and its use as a tool to educate youth in Japan and elsewhere about “proper” understandings of national citizenship and historical awareness, focusing on the way the story it tells about a young boy growing up affects and conditions the message it supposedly teaches. The final presenter, Brian Bergstrom, explores the potentially subversive use of the beautiful, virtuous boy as a figure of historical and physical trauma within the contemporary manga of Maruo Suehiro.

1) Mimi Plauche, University of Michigan

Boy Meets Hero: When Jidai Shosetsu Become Shonen Shosetsu

In his 1929 treatise *On Composing Mass Literature*, Naoki Sanjugo defines shonen shosetsu (boys’ fiction) as follows: “shōnen shosetsu’ includes all the genres of adult literature but weaves in the heroic, the fictional, and the marvelous. The author must conceive of it as youth literature to the end.” In March of the previous year, Osaragi Jiro published *Kurama Tengu: Kakubeijishi* in the boys’ magazine *Shōnen Kurabu*. While Osaragi had written ten previous *Kurama Tengu* serials and short stories beginning with an installment in the popular magazine *Pocketto* in 1924, the 1928 *Shonen Kurabu* version represented the hero’s first appearance in a shonen shosetsu. Moreover, with *Kakubeijishi*, the masked hero is inaugurated as a nationally popular hero, who comes to be identified both as guardian of and model for boys across the country. This paper explores the social and narrative construction of shonen and shonen shosetsu and the intersections between them through an examination of one instance of *jidai shōsetsu* being transformed into boys’ fiction. In particular, it examines the construction of masculine identity in the figure of the hero, the boys he protects, and the relationship between them, in the discursive contexts of the culture of the boys’ magazine and early Showa Japan. Naoki conceived of *shōnen shōsetsu* as little more than simplified but thrilling literature written to entertain a young audience. I will discuss the ways in which the normative and ideological structures of boys’ fiction superseded this entertainment function to assert ideals of national citizen formation.

2) Alwyn Spies, University of British Columbia

From Kid to Adult: Gender and Japaneseness in Hadashi no Gen

The Japanese manga classic, *Hadashi no Gen* (Barefoot Gen) was originally published serially from 1972 to 1973 in the boys’ manga magazine *Shōnen Jump*. The autobiographical portrayal of Gen coming of age after the bombing of Hiroshima and the graphic (and gory) depictions of the effects of nuclear weapons on human bodies have had an immeasurable impact on generations of young people in Japan. Furthermore, as one of the very first Japanese manga to have been translated into English (in 1979) and distributed in English-speaking countries, *Gen*’s influence has been immense abroad as well.

It is *Barefoot Gen*'s other, "official," popularity that is the focus of this paper though; *Gen* has long been adopted as a textbook in Japanese and American schools because of its anti-war and anti-discrimination messages. Considering that these messages are politically left-leaning, it is remarkable that the cautious Ministry of Education in Japan or conservative boards of education in the US would agree to *Gen*'s use as a course book for impressionable youth. Through an exploration of *Barefoot Gen* as a coming-of-age story for shonen, I complicate its official popularity and pedagogical status with questions about the masculine ideals that are apparent in its narrative and visual structures. Finally, considering this popularity in the context of citizenship training, I discuss to what extent *Gen*'s definition of "adult" is also nationalized, or marked as "Japaneseness."

3) Brian Bergstrom, University of Chicago

Bishonen and the Beast: Historical Trauma and Monstrous, Beautiful Boys in the Manga of Maruo Suehiro

Drawing explicitly on such varied sources as the movies of Fritz Lang, the aesthetics of Grand Guignol, and the comic art of R. Crumb, Maruo Suehiro's extremely violent and sexually explicit manga has invited interpretations focusing on his intertextual citations, which help "make sense" of the seeming senselessness of his particular fusion of pornography and splatter horror. Richard Hand, for example, recently linked Maruo's work to that of Georges Bataille, claiming that both use "explicit pornography and sexual taboo as a forum for political provocation" (*M/C Journal*, October 2004). But what kind of political provocation is he articulating? Representations of traumatic events in Japanese history repeat with the same compulsive regularity in his work as the scenes of sexual horror for which he is more infamous, and at the center of this intersection of historical and bodily trauma he consistently places the figure of the beautiful boy, or *bishōnen*. This paper, then, will explore the implications of Maruo's usage of beautiful boys in his experiments in obscenity, paying particular attention to the important role that bishonen as paragons of beauty and virtue function for him as a way to bring into ironic focus the monstrosity lurking within the aesthetics linking masculinity to Japanese national identity. This political awareness informs not only Maruo's rereading of prewar and wartime representational codes, but also his references to contemporary youth crime, troubling the boundary dividing the supposed moral virtue of shonen of the past from the suspected monstrosity of children in the present.

Session 22: Individual Papers on Politics and Society

Chair: Yoshiko Ashiwa, Hitotsubashi University

1) An Chen, National University of Singapore

Peasant Protests and Changing Party Power in the Chinese Countryside

Economic power in the hands of village cadres holds the key to understanding why party control has failed in some areas of the Chinese countryside but remained effective in others. The effectiveness of party authority is determined by three intertwined factors: whether or not village cadres control a sizable collective economy, how much villagers benefit from the cadre control, and to what extent villagers depend on collective economy for their livelihood. The process and degree of de-collectivization and the attendant impact on rural cadre authority have varied considerably in different regions. Three patterns can be identified. The first pattern is the villages where collective economy is almost completely dissolved. Family farming allows the villagers to shrug off their reliance on the cadres for a living. Although some administrative powers are left for village cadres, they were not substantive enough to deter potential protesters. The second pattern is the villages where cadres hold discretionary power over considerable resources. But their economic power can merely affect but hardly control the livelihood of villagers and the authority deriving from it is therefore not strong enough to force discontent villagers into submission. The cadres' abuse of power for personal gains also cost them their moral authority. The third pattern shows how village-level party organizations could hold their grip on the villagers through massive re-collectivization in which cadres have regained a monopoly over village resources. Villagers' dependence on the collective economy makes economic sanctions a powerful weapon for village cadres to control recalcitrant villagers.

2) Eric Zusman, University of California, Los Angeles

What Makes a Tiger Brown: A Comparative Study of Air Pollution Regulation in East Asia

Over the past three decades, China, Taiwan, and South Korea have responded to the rapidly rising costs of air pollution. And over the past three decades, the type and effectiveness of their regulatory responses to air pollution have differed. The purpose of my paper is to understand why they differed. Some theories argue that differences in economic development are the primary cause of differences in environmental regulation. Other theories contend that the effect of economic development on environmental regulation depends on the political-economic institutions that translate popular and industrial interests into environmental regulations. Most studies employing an institutional approach examine advanced industrial democracies; few studies look at rapidly industrializing countries. Since rapidly industrializing countries possess political systems / industrial structures that are as varied as industrialized democracies but face pollution costs / regulatory benefits far greater than industrialized democracies, the inattention to institutionalism represents an important lacuna in the literature on environmental regulation. Comparing air pollution regulations in China, Taiwan, and South Korea three cases with different political-economic institutions but acute air pollution problems offers a unique opportunity to fill it.

3) Xiuli Wang, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University

National Unity and the Problem of Drugs in Myanmar: A Case Study of Kokang

This thesis is a study of Kokang, one of the ethnically diverse areas in the northern part of Shan State in Burma, now known as Myanmar.

Here, in the remote valleys and rugged mountains in northeastern Burma, opium offers more than a narcotic high. For years, it has provided a livelihood for hill tribes who inhabit the northern expanse of the Golden Triangle, a lawless area of Southeast Asia that is the source of much of the world's heroin.

Opium finances daily needs, from rice and cooking oil to assault rifles. The weapons are used to wage rebellion

and to defend the mule caravans transporting the opium to be refined into heroin for the drug market worldwide. Not only Kuomintang (KMT) intruders from China, but also various insurgent groups have been involved in drug production. It was not a peaceful history, at least until the cease-fires signed by the government and insurgent groups beginning in 1989. The purpose of this paper is to show that the most influential factor in the development of the drug economy is the history of Burmese relationships with the frontier peoples, in other words, the problem of national unity, which antedates the British occupation, the KMT invasion and the present military regime.

The methodology for this paper is descriptive analysis, based on data from books, magazines, newspaper articles, e-mail interviews and reports on the Internet.

By analyzing a case study —Kokang, and its attempts to change into a poppy free zone—, I want to explain that with the drug economy being the main source of income for the Kokang people in the past, a serious crisis has emerged that neighboring countries have to deal with. Also, the conflict between the ethnic groups and the drug problem are still threats for the stability of Southeast Asia.

Recent field research has demonstrated that the successful formulas of alternative development to replace illicit economies remain the same as in the past, with some adaptations to modern needs such as financing through micro-credit, land reform and administration, and the marketing of alternative development products.

Opium and heroin have ruined many lives. Now Myanmar is still a source of anxiety for the international community, along with Afghanistan. The problem of narcotic drugs is a global problem that requires a global solution. This shows that ultimately large-scale and long-term international assistance and regional cooperation and law-enforcement aid will be needed to continue eradication of opium cultivation.

4) Nicolas Bergeret, Center for International Studies and Research, Paris

How a Problem of Public Policy is Put on the Agenda in Japan: The Example of the Fight against the Japanese Mafia

My paper's aim is to understand how, in Japan, a particular problem becomes a public issue put on the political agenda. I chose to focus on the mafia. The numerous gangs, called *bōryokudan*, the wide range of their activities, their capacity of nuisance were for a long time accepted by the population. Today, public tolerance is at an all-time low, and the political leaders consider it as a problem that must be dealt with. Even if it has not solved the problem, the passing of the "Law Regarding the Prevention of Unjust Acts by Bōryokudan Members" in 1991 proves that times have changed. The paper will expose the factors that lowered public tolerance for the mafia and led to such a change. Among them, the effects of speculation by yakuza groups that weakened the financial system and contributed to the burst of the financial bubble, yakuza intervention in civil affairs that turned into extortion, fightings between gangs, such as the Hachioji war and the Okinawa war, that became much more direct threats to the public. The will of the LDP to repair its tarnished image after bribery scandals, and American pressures, are part of the explanation. The paper will also try to determine the role of the social groups which revealed the scandalous character of the situation, and mobilized public opinion on such an issue. I will particularly question the role of politicians, bureaucrats, and the medias.

5) Anthony Torbert, Kobe Gakuin University

Globalization and the Changing Human Resource Management in Japan

Japanese companies have gone through a series of changes in corporate culture as the country modernized in the post-war era. In fact Japan has become the textbook case for rapid industrialization, and has moved along the development timeline from light manufacturing to heavy manufacturing to a mainly high tech and service economy. Early on it was the American influence which helped to shape Japanese management, albeit with particular values significantly different from those in the United States. Later, in the late 1980s, the "Japanese Way" was heralded by many as being superior and American firms rushed to study the success of Japanese firms in order to catch up. In the

post-bubble economy, however, a realization was reached that though the desire was there to maintain the Japanese traditions, reality forced a restructuring in most industries and such prized notions of lifetime employment gave way to early retirement severance packages. Now, in the new Millennium, foreign capital is moving evermore freely into Japan, foreign labor is becoming more necessary both domestically and overseas, and foreign investment has led to a modernization of management methods, which has drifted away from the Confucianist traditions.

6) Junko Nishimura, Meisei University

The Impact of Work on the Family: Sources of Family Life Strain among Japanese Women at the Post-Childcare Stage

This presentation explores the sources of family life strain among Japanese women in post childcare stage. Many of Japanese women go out of labor force to take care of their children. However, because of the economic recession of Japanese society since late 1990s, the cost of not being in the labor force for women is getting higher, and many women re-enter the labor force after short interruption. In this situation it is in the post childcare stage that more women experience difficulties between work and family.

This presentation examines the effect of work-related factors on family life strain. Family life strain is represented by family role overload. Analysis of National Family Research (NFRJ98) shows that work hour and type of life course significantly relate women's family role overload. The longer the work hour, the higher the family role overload. Full-time workers who re-enter the labor force after child rearing showed higher family role overload than those who continue working through childcare stage or those who work part-time when returned to labor force; and this relationship were especially clear among women who engage in professional/technical work and manual work.

These results show that when women want to commit labor force strongly in post childcare stage, it is difficult to balance work and family. Referring to prior research on childcare stage, which says that Japanese women in that stage leave labor force for the sake of controlling strain, the results of this paper indicate that those behaviors in childcare stage have detrimental effects on the family life strain in later stage.

Session 23: The Experience of Japanese Intellectuals on the American West Coast, 1885-1931, and What We Can Learn From It Literature and Its Western Other

Organizer / Chair: Ikuko Torimoto, St. Norbert College

During the period 1885-1931, many ambitious Japanese travelled to the American West Coast. They had dreams and aspirations to contribute to society, and helped build a bridge between Japan and the West. In approximately the same time frame, numerous Japanese novelists absorbed influences from European literature, creating uncanny echoes of a cultural Other. This panel proposes to examine, first, some European influences in the works of the novelist Yasushi Inoue. The next two contributions will focus on the contributions of two Japanese intellectuals, Okina Kyūin and Takehisa Yumeji, who travelled to the US and Canada with the ambition of making a difference. Okina Kyūin, who lived in Washington State and California between 1907 and 1924, published a number of literary work in leading American Japanese newspapers. Okina became one of the main advocates of an immigrant literature. According to him, immigrant literature contributes to the cultural history of immigrant society and gives us a first-hand look at the experience of Japanese immigrants in America. The third and final presentation examines the painter Takehisa Yumeji's journey to the West Coast as told by Okina Kyūin who accompanied him to the US. Kyūin recognized Yumeji's talent and helped promote his paintings in the USA by serving as his financial supporter and promoter. This presentation tells the story of Okina's struggle to promote Yumeji's paintings on the other side of the Pacific.

1) Tom Conner, St. Norbert College

Itineraries Real and Imaginary: Echoes of Europe in the Novels of Yasushi Inoue

A cross-cultural reading of the novels of Yasushi Inoue brings out numerous similarities with well-known European novelists, such as André Gide, François Mauriac, and Knut Hamsun, suggesting that a Japanese novel need not be that different from, say, a French novel. Human nature is human nature. In the West, however, there is still the perception that people in the Orient are somehow different or, as one widespread Western stereotype would have it, more "mysterious." The approach taken in this paper is intertextual, focusing on two of Inoue's outstanding novels, the award-winning "Hunting Gun" and the equally well-known novel *The Counterfeiter*. This paper will examine various European influences or "echoes" in Inoue's work and conclude with a reflection on the relevance, in literary criticism, of the cultural Other.

2) Ikuko Torimoto, St. Norbert College

Okina Kyūin's Aspiration to Establish an Immigrant Literature on the West Coast, 1907-1924

Okina Kyūin lived in Washington State and California between 1907 and 1924 and became one of the key advocates for the establishment of an immigrant literature. How did he do so? First, he helped create the Japanese Immigrants Literary Association together with a group of young literary enthusiasts in Seattle, Washington. Second, he aspired to create a so-called "immigrant literature." According to him, immigrant literature contributes to the cultural history of immigrant society.

This presentation will focus on several of Okina's major literary works, among them his first major novel, entitled *Aku no Hikage*, which appeared in the *Nichibei Shimbun* in 1915; then, in 1916, a second novel entitled *Akakihino Ato* was published. In 1918, he was hired by the *Nichibei Shimbun* company as literary editor. He created both literature and poetry columns to promote literature. By then, he had become an influential figure in the Japanese Immigrant literary community. In 1924, he returned to Japan, where he spent the rest of his life. He continued to submit stories for publication and made his debut in Japanese literary circles. Okina's diaries, essays, short stories and novels are a valuable source of information that shed new light on immigrant life; however, his novels were not highly acclaimed, nor did he

become successful as a novelist in Japan. His contributions were a part of the history of the immigrant West Coast Japanese community.

3) Kumi Itsumi, Seitoku University (Emeritus)

The Untold Story of Takehisa Yumeji and Okina Kyūin's Journey to the United States

Takehisa Yumeji (1884-1934), whose paintings of slender women, called “Yumeji-shiki Bijin-ga,” became very popular among young people. He became chief editor of illustrations for a magazine, “Shin-Shōjo,” published by the *Fujin no Tomo*, and left many Japanese paintings, including water and oil paintings, poems and children’s stories. He was one of the representative painters of Japan’s Taisho period. In 1931, Yumeji fulfilled his long-cherished dream to travel overseas; he traveled to San Francisco and then to Europe.

This presentation will focus on Yumeji’s journey to the USA, as told by Okina Kyūin, who accompanied him to the USA. Okina recognized Yumeji’s talent and helped promote his paintings in the USA. Okina became his financial supporter and promoter. They left Yokohama on May 7, 1931. For Okina, it was eight years since he had lived on the West Coast. He held parties inviting his old friends to introduce Yumeji’s paintings. However, the artist and his works were not known in Japanese immigrant society. While Okina was promoting Yumeji’s paintings, he became involved in the settlement of a labor dispute involving the Nichiei Newspaper company, of which he had been an editor. In addition, at that time, the USA was in an economic depression and Yumeji’s paintings were not so popular as they hoped and did not sell. All the hope that Okina had for Yumeji was defeated and Yumeji left for Europe and returned to Japan not long after. In 1934 he became ill and died just before his fiftieth birthday.

Session 24: Influences on Environmental Protection in Japan

Organizer / Chair: Isa Ducke, German Institute for Japanese Studies

This panel draws together three German researchers looking at environmental protection in Japan from different perspectives. The presentations highlight sometimes unexpected influences on the course of environmental protection measures and the discourse on environmental protection from different sources: Political and symbolic considerations as well as economic benefits moving the different actors are taken into account. Influences from Germany, often depicted as an “environmental frontrunner” in Japan, are obvious but not always deliberate.

The panel will include comparative aspects by paying attention to the international interorganisational learning processes experienced by the Japanese environmental movement, and in particular in comparisons with environmental activism and environmental technology in Germany. These bilateral interactions will be particularly obvious in 2005 as the “Germany in Japan” Year 2005/2006 is marked by a number of bilateral activities and conferences on environmental topics.

1) Gabriele Vogt, German Institute for Japanese Studies

How Do Movements Get Things Moving? Methods of Environmental Activism in Japan

How do social movements impact political decision making processes? That is one of the crucial questions in social movement research. This paper aims to shed light on this question with regard to social movements engaged in environmental protection in Japan. Special focus will be put on those methods of action that have been inspired by the characteristics of German movements, often seen as a “role model” among Japanese environmental activists.

In particular this paper will deal with two relatively recent eye-catching phenomena of Japan’s grassroots activism: One is the growing tendency towards personal union between activists and politicians. More than once activists turning politicians and vice versa have been seen. The success story of the German Green Party, a social movement that has turned itself into a political party, is often used as a famous reference. As a second phenomenon a gradual process of transnationalization of social movement activism in Japan may be observed. Especially in the environmental sector, a one-issue sector with a high potential of empathy, transnationalization does make its way as far as into small, rural communities. Here, too, the German model, against the background of processes of European integration is being referred to by activists.

The “inochi wo mamoru kai”, a social movement in the field of a. o. the protection of the Pacific Ocean shore in Henoko, city of Nago, Okinawa prefecture, shall serve as case study for this research project. It will be argued that social movements in Japan can find new ways of impacting local and national politics by e.g. striving for a merging of grassroots activism and professional politics as well as by building some far-reaching alliances with same-issue groups inside and outside of Japan.

2) Harald Dolles, German Institute for Japanese Studies

Collaborative Strategies between Japanese and German Companies in the Environmental Protection Industry

3) Isa Ducke, German Institute for Japanese Studies

Lessons from Abroad? Images of Germany in the Environmental Discourse in Japan

The “environmentally highly developed country” Germany is often mentioned in the Japanese environmental discourse, and almost always in a model role. Especially in the two big areas of environmental law—where Japan itself was a forerunner for a long time—and environment in daily life, Japanese environmental activists apparently look to Germany for inspiration. This paper examines, based on content analysis of popular science books and bookshelves as well as websites of environmental groups, how the German example is presented in the Japanese discourse, what aspects

and which actors are highlighted, who introduces these German examples into the Japanese discourse, and what can actually be learned in a bilateral dialogue.

The findings confirm that a very positive image of Germany is presented in the Japanese discourse. They reveal, however, that most of the references are made by a relatively few activists with certain, often personal, ties to Germany, while other participants in the environmental discussion apparently forego the look toward Germany in favour of countries with more accessible information: primarily English-speaking and Northern European countries. The results also suggest that learning processes between activists movements are rarely enabled because many of the references in the “model” country concern different actors than the audience, and accordingly factors that the audience of the discourse has little control of.

Session 25: Contestations of Memory and Decolonization in Postwar Japanese Culture

Organizer / Chair: Seiji Lippit, University of California, Los Angeles

As a number of scholars have pointed out, the process of decolonization in postwar Japan was at best an incomplete project. Defined, as Mitani Taichirō has argued, primarily as demilitarization, the process of disengagement from empire in the realms of political and cultural representation has been subject to continual contestation. Attempts to deal with the collapse of empire and the fundamental historical rupture that the war's end represented always faced the counter-movement of imaginary reclamation and revision. This panel looks at several significant moments in the immediate postwar period when this struggle was played out in the realm of cultural production.

For those spread throughout the Japanese empire during the war, the return to a defeated nation was an experience of shock and displacement. Papers by Richi Sakakibara and Seiji Lippit examine two prominent examples of such writers in Takeda Taijun and Hotta Yoshie. Finding a nation in ruins, one whose conceptual and material borders had been significantly altered and that was under foreign occupation, these writers tried to work through the experience of the loss of empire while also trying to imagine new possibilities for a reconfigured national community. Dick Stegewerns' paper focuses on the struggle over memories and images of the war that took place in filmic representation, analyzing the shift that occurred between occupation and post-occupation era Japanese cinema.

1) Richi Sakakibara, Waseda University

Reformulating National Boundaries: The Fall of the Empire Represented in Takeda Taijun's "Mamushi no sue (This Outcast Generation)"

When the Japanese empire collapsed at the end of World War II, those who were living in the Japanese colonies in Asia had to go through tremendous hardships—the relocation of residences, the confiscation of property, and the shortage of jobs, housing, and food. Not only materially but also spiritually, they needed to come to terms with the loss of empire while facing daily the explicit hostility of Chinese people toward former colonizers. Takeda Taijun (1912-1976), one of the most prominent writers of the "Dai ichiji sengo ha" (First Generation Postwar Writers), experienced this first-hand in postwar Shanghai. Suffering from the sense of displacement and disorientation, Takeda struggled to redefine his social, political, and literary position vis-à-vis the new Japanese nation. This paper attempts to read Takeda's novella "Mamushi no sue" (This Outcast Generation), published in 1948, as both the process and product of the writer's conceptual reformation. Featuring a former anti-war poet now a languid translator for the Japanese community in postwar Shanghai, the text describes the protagonist/narrator's re-establishment of his identity, or rather, the constant failure of that endeavor. In particular, my paper focuses on his redefinition of national boundaries while exploring the representations of Japan's de-colonization process in "Mamushi no sue."

2) Seiji Lippit, University of California, Los Angeles

Ruins of Empire: Narratives of Return in Postwar Japanese Literature

This paper examines the experience of writers returning to Japan from overseas after the end of World War II. As literary critic Kawamura Minato has stated, the experience of trying to return forms a starting point for postwar Japanese literature: the implosion of the Japanese empire at war's end set in motion a massive reverse flow of soldiers, settlers, officials, and intellectuals spread throughout the battlefields and occupied territories. Yet those who were able to make it back discovered a radically altered landscape, for the collapse of empire was also a fundamental transformation of the nation-state. While postwar discourse on national culture has often attempted to create a coherent cultural narrative tying together prewar and postwar Japan—based in large measure, as Oguma Eiji has argued, on the fantasy of an ethnically unified community—this paper aims to recover the sense of disjunction and rupture that characterized immediate postwar literature, when such a reformulation of community was not a given. In particular, it focuses on the literary representation of the collapse of both empire and nation found in the writings of Hotta Yoshie (1918-1998), including such works as

“Kuni naki hitobito” (People Without a Nation, 1949), *Sokoku sōshitsu* (The Loss of the Fatherland, 1948-1950), and “Hiroba no kodoku” (The Solitude of the Public Square, 1951).

3) Dick Stegewerns, Osaka Sangyo University

“Nihon yaburezu (Japan Undefeated)”: The Cinematic Contest for Japan’s Collective War Memory

During the allied occupation of Japan a strong regime of media control was in force, under which the Japanese film world was directed to make films dealing with the wartime period or the aftermath of the war in a way that was in line with the American interpretation of a “Pacific War” and the verdict of the Tokyo Tribunal. However, no sooner had the occupation forces left the country than the battle for the collective war memory of the Japanese people flared up. Films by leftist directors focusing on the grimness and cruelty of the war continued to be made, but they found a formidable foe in production companies such as Shin-Toho which started to portray the war in a manner sometimes hardly different from both wartime propaganda and such recent controversial films as “Pride” and “Merdeka.” The focus was on the heroic bravery, self-sacrificing devotion and comradely team spirit of the Japanese soldiers, not seldom kamikaze pilots. In short, Japan and its military were once again portrayed in a positive and affirmative light. In disrespect of all former SCAP regulations military flags were flown proudly, military songs were sung lustily, war criminals were deified, and film titles brazenly spoke of a “Greater East Asian War.” This paper will analyze the main themes and settings, the historical and institutional background, and the impact of this body of post-occupation Japanese re-enactments of the Second World War.

Session 26: Visual Lexicalization in Illustrations of Edo-Period Popular Culture

Organizer/ Chair: Joshua Mostow, University of British Columbia

The purpose of this panel is to examine the emergence and development of a kind of visual vocabulary that transcended specific genres in the Edo period. Yasuhara and Mostow look at illustrations to poems and the relationship of this imagery to other genres and media in the seventeenth century. Miyakoshi examines one particular early seventeenth-century example of the exchange of imagery between printed texts and the stage. Finally, Machotka returns us to poetic illustration/visual interpretation, this time in a humorous mode, in Hokusai's treatment of the *One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each* collection from the early nineteenth century.

1) Makoto Yasuhara, Rikkyo University

“Ōgi no sōshi” (Books of Fans—The World of Play between Pictures and Literature)

Ōgi no sōshi is the generic name of a kind of illustrated book popularly produced and enjoyed during a time period limited to around the 17th century. This is an extremely particular group of works, combining fan-paintings and poems, and yet, actually, at this time that has been called “Japan's Renaissance,” it is also a typical group of works, having connections with the painting, design, literature, and culture of the period. In my presentation, I will speak on the little-known function achieved by folding-fans in culture history; the origins and development of *ōgi no sōshi*, which was not content with only the category of literature, but also closely related to fans; and the significance of this genre in Japanese literature and art history.

2) Joshua Mostow, University of British Columbia

Early Edo-Period Illustrated Poetry Collections and the Lexicalization of Imagery

In 1672 Hishikawa Moronobu became the first ukiyo-e artist to affix his name to a printed work, the *Buke Hyakunin Isshu*. This illustrated *ishu hyakunin isshu* appears six years before Moronobu's *Hyakunin Isshu Zosansho*. While there are records of earlier illustrated *Hyakunin Isshu*, such as the *Hyakunin Isshu Kenzu* of 1671, the *Zosansho* is the earliest example extant today.

Both the *Kenzu* and *Zosansho* speak of “setting out the heart of the poems in pictures” (*uta no kokoro wo e ni shirusu*), and the same technique is seen in the *Buke Hyakunin Isshu*. Such an exercise is reminiscent of *uta-e* of the Heian and early Kamakura periods. However, *uta-e* seem to have become relatively rare in the intervening centuries and their reappearance in the early Edo period something of a revival. The very genre of *hyakunin isshu-e*, for example, cannot be traced any further back than 1660. My presentation will attempt to explore the emergence of kind of poetic visual imagery that seems to appear in poem-illustrations, *karuta*, *kai-awase*, and picture-books in the early Edo period.

3) Naoto Miyakoshi, Rikkyo University

“Hell-Smashing” and Gate-Smashing: Starting from Yoshitsune's Hell-Crashing

In the first half of the 17th century, stories appear that take as their subject “Hell-Smashing,” in which the warriors Yoshitsune and the Asahina conquer hell. In these “Hell-Smashing” tales, the scene of a warrior with superhuman strength smashing down the gate of hell is often depicted. Gate-smashing scenes also frequently appear in *ko-jōruri* plays of the same period, and it can be thought that the gate-smashing of the “Hell-Smashing” tales has a link to the performing arts. On the other hand, the iconography of gate-smashing is tied to such warriors as the Asahina and Hankai, and continues to be drawn as a theme in picture-books (*ehon*) and ukiyo-e. In my presentation, I would like to examine the problem of the negotiation between the iconography of narrative illustrations and that of the performing arts at the starting point of Yoshitsune Hell-Smashing.

4) Ewa Machotka-Biedrzycka, Gakushuin University

Katsushika Hokusai's "Hyakunin Isshu Uba ga Etoki": Inter-Semiotic Translation within the Tenpō Era Ukiyo-e Art (1830-1844)

As my main area of study I selected a series of Katsushika Hokusai's woodblock prints *Hyakunin Isshu Uba ga Etoki* ("Hyakunin Isshu as Explained by the Wet Nurse") illustrating Fujiwara Teika's 13th-century anthology of classical Japanese poetry.

The foundation of my research is based on a theory proposed by Roman Jakobson, pertaining to a tri-level translation scheme. Besides intra-lingual and inter-lingual translation, Jakobson describes inter-semiotic translation—the interpretation of literary text by way of utilizing non-linguistic indicators—and applying it to Hokusai's artistic way of expression. Moreover, the interpretative patterns for my research derive from cognitive linguistic theory and translation pragmatics (Derrida, 1976).

Although Hokusai completed one hundred sketches in the *Hyakunin Isshu Uba ga Etoki* series, only twenty-seven of these were made into woodblock prints. In this paper, these prints were analyzed and investigated in the context of historio-biography and the relation to originality, which means *Hyakunin Isshu*, its commentary as well as earlier established illustrations.

The paper presents the conclusion that Hokusai's illustrations can be considered translations employing specific forms of expression, thus interpretation being an individual poetic translation. The poems were read and thus interpreted within a given surrounding context of the Tenpō era, in other words affected by socio-historical factors, cultural interaction, as well as emotional elements. Thus *Hyakunin Isshu Uba ga Etoki* can be considered as an intermittent object situated between two separated dimensions of art and poetry, as well as a cultural mirror of the epoch.

Session 27: Culture and Illness: Rethinking Medical Anthropology in Japan

Organizer / Chair: John Clammer, Sophia University

All cultures have their own conceptions of illness and wellness, and Japan is no exception. This proposed panel will explore from four different points of view the cultural and sociological construction of illness in contemporary Japan. In particular it will look at the historical origin of ideas about psychological medicine, the contemporary reworking of these ideas in a society with ambiguous relationships to the concept of the medicalization of society and the ways in which alternative strategies of medical intervention are being explored that mediate between medical ideas, Japanese culture and the impact of ideas about treatment and the possibilities of “alternative” medicine drawing on resources already available in Japan such as herbal medicine, forms of massage and hot spring treatments. The panel will approach these issues from the perspective of medical anthropology and will draw on current research by the panelists.

1) Hideaki Matsuoka, Shukotoku University

The Enclosure of “Delusion”: Psychiatry and Religion in Early Modern Japan

This paper will explore the interaction of psychiatry and religion in early modern Japan by examining the work of the innovative native psychiatrist Morita Shoma and his circle. It will explore this important interface that is still very apparent in other Japanese indigenous psychotherapies such as Naikan and Zen-based therapies between religion and therapy in the Japanese setting and the tensions between these two approaches to the human mind. While the paper is historical in nature, it hopes to throw light on the contemporary tensions and accommodations between religion and psychiatric practice in Japan and the outcomes of this in therapeutic practice today.

2) Naoko Tamura, University of Paris-Sorbonne

A Sociological Comparison of Japanese Hydrotherapy with that of France

Japan has a well known tradition of healing through immersion in Onsen. Both traditional medical practices and emerging ones are associated with hot spring hydrotherapy. In some parts of Europe including France, hydrotherapy is also a popular form of informal medical treatment, either self-administered or with the aid of non-medical practitioners (hot stone therapists, massage techniques, diet, and so forth). The theoretical basis of these therapies, seen today as being “alternative” but actually with deep roots in the past is not well understood. Based on fieldwork in the two countries, this paper will explore the social and cultural meanings of hydrotherapy in two very contrasting cultures and will attempt to build some theoretical conclusions from this.

3) Yuko Kawanishi, Tokyo Gakugei University

Social Responses to “Hikikomori”: Labelling in an Unmedicalized Society

The phenomenon of so-called *hikikomori* has attracted substantial media and even academic attention in Japan. However it has not been systematically explored from the perspective of medical anthropology. This paper will look at labeling processes in medicine and quasi-medical classifications in Japan, relating them to more general medico-cultural processes in the country including parallel cases of the invention of other culturally bound syndromes, the role of the medical profession and the media and the implications of these wider sociological processes for the conceptualization of disease in Japan.

4) Marika Ezure, Sub-Department of Psychiatry and Anthropology, University College London

Karōshi and the Problem of the Pediatric Medical System in Japan

Karōshi has emerged in recent years as yet another “Japanese” affliction. It is largely treated as a culture-bound syndrome linked to conditions of work in Japan. But more recently its range of reference has been extended to children and others outside the formal work force. This paper explores the contested meanings of *karōshi* and the debates about its

extension from its standard usage and what these struggles over classification mean for an understanding of power and influence in the Japanese medical system, of the mechanisms in Japan through which new “illnesses” are formulated and the connections of this classificatory process to wider economic, political and social forces.

Session 28: Contemporary Changing Values among Asian Citizens

Organizer / Chair: Miho Nakatani, Meiji Gakuin University

Post materialist theorists claim that new values emerge as countries develop. Their argument is that citizens' values change from seeking material affluence to non-material values such as self-expression, individualism, and the protection of human rights. This panel examines contemporary values in Japan and Korea. East Asian citizens' values have changed somewhat toward post-materialism, however, old values also exist. This panel analyzes the contemporary situation, in- which old and new values are mixed at the national, local and individual levels. First, Kyung analyzes the reasons why the younger generation does not vote, even though their level of political interest is similar to that of the older generation. Second, Kanamoto examines citizen participation in the policy making process at the local level in Korea. By comparing different types of cities in Korea, three factors explain citizens' satisfaction: institutions that promote citizens' participation, investigations to understand their dissatisfaction, and publicizing administrative improvement. Third, Aschero describes the trend of later and fewer marriages in Japan, a country traditionally based on the institution of marriage. He finds that this phenomenon does not relate only to social values such as gender equality, but also to economic values like the possibility of women's economic independence. Finally Ooi investigates the attitudes toward gender roles of highly-educated Chinese women who migrated to Japan, and became more conservative than they were previously, due to assimilating conservative Japanese values.

1) Jeihee Kyung, Keio University

Changing Political Participation in Korea

Korea has gone through an arduous course in its struggle to create democracy. Despite the struggle for democracy, the voting rate is decreasing. The younger generation's turnout rates are low. Especially the low turnout of the "386 Generation" (the cohort aged between 35 to 44 years old in 2004) confounds expectations, since they experienced a lot of violent pro-democracy demonstrations in the 1980s, and they seem to have a strong political consciousness. Some data for the political consciousness of Koreans, however, show that the political interest of the younger generation, including the "386 Generation," is not lower than that of the older generation. In this paper, using survey data, I analyze Korean political consciousness by cohort, and clarify why the younger generation does not vote.

2) Ayumi Kanamoto, Keio University

Citizen Participation in the Local Policy-Making Process in Korea

Recently, citizens' movements have become more active and varied in Korea. Following democratization in 1987, economic development and social stability shifted public concerns from the ideological revolution to "the quality of life" such as environmental protection, women's rights, and education. Therefore, a large number of citizen groups rapidly formed to press for these ideas. Some of the groups are very influential and powerful with regard to the public administration, however, at the local level, citizens' opinions are not linked to the local policy-making process. Even if they start to discuss an individual issue, their lack of participatory tools makes citizens' dissatisfaction on the issue turn to not re-electing the mayor. The mayor cannot help accepting voters' demands and expanding the budget to safeguard reelection prospects. I compare several cities in Korea that share similar financial conditions. Some support and encourage citizen participation, while others do not. Using case studies and survey data, I find that citizens' satisfaction increases with participation in local politics. Among the cities, there are three different effects, the existence of institutions to encourage citizens' participation, the efforts of the public administrations to understand the citizens' dissatisfaction, and the tools to accomplish public improvement.

3) Fabio Aschero, Keio University

Women's Economic Independence and Incompatibility of Choices as the Basis of the Phenomenon of Later and Fewer Marriages in Contemporary Japan

While modern societies are based on the marriage institution, and on the “democracy” of nuptiality and fertility, meaning that everybody has the right to marry and to have children, in post-materialist countries increased pluralism overcomes the ideal of the nuclear family. Therefore citizenship parity to married and unmarried, as well as to couples with or without children, widening the range of choice by ensuring equality among genders and individuals in general. In contemporary Japan, however, pluralism in marriage behavior, as expressed by the increased number of singles, may be the result of compromise and inertia rather than a reflection of a new lifestyle choice. This paper demonstrates that, in the absence of viable alternatives to the conservative conjugal family model, the recent phenomenon of marriage postponement in Japan, is mainly the result of the incompatibility of increased economic independence and traditional gender role differentiation. Making use of available data from the Eleventh Japanese National Fertility Survey, this paper shows that the disincentive to marry is caused by the gap between the ideal and the feasible life-course for unmarried Japanese women.

4) Shong Gor Ooi, Keio University

Changing Gender Role Perceptions of Migrant Chinese Women in Japan

In Japan, researchers tend to focus on ‘irregular’ migrant Asian women who migrate as ‘entertainers’ and ‘Asian brides’ to the country side. However, not enough research exists on migrant Asian women who come to Japan through regular procedures, such as college students and employees. To increase our understanding of ‘regular’ migrants, I study the social values of Chinese women, specifically their gender role attitudes, before and after they come to Japan. I interviewed eight highly educated Chinese women in the summer of 2000. My findings indicate that women changed their gender roles perceptions: in China, they were career-oriented, but in Japan, they became more family-oriented. This reflects the social and occupational structures in Japan, and also the discrimination they faced due to their age, gender and ethnicity while job-seeking.