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Session 1: Koreans and the Japanese Empire: New Historical Perspectives
Organizer: David Palmer, Flinders University

Koreans had a crucial role in underpinning the Japanese empire, both in the colony of Korea and within Japan itself. These three papers consider issues of class, politics, and culture that affected Koreans and that shaped Japan’s militarized economy of the first half of the twentieth century. Two papers focus on those Koreans who worked as forced laborers in Kyushu and Hiroshima-ken during World War II. One emphasizes the class links between Koreans and native Japanese, while the other argues that the Japanese political economy required a dual system of free wage- and forced slave-labor based on ethnic differences. The third paper, using the example of Japanese political cartoons on the 1910 annexation of Korea, reveals how imperialist consciousness was ingrained in the Japanese people through popular cultural forms that had precedents in the Meiji regime. All three demonstrate differing aspects of how the Japanese empire impacted on Koreans, with theoretical implications that challenge currently dominant interpretations of the history of Japanese imperialism.

1) Jung-Sun N. Han, Korea University

Will to Empire: Modern Japanese Cartoons and the Visual Representation of the Korean Annexation of 1910

This paper revisits Japanese political cartoons that represented the moment of the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910. Since the formation of the new Meiji government, the ‘Korea problem’ was at the heart of Japanese foreign affairs. When the problem was finally solved in the form of annexation, Japanese society expressed its excitement and enthusiasm through the cartoon media. By looking at how the moment of annexation was captured and caricatured in Japanese society, this paper attempts to sketch the popular mode of thought of who the Japanese were and what the Japanese empire should be. I argue that the will to create an empire was the central aspect of modern Japanese national identity at the popular level. In analyzing the cartoons on annexation, I categorize them into five recurring patterns of imagination that used the metaphors of light, train, animal, gender, and heroes. By imagining Japan-Korea relations through these five metaphors, the Japanese populace came to the consensus that enlightened and technologically advanced Japan must lead Korea into the modern world. To rationalize Japan’s leadership over Korea, the cartoons visualized an animalized and feminized Korea. By arbitrarily recollecting past heroes of foreign invasions and associating them with the annexation, the cartoons attempted to render annexation continuity with Japan’s own past. Developing a distinctively Japanese yet unmistakably modern style of visual representation, the cartoons on Korean annexation contributed in creating a visual culture that molded Japanese will to empire.
2) W. Donald Smith, Independent Scholar

*Korean Forced Labor in Wartime Coal Mining*

Wartime Japan, much like Nazi Germany, used coercive means to obtain and hold onto foreign workers, and subjected them to worse conditions than native workers, often for the benefit of leading corporations that are still household names today. This paper will demonstrate, however, that conditions in coal mining—an essential industry that employed about half the foreign workers, mostly Koreans, mobilized for labor in Japan—represented more of an intensification of already poor prewar conditions than a wartime aberration, and that class trumped ethnicity and gender in shaping the character of exploitation in the mines.

There is no question that Korean mineworkers were treated worse than Japanese, the vast majority of whom were free wage workers. Koreans were paid less (and were often unable to receive their wages at all), were under more pressure to show up for work despite their concentration in more injury-prone locations, were provided inferior medical care and housing, and, most critically, suffered higher death rates than Japanese. Coal industry records show that Koreans were about 20 percent more likely than Japanese to die in the mines. This is a significant difference, but even the Japanese death rate in the wartime mines was roughly double the already high prewar rate, suggesting that the gap between Korean and Japanese working conditions was a matter of degree rather than one of fundamental character. Mine owners and the state were perfectly willing to sacrifice Japanese working class lives along with those of Koreans, letting maintenance slip, speeding up the pace of work, and sending women back into the pits just six years after female underground work had been banned as too dangerous. The point of this paper, focusing on the Chikuhō coal field in northern Kyūshū, is not that Koreans were treated fairly or equally (they were not) but that wartime exploitation had a fundamental class basis, with some variations due to ethnicity, gender, and location within the Japanese empire.

3) David Palmer, Flinders University

*Slave Labor under Imperial Fascism: The Korean Forced Laborers of Hiroshima-ken*

Were Koreans who were brought forcibly to Japan for work from the 1930s to 1945 “slave laborers?” Was this labor system an integral part of fascism internationally during this era—and was Japan therefore fascist? The questions have deeply divided scholars of modern Japanese history and of international fascism. Generally, Japanese history scholars hold that Korean forced laborers (kyōsei renō) were not subjected to slavery and that during this era Japan was not fascist, but instead a military oligarchy. Most scholars of international fascism hold that fascism existed only in Europe and not in East Asia. To date, no studies exist that focus on the common political economic dynamics between Japan and Germany, in terms of foreign forced laborers, as the basis for their conclusions.

The historical experience of Korean forced laborers in Hiroshima prefecture brings into question these dominant assumptions when compared with the experiences of foreign forced laborers in Nazi Germany. The Japanese labor system, seen in detail in Hiroshima, was structurally similar to Germany’s system, and also was essential to the war economy of Japan. Hiroshima’s Korean forced laborers worked in the core big business sector of Japan’s military production, including at the Mitsubishi shipyard works in the port of Hiroshima. They also worked in a range of other types of labor and economic sectors. This
presentation will show how this system was in fact slave labor, as well as a fundamental part of what can only be understood as imperial Japan’s political economy of fascism.

Discussant: Yoichi Hirama, The Military History Society of Japan

Session 2: Reproducing Modernities: Race, Gender, and Labor in Making Nations Across the Pacific
Organizer: Denise Khor, University of California, San Diego

This panel interrogates the intersection of racialization, gendering, and labor in the (re)production of modernity in the Asia Pacific. Examining both the production of US modernity through the bodies of the Asian Other, as well as the constitution of a Japanese colonial modernity posited against the Korean colonial other, the panel explores the meaning of “Asia” within the context of modern nation-making. Our panel proposes to understand and question the figuration of Asia in the production of modernity in three locales across the Pacific. We explore the genealogies of making modern nations by excavating the technologies of domination as they are iterated in the realms of law, politics, and culture. Since the role of East Asia, especially China and Korea, in perceptions of a newly millennial global community has become an increasingly important question, the panel proposes an examination of the reproduction of modernity through a lens critical to processes of race, gender, and labor. Our panel brings together the fields of Area Studies and Ethnic Studies and draws upon interdisciplinary approaches to analyze the histories of modern nations and empires.

1) Su Yun Kim, University of California, San Diego
Colonial Intimacy and Reproduction of Family: Interracial Unions in Colonial Korea

This presentation investigates colonial intimacy and modern subjectivity in the context of transnational romance and inter-racial marriages through an examination of Korean popular literature and discourses during the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945). It is also a part of my work-in-progress dissertation on the topic, and here, I focus on Japanese colonial policy on interracial marriage between Koreans and Japanese (Japanese: naisen kekkon, Korean: naesŏn tonghon) as a part of on-going discourses of (re)producing a colonial modern family.

Previously known to be exceptional cases, interracial marriages between Koreans and Japanese, as recent scholarship shows, were far more widely practiced, and formed influential discourses at the last stage of the Japanese colonialism. Naesŏn ilche (J: naisen ittai, E: Japan and Korea as a single body) uniquely existed only in colonial Korea departing from the earlier Tonghwa (J: dokka, E: assimilation) policy in the 1920s which was promoted more widely throughout the Japanese Empire. At the discursive level, Naesŏn ilche policy gave a hope to Korean intellectuals achieving a modern liberal “equal” subjectivity, by “becoming Japanese,” despite the obvious disguising of the brutality of forced assimilation and war mobilization.

In this presentation, I explore popular discourses which include newspaper opinion pieces, magazine articles, and short stories by Korean writers, in order to examine: 1) how Korean intellectuals interpreted the Naesŏn ilche as a positive assimilation policy; 2) how interracial marriage brought new articulation of modern marriage/family/romance; 3) how the concept of race and gender/sexuality were interconnected in the discourses of interracial romance/coupling.
2) Tomoko Tsuchiya, University of California, San Diego

*Memory of Japanese War Brides: Their Images and Experiences between Two Nations*

Historically, the images of Japanese war brides have been extremely stereotyped as being associated with the legacy of a defeated Japan. The marriages between American GIs and Japanese women took place in the context of unequal power relations between the conqueror and the conquered, and therefore, the stereotypes that were associated with them differed between the two countries. While their images tended to be positive in the U.S., the war brides were negatively stereotyped in Japan.

There also existed the different stereotypes for the mainstream newspapers and the Japanese American newspapers in Hawaii. Most mainstream newspapers portray them positively. These images are related to the women’s liberation that was brought about by the American occupation of Japanese women. Therefore, they tend to portray that the “liberated” and “saved” Japanese women could live happily with their American husbands. On the other hand, the newspapers of the Japanese American community in Hawaii portray Japanese war brides in the framework of their roles as traditional Japanese women. Those brides who appropriated the traditional norms were portrayed positively, while they were portrayed negatively otherwise.

This paper has revealed that the constructed images did not reflect the actual lives of Japanese war brides by examining their wills and decisions. Some women were able to smoothly adjust to the new ways of life, whereas some were unable to do so. Even after the military regulations and laws were removed, they still faced many difficulties in learning English, making friends, and establishing a good relationship with their in-laws in Hawaii. Despite this, they overcame many obstacles with their strong wills and attempted to discover new ways to live, which differed from the gender roles the war thrust upon them during the war. Their marriages and lives also challenged the gender spheres of the conventional Japanese women.

3) Denise Khor, University of California, San Diego

*Discipline and Leisure: Asian Laborers and the Work of the Movies*

By the mid nineteenth century, sugar production dominated Hawaii’s economy, rapidly growing into the Island’s largest and most profitable industry. Asian migrants supplied the expanding industry with the necessary workforce to cultivate the labor-intensive crop of sugar cane. While Asian immigrant workers were integral to the economic reproduction and profitability of the plantation, they simultaneously presented sugar planters with a set of problems that undermined the formation of a stable laboring class. In particular, concerns about labor agitation, worker recruitment, and transience prompted planters to devise strategies to discipline laborers and foster proper social values.

Drawing upon historical methods and archival research, this paper details the incorporation of early moving pictures into the social scapes of Hawaii’s sugar plantations. I argue that sugar planters adopted the movies into their policies and practices of managing and reproducing a racialized labor force. In doing so, they fostered the formation of a gendered public sphere that brought together their own interests and an emergent modern national culture.
Session 3: **How Will Japan’s International Identity Be Affected by New Security Issues?**  
**Organizer/Chair: Wilhelm M. Vosse, International Christian University**

Postwar Japan has often been referred to as the exemplary anti-militarist state. Government policy as well as public opinion strongly supports diplomatic and non-military means and one could get the impression that Japan has learned its lesson from history, from “rich nation, strong army” to “rich nation, without (formal) army”. Peter Katzenstein (1996), Thomas Berger (1996, 1998), Glenn Hook (1996) and others raised the question whether Japan’s anti-militarist attitude is genuine or conditional on U.S. military protection, and the paradox of how we can explain that Japan has learned from its history when it is constantly reinterpreting and reconstructing its own past and has difficulties to face its historical wartime responsibility. This panel will deal with this puzzle by approaching it from four angles: the current political and intellectual debate about Japan’s role in the world, the reinterpretation of Japan’s imperial history, the effect of external actors (particularly the United States) on Japan’s recent defense policies, and a comparative look at public attitudes on peace and security in Japan and other advanced industrial democracies based on recent survey data.

1) **Susanne Klien, University of Halle, Germany**

**Reassessing Japan’s International Contribution in the Wake of 9-11: From Civilian Power to Normal State?**

The aim of this paper is to examine how Japan’s national security debate has been affected by the terrorist attacks in 2001 and how it has evolved since then. I will conduct a hermeneutic discourse analysis by focusing on selected Japanese journals such as Shokun, Chuo Koron and Sekai between October 2001 and the present. In Chapter 4 of my doctoral thesis entitled *Rethinking Japan’s Identity and International Role: An Intercultural Perspective* (Routledge 2002), I distinguished four different schools of thought within Japan’s security debate: Centrists (genjōjisugisha), Independentists (dokuritsushugisha), Pragmatic Multilateralists (takokkanshugisha) and Pacifists (heiwashugisha). In this study I will analyze how these groups have developed since 2001. Special attention will be given to how the individual schools of thought have perceived three key concepts: self, national security and international society. I expect the inherent link between self and alter to provide essential clues about the redefinition of Japan’s international contribution and the trajectory of Japan’s defense policy as such.

As terms such as identity and national discourse indicate, my theoretical tenets are primarily constructivist in nature.

2) **Wilhelm M. Vosse, International Christian University**

**Are Americans from Mars and Japanese from Venus? A Comparative Look at Public Attitudes on Peace and Security**

Originally comparing foreign and security policy attitudes among Americans and Europeans before the war against Iraq in 2003, Robert Kagan (2002, 2003) concluded that both continents had developed almost opposite views. While Americans see the world from the viewpoint of the only remaining hegemon and behave accordingly, Europeans argue and behave like middle powers with more limited military options who might have learned their lesson from history. Japan seems to be very much like the Europeans, it
often seemed they had also learned their lesson from history, embracing the war renouncing article 9 of the constitution, generally favoring diplomatic, non-military, and multilateral approaches to deal with international conflicts, and by constructing a state-pacifism. With the end of the Cold War and growing awareness of new threats from international terrorism, market liberalization, to scarcity of essential resources, the question is whether the anti-militarist attitudes shared by most Japanese were conditional—good as long as the United States prevented direct military attacks, but new threats demand new responses. Based on a survey that was fielded in Japan and the United States in late 2004 (SAGE 2004), this paper will illustrate how Japanese view threats to their nation and to them personally, and the types of responses they favor. Although anti-militarist attitudes are still very strong in Japan, the data provides empirical evidence as to how militarist sentiment might increase with rising nationalism.

3) Alexander Bukh, Hosei University

*Japan’s National Identity, Historical Memory, and History Textbooks*

The controversy over history textbooks in Japan has received tremendous attention from domestic, Asian and broad international media since its first exposure to the international scrutiny in 1982. While the history textbooks have been the target of a countless number of publications in Japanese (most of which tend to have a strong ideological bias) the English language academia has seen very few publications on the issue. Furthermore, most of the existing research tends to focus on the controversial new history textbooks published by the revisionist Japan Society for Textbook Reform (*Atarashii Rekishikyōkasho o Tsukuru Kai*) largely ignoring the dominant historical narrative.

The main purpose of this paper is to make an inquiry into the nature of historical memory construction in Japan through examining the most widely used junior high school and high school history textbooks. Historical memory is perceived here as being one, if not the most important component of national identity. By promoting a certain historical narrative it provides interpretations of the “national” past interactions with other nations. These interpretations in turn, serve as an important component on which understanding of the present understanding of the self and the numerous “others” is based. This paper will engage in a comparative analysis of the discourses on Japan’s interaction with China and Korea on one side, and with Russia on the other, as seen in the most widely used history textbooks.

4) Andrew L. Oros, Washington College

*External Actors and State Identity: Securing Japan through Missile Defense*

The gradual evolution of Japan’s state foreign policy identity towards a more openly military power is not the result solely of domestic political forces responding to a changing international environment. External actors also play an important role in how Japan crafts its international contribution. Foremost among such actors is the United States, as a collective entity and also as individual bureaucratic actors within the United States, most importantly the Department of Defense (aka, the Pentagon) and the individual military services.

U.S. pressure for Japan to share in the development challenges and costs of creating a workable ballistic missile defense (BMD) system is one case in point. Coordination with the United States in this important and costly defense initiative requires Japan to address core aspects of its Cold War state identity related to such issues as the export of weapons components, the military use of outer space, the overall
defense budget, civilian control, and coordination among the Self-Defense Forces (SDF), the Japan
Defense Agency (JDA), the Cabinet Office, and the civilian bureaucracy. This article will examine the
alliance politics of missile defense with an eye towards the effect of this debate and resulting decisions on
Japan’s evolving post-Cold War state identity.

Discussant: Tadashi Anno, Sophia University

Session 4: Shibusawa Keizō and the Possibilities of Social Science in Modern Japan
Organizer: Wakako Kusumoto, Shibusawa Ei’ichi Memorial Foundation
Chair: Alan Christy, University of California, Santa Cruz

This panel seeks to assess the intersection between intellectual work and its material conditions of
production by reflecting on the career of Shibusawa Keizō (1896-1963), grandson of Shibusawa Eiichi,
head of the Shibusawa Zaibatsu, Finance Minister right after WWII, patron of research associations and
researchers and amateur scholar. When Heibonsha published the Collected Works of Shibusawa Keizō in
1992, it proclaimed him one of “the three giants of Japanese ethnography.” But outside a circle of insiders,
Shibusawa’s role in the development of a number of scholarly fields and research institutions remains
largely unknown. At best, he is often seen as “merely” a financial backer.

The members of this panel argue that a reappraisal of his work is necessary. As both a scholar and
a patron, Shibusawa combined provocative intellectual experimentation with broad efforts to create the
proper material grounds for research in modern Japan. An evaluation of Shibusawa’s place in the
production of knowledge in modern Japan must be able to take account of the impact of both of these
dimensions of his “academic imaginary.” A key to understanding how he bridged these two areas can be
found in his commitment to intellectual experimentation unbound by disciplinarity and the long-term
future of scholarship. With scholars such as Miyamoto Tsuneichi, Nakane Chie and Amino Yoshihiko
acknowledging their debts to him, and institutions such as the National Museum of Ethnography finding
their origins in his proposals and collections, a reconsideration of Shibusawa Keizō’s approach to
knowledge production offers us an opportunity to reimagine the landscape of social science in modern
Japan.

1) Noriko Aso, University of California, Santa Cruz
Shibusawa Keizō’s Folk Capitalism
In this paper, I examine Shibusawa Keizō’s 1937 vision of a “folk” museum of capitalism. While the
“Shibusawa Memorial Museum of Commerce” was never realized as a permanent institution, Shibusawa’s
plans and collection reveal productive tensions in his attempt to illuminate, or discipline, capitalism
through a populist glimpse into the recent Japanese past.

Head of a fabled financial empire and government minister, Shibusawa Keizō was in private the
patron saint of a network of folk ethnographical scholars in the early twentieth century. In this capacity, he
established what would become the Institute of Japanese History and Folklore and oversaw the collection
that formed the nucleus of the National Museum of Ethnology. Shibusawa also sought to establish a
museum of commerce in honor of his illustrious grandfather, Shibusawa Eiichi, the so-called “father of
Japanese capitalism.” Yet as a tribute to the dynamism of trade and Eiichi, the proposed museum was
curiously historically oriented. Aside from Eiichi’s personal effects, the collection consisted of materials depicting the working culture of Edo period tradesmen: Eiichi was to be contextualized in terms of his commoner “roots” rather than celebrated for his modernizing achievements.

In effect, Shibusawa sought to bring his elite public world under the sign of his private enthusiasm for the folk. While his museum would have provided a native foundation for capitalism, anticipating the postwar reconfiguration of the Edo period as “early” rather than “pre-” modern, it would have also opened up alternative discursive possibilities by introducing actors and activities that potentially challenged a “progressive” narrative of capitalism within Japan.

2) Kenji Sato, University of Tokyo

Thinking of Images/Thinking Through Images: Shibusawa Keizō’s Ebiki Project

In a short but intriguing essay called “Is a Pictorial Dictionary Possible?” (1954), Shibusawa Keizō proposed the production of an image database/index that is suggestive for the study of culture today. Deriving from his interests in material culture, the ebiki project attempted to harness elements of premodern Japanese picture scrolls that provided “unintended” resources for a historical ethnology of Japanese culture. By considering the practical processes of production—in both its aborted prewar phase and its successful postwar phase—and the methodological stakes of the project, I offer a consideration of the lessons for the contemporary study of culture.

At its core, the project raised questions about the identification, extraction, relationality and accumulation of cultural resources as objects of investigation. The attempt to suture object-images to their historical names relied upon multiple technologies as well as the accumulated knowledge of the research team. Evaluating the production of the pictorial dictionary alerts us to the crucial roles of the material conditions of academic work. Perhaps more importantly, we can recognize in the thirty-year emergence of the Nihon jōmin seikatsu ebiki a model of an experimental orientation to humanistic research that enhances the opportunity for generating new questions and surprising conjunctures.

3) Kayoko Fujita, Osaka University

A Passage to St. Louis: The Shibusawa Keizō Collection for the Museum of Commerce and the Exhibition “Different Lands / Shared Experiences”

After more than sixty years since Shibusawa Keizō envisioned a design for the Nihon Jitsugyo-shi Hakubutsukan or the “Museum of Commerce”, a small exhibition was held in St. Louis, Missouri, the “gateway” city to the American West around the end of the 18th century. This exhibition, “Different Lands/Shared Experiences: The Emergence of Industrial Society in Japan and the United States” (held at the St. Louis Mercantile Library at the University of Missouri, from 4 September to 2 October, 2004), was the first-ever project to take up the artifacts that Keizō had collected and preserved for the next generation while waves of modernisation and technological developments were sweeping Japan.

The primary objective of this presentation is to reconstruct the course through which the exhibition in St. Louis and its counterpart, which is due to be held at the Shibusawa Memorial Museum in Tokyo in fall 2005, were realised after the “discovery” of Keizō’s forgotten collection at the National Institute of Japanese Literature. It also aims at analysing how American and Japanese librarians and museum curators visualise Keizō’s concepts through the exhibits from two different historical and cultural
contexts, and how museum visitors perceive the historical narratives that have been constructed at the exhibitions. Through a series of interviews with the library and museum personnel involved in the exhibition-making process, as well as questionnaires to museum visitors, we will see how the accumulated knowledge in Keizō’s collection leads us towards a new comprehension of the structural change that our societies went through.

4) Wakako Kusumoto, Shibusawa Ei’ichi Memorial Foundation

*Looking for Shibusawa Keizō: An Exploration of the Junctions (or Discontinuities) among Anthropology, Folklore, and the Studies of Japan*

Shibusawa Keizō (1896–1963), former president of the Bank of Japan, Finance Minister, and family successor to his renowned grandfather, Shibusawa Eiichi, also had a substantial career in academe. Driving force behind the formation of Japanese folklore (minzokugaku) and anthropology, Shibusawa guided and financially supported a number of intellectual endeavors. Interestingly, however, Shibusawa’s academic achievement has not been as recognized as that of the other minzokugaku giant, Yanagita Kunio. This has led several Japanese writers to characterize him as “forgotten.”

Shibusawa’s academic reputation is even more obscure abroad. During my training in cultural anthropology in the US, I rarely met American anthropologists specializing in Japan who knew of Shibusawa Keizō. This was a surprise, as I had imagined folklore and anthropology to be close cousins. Soon I realized that the bulk of ethnographic works by Japanese folklorists—many of whom were apprenticed and/or supported by Shibusawa—seemed mostly overlooked by the academic community outside of Japan.

In order to examine what is causing the curious obscurity of Shibusawa Keizō, a man who was so prolific and generous in his effort to build scholarship, we need to situate him in the historical dynamics of cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary academic discourse. Is it the burden of language, the clash of disciplinary identities, or some unknown larger forces that have prevented him from being a household name, both in Japan and abroad? When we explore answers to this question, we may encounter new possibilities of border-crossing scholarship.

Discussant: Alan Christy, University of California, Santa Cruz

Session 5: *Poets, Audience, and Court Spectacle: Facets of the Fujiwara Patronage of Poetry in Late Tenth Century Waka*

Organizer/Chair: Gian Piero Persiani, Columbia University

The political and literary scene of the late tenth century was dominated by the Ononomiya and Kujō branches of the sekkan family. Besides providing imperial consorts and running court politics, the Regent’s family also sponsored or presided over the key cultural events of the time, acting as both patrons and main audience of literary activity. The panel explores a range of different issues related to the Fujiwara patronage of poetry spanning across three major poetic subgenres of the period: zōtōka (poem exchanges), byōbu uta (screen poems), and uta-awase (poetry matches).
Katsushige Monzawa begins by discussing how the consciousness of a probable target readership, the relatively circumscribed group formed by Kujō Morosuke’s family and in-laws, influenced the making of the poetry in the Tōnomine Shōshō monogatari (ca. 962).

The audience and its more or less explicit responses to poetry is also the theme of Persiani’s paper. Through an examination of the almost contemporaneous Poetry Match of Tentoku 4 (960), judged by Morosuke’s brother Saneyori, the paper argues that the staging of such elaborate court spectacles amounted to instituting a specialized venue where appointed experts were called to state their views on legitimate composition.

In the third and final paper, Joseph Sorensen offers a reading of another major cultural happening of the time: the screen poem event hosted by Michinaga in Chōhō 1 (999), in occasion of the court entrance (judai) of his daughter, the future imperial consort Shōshi. This event, Sorensen argues, while revelatory of Michinaga’s cultural politics, provides fertile ground to explore the link between patronage and verse making.

Discussion will be led by Janine Beichman, poetry specialist and translator.

1) Katsushige Monzawa, Waseda University

Reconstructing the Target Readership of the Tōnomine Shōshō Monogatari

Fujiwara Morosuke, the foremost political authority of the mid-tenth century died in 960. A year after, his son Takamitsu took holy vows. The sudden retirement of a blooming aristocrat with high career promise could not fail to make a sensation at court, beginning with Emperor Murakami.

Takamitsu’s gesture and his family’s reactions to it provide the subject matter to The Tale of the Lesser Captain Tōnomine (Tōnomine shōshō monogatari, ca. 962), a medium length narrative combining prose and poetry (particularly zōtōka exchanges) in the fashion in vogue at the time. Due to his arguably monotonous content and his at times obscure language, however, the work does not enjoy a particularly high reputation among critics. However, from the very beginning the work clearly establishes its target readership, giving the impression of having been created to win the favor of a specific audience with which the author shared a common background and an awareness of the current political situation.

By focusing primarily on the work’s poetry, the paper examines the textual evidence whereby the Kujō line of the Northern Fujiwara can be reasonably assumed to be the main target of the work, a suitably unostentatious yet encumbering presence that informs many aspects of the work, from the choice of words in the poems, to the often partial renditions of contemporary events.

2) Gian Piero Persiani, Columbia University

Instituting Poetic Authority: Saneyori and The Tentoku 4 Poetry Match

The staging of poetry matches (uta-awase) was part of the larger waka boom that swept the Heian court as of the late ninth century. While ostensibly a literary variant of sport competitions such as sumo and archery, these elaborate court spectacles also spurred the earliest examples of written poetic criticism. With poetry matches, a new institutional space was established for producing and circulating authoritative statements about the nature of waka and successful composition. In this respect, the Heian uta-awase can be assimilated to today’s literary awards and other kindred institutions which contribute to determine what is read and written.
My paper examines the Poetry Match of Tentoku 4 (Tentoku 4-nen dairi uta-awase) hosted by Emperor Murakami in 960, and widely regarded as the quintessential example of the courtly awase. Appointed to judge was Fujiwara no Saneyori, an experienced poet as well as the highest authority in the ritsuryō bureaucracy. I begin by surveying available evidence of Saneyori’s status as an expert of poetry, and then discuss the evaluation criteria he upheld in the verdicts, attempting to reconstruct something resembling a late tenth century “standard” of proper waka composition.

Such standards, as critics have known since Schücking’s seminal Sociology of Literary Taste, change over time. I conclude my talk by reviewing how Saneyori’s judgments were discussed and often criticized in late Heian and medieval waka scholarship, testifying to the inherent historicity of taste.

3) Joseph T. Sorensen, University of California, Davis

Screen Poetry and Ceremonial Observance at the Heian Court

Screen poems (byōbu uta) from the Heian period (794-1185) are best understood as extant records of temporal events where poets composed, presented, and inscribed verses inspired by painted images on screens. Birthday celebrations, accession ceremonies, and congratulatory verses at Great Thanksgiving Feasts (daijōe) are but a few of the common occasions where screen poetry was produced. The fact remains, however, that very little is known about how the poems were composed, partly because so few screens from the period survive.

My paper is an attempt to reconstruct some of the compositional practices by focusing on the genre of judai waka, poems composed upon the designation of a new imperial consort. For a few of these events, historical records supplement the poetry to give a fuller picture of the process of commissioning, assigning, sponsoring, producing, and presenting at such events. When, for example, Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1027) ordered a set of painted screens for the court entrance of his daughter Jōtōmon’in Shōshi (in whose literary salon The Tale of Genji would be written), it marked the first time a non-imperial court noble sponsored a judai waka ceremony. The varied perspectives found in such contemporaneous sources as Michinaga’s diary Midō kanpakuki, the Gonki of Fujiwara no Yukinari (927–1027), the Shōyūki of Fujiwara no Sanesuke (957–1046), and the historical narrative Eiga monogatari, reveal the key role played by screen poetry in the participants’ political and aesthetic maneuvering at court, as well as the considerable artistic impression the event made in its day.

Discussant: Janine Beichman, Daito Bunka University

Session 6: Individual Papers on Japanese Literature and Art

Chair: Kate Wildman Nakai, Sophia University

1) Mari Nagase, University of British Columbia

Shusse for an Edo-Period Woman Kanshi Poet, Hara Saihin

Hara Michi, or Saihin (1798–1859), was among a few women recognized as kanshi poets during the late Edo period. Living in a period when gender discrimination was rather strict, she aspired to succeed in society, transgressing the bounds of normative womanhood.

Saihin was born into the family of a respected official Confucian scholar of the Akizuki domain in present Fukuoka prefecture. She was educated in Chinese literature from childhood and excelled in the
study. When the Hara family was faced with the crisis of losing their prestige as an official scholar family, Saihin, and her father, resolved that she should inherit and extend the family scholarship. In the beginning of 1825, Saihin left for Edo at the age of twenty-eight in order to establish herself as a private scholar and poet. She worked independently in the city for twenty years and eventually succeeded in attaining considerable fame.

In order to achieve “shusse,” or social success, in a field dominated by men, Saihin attempted to assimilate herself into the world of the male literati. She not only impressed the public with her masculine behavior, she often represented herself as a manly character in her literary works. In my presentation, while discussing the impact of the idea of “shusse,” which motivated and distressed her throughout her life, I will examine the self-presentation in her poetic works focusing especially on her gender identifications.

2) Rachel Payne, University of Canterbury

Censorship of Kabuki in the Early Meiji Era

Throughout its early history Kabuki struggled under bakufu regulations to curb its perceived immoral influence on society. This policy changed after the Meiji Restoration, when the new regime, inspired by Western concepts of theatre as an integral part of civilized society, embraced Kabuki’s potential as a morally didactic and educational entertainment. This paper investigates the historical and ideological background to the early Meiji censorship codes that sought to replace vulgar and historically anachronistic elements of the traditional Kabuki performance with wholesome tales of honour and valour. It also examines the official efforts to extend this censorial approach beyond textual matters so as to inject the prevailing bunmei kaika ideology into aspects as diverse as the theatres’ architectural specifications and actors’ private lives. It is often thought that official interest in controlling Kabuki faded after the mid 1870s. I will argue that politicians turned their attention from public censorship of all Kabuki theatres, and instead engaged in private encouragement of individual reform experiments at Tokyo’s leading theatre, the Shintomi-za.

3) Seth Jacobowitz, Cornell University

Intermediary Genres of Meiji Art: The Photographic Paintings of Ochiai Yoshiiku and Yokoyama Matsusaburō

While Impressionism in nineteenth century Europe is often ascribed to the encounter with photography and Japanese woodblock prints, a parallel revolution was underway in Japan as photography and European oil painting became dual, and frequently intertwined, modes of visual representation. This paper explores how intermedial concepts and genres arose in early Meiji visual culture, and decisively contributed to ideas about mimeticism, as well as the recording of national and personal memory.

In keeping with recent work by Kinoshita Naoyuki, Satō Dōshin and others, I observe how the discourse of “shashin” in mid-nineteenth century Japan shifted from capturing the essence of things in painting and woodblock prints to become the preferred translation for photography. This gradual shift is notably reflected in the genres of silhouette paintings (kage-e) and pseudo-photographic portraits of kabuki actors (haiyū shashinkyō) popularly associated with Ochiai Yoshiiku. I will briefly discuss how these works critically negotiate between materiality and memory, presence and representation. The paper concludes with a close reading of Yokoyama Matsusaburō’s stunning collage “Chomage no otoko to
In this trompe d’oeil painting, a bearded foreigner surrounded by the accoutrements of painting points to a photograph of a samurai with the picture frame drawing a line across his hands, thereby placing them within the interior composition. Inspired by a photograph of the same two subjects sitting side-by-side from the 1872 Iwakura Mission, it plays on multiple levels of ethnographic framing and media capture: shifting levels of authority for representing the image and authenticity of the image itself.

4) Joan Ericson, Colorado College

*The Return of Momotarō: Revisiting Tales for Children*

From the 1890s, Japanese publications for children included a high percentage of literary tales that were adaptations of Chinese and Western children stories, in addition to revisions of Japanese folk tales. In particular, the *Momotarō* (Peach Boy) tale stands out both for its reflection of and parody of contemporary political events. This paper analyzes the reworkings of selected versions of the *Momotarō* tale, which has been refashioned in print almost six hundred times and translated into English beginning in 1885 as emblematic of Japanese cultural tradition. I will focus on two periods or approaches to this iconic tale: those early efforts associated with (or in opposition to) the *Ken’yūsha* (Inkwell Society), from 1891–1904, and then from the late 1910s, in the retellings that invoked, or opposed, aspects of militarism. An analysis of versions of the tale such as *Oni Momotarō* (Ogre Momotaro, 1891), by the famous *Ken’yūsha* writer Ozaki Kōyō (1867–1903), *Seiro saisei Momotaro* (Momotaro reclams, conquers Russia, 1905), *Onigashima nidome no seibatsu* (The Second Conquest of Ogre Island, 1920), and *Momotarō no imōto* (Momotaro’s Younger Sister, 1920) shows the contrast in attitudes toward heroic military adventures that appeared in reference to Japan’s conquest of former German colonies in China’s Shantong peninsula and foreshadowed alternate approaches to militarism and to childhood-as-a-critique (of contemporary society) that persisted through the 1930s.

5) James Dorsey, Dartmouth College

*Japan’s Postwar “Holy War”: The Inquiry into Literature’s Contribution to the War Effort*

In early 1946 Japan was heeding former Prime Minister Higashikuni’s call for a “collective repentance of the hundred million.” Literary critic Odagiri Hideo, however, objected: “claiming that responsibility is shared by each and every one of us obscures the fact that some of us bear a greater, more direct responsibility.” He then boldly named twenty-five writers with precisely such “direct responsibility,” a list that included such luminaries as Kobayashi Hideo, Yokomitsu Riichi, Satō Haruo, and Mushanokoji Saneatsu. Joining Odagiri in his battle to rehabilitate literature and make it fit for a liberal, democratic, postwar Japan were Hirano Ken, Sasaki Kiichi, Ara Masato, and other critics influential in the following years. Curiously, the vitriolic accusations these men leveled at writers complicit with the wartime regime are infused with religious language: cooperative writers were “blasphemers of literature,” they were “just like Judas, who betrayed Christ for just thirty pieces of silver.” The discourse also displays an obsession with literary “purity,” a conviction that fiction and criticism can and should cleanse themselves of any ideological taint. As such the quest echoes themes from the “conversion” (*tenkō*) movement of the 1930s as well as from wartime propaganda. In this corner of the literary world, then, the “holy war” continued. An analysis of the conception of literature in 1946, a crucial juncture in Japan’s modern cultural and social
history, explains certain postwar critical trends as well as suggests more nuanced paradigms for investigating the relationship of literature, culture, and ideology in a time of war.

Session 7: “Japaneseness” in Transwar Japan: Assimilation and Elimination
Organizer/Chair: Yu Kishi, International Christian University
This panel takes up the issue of “Japaneseness” in modern Japanese culture, particularly during the transwar period between the 1920s and 1950s. “Japaneseness” is not monolithic, nor is it something historically or spatially defined; rather the concept is flexible and subject to constant change. The qualities that describe “Japan” in cultural, social, political, and even economic spheres, those assumptions on the very definition of “Japan” and “Japanese culture,” are historical constructions. The four panel members will discuss the diversity of Japaneseness in modern Japan from various different points of view. Shiro Yoshioka examines the anime genius Miyazaki Hayao and his view of Japan as a composite culture; for Miyazaki, the qualities of “Japaneseness” depended upon the assimilation of cultural elements from Asia and the West. Yu Kishi takes up the assimilation of different versions of Japanese tradition in debates over “Japaneseness” in modern Japanese architecture, focusing on the work of Kenzō Tange, an architect active during the transwar period. Miyuki Morita discusses the attempt to eliminate aspects of “Japaneseness” in Okinawa under American military control in the immediate postwar period. She examines school textbooks used in Okinawa during the late 1940s and early 1950s that first sought to divest Okinawa of Japanese identity and later restore Okinawa’s “Japaneseness.” Finally, Yuji Kawazoe takes up issues of “Japaneseness” as applied to colonial Taiwan, looking both at attempts to foster and resist its assimilation.

1) Shiro Yoshioka, International Christian University
“Nothing that happens is ever forgotten, even if you can’t remember it”: Retrieval and Reconstruction of Japaneseness in the Films of Miyazaki Hayao
This paper focuses on Miyazaki Hayao’s unique view of Japanese tradition and identity, about which little mention has been made despite the growing popular and academic interest in his films. In his childhood and youth, Miyazaki underwent a crisis of identity. While he hated Japanese history and culture, he still had to face his Japanese identity. In due course, he came to view Japanese culture as a part of Asia. Princess Mononoke clearly represents such a position. Miyazaki also attempted to create a sense of proximity between contemporary and traditional culture by subtly blending his personal experience and the historical past. Miyazaki’s films set in Japan, especially My Neighbor Totoro remind the audience of a shared image of past that somehow seems familiar even if they never experienced it personally. In Spirited Away, Miyazaki, unlike conventional views of Japaneseness that often presumes Japanese tradition as static and monolithic from ancient times, shows Japanese culture as a dynamic composite of various cultures from various period of history. Furthermore, by juxtaposing the contemporary Japanese setting with the fantastic as a representation of such diversity, combining a pan-Asian view with a virtually familiar past, Miyazaki suggests all Japanese people inherently and unconsciously “remember” Japanese tradition. Although Miyazaki emphasises the diversity of Japanese culture in overcoming the dualism of Japanese-ness and Western-ness, Miyazaki’s notion of “Japan” lacks attention to minorities and peripheries.
2) Yu Kishi, International Christian University

_Japaneseness in Modern Japanese Architecture: Kenzō Tange’s “Jōmon tradition” and “Yayoi tradition”_

This paper will examine debates on Japanese architecture during the transwar period, between the 1920s and 1950s. It centers on the politics of Japaneseness in architecture. The following six features have often been pointed out as typical of “Japanese” space: 1) value placed on simplicity and clarity; 2) use of standard modules such as tatami mats; 3) absence of decoration; 4) use of beautiful natural materials; 5) right and left asymmetry; and 6) harmony with nature. These elements of “Japaneseness” are often thought to be condensed in the architecture associated with Shinto shrines, residential buildings, and tea houses. Recent studies show that this concern with Japaneseness was a result of an attempt to interpret Japanese tradition from a modernist viewpoint. The “tradition controversy” dominated the pages of the _Shin-kenchiku_ (New Architecture) magazine for about two years beginning in 1955. In this discussion, Tange Kenzō classified the six characteristics of “Japanese” space mentioned above into two streams. He identified the first three features with what he called the “Yayoi tradition,” deriving from Shinto shrines, residential buildings, and tea houses, and latter three were derived from the “Jōmon tradition,” displaying the dynamism and vitality of ordinary people. For Tange, these traditional expressions constituted the essence of “Japaneseness.” Nonetheless, his notion of “Japaneseness” in architecture was not monolithic but derived from conflicting “Jōmon” and “Yayoi” strands in Japanese cultural history. In this way, postwar Japanese architects were able to build up concepts of “Japaneseness” formed in the prewar years.

3) Miyuki Morita, International Christian University

_The Concept of “Japaneseness”: A Case Study of School Textbooks Used in Immediate Postwar Okinawa_

This presentation aims to reconsider the concept of “Japaneseness” by examining educational practice in immediate postwar Okinawa. Is “Japaneseness” attained by eliminating foreign cultural influences? Is it a response to cultural and or ethnic interactions? After the Pacific War, there were different visions of “Japaneseness” held by Okinawans, Japanese, and American military personnel. Americans believed that Okinawan people were different from Japanese, and in August 1945 ordered Okinawan educators to make new school textbooks by eliminating all associations with prewar images of “Japaneseness.” However, Japanese textbooks were imported from 1949 for use in Okinawan schools. Administratively Okinawa was under American jurisdiction; in terms of education, however, Okinawa was under the control of the Japanese Ministry of Education. An examination of the mimeograph textbook used in immediate postwar Okinawa will demonstrate the process of the creation of variations in the concept of “Japaneseness.”

4) Yuji Kawazoe, International Christian University

_ Universal versus Uniqueness: The Limits of Assimilation Policy in Colonial Taiwan_

Many studies conclude that the most unique aspect of Japanese colony policy was strict attention to cultural assimilation; the imposition of Japanese language, Shinto religion, and obedience to the Japanese emperor were central to this process between the years 1895 and 1945. The attempt was to replace the foreign with an official “Japanese-ness.” In fact, this version of Japanese-ness and its enforcement was rather erratic. The process of inventing “Japanese-ness” itself was in flux in the early twentieth century and
ethnic differences between peoples in Okinawa, Taiwan, and Korea complicated the process. At first, Japanese technocrats were optimistic about assimilating Taiwan because the local gentry shared a cultural legacy of Chinese civilization based on the Confucian classics. Nevertheless, the official version of Japanese-ness was not universal enough to be accepted by people in Taiwan. Instead, the first textbooks edited at 1901 show Japanese colonial officials as evangelists of European civilization, stressing Western medicine, punctuality and industriousness. Throughout the colonial period, imported modern ideas, such as democracy, hygiene and sanitation, industriousness, and punctuality, were basically accepted by Taiwanese intellectuals. And those elements were, in part, regarded as representative of Japan. After 1945, the legacy of official Japanese-ness has faded away from Taiwanese society. Nevertheless, many of the Japanese influences on Taiwanese daily life have served to distinguish Taiwan from mainland China. This has been the cause of much tension between Taiwanese people and their new colonial masters in the years after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists in 1949.

Discussant: Michio Hayashi, Sophia University

Session 8: The Social Dynamics and Political Ramifications of “Scientific” Knowledge in India, Japan, Taiwan and Vietnam

Organizer/Chair: Shaun Kingsley Malarney, International Christian University

Recent scholarly research has demonstrated the manner in which the introduction or employment of “scientific” knowledge can have a profound effect upon social practice. Often regarded in social life as a prestigious and authoritative form of knowledge, scientific knowledge can significantly alter social dynamics and transform the social statuses and possibilities of social actors. This panel’s purpose is to comparatively analyze how the introduction and/or employment of scientific knowledge has had significant social and political consequences in four Asian cases. Building upon a sociology of knowledge approach, the papers in the panel will analyze historical cases from Japan and Vietnam and contemporary cases from India and Taiwan. In each paper the authors analyze particular cases, be they focused upon Vietnamese revolutionaries, Taiwanese environmentalists, Meiji-era Japanese bureaucrats, or contemporary Indian technocrats, with an eye to elucidating the ways in which the possession of and appeals to scientific knowledge have animated lived social practice. As will be demonstrated, in each case diverse social actors have brought divergent and sometimes competing agendas and forms of knowledge to social practice, but the engagement with scientific knowledge by particular actors has proven to have important socio-political consequences, particularly with regard to the ability to influence the nature and direction of social change. This panel will demonstrate the comparative prestige and importance of scientific knowledge in these four societies as well as how the possession and employment of scientific knowledge has had and continues to have powerful socially transformative effects.

1) Shaun Kingsley Malarney, International Christian University

Scientific Knowledge, Hygiene and the Transcendence of “Backwardness” in Revolutionary Vietnam

One of the most commonly employed terms in Vietnamese revolutionary discourse was “science” (khoa hoc) and two central goals of the Vietnamese revolution were the propagation of scientific knowledge in social life and the transformation of the worldview of the Vietnamese population through the development
of a “scientific spirit” among them. Government officials held that the vast majority of the population was mired in ignorance and this ignorance consigned them to what official discourse referred to as “backwardness” (lac hau). Although this backwardness was defined in a number of different ways, one of its main components advanced the idea that the vast majority of the population failed to understand material causality, particularly with respect to the biological origins of common diseases. This paper’s purpose is to examine the ways in which government policy, drawing upon the prestige of scientific knowledge in revolutionary Vietnam, attempted to propagate a biomedical understanding of disease causality through extensive hygiene campaigns from the 1950s to the 1970s. As will be discussed, these campaigns brought revolutionary ideology into the realm of the intimate and involved a significant reconceptualization of the physical world and its processes. As will be argued, however, these campaigns also introduced new structures of prestige and stigma into social life in which the revolutionary citizen who employed “scientific” knowledge in the care of their person and surroundings was socially celebrated, while those who failed to were stigmatized and socially marked as backward.

2) Tomiko Yamaguchi, International Christian University

Controversy over Genetically Modified Crops in India: Emerging Science and Technology and Social Identities of Farmers

Controversies over genetically modified crops (GM crops) in India constitute what Gieryn (1999) refers to as “boundary work” that involves competition for credibility and trustworthiness among claimsmakers with opposing points of view. Discourse about GM crops involves extensive drawing of boundaries by actors including policymakers, technocrats, NGOs, scientists, industrialists, and farmers, and also involves the invocation of idealized notions of farmers and farming by these actors in order to situate themselves within the boundary of a particular social category to lend credibility to their claims. This paper focuses on the way in which knowledgeable and influential actors lay claim to trustworthiness by drawing social boundaries around themselves. In particular, it will examine the ways in which the notion of farmers is used in GM crop controversies by national actors who are in a position to influence public policies regarding GM crops, especially in their negotiations of meaning attached to the commercialization of GM crops. The thesis here is that GM crop controversies in India reflect national actors’ attempts to compete for a shared social identity with farmers, thus constructing a context for the public policies they support. This paper analyzes corpora related to genetically modified cotton in India with the assumption that boundary work plays a significant role in shaping problems related to the adoption of GM crops and hence the governance of GM crops through regulations and institutional arrangements.

3) Yasuhiro Tanaka, International Christian University

Scientific Knowledge and Social Formation: The Case of Meiji State Bureaucrats

It is a well-known fact that the Meiji Restoration was a revolution from above as a handful of southwestern feudal clans, led by the mostly lower-echelon samurai, successfully overthrew the Tokugawa government. They were successful mostly because they had been able to revamp the feudal state apparatus at the local level and later used that knowledge and experience at the national level after the Restoration. Avoiding a structuralist’s black-box approach to the state, this paper closely examines social actors within the state. It is especially important to analyze the origins of the Meiji state bureaucrats: i.e., the military and civil
bureaucrats in the old regime, for they would later play an important role in leading the state-led industrialization. These bureaucrats are defined here as technical intelligentsia in comparison with organic intellectuals of the second half of the Meiji period. While the majority of later-day Meiji bureaucrats were educated in law at the newly established national university, the majority of the Restoration leaders and the early Meiji bureaucrats were educated in Western science and technology. Many of them had in fact studied abroad. It will be argued that scientific knowledge gave not only technical know-how, but also legitimacy to the Restoration leaders and the Meiji bureaucrats. A revolution from above was possible because, the paper argues, the state was relatively autonomous from the civil society.

4) Shu-Fen Kao, Leader University

**Scientific Discourse and Social Construction of Risks: A Case Study of Cobalt-60 Radioactive Contamination Incident in Taiwan**

Scholarly literature, based on studies in communities encountering chronic technical disasters (CTD), suggests that the inherent ambiguity of toxic contamination as a characteristic generates various deviant interpretations in the local setting. It is critical to further understand how people and social groups perceive and respond to risks. In addition, risks associated with CTD are not objective conditions “out there” simply waiting to be perceived by people. Rather, risks exist in and through the social fabric. The scientific community, as part of the social fabric and transmitters of risk information, plays a significant role in shaping the formation of perceptions about risks, especially in the case when most people do not have intricate knowledge of technological hazards. This paper utilizes a qualitative case study that drew upon in-depth interview and analysis of documentary data to study the incident of Cobalt-60 radioactive contamination in Taiwan. Here, the radioactive contamination was discovered in territorially dispersed apartment complexes in early 1990’s. In the initial discovery of the incident, various conflicting portrayals of what happened, how much risk was involved, and different remedies for the problems emerged among scientific experts, which influenced lay people’s understanding of technical knowledge and responses to the incident. Findings from this research are expected to enhance the understanding of the process of risk amplification/attenuation in response to environmental insults associated with technological hazards, the role of scientific experts in the creation of lay conceptions of risk, and also help contribute to the creation of a more effective process of risk communication and management.

Discussant: TBA

Session 9: **Economic Planning of Japan in Historical Perspective (roundtable)**

**Organizer/Chair: Katalin Ferber, Waseda University**

The participants discuss their contributions to a volume under production, to be entitled *Lineages of Economic Planning in Japan*. The dichotomy between Soviet (command) style planning and market-based systems has become a primordial liberal economic conception, and it continues, strangely, to provide the structuring polarities within which debates over the nature of the Japanese economy take place. This dichotomy has, we think, distorted more realistic perception of the history of markets and planning in much of the world and particularly in the case of Japan. Planning and the ambition to plan—including the planning of markets—has been a highly salient feature of Japanese modernity that has figured importantly
in earlier typologies of the Japanese political economy. We seek to inject new historical perspective into the nature of planning in its various guises and to better situate the practices of planning in both their national and international contexts. In their roundtable discussion, participants will bring to bear research specialties in the establishment of market-oriented planning and financial and currency plans during the Meiji period; colonial planning; economic planning and the political parties; Manchukuo and the First Five-Year Plan; the redeployment of German, U.S., and Soviet planning conceptions during the mid-twentieth century.

Participants:
1) Simon James Bytheway, Nihon University
2) Katalin Ferber, Waseda University
3) Janis Mimura, State University of New York, Stony Brook NY
4) Scott O’Bryan, Indiana University at Bloomington
5) Michael Schiltz, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Session 10: Mobilizing the Urban Experience of Tokyo
Organizer/Chair: Julian Worrall, University of Tokyo

Recent years have seen a relative profusion of publications in Western languages of detailed studies of cities in Japan as designed and planned environments (Shelton 1999, Hohn 2000, Sorensen 2002, Hein 2003, Waley 2003). This panel seeks to engage and supplement this body of knowledge by considering distinctive aspects of the experience of cities in Japan and suggesting approaches to mobilizing this dimension within discourses on urban space, both that of Japan and more generally. The theoretical concerns of the panel are threefold: (1) to explore the nature, meaning, and utility of “public space” in the modern Japanese metropolis; (2) to consider the character and role of consumption in defining the experience of these spaces; and (3) to develop methodologies for capturing and representing significant aspects of the urban experience.

Three papers are presented, with Tokyo their common geographical focus. Kuroishi excavates the history of phenomenological urban research in Tokyo, taking three different periods—the 1920s, the 1970s, and the present, examining the links between this research and major interventions that have reshaped the physical and social landscapes of Shibuya. Edlinger undertakes a fieldwork-based comparison of two contrasting landscapes of consumption in Tokyo—Odaiba and Shiinamachi—seeking to develop an embodied reading of urban space and through this a spatially nuanced reading of consumption. Worrall reviews the readings of sakariba in the work of Japanese planners and scholars, and relates them to cognate ideas of public space in Western urban theory, seeking conceptual resonances and critical dissonances.

1) Izumi Kuroishi, Aoyama Gakuin Women’s Junior College
Phenomenological Urban Studies and the Redevelopment of Shibuya

Systematic techniques for revealing characteristics of the experience of the modern city have been developed in Japan since the first decades of the twentieth century. Japanese architect Kon Wajiro and a group named Across conducted phenomenological fieldwork and studies of urban life in the 1920s and the 1970s respectively. Examining the concrete details of everyday life in Tokyo from a variety of perspectives, they tried to reveal hidden structures in the interrelations between people, things and places.
Wajiro in particular presented an alternative notion of history, and the Across group actually put their findings into practice in the urban development in Shibuya in the 1970s. Both Kon and Across tried to discover shared images of the city based on the body and memory, hoping to realize urban environments that implemented these findings—an approach, I argue, that retains its relevance today.

In this study, against a historical background of twentieth-century urban redevelopment in Tokyo, I examine the ideas and methods of the urban studies of Kon and Across, seeking areas of similarities and difference between them. Focusing on the postwar development of Shibuya, I describe how the methods created by Across to make theatrical settings for Shibuya affected its transformation. I will also describe contemporary attempts by citizens in Shibuya to rehabilitate the communal references of their local urban environment, and consider the relevance of the alternative notion of history developed by Kon.

2) Astrid Edlinger, University of Tokyo

**Happy Shopping**

Tokyo is a city of consumption. More than that: Tokyo is the capital of consumption and the all-embracing omnipresence of consumption is probably its single most distinguishing feature. Below and above ground, merging seamlessly with the rail network and its nodes, the stations, a plethora of restaurants and shops opens its doors up to 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. Landscapes of consumption. Yet—and despite the presence of ever the same chain stores—different areas are quite different in character.

This paper takes the empirical analysis of two such evidently different urban areas in Tokyo, Shinjuku and Odaiba, as a starting point to address some larger questions about the relationship between spaces and practices of consumption, the ‘urban’, and the ‘public’. For the empirical part I will use different media (photos, maps, video) and methods (interview, observation) to (1) investigate the spatial and material structure of these spaces, and (2) to identify the ‘actors’ who produce, inhabit, transform them and invest them with meanings. Drawing on recent discourses on consumption in sociology and anthropology I will then juxtapose the findings with ‘classical’ critical theories by Adorno, Habermas and Arendt.

3) Julian Worrall, University of Tokyo

**Theorizing Sakariba**

“Sakariba”—flatly translated in English as “amusement quarters”—refers both to one of the most vivid spaces in the Japanese city, and to one of the most distinctive concepts in the vocabulary of Japanese urbanism. As a space and concept it has a history extending back to the Edo Period. In modern times, the character and geographical epicentres of Tokyo’s sakariba have gone through several shifts, with Asakusa, Ginza, Shinjuku, Shibuya, and other locales being identified as sakariba at different periods of the city’s modern history. Sakariba, like other Japanese ideas in urban geography such as hiroba or shitamachi, is thus a labile concept and a changing space, reflecting transformations in its historical context.

This paper seeks to extend existing treatments by engaging with the sakariba theoretically. I survey the way this idea has been configured in expert and scholarly discourse on urban space in Tokyo, focusing on the writings of urban planner Ishikawa Eizō from the 1940s and those of sociologist Yoshimi Shunya from the late 1980s. I then position these readings in relation to discourses in urban spatial theory of Western provenance concerning public space, ludic space, and spaces of consumption, drawing
particularly on those authors with debts to the work of Henri Lefebvre. Finally, after reviewing the changing nature of the sakariba in 20th century Tokyo, I consider its potential to critically inflect contemporary urban constructs, both theoretical and physical.

Discussant: David Slater, Sophia University

Session 11: The Future of Basic Textual Research in Classical Japanese Literature (roundtable)
Organizer: Machiko Midorikawa, Kanto Gakuin University
Chair: Michael Watson, Meiji Gakuin University

Without the painstaking work of generations of scholars on manuscript sources, our understanding of older cultures would be much poorer. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that the age of textual study has passed. Learning to read handwritten texts and to produce annotated editions is an essential part of the training in premodern Japanese studies. Many questions can only be considered through a close examination of the manuscript evidence. The members of this roundtable are specialists in Heian and medieval literature actively involved in basic textual research (honmon kenkyū) and the preparation of editions from manuscript sources. The panelists will begin by giving short presentations that illustrate general problems involved in the editing and annotation of texts and in understanding how surviving texts are related. Kido Kuniko summarizes what can be learned by a close study of textual material in illustrated manuscripts of Ise monogatari. Niimi Akihiko presents a new approach to textual differences in manuscripts of Genji monogatari by a cladistic analysis of the “Hahakigi” (“Broom Tree”) chapter. Yokomizo Hiroshi considers the problem of textual relations of a commentary on Genji monogatari. Midorikawa Machiko illustrates how special features of texts can now be represented on the computer screen, thanks to advances in character encoding. Michael Watson closes by comparing recent trends in electronic text editions of premodern vernacular literature from Japan and Europe. The discussant is the medieval literature specialist Keller Kimbrough.

Participants:
1) Kido Kuniko, Tokai Women’s Junior College
2) Akihiko Niimi, Kure National College of Technology
3) Hiroshi Yokomizo, Waseda University
4) Machiko Midorikawa, Kanto Gakuin University
5) Michael Watson, Meiji Gakuin University

Discussant: Randle Keller Kimbrough, Nanzan University / University of Colorado

Session 12: The Other and the Same in Recent Japanese Literature and Film
Organizer: Irena Hayter, University of London
Chair: Atsuko Sasaki, University of Toronto

This panel focuses on figures of otherness and identity in recent Japanese cultural texts. The papers share a common concern with the ideological implications of certain tropes and formal strategies, as well as with their effects on material realities. We propose approaches which transcend the traditional dichotomies between the discursive and the historical, the textual and the political. Atsuko Sakaki investigates the changing meanings of Paris in the work of the contemporary novelist Horie Toshiyuki (1964–). Horie’s
Paris is not an aestheticised topos, but a quotidian space contested by immigrants. Sakaki explores how the chromatic aesthetics of film noir is used to articulate the ambiguities of this postcolonial space. Rachael Hutchinson’s essay examines Kitano Takeshi’s experiments in moving versus still photography in his Kikujiro (Kikujirō no natsu, 1999) and their role in the film’s constructions of individual and national identity. Baryon Posadas is concerned with the strategic returns of the psychic other—the doppelgänger—in Edogawa Ranpo’s story Twins (Sōseiji, 1924) and Tsukamoto Shinya’s film adaptation of it titled Gemini (1999). Posadas argues that the doppelgänger destabilizes conceptions of temporality and history and foregrounds the historical implications of the repetition of the past. Irena Hayter’s paper interrogates the disjunction between content and cinematic style in the films of Iwai Shunji and Sai Yoichi. While the formal strategies of the films articulate a shift away from nationalism towards inclusivity, the question remains whether this pluralism is truly radical or whether it is inscribed within the deterritorialising logic of global capitalism.

1) Atsuko Sakaki, University of Toronto

*What’s the Matter with “M”?: Horie Toshiyuki Addresses Multisensorial Multiculturalism in Paris, Circa 1995*

In view of the recent rioting in the suburban Paris, labeled as an eruption of frustration of the second-generation North African immigrants, the Akutagawa Prize winning novelist and scholar and translator of French Literature, Horie Toshiyuki’s (1964–) omnibus, Oparaban (Auparavant, 1998) comes to bear new significance. With most of the stories set in Paris or its vicinities, retold by a Japanese temporary resident there, Horie offers a variation on the trope of the Japanese in Paris, by illustrating his encounters with foreigners, through commonalities of experiencing the multiethnic metropolis and the transnational media. Unlike precedents in modern Japanese literature, which hold Paris as the epitome of intellect, romance, and high art, Horie’s stories relate the minutiae of quotidian life ineradicably infiltrated by multiple ethnicities in the forms of everyday food, athletic entertainment, and television programmes. The Japanese protagonist typically finds himself sharing the anti-French sentiment with immigrants, and yet remains skeptical of the validity of celebrating the global village, knowing the contingency of such transnational bonding. My paper will discuss a story “M,” which, referencing Fritz Lang’s film *M* (1931) that anticipates a crisis in ethnic diversity on the eve of the Nazi’s rise to power, depicts an incidental friendship between the Japanese narrator and Moroccan men, developed over subway rides, F1 race watching and a pot of stew, and complicate globalization in Paris with multiethnic commodities and labour force that are both accepted and rejected—the ambiguity effectively addressed in association with the monochrome scheme in Film Noir.

2) Rachael Hutchinson, Colgate University

*Hold that Pose! Photography and Kabuki in Takeshi Kitano’s Kikujiro*

This paper examines Takeshi Kitano’s Kikujiro (Kikujirō no Natsu, 1999) from two directions: first, as an exploration of Japanese identity, and second, as an experiment in moving versus still photography. I argue that it is in Kitano’s use of traditional still poses from the kabuki drama that identity and experiment come together. Kitano plays upon the conventions of both kabuki and film media to highlight the significance of the ‘still shot’ as it functions in human memory. By presenting moments of the story in the format of a
child’s photograph album, Kitano is able to interrogate notions of ‘adult’ and ‘child’ as equally arbitrary constructions. Throughout *Kikujiro*, Kitano draws on a rich tradition of film, drama and television convention in order to explore the idea of where identity comes from - does it come from the past, the present, or do we make it up ourselves? Kitano places great emphasis on the still *mie* pose to heighten emotion and draw attention to the present moment. By contrasting this method against that of photography, Kitano juxtaposes past and present modes of expression, enabling him to interrogate notions of time and the supposed timelessness of art. Finally, Kitano’s critical use of the past locates identity not in some distant, unobtainable myth of the nation, but in the lived experience of each individual as a human being.

3) Irena Hayter

*A Postmodern Nationalism? Form and Ideology in Japanese Film*

My paper intends to explore representations of the ethnic other in recent Japanese film (Iwai Shunji and Sai Yoichi, although those might change). I regard film as a symptomatic articulation of certain emerging ideological constellations and I will use my reading of the films to sketch out a possible approach to Japanese nationalism in the post-bubble decades. I will focus on the disjunction between content, on one hand, and visual style and formal structures, on the other: while the appearance of non-Japanese characters in these films is often regarded as a critique of Japanese homogeneity, their formal strategies often work to present a dispersed, but nonetheless hegemonic Japanese identity and to regulate the threatening jouissance of the other. The formal structures of the films do articulate a shift away from essentialist nationalism towards multiculturalism and inclusivity; however, the questions remains whether this pluralism is truly radical or whether it is inscribed within the deterritorialising logic of global capitalism.

The theoretical backbone of my reading will be provided by Slavoj Žižek’s ideas on nationalism, subject formation and identity. Žižek departs from the dominant theories of nationalism as discursive and monolithic (exemplified by the work of Benedict Anderson and Homi Bhabha) and insists instead on a psychoanalytical conceptualization in which nationalism functions to conceal a non-discursive traumatic antagonism. I will argue that such an approach allows for a better grasp of the configurations of Japanese nationalism in the last two decades.

4) Baryon Tensor Posadas, University of Toronto

*Doppelgänger, Repetition, History: Doubles and Doubling in Edogawa Rampo and Tsukamoto Shinya*

The recurrence of the figure of the doppelganger in Japanese literature is particularly noteworthy in texts emerging from two key moments of Japanese history: the interwar period and the contemporary moment. Not coincidentally, both historical moments witnessed rapid and radical transformations in Japan’s social and material conditions that (re)shape the discursive boundaries of perception, consciousness and subjectivity.

In this paper, I explore the functions of the figure of the doppelgänger in a text that straddles (and in effect foregrounds the relations between) these two historical moments: Edogawa Rampo’s short story “The Twins” (1924) and Tsukamoto Shinya’s subsequent adaptation of this story titled *Gemini* (1999). I examine the haunting of the unstable category of ‘the doppelganger’ as a practice of concepts through which Rampo and Tsukamoto address and intervene into the problem of history and narration by reading the doppelganger in relation to the recurring motif of feigned amnesia and concealment of memory, the
deployment of confessional narrative strategies, as well as the problem of adaptation. As these practices
produce a temporally dislocated schism in the form of the cutting off and stabilization of the present from
past, I argue that the doppelganger destabilizes conceptions of not only subjectivity, but also conceptions
of temporality and history. Consequently, it foregrounds the historical implications of the return and
repetition of the past into the present.

Discussant: Leith Morton, Tokyo Institute of Technology

Session 13: Individual Papers on Modern Chinese History
Chair: David Wank, Sophia University

1) Makiko Mori, University of California, Los Angeles

Contesting Utopias: The Late Qing Reconfiguration of the Concept of Qing

Since the late Imperial China, qing (e.g. emotion, sentiment, desire) has been an anxiously re-visited
concept in both philosophical and literary discourses: the precariousness, if not the subversiveness, of the
concept is particularly tangible when its fictional representation is read against the Confucian encoding of
the norms. At the turn of the twentieth century, with the crumbling of Confucian state ideology, the call for
“new fiction” prompted a vehement debate on the concept of qing once again, thence broached a new
juncture of fiction and a higher order of nation in terms of qing. While it seems suspicious whether such a
debate facilitated the achievement of the ultimate goal of “new fiction” to strengthen the nation, it is
crucial to note that the debate is significantly symptomatic of the inherent ambiguity of the theorization
and practice of “new fiction.” In this light, this paper examines how the notion of qing came to be
recognized by critics such as Liang Qichao, as one of the most essential factors in bringing about an
immanent accord between the empowerment of fiction and national consciousness; it will further inquire
how a contemporary writer Wu Jianren engaged in the ideological demands of “new fiction” through his
fictional representation of qing. Studying the (re)configuration of the concept of qing will illuminate their
intricate attempts to install a new dialectic between fiction, people, and nation, and should help account for
the urgent exaltation of “new fiction” in the very vacuum of a dominant state ideology.

2) Motoe Sasaki, Johns Hopkins University

Crossroads for “New Women” in Revolutionary China: He Zizhen, Agnes Smedley, and
Wu Guanghui in 1930s Yenan

In the late 1930s the Chinese Communist base in Yenan was, as one American writer described it, a kind
of “utopia” which attracted many from within China and from overseas. Some visited Yenan to bear
witness to the ongoing revolution and some to actually participate in it. He Zizhen (Mao Zedong’s second
wife), Agnes Smedley (a socialist/feminist from the U.S.), and Wu Guanghui (an educator and Smedley’s
translator) were among these pilgrims in Yenan.

Such women were categorised as “New Women,” a term popularised in many parts of the world
during the early twentieth-century. New Women sought different paths from their mothers and attempted
to forge new subject positions by breaking with conventional gender norms and notions of womanhood.
Yet, there were differences in terms of what the “New Woman” stood for within particular local contexts.
The proposed presentation will explore such differences by taking up one particular melee involving He,
Smedley, and Wu. Through this event, the paper will shed light upon the complex conditions of feminism in pre-revolutionary China and will then examine how this incident impacted upon women’s issues in China after the 1949 revolution. Utilizing Ernst Bloch’s idea of “synchronous nonsynchronicity,” I will also consider the simultaneity in the spread of feminist ideas and differences in how these were concretely practiced and lived.

3) Daniel Y. K. Kwan, University College of the Fraser Valley

*Culture and Politics of Chinese Workers: An Analysis of Spare-Time Educational Programs in Guangzhou, 1949–1959*

This paper is based on archival research in Guangzhou with the intention to analyze the major party and government documents that deal with an important, but neglected, issue in Chinese labour history and politics. Instead of focusing on the ideological and political aspects of the Chinese labour movement, this paper will emphasize the social and cultural dimensions of the Chinese workers.

By focusing on the workers’ “spare-time” educational program (zhigong yeyu jiaoyu), the paper will analyze the problem of illiteracy and education among Chinese workers in Guangzhou during the early Communist rule. For the Communists in the early 1950s, the widespread of illiteracy rate among urban workers was considered a major problem of cultivating a new class consciousness. As China moved into the full speed of industrialization under the First Five Year Plan (1953–57), the Communists also regarded to resolve the problem of illiteracy as a criterion for promoting socialist economic transformation. Thus, the implementation of the “spare-time” educational program became a vital cultural activities among urban workers throughout the 50s.

This paper will analyze the strengths and weaknesses of this program especially in the development of a new working class culture and identity, and will articulate the relationship between education, culture and politics during the first decade of the People’s Republican of China.

4) Grace Ai-Ling Chou, Lingnan University

*Containing Communism through Cultural Education: American NGOs in Hong Kong in the 1950s*

As scholarly treatment of Cold War history has tended to focus on political alliances and conflicts, much less attention has been given to the way in which cultural and educational institutions functioned and were affected by Cold War dynamics. This lack is particularly pronounced when one considers the significance of non-governmental organizations whose operations crossed national boundaries, for their activities and intentions could both converge with and also diverge from the overarching political rivalry and divisions that characterized the period. Such ambivalence and ambiguity was especially notable in Hong Kong, for as a site important but marginal to both China and Britain, it had strategic value in the Cold War context and as such impelled many different forces to descend upon it in pursuit and protection of their variant interests.

This paper examines the role of American non-governmental organizations in shaping Hong Kong educational institutions in the 1950’s. These organizations, some with long histories in Asian educational work by mid-century, were impelled by Cold War dynamics to re-establish and reconfigure their work in the British colony of Hong Kong. In this new home, they assumed ideological goals foreign, even antithetical, to their natures, even while continuing policy directions that preceded, and thus sometimes
counteracted, Cold War fragmentation. By examining how American NGO educational work in Hong Kong both reinforced and destabilized Cold War ideological strategies, one gains a clearer picture not only of Hong Kong’s cultural significance in Cold War politics but also the ambiguity wrought by the Cold War for intellectual paradigms of culture and education.

Session 14: Gender and Ethnicity in Contemporary Japan
Organizer/Chair: Hirohisa Takenoshita, Shizuoka University

Economic, social and cultural inequality are based upon various kinds of criteria such as class, gender, ethnicity or whatever. In particular, some sociologists have recently paid attention to economic and cultural inequality which stands on gender and ethnicity. While some characteristics of gender stratification are greatly similar to those of ethnic stratification, other features might be constructed differently compared with ethnicity. In addition, there is a social disparity which depends upon a combination of gender and ethnicity. Therefore, we should have more theoretical dialogue between them. This panel will have an attempt to argue social inequality in terms of gender and ethnicity in contemporary Japan. Keiko Funabashi explores the cross-national differences of making the balance between work and family in a comparative perspective. Junko Nishimura reconsiders the association between work situation and family life through the introduction of “work-family conflict.” Hirohisa Takenoshita focuses upon differential incorporations of Japanese Brazilian immigrants between men and women in comparison with mainstream Japanese. Kohei Kawabata highlights the practice of nationalism in everyday life through the case study of two young Japanese who have Zainichi Korean friends. This panel will approach gender and ethnicity from the sociological point of view. Considering intersection between gender and ethnicity will stimulate further insights toward contemporary Japanese society.

1) Keiko Funabashi, Shizuoka University

Gender Relations in Managing the Balance between Raising a Child and Work: From a Survey in Six Countries (Japan, Korea, Thailand, France, Sweden, and U.S.)

How do women and men wish to manage the balance between raising a child and work? Do men / women would themselves give precedence to work / child-rearing rather than child-rearing / work? Or, do they want to involve themselves in both equally? In addition, how does he / she want his / her partner to manage the balance between raising a child and work? In 2005, Japanese National Women’s Education Center conducted a survey on the roles of fathers and mothers in education and child care in families of six countries: Japan, Korea, Thailand, France, Sweden and U.S.. I participated in the survey and analyzed the answers for the questions mentioned above. I found five important types of orientations among nine logical combinations of answers that our questions would compose.

1) gender roles : father gives precedence to work and mother does to child-rearing
2) woman’s dual burden : father gives precedence to work and mother involves herself in both equally
3) man’s dual burden : father involves himself in both equally and mother gives precedence to child-rearing
4) egalitarians: parents involve themselves in both equally
5) caring family: parents give precedence to child-rearing

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In my presentation, I would like to explore the difference in the distribution of types among six countries as well as the factors that explain the difference.

2) Junko Nishimura, Meisei University

*Work-Family Interface: Determinants and Outcome of Work-Family Conflict in Japan*

Work and family are two main life domains for people in modern societies. Sociological study of stress, which explores impact of social factors on mental health, has tried to reveal impact of work and family lives on psychological outcomes. One of major focuses of those studies is how work affects family life, and how family life affects work life. Work-family conflict is one possible factor which links work and family. That is, work related factors may affect quality of family life via work-family conflict, and family related factors may affect quality of work life via family-work conflict. This presentation will first examine how work related factors generate work-family conflict and how family related factors generate family-work conflict. Then I will explore how work-family conflict affects quality of family life, and how family-work conflict affects quality of work life. I will also focus on how those relationships differ by one’s social position such as gender and life-stage. In that way I will be able to explore how social life is experienced differently by their social position. Data used for this analysis is National Family Research Japan 2003 (NFRJ03). NFRJ03 interviewed nationally representative sample of 10,000 adults aged 28-77 years. Since many of previous researches on work-family conflict use small-sample, non-representative data, their results needs to be verified by large-sample, nationally representative data. NFRJ03 is able to verify hypothetical results stated by those previous researches.

3) Hirohisa Takenoshita, Shizuoka University

*Gender, Ethnicity, and Economic Disparity: A Comparative Study of Income Earnings between Japanese-Brazilian Migrants and Native Japanese*

Since Japanese Immigration Act was revised regarding the legal status of migrants with a Japanese ancestor in 1990, Nikkeijin migrants have rapidly increased in Japan. Some qualitative researches pointed out that Japanese Brazilians were incorporated into flexible and non-standardized labor markets in Japan and that most of them had a job contract with subcontractors as dispatched workers. Therefore, we can hypothesize from prior studies that Nikkeijin migrants are actually in an unstable employment status in labor market in Japan. However, while these hypotheses have been suggested, based on findings in some qualitative researches, they have not been examined sufficiently in terms of quantitative data and statistical analyses. In addition, qualitative studies on Nikkeijin migrants lack a comparative point of view with other ethnic minority and native Japanese. Comparative statistical research between Japanese Brazilians and native Japanese enables us to explore ethnic and gender disparities of income earnings in the same empirical model. This research thus focuses upon ethnic and gender disparity of income earnings between them. In this examination, I utilize two datasets such as Japanese General Social Surveys conducted from 2000 to 2002 and Current Survey on Foreign Residents in Iwata in Shizuoka in 2005. Although the sample of the latter survey on Japanese Brazilian migrants is not nationally representative, I suppose that these respondents would to some degree represent Japanese Brazilians living in Tokai area because roughly half of Japanese Brazilians concentrate in Tokai area and Iwata city is one of the typical cities where Japanese Brazilians dwelled.
4) Kohei Kawabata, Australian National University

Nationalism in the Individualized Era and Possibilities for Solidarity: A Case Study of Two Young Japanese Who Have Zainichi Korean Friends

In contemporary Japanese society, lifestyles of Japanese and Zainichi Koreans are very similar to each other. Both of them drive similar cars, wear similar clothes, and eat at similar kinds of restaurants. If we compare their consumption activities, the differences between the two are very obscure. In that sense, both Japanese and Zainichi Koreans (including other old-comers) are “included” in the process of reconfiguring the nation state as consuming subjects in an era of global information capitalism. On the other hand, in the everyday life, social discrimination against Zainichi Koreans persist, such as in the case of marriage, job-hunting, and variety of other everyday forms. In everyday life, these are not simply a form of social discrimination but an instance of the practice of everyday nationalism. However, it is difficult to find an ideological consistency in the majority’s practice of “exclusion” and “inclusion” in the lived realities of daily life. They are often contradictory. But we can also find possibilities to build a multicultural society in such contradictory everyday practice. As a case study, this paper focuses on two young Japanese who have Zainichi Korean friends, and their perceptions toward Zainichi Koreans. Both of them like Kobayashi Yoshinori and Michael Moore, and they have their own interpretations regarding the relationship between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans in building a multicultural society. However, their interpretations and understandings regarding multicultural society cross over conventional critical theories of nationalism and identity politics. These mutually contradictory ideologies coexist in their individualized understandings of the world around them, and offer fertile ground for investigating everyday nationalism.

Discussant: Yoshikazu Shiobara, Osaka University of Economics and Law

Session 15: Good Times, Bad Times: New Perspectives on Chinese Business and Family Adaptations to Changing Regimes in Indonesia

Organizer/Chair: Peter Post, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation

The panel is aimed at unravelling the intricacies and resilience of Indonesian Chinese family and business networks during periods of (violent) regime change.

Indonesia, as a nation-state in the making, has witnessed several violent changes in regimes in the twentieth century which were closely related to global transformations of the international economic order. Despite these institutional changes, the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia have continued to be regarded as perennial “outsiders”, with their political loyalties uncertain at best. Even with the cultural integration into Indonesian everyday life and society today, they continued to be accorded a “special” status within the framework of the Indonesian nation. Much of the political debate over the Chinese in Indonesia has taken an outsiders perspective, however, and only glossed over the intricacies and complexities of Chinese family and business networks and the variegated cultural, social and economic lives of the Chinese in the long-term history of Indonesia.

This panel attempts to re-examine political stereotypes, which have shaped both state attitudes and popular sentiment towards the ethnic Chinese through periods of cataclysmic change in Indonesian society. By taking an insiders perspective using a wide variety of new resource materials (including oral sources,
private memoirs, home-movies and family photographs) and synthesizing knowledge across the academic boundaries of cultural, sociological, historical and management approaches, the panel wants to discover common trends and differences over time, thereby achieving a more holistic and deeper understanding of the place and the social life of the Chinese in Indonesia.

1) Keng We Koh, University of Hawaii at Manoa

*Snapshot Histories: Family Albums and Home Movies in the Construction of Chinese Pasts in Indonesia*

This paper explores the possibilities of using family photo-albums and home movies in the study of the Peranakan Chinese in Indonesia by examining one particular collection, which documents a family’s life in Java between the 1920s and the 1950s. Much of the work on the Chinese in Indonesia has focused on their economic and political activities. Recent work has shifted the attention to cultural dimensions of Chinese life, especially in popular literature and media. Family photo albums and home movies provide an additional dimension, not only in the way it emphasizes the visual, but also in the way these visual representations traverse the private-intimate and the public, in a way that the works of professional photographers and travelers (mostly European or Javanese) often do not.

Family photo-albums and movies provide but a selective, partial, and often nostalgic, view of a person’s or family’s history. These strategic choices in representing themselves and the people around them with regard to settings, dress, events, and other dimensions, provide important insights into how members of a Chinese family in Indonesia, negotiated their positions vis-à-vis contrasting and overlapping visions of Chinese-ness, Indies/Indonesia, “the world,” and modernity, between the 1920s and 1950s. Combined with interviews and archival research, these materials provide a new perspective both on Chinese Peranakan elite life between Orders in Indonesia, and present remembrances of this past, by members of the family, both as Chinese and as Peranakan.

2) Peter Post, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation

*Paradise Lost: The Fates and Fortunes of the Oei Tiong Ham Concern, 1930s-1960s*

Second generation ethnic Chinese businesses are generally managed by (half)-brothers and outside experts that have married into the core-family. To the outside world the Chinese conglomerate appears to be a smoothly run enterprise whose fates and fortunes rest largely upon its exclusive ties with the existing political regime. Little comes out however, that very often inside the conglomerate factionalism is rampant and internal power-struggles over management competencies and financial rewards greatly affect business strategies and economic performance.

When political power changes the Chinese family enterprise as a whole faces the huge task of establishing trust within the new regime in an effort to sustain the family business. The Oei Tiong Ham Concern (OTHC) is a famous example of an ethnic Chinese conglomerate that ultimately was unable to adjust itself to the institutional changes of the 1930s-1960s. It succeeded relatively well under the Japanese military administration but once the Sukarno regime took over its assets were soon being appropriated by the Indonesian government and its share-holders forced to leave the country.

By using hitherto unknown private memoirs, building upon extensive interview materials with the main actors involved, this paper will explicate the intricacies and complexities that surrounded the fall of
OTHC in Indonesia. It will argue that the fall of the conglomerate was caused by a complicated inter-play of family factionalism and a fast changing international economic order, both of which prevented the conglomerate as a whole to be accepted as a trustworthy and loyal partner of the Sukarno regime.

3) Nobuhiro Aizawa, Kyoto University

*Detaching the Chinese from China: Blocking China and Mobilizing the Chinese in Making the New Order 1965–67*

In establishing the New Order, President Suharto had two big agendas; one was to secure political stability and the other to urge economic development.

Political stability was first fulfilled through annihilating the communists and economic development was dealt with inviting foreign donors and investments. One of the major characteristics of the political situation of this period of regime change was the worsening relationship between China and Indonesia. Therefore, the new regime needed to control the influence of China which was one of the main sources of creating Indonesia’s domestic political instability. However on the other hand, the new regime required to make the best of the capital and business skills of the Chinese for its core agenda: the economic development. How to block China’s influence on the one hand and to mobilize Chinese business on the other hand was a big dilemma that the new regime faced.

One of the first major steps the Suharto regime took was to ban remittances and to differentiate the Chinese of foreign citizenship from the Indonesian Chinese. This lead to measures such as banning the “racially exclusive” (meaning Ethnic Chinese) organizations and appropriating their assets. The organizations were thought to be the major channel of Beijing influence and the appropriation turned out as the first step to take away foreign Chinese initiative in the Indonesian’s economic activities.

4) Marleen Dieleman, Leiden University School of Management

*Co-evolution of Generational and Regime Changes in Ethnic Chinese Conglomerates: The Case of the Salim Group of Indonesia*

Drawing on co-evolution theory, theories of ethnic Chinese business, as well as on institutional approaches to organization strategy; this paper presents a study on the mutual influence between generational transitions and regime changes in ethnic Chinese businesses, grounded in a rich longitudinal case study of the Salim Group. The strategy of the Salim Group is influenced by internal changes, particularly generational change, as well as by external institutional changes, such as regime change, both gradual and sudden. Large business groups such as the Salim Group also shape the institutional environment by structurally influencing key agents of institution-building

Discussant: Nobuto Yamamoto, Keio University

Session 16: **Roundtable: Cultures of Nature, and of (Social) Science: Making Forests and Mountains for Matsutake Mushrooms across the Asian Pacific**

Organizer/Chair: Anna Tsing, University of California, Santa Cruz

This roundtable discussion introduces both a new research project and a novel method of doing research. The speakers are members of the matsutake research group, a team of cultural anthropologists.
investigating global commercial and scientific networks involving matsutake mushrooms. Although matsutake are a distinctively Japanese gourmet food, they are commercially gathered around and beyond the Asian Pacific—in China, North and South Korea, Siberia, Bhutan, Canada, the United States, Mexico, Morocco, and Turkey. This dispersion has offered us the opportunity to consider both cultural conjuncture and disjuncture in the making of global social and natural landscapes. Our project investigates how culture is an essential feature of landscapes of globalization, not as a “clash of civilizations” but as a set of interlocking relations.

This project requires more than the usual forms of scholarly collaboration. We need complementary skills in language, area studies, and field-based expertise. But we also need an emergent theoretical protocol to turn each local observation into a link within an already transnational structure of interconnection. Moving beyond simple comparisons or top-down assertions of global structure, we are developing a place-based, inductive model of global interconnection in which chains of interactive friction form the basis of emergent structural trajectories. In this roundtable, we open discussion of both research process and project.

Our goal is to rethink “nature” through this inductive transnational focus. We begin with the concrete problem of managing mountains and forests. While “forests” and “mountains” are often seen as stable transcultural objects, their management takes very different forms. In both Japan and the U.S. Pacific Northwest, for example, matsutake are recognized as perhaps the most valuable product of local forests. The cultural histories of property and place-making are so different in each region, however, that forests have an entirely different relationship to the state, resident communities, and the national imaginary. How do we theorize both links and contrasts? The project traces histories of biological as well as social movement that have placed landscapes in these sites in relations of both tension and dialogue. The roundtable brings together scholars with different histories of expertise in Asian studies as well as varied research on matsutake. Through our dialogue, we hope to open questions both about nature and about the nature of research.

Participants:
1) Anna Tsing, University of California, Santa Cruz
2) Shiho Satsuka, Albion College
3) Lieba Faier, University of California, Los Angeles
4) Miyako Inoue, Stanford University

Session 17: From Local History to Global History: Learning from Regional Japan
Organizer/Chair: M. William Steele, International Christian University
Local studies have a long and valued place in historical narratives of Japan. Some scholars have drawn on the experiences of local areas to illuminate national and global trends, while others have valued local experience for its very difference. A few have even attempted to turn the tables, making the periphery into a center from which to view what was once central and national. In a recent book, Rōkaru hisutorii kara gurobaru hisutorii e 『ローカルヒストリーからグローバルヒストリーへ』 [From Local History to Global History] Iwata Shōin, 2005, several scholars of Japanese local history have drawn on their own work to demonstrate ways in which local perspectives challenge conventional historical narratives. The
issues they raise have become all the more important as globalizing trends threaten to erase local identities and practices.

The roundtable will seek to engage the panelists and members of the audience in an open discussion on the following questions:

- Is all history local history? Who is a local historian?
- What innovations are taking place in the study of local history? Can local history be considered one of the “new histories”?
- To what extent do local historians need to be insiders?
- What is distinctive about Japanese local history?
- What does the practice of Japanese local history have to offer to the broader world of historical research?

Participants:
1) James Baxter, International Research Center for Japanese Studies
2) Hidemichi Kawanishi, Joetsu University of Education
3) Hiroshi Onitsuka, Iida City Institute of Historical Research
4) Patricia Sippel, Toyo Eiwa University
5) M. William Steele, International Christian University
6) Sumire Yamashita, University of Tsukuba

Session 18: The Utopian Impulse in Taishō Literature
Organizer/Chair: Angela Yiu, Sophia University

The Utopian impulse is associated with a desire for a different mode of reality, both real and imagined, that has the potential to generate a dialectical relationship with existing social, political, and cultural conditions. Traces of the utopian impulse were everywhere in the Taishō literary landscape, as the socio-political “reality” of Taishō society itself came to be increasingly questioned, challenged and resisted by intellectuals and commoners alike. As an entire generation of writers and readers were eager to rethink the social imaginary, questions such as the role of the individual self in society, and the responsibility of the artist towards his/her work and society became apparent in the public sphere.

This panel examines three different groups of Taishō writers and their attempts to address their Utopian impulse in their works and manners of living. Wilkerson argues that the predominance of real and imaginary literary enclaves and communities in the works of Uno Kōji and Satō Haruo reflects an urge to reconceptualize urban space as a place of refuge that would resist the commodification of writing and artistic productions. O’Neill examines the urban writings of Kajii Motojirō and Horī Tatsuo and their mappings of different modes of utopian thinking as an expression of a radically reconceived notion of the artist’s role and responsibility in society. Yiu examines the writings of Mushanokōji Saneatsu and the Shirakaba supporters of the Atarashiki-mura and argues that the still-existing communal village is a persistent symbolic expression of the Taishō literary imagination still relevant today.
1) Douglas Wilkerson, Nagoya University of Foreign Studies

_The Urban Refuge in Taishō Literature_

The rapid development of the popular press, less expensive printing and publishing technologies introduced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and changes in readership composition brought about dramatic changes in the financial circumstances of many writers, and in their relationship to the publishing industry (and, in a sense, to their art in general). Occurring in the wake of the industrialization of the urban landscape, these changes to the literary landscape were often conceptualized in a similar manner. Utopian pastoral communities within the urban landscape were envisioned as more humane settings which ameliorated the worst ravages of industrialization. Many Taishō writers moved to live in, or conceived in their writings, model communities, not of pre-industrial natural or man-made beauty, but of contemporary artists (including writers). Works by Uno Kōji, Satō Haruo, and others suggest that they were motivated in part by a search for places of refuge within the modern urban space more specifically from the commodification of writing and of art in general, places where a more traditional or idealized relationship between the artist and the products of their labor could be maintained.

2) Dan O’Neill, University of California, Berkeley

_The Nomadic Utopianism of an Invalid: Kajii Motojirō, Hori Tatsuo, and Urban Space_

Prose fiction in the 1920s and 30s was obsessed with the utopian dream of achieving a happy future society. Artists in rival literary circles—writers from the New Sensation Group, the proletariat critics, and the I-Novelists—played an important role in the development of literary utopianism. While those from the New Sensation Group and the proletariat movement aspired to involve art in the rethinking of social relations, writers such as Kajii Motojirō and Hori Tatsuo were seen as decadent artists who indulged in a privatized utopia that flaunted an alienated psychological interiority characteristic of the I-Novel.

Developed in diverse contexts and under each other’s influence, these literary movements, nevertheless, came to assume the form of a stark dialectic: the modernist aesthetics of the New Sensation writers were seen to be politically reactionary in relation to proletariat literature; and proletariat writing, as aesthetically naïve in relation to modernism.

This paper argues that the literary dialectic between aesthetics and politics has reached a point of exhaustion in the works of Kajii Motojirō and Hori Tatsuo. In examining their urban writings, I will explore their mappings of different modes of utopian thinking, where a radically reconceived notion of the artist’s role and responsibility in society may be discerned like a dream-work reawakened with transformed urgency.

3) Angela Yiu, Sophia University

_Atarashiki-mura Still Exists! The Literary Beginnings of a Communal Village_

A number of Taishō writers who came of age in the last decade of Meiji harbored visions of Utopia and created communities based on those wish-dreams, among them Arishima Takeo built a communal farm in Karifuto, Miyazawa Kenji set up the Rasuchijin Association in Iwate prefecture, and Mushanokōji Saneatsu created the Atarashiki-mura (1919) first in Kyushū and later in Saitama. This paper focuses on the Atarashiki-mura and attempts to examine it from two perspectives. First, as a political experiment, Atarashiki-mura seeks to transcend and transform existing social and historical realities as it coincides with
the Marxist, socialist aspirations in Russia and China. Second, despite the fact that the social, economic, and political milieu of Taishō plays a significant formative role in such utopian aspirations, Atarashiki-mura is also essentially a creation of the Taishō literary imagination, which on the one hand is a continuous struggle to interpret the Meiji legacy of individualism, Romanticism, and Naturalism, and on the other hand an expression of eagerness to embrace cosmopolitanism and modernism. In examining Mushanokōji’s writing in conjunction with those of close supporters of the village among his contemporary writers (e.g. Shiga Naoya, Satō Haruo), I will argue that Atarashiki-mura is symbolic of Taishō fiction in general and Shirakaba literature in particular, especially in the continuous attempts in those fictions to grapple with the dialectic between art and reality, and their propensity to generate a space, both literary and actual, that fosters the permeation of self, text, and life.

Discussant: Sally Hastings, Purdue University

Session 19: (Ani)Mimetic Representation: The Comic Spectacle and the Paragon of Animals in Asian Modernity
Organizer/Chair: Jane M. Ferguson, Cornell University

While critical and theoretical examinations of the spectacle have drawn great attention to the ways in which ocularcentric Western societies relate to images and events, theorists have begun to take note of the comic and animated form in Asia, Japan in particular. This panel represents a cross-Asia comparison of comic and Anime, representations of animals in particular, interrogating both Japanese and Shan images and comic representations. In what ways have subcultures gathered around and identified with cartoon animal icons? Can Shan comic books create Shan pre-history through comic representation of albino tigers? Is Anime the uncanny beast created by modernity? By using examples from Japanese and Southeast Asian contexts, this panel will discuss how comic icons and animated forms represent key signifiers of nostalgia for pre-modern life, or return to animal instinct.

1) Tomoko Shimizu, University of Tsukuba

Mimic Animals and Reversed Savageness

In recent decades, the global success of Japanese animation or “Japan Cool” has often been exaggerated as a proud achievement of Japanese culture. Critics of this phenomenon argue that such a perspective has been a reflexive construction of the Western gaze. Furthermore, in the examination of animation culture in Japan, it is impossible to ignore American animation, particularly the ways in which animals have been represented in both American and Japanese comics both during and following the Second World War. In addition to examining these points, drawing mainly from the examples of the Disney animated movie “Bambi,” and the Japanese Ghibli anime movie “Pom Poko” and this presentation will discuss the relationship between infinity, cuteness, and the savage in animation culture.
2) Jane M. Ferguson, Cornell University

Albino Tiger, Alligator Reincarnate: Shan Comic Books as Vehicles for Ersatz Nostalgia in Southeast Asia

Torn between Burma and Thailand, the Shan constitute one of mainland Southeast Asia’s largest ethnic nationality groups, with the majority residing in the Shan State of Burma (Myanmar). In independence negotiations with the British, the Shan were promised to right to secede from the newly-formed Union of Burma, but that promise was never fulfilled and Burma continues to endure a decades-long internal conflict. In anticipation of independence, and as part of cultural revivalism and resistance, the Shan have continuously published books and newspapers in the Shan language. Tracing the history of Shan printing from the nineteenth century to the present, I suggest that comic books, as a form of (sub)national Shan print capitalism, present apt vehicles for ersatz nostalgia for a pre-modern Shan kingdom. A dominant thematic pattern in Shan comic books is animal symbolism and animal cosmology; in particular the alligator, the mythical albino elephant and the albino tiger. This paper will therefore examine the role of animal imagery within Shan discourses of spirituality, political resistance, and pre-modern nostalgia, as presented in modern Shan comic books.

3) Toshiya Ueno, Wako University

The Wolf’s Pain: Anima(liza)tion as a Tactic for Social Critique

Throughout the history of Japanese animation, animals have been repeatedly featured, and the wolf and the dog in particular offer specific symptomatic meaning, as in the imagination of creators such as Mamoro Oshii. The first section of this paper will trace the history of various discourses which have adopted the use of allegorical animals for purposes of dissidence and contestation toward concepts of social justice in modernity, in both “the West” and “the Rest”, Asia especially. Of critical importance to understanding this phenomenon is an interrogation of the base of the common interpretative platform for these representative works of Japanese animation. Using the examples such as “Wolf’s Rain” by Bones and “Innocence” by Mamoru Ohi, this paper will examine the ways in which the wolf and dog are summoned as critical agents, in the interstitial uncanny of modernity.

4) Iva Georgieva, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

The Anima of Anime

Much of the research on the industry of Japanese animation has dealt with animism’s history. Within this history, there are recurring tropes of animals, and great interest in the imagery of the cat and fox; eye representations; idols; superman; ghost and god limits; new female imagery; natural/technical/supernatural worlds; as well as collective purpose and subconscious basics. Above all these tap into the significance of the cat in Japanese culture. The popularity of anime and comix has universal archetypical appeal, and indicates certain simplicity in animated and spirited uniqueness of imagination. This can be viewed as a hidden soul/anima, influenced by typical Japanese combination and transition between the beautiful and technological principles of the world perception. Such an abstract world guides today’s epochal tendencies. The cyber-oriented world and fairytale ideals create dream worlds which can describe human shared visions or expectations for future reality, designing it by using exchanged energy and information made by a sign that shows the inner world as universal.
Discussant: Tom Gill, Meiji Gakuin University

Session 20: Individual Papers on Contemporary Asian Society and Politics
Chair: Yoshiko Ashiwa, Hitotsubashi University

1) Ginny Maeng, Yonsei University
Human Security and Northeast Asia: The Case of North Korean Refugees
The human rights issue of North Korean Refugees has certainly gained international attention in the past two years with the North Korean Human Rights Act of 2004 and the North Korea Human Rights Resolution recently adopted by the UN General Assembly. However, even with the increase in international concern, nothing much has been shown to directly affect the human security situation of these people. Geopolitical reasons make the problem more complex.

North Korean refugee issue is not only a humanitarian problem but is also an important factor in the security and stability of Northeast Asia. As history shows and with the growing ‘humanitarian’ interest by major powers on this matter, the refugee problem can be the very source of humanitarian intervention that may lead to a major international conflict. The human security factor is as important as any other source that brings instability to the region.

The first step in trying to solve this problem is to look into the policies and approaches that have been taken by various actors involved. The paper will address the current human security situation of North Korean refugees in the Northern Chinese border and will analyze the roles played by states, international organizations and domestic and international NGOs. The purpose of this paper is to find the problems and limitations to the current approaches of various actors in the international field and to find solutions for this human security disaster.

2) Liang Wang, The University of Hong Kong
International NGOs Campaign in China: Case Studies of Greenpeace-China
This study investigates the nature of campaign activities of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) in China, particular its relationships with domestic social and political environment. Drawing upon the Boomerang Model in existing literature, I challenge the conceptual bias embedded in this body of literature emphasizing contentious political relations between INGOs and targeted governments. I use in-depth case study method to focus on the campaign activities of Greenpeace-China to illustrate my arguments.

First, it is necessary to relax the theoretical bias in existing literature, and recognize that the relationships among the state, local society and INGOs vary from one state to another. The study of Greenpeace-China reveals that the relationships between INGOs and the state, and that between INGOs and local society in China are very different from what was proposed in the Boomerang Model: INGOs endeavor to engage, collaborate with the state, and in the mean time, establish connections and solidarity with local societal groups.

Second, this study seeks to explore that, influenced by the domestic government and society in China, how INGOs operate to fulfill their agenda in bringing their proposed issue into the domestic
political arena. The propositions employed in this study thereby take two-folds. (1) On INGO-State relationship, if INGOs are able to form a “winning coalition” with state, in other words, if INGOs are able to find congruence with government policy, it is more likely for INGOs to succeed. (2) On INGO-society relationship, if INGOs are able to gain public attention and support, it is more likely for INGOs to succeed.

3) Feng Chen, Hong Kong Baptist University

*Individual Rights and Collective Rights: Labor’s Predicament in China*

Market reform in China has drastically increased labor disputes. To respond to the widespread labor disputes, the government has facilitated labor legislation at both the national and local levels and the establishment of disputes settlement institutions. Workers have surely gained more opportunities than a few years ago to redress their grievances and seek justice. Despite these positive developments, labor rights still remain widely ignored and the labor law continues to be one of the most poorly enforced laws in China. There are a number of structural constrains on labor rights: the state’s development strategy biased on efficiency over equity, tight labor markets, the lack of an effective safety net, and so forth. While these factors account for the current state of labor rights, however, they do not fully explain why Chinese workers have had so little impact on the environment where they work and why rights violations have occurred so often.

Using Marshall’s theory of citizenship rights, this article probes into the structure of China’s labor rights for an explanation. It argues that while Chinese labor legislation stipulates workers’ individual rights regarding contracts, wages, working conditions, pensions, etc., it fails to provide them with collective rights (namely, the rights to organize, to strike, and to bargain collectively) in a meaningful way. Labor rights in China, in other words, are defective in that they contain no constitutive that enables workers to assert themselves as a collective power capable of effecting labor relations and effectively safeguard their individual rights.

4) Jae Hun Jung, Washington State University

*Contested Motherhood: Korean Mothers in Home Schools*

The myth of social mobility through educational success captures most South Korean middle class parents. “Education fever” makes them invest more financial and psychological resources in their children’s education than ever. In such a social milieu, growing numbers of parents take their children out of the competitive school system. Homeschooling is considered as an unusual choice because the society still emphasizes sociocentric socialization, group solidarity, and interdependence.

My ethnographic research shows that mothers’ discontent with the uniform school education and their desperation to save their children from a detrimental school environment and to provide them with better learning opportunities are main causes for homeschooling. Christian belief and political resistance are other major driving forces. The actual educational goals and strategies of homeschooling families vary from one family to another: homeschooling is an educational short-cut, a way to promote children’s autonomous learning, or a way to transmit religious values to children.

Mothers play a pivotal role in homeschooling: supervising their children’s time-management and learning. Despite their burdensome role as an educator, mothers harbor a common expectation that their pedagogic individualism, utilizing individualized curriculum and one-on-one approach, will promote their
children’s intellectual independence and creativity. Their practice largely revolves around educating children, but it is aimed at achieving the western individualist ideals such as independence and individuality. Homeschooling also contributes to reconstructing mother-child relationships and contesting the conventional Korean motherhood and femininity.

5) George S. Solt, University of California San Diego

*Changing Dietary Habits and the Popularization of Ramen in Modern Japan*

How and why did a noodle-soup introduced by Chinese migrants in the early 1880s become so embedded in Japanese eating practices that it became a food associated with first, the Japanese working class, and later, the Japanese Nation itself? The evolution of this quintessentially modern dish into a definably Japanese fast food by the early 1990s is coterminous with larger transformations in dietary habits in Modern Japan, and the process highlights key shifts in the history of labor relations, agricultural production, trade, foreign relations, and everyday life. Unpacking the interplay of factors driving the popularization of one food provides a way to study the process by which a seemingly banal custom, such as eating noodles, becomes transformed from simply a habit of convenience to a custom associated with a given class, and ultimately an object of devotion and nostalgia filled with national symbolism.

Session 21: *Maintaining and Transforming Identities through Religion: Identity Negotiation of Korean Society in the Early Twentieth Century*

Organizer/Chair: Choe Yeonjung, Seoul National University

In the early 20th century when Korea was widely open to the Western world, Korean people could not help experiencing cultural shock like other peoples in Asia. In this situation, it is natural to doubt traditional identities and to try to form new ones. That is a matter of self-identity cognition. This panel will focus on how identities are formed and transformed through the relationship of certain groups with certain religions in the early 20th century Korea.

Both identity itself and its maintaining theories are not fixed but flexible. Societies or groups usually reconsider and modify their identities as the relationships are influenced and changed when they meet others. Religion can be one of the important “others” that activate identity negotiation, which means the broad concept of identity creation and transformation done by individuals and groups. Identities can be caught only temporarily in particular conditions.

We will see the cases of several groups which appeared in this period; the Intellectuals, the New Woman, the Christians and the Nationalists. Because these groups can effectively show the process of negotiating identities.

1) Kim Jiyon, Seoul National University

*The Self Identification of Korean Intellectuals in the Educational Reform of the Early Twentieth Century*

This paper is a study of self-identification of the Korean reformers and intellectuals through an exploration of the transformation of the traditional meaning of Hak (學), Kyō (敎), or scholarship (學文). Korean reformers confronted the process of modernization/westernization in the early twentieth century. In Korean education, they introduced the modern education and made educational reform. In the confrontation with
modernity, they couldn’t totally replace their own traditional context with the western and modern one. The traditional Hak, Kyō or scholarship belonged to a different level and was on various dimensions—religious, educational, cultural, political...—in the traditional society. In accommodating Western concepts of education and religion, Korean reformers and intellectuals re-evaluated the traditional education from a different perspective and redescribed their traditional concepts. For example, traditional Confucianism showed disorder to designate itself as morality, religion, moral education or the teaching of Confucius. In this analysis, I intend to rectify the status of traditional education recognized discontinuously or as “way of failure” in the context of modern state-formation or nation-building attempt through the introduction of modern public education.

2) Choe Yeonjung, Seoul National University
The New Woman and Christianity in 1920s Korea: Religion as a Tool of Emancipation?
This study aims to explain identity problems of ‘New Woman’ in 1920’s Korea through exploring the relationship between New Woman and Christianity. The term “New Woman” was the common name for “Educated Woman.” They met with the modern education for the first time and recognized Chosun women’s situation and their important role. The background of their new education systems was Christianity. Most of the new woman leaders were Christians, and female education was generally provided by Christian mission schools. Christianity and New Woman had a very close relationship like this. The process of transforming identity of New Woman goes with the process of separating their religious interest from Christianity. The early Christianity in Chosun couldn’t overcome conventional patriarchy and the life of Christians were still managed in Confucian style. Christian education was important background of creation of the group “New Woman,” but couldn’t guarantee the equality of the sexes that women want to realize through Christianity. For this reality of life made them separate from Christianity, identity of New Woman had to change. With this recognition, I intend to understand the way how the identity of New Woman was transformed by the encounter with external conditions.

3) Cho Namwook, Seoul National University
Identities of Korean Christians in the Early Twentieth Century
This study aims to investigate how ‘the identity as Christian’ of Korean Christians was maintained and transformed in early twentieth century. Self-identification is very important for Christians. Church means a congregation of people who identify themselves as Christians through confession of faith. Each Christian takes the first step of religious life by reciting the Credo which begins with “I believe in,” and this first person form helps one’s identity to be constructed. Above all, a Christian can be a Christian for he/she identifies himself/herself as a Christian.

This self-identification would be possible only with Other. And the form of contact with Other as well as the selection of Other varies in different socio-historical conditions. It results the changes of identity. The mechanism of self-identification compels to preserve same identity, for example, Christian, to the extent that the changed social condition demands absolutely different identity. At this point, the concept of negotiation of identities are introduced. If identity as Christian can never be deserted, that identity must be accommodated. We can see the specific example of this process in Korean Christians in
early twentieth century for anti-colonialism, desire for modernization, national identity and contacts with other religions brought about changes of their identity.

4) Kim Joosil, Seoul National University
Reconfirmation of Korean National Identity by Dangun

Most Koreans think that Korean people originated from Dangun, who is considered as the founder of the first nation, Ancient Chosun in Korean Peninsula about 5000 years ago. Others, however, argue that Dangun is not historical but mythical. Though this issue is still controversial, it is evident that Dangun has been believed the beginning of Korean people since Dangun was first recorded in Samgukyusa (三國遺事) at the end of 13th century. Dangun can be regarded as a historical myth, which means a story telling ancient people’s historical experiences in the form of mythology. What matters in a historical myth is whether the myth is alive or dead, rather than whether the story is true or false.

As the historical myth of a nation, Dangun should be read in both contents and contexts. The main message of Dangun story is that Koreans are the descendents of Sky God, so they are holy and sacred and their national identity is unique. The historical context of emphasizing Dangun was the crisis of Korean national identity. Especially, in the early 20th century, when Japan colonialized Korea, Dangun was required as the core of national identity. At that time, Daejonkyo, a newborn religion worshipping Dangun, highlighted Dangun again by a union of the nationalism and the religiousness. Daejonkyo’s understanding of Dangun influenced other scholars and Dangun became a living myth to reconfirm Korean national identity.

Discussant: Mark Caprio, Rikkyo University

Session 22: Gendering of Work in Comparative Context
Organizer/Chair: Vivian Price, California State University, Dominguez Hills.

The construction industry is fraught with paradoxes for women. In more industrialized countries like Japan and the US, women have entered the skilled trades as a result of labor shortages, pressure from women’s movements, and because of increased interest of women to make higher wages. While women are scarce in the building trades in the Global North, they have historically worked as laborers in the industry in many countries of Asia—including Japan—and parts of Africa. Modernization is conventionally viewed as ushering in equality of women, but for poor women, especially women who work as construction laborers, this is not automatically the case.

This panel asks how governments, international agencies, NGO’s and workers and women’s associations have responded to the regendering of construction work in the context of economic development and women’s empowerment. In a number of places, skill training in construction is organized for women, often funded by international development agencies, but the problem of women staying employed in the field remains a barrier.

1) Mary Heather White, World University Service of Canada
Gender and Development in Sri Lanka
The World University Service of Canada funds vocational training and employment assistance for conflict-affected men and women in 15 districts in Sri Lanka. Tracer studies, conducted 6 months after the completion of their on-the-job training, show that after training nontraditional trades for women, 38% of female trainees remained employed in their field. An additional 11% of female trainees were employed in other fields. Thus 51% of women trained remained unemployed. The question emerges, what are the barriers to women who complete nontraditional vocational training (e.g. construction trades) to remain employed in the field, and what were the reasons some seemed to stay employed regardless? This paper will present findings of follow-up studies of women graduates, using gender and development and gender equity concepts, including practical and strategic needs and GAD frameworks.

2) Kayoko Muramatsu, Nihon University

**Women in the Japanese Construction Industry**

Women in Japan have been involved in construction as part of family labor in rural areas, as well as during employment crises. The Japanese government established a relief program for the unemployed after World War II, organized by Shitsugyōtaisaku jigyō, and many people were directed towards rebuilding the infrastructure of the country. The Shitsugyōtaisaku jigyō, which lasted until 1995, found employment for women and men in the rural and the urban areas. Many of the jobs were Hiyatoi, day laborer jobs with no benefits. Women remained active in construction through the 1950s and 1960s, and some belonged to construction unions, including Zennichi Jirō, the predecessor of Kenkōrō. But this was an older generation, and as time passed, construction became more masculinized.

In the last few decades young women in Japan have also begun working in construction as a result of labor shortages in the urban areas. Together with the growth of the women’s movement and the series of laws establishing equal employment legislation in the 1980s and 1990s, spaces of opportunity for women in more skilled jobs opened up, peaking at the height of the Japanese boom of the 1990s. But the historical involvement of women as construction laborers is not part of contemporary culture, and women who work in these fields are seen as being engaged in labor inappropriate for women. This study analyzes the historical record to bring the involvement of women in the construction industry into public memory.

3) Faustin T Kalabamu, University of Botswana

**Women’s Dilemma in Botswana’s Construction Industry**

This paper highlights the current antagonistic and binary opposition between ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ construction sectors in Botswana. Although women in parts of southern Africa (including Botswana) have traditionally been responsible for house construction, at present, women perceive themselves—and are perceived by men—as being incapable of building modern houses. The few women who enter the modern construction sector do so by default rather than by choice. Partly because of their reluctance to join building apprenticeship, most women who work in the modern construction sector are employed as labourers. Using qualitative data recently collected in the towns of Gaborone and Lobatse, the paper notes that while women are reluctant to work in the modern construction sector both men and women trained as tradesmen and engineers are equally unwilling to participate in the construction of traditional houses. Furthermore, despite all female respondents having become builders or tradesmen by default, female tradesmen were quite satisfied and proud of their career while female labourers were not.
Discussant: Vivian Price, California State University, Dominguez Hills
Session 23: The Socio-Political Internet in Asia

Organizers: Leslie M. Tkach-Kawasaki, University of Tsukuba, and Han Woo Park, Yeung-Nam University

Chair: Leslie M. Tkach-Kawasaki, University of Tsukuba

During the past decade, a great deal of attention has been paid to the use of ICTs (information communication technologies) to enhance the relationship between political actors and the public and further a citizen’s engagement with socio-political activities. Whereas most of the research highlighting the development of different styles and practices has focused on the use of the ICTs in advanced democratic nations such as the U.S. and the U.K., in recent years, growing attention has been paid to online political communications and information provision in South-east Asian nations. As this exciting field of research emerges, we are beginning to discern patterns in how these political actors and ordinary people approach the use of such new-media technologies not only as a means of communications and information provision, but also what such patterns reveal about the political cultures and the institutional environments in which they are being utilized.

Our panel features papers that detail how ICTs are being used in national socio-political systems in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan and investigates various approaches by formal political actors and the public in using their digital media as platforms for socio-political information and communications with other members in society. Our planned panel aims at incorporating papers that focus on different countries, possibly promoting international comparison with an empirical focus that will add to the development of cross-national theories concerning the ongoing socio-political use of these technologies.

1) Han Woo Park, Yeung-Nam University

Features and Structures of Online Political Communications in Korea’s Blogosphere

The web seems to offer a great opportunity for politicians to create their own political communication worlds (e.g. through images). Through official websites, politicians can provide background information, demonstrate their position regarding current issues, and communicate on an ongoing basis with the public. How do politicians portray themselves on their websites? What kind of political information and opportunities for the public to communicate do they provide? In this cross-national survey of a sample of websites produced by Japanese and South Korean politicians, we explore these questions by comparing their website features and hyperlinks. Through this research, we have been able to discern that most websites created by politicians tend to have a certain pattern in terms of basic political content, yet differ in the type of political information and the range of communication opportunities they provide. The similarities and/or differences highlight how the web is approached as a political media tool in somewhat different political cultures and technological infrastructures.

2) Kakuko Miyata, Meiji Gakuin University

Does the Internet Facilitate Civic Engagement?

Until now, thinking about the Internet has focused on its ability to communicate across continents at nearly the speed of light. At the same time, Internet users have been “glocalized” (Wellman 2003): bound to their desks by the wires connecting to the Internet even as their interactions range widely in space. It is time to consider a new era: how the peripatetic mobile users of the Internet communicate with the members of
their social networks and communities (Rheingold 2002). The Japanese have been at the forefront of this. From being experienced and heavy users of *keitai*—lightweight, feature-laden mobile phones, the Japanese are now using new models of mobile phones to communicate with social network members and to web surf for information. Accessing the Internet through the use of mobile phones has become more than a fad in Japan; it has already been integrated into daily life for a significant proportion of the population.

This paper explores whether access to the Internet increases social capital and desirable civic outcomes such as civic engagement, political participation, and tolerance of people different from oneself. In particular, I compare these social impacts between users of Internet-connected PCs and web-enabled mobile phones. Putman (2000) indicates that media use such as watching TV or surfing the Internet may restrict opportunities to participate in voluntary groups, which increase social capital. However, it is supposed the Internet may be enhancing their civic engagement if people use the Internet to participate in online political activities.

To examine this hypothesis, I adopted a longitudinal approach, examining changes in social variables among comparatively the users of Internet-connected PCs and those of web-enabled mobile phones. Measuring the effects of Internet use across time on the same individuals provides natural controls for preexisting differences. The first survey was conducted in late 2002 and the third survey was done in 2005 in the somewhat rural prefecture of Yamanashi, not far from Tokyo. Participants were asked about their use of both mobile phones and personal computers (PCs): how often they used them, what they used them for, whom they contacted, and how the use of the Internet affects participants’ civic engagement. In this paper, the data of respondents who answered both the first and the third surveys is analyzed.

The results show that people who access the Internet by PC are most active at gathering information related to social and political issues, and have relatively high levels of participation in politically oriented online communities. Moreover, these online activities facilitate participation in offline volunteer groups. In contrast, those who access the Internet through mobile phones are much less enthusiastic about online political participation, though mobile phones allow people the opportunity to maintain greater connectivity with their personal networks, by facilitating high levels of interpersonal communication. These results mean that if the usage of the Internet through PCs facilitates participation in online communities with diverse networks, then social trust and reciprocity fermented through use of Internet may enhance the level of civic engagement in everyday life.

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.

3) Chien-leng Hsu, Lancaster University UK

*International Politics and the Net: Making it visible*

The international politics of Taiwan has long been a controversial issue, in particular in the cross-Strait relations. Taiwan is arguably a state. However, it is not recognised by the majority of states in the world. An increasing number of people and organisations are promoting Taiwan internationally, hoping that Taiwan could eventually participate as a sovereign entity in a variety of international organisations.

With the advent of Internet technologies, organisations and activist groups (e.g. the Greenpeace & the Zapatista) have taken advantage of the Internet to bring their cause to a wider audience. Organisations
in Taiwan have also been gradually using the Internet to promote their causes. In this paper we will demonstrate how the analysis of weblinks (using techniques of webometrics and social network analysis) can render these efforts visible and Taiwanese organizations that politically promote Taiwan independence will be our case study. Through such an analysis we hope to show how a complex network of NGOs and states can participate as virtual bridges to promote Taiwan’s claim in ways that is probably not possible in traditional diplomacy.

The underlying thesis is that the Internet is creating a new political space that may become increasingly important. As such we need new ways of making this visible. Our paper will demonstrate one such way.

Discussant: Tadashi Takenouchi, University of Tokyo

Session 24: Writing Lives in Early Modern and Modern Japan: Diaries, Memoirs, and Autobiographies as Historical and Literary Sources (roundtable)

Organizer/Chair: Marcia Yonemoto, University of Colorado at Boulder / Ochanomizu University

The four participants in the roundtable will address the challenges and opportunities presented by using diaries, memoirs, and autobiographies as sources for literary and historical analysis. Questions to be addressed include: how can we write social and cultural history based on the necessarily limited and often fragmented experiences of a single individual? In the case of people who were “unimportant” by traditional historical standards, how can we draw connections between larger historical/social/cultural trends and the individual who may have been relatively unaffected by those trends? In the case of people who were well known during their lifetimes, how do we reconcile “personal” writings with “public” images? How does gender inflect the writing and interpretation of diaries, memoirs, and autobiographies? Each participant will focus on the life and writings of one individual who forms a significant part of his/her present research. The roundtable participants will keep their formal presentations brief in order to engage the audience in a discussion of general themes as well as specific issues.

1) Marcia Yonemoto, University of Colorado at Boulder / Ochanomizu University

Marcia Yonemoto will discuss the life and writings of Inoue Tsūjo, a late-seventeenth century female literary prodigy from Shikoku who from the age of sixteen wrote instructional guides for women (jokunsho) as well as numerous accounts of her life and travels, including a diary of recording her experiences in Edo as a lady-in-waiting to the mother of a daimyo.

2) Gaye Rowley, Waseda University

Gaye Rowley will note some of the problems that arise in trying to reconstruct the life of Ogimachi Machiko, concubine to Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658-1714), Grand Chamberlain (sobayōnin) to the fifth Tokugawa shogun, Tsunayoshi (1646-1709). Machiko’s lengthy diary, Matsukage nikki, though based upon actual events, is also an attempt to shape her own life in the mold of a woman living in the world of The Tale of Genji.
3) Faye Yuan Kleeman, University of Colorado at Boulder / University of Tokyo

Faye Kleeman examines the colorful life of Kawahara Misaoko, who rose from her origins as a timid schoolteacher in Nagano to become the founder of the first women’s school in China, advisor on education policy to the Karachin Regime of the Inner Mongolia Royal House, and the first Japanese female spy during the Russo-Japanese War. She subsequently married a banker and moved to the United States. Kleeman will give an overview of her intertextual, micro-examination of Kawahara’s life story using sources such as biography, autobiography, newspaper, and magazines. She also seeks to contextualize the macro historical and social environment in which Kawahara was lionized and vilified in different periods.

4) Simon Partner, Duke University / Waseda University

Simon Partner will discuss the diary of Aizawa Kikutaro, a landlord in Kanagawa Prefecture who kept a diary from 1885 until his death in 1963. The diary is a primary resource for a study of changes in village life between 1880 and 1920, and functions as a prequel of sorts to Partner’s previously published biography *Toshié: A Story of Village Life in Twentieth-Century Japan* (University of California Press, 2004). His presentation will focus on Aizawa’s life and writings in the 1880s.

Session 25: Travel and Transnationality: Discourses of Identity in Latter Twentieth-century Japanese Travel Writings

Organizer/Chair: Jordan Smith, University of California, Los Angeles

In twentieth-century Japan, technological advance combined with alternating spirits of adventure, colonialism, emigration, leisure, and spiritual questing to produce a new breed of travel. The increase of movement from, toward, and around Japan paralleled a rise in travel writing as a mode of recording strange sites and experience, and as a technique for negotiating identity in the midst of new cultural relations, formations, and clashes. This panel seeks to examine narrative and descriptions of identity formation in latter twentieth-century travel writing that originates from or elucidates a Japanese perspective.

Utilizing heavily comparative approaches, the panel covers a broad range of historical periods, geographical relationships, and authorial subjectivities: historically, they trace the movement of travel narratives from the post-war period through the period of the economic boom to the post-boom; transnationally, they discuss Japan’s relationships to the U.S., Greece, Italy, and Mexico, via thematic assessments of colonialism, spirituality, translation and other personal encounters with spaces and beings whose stamp of foreignness becomes problematized. In terms of authorial subject positions, we include writings from Ariyoshi Sawako, a writer whose works envisioned alternately versions of Japanese tradition and its evolution abroad; from Ōe Kenzaburo, a Nobel Prize Winner who gained fame as a post-war and then ambiguously autobiographical writer but whose time in Mexico is another formative but often overlooked aspect of his unique blend of reality and fiction; and from Murakami Haruki, a post-modernist literary phenomenon whose engagements with the foreign and the bizarre have engrained his writings in the global consciousness.
We hope our diversity of approaches to issues that have alternately informed and challenged the metanarratives of twentieth-century Japan will shed light on its transnational identity negotiations vis-à-vis increasingly important others.

1) Abbie Yamamoto, University of California, Berkeley

The War-bride’s Identity Formation in New York City: Emiko in Ariyoshi Sawako’s Hishoku (No Colors)

Who are the immigrants that leave Japan? What are their experiences in the “foreign land” that they inhabit? Hishoku (1964), a novel written by Ariyoshi Sawako (1931-1984), portrays a Japanese war-bride, a woman who came of age during World War II and marries a U.S. soldier after the war. Emiko’s travel across the Pacific Ocean and around New York City starts after she decides to depart Japan to join her husband and to provide a better environment for her daughter, Meari (Mary). Geographical travel functions to facilitate Emiko’s self-definition. She becomes a part of a new society, and she must figure out how and where she fits in. Emiko’s keen observations of her surroundings expose the city’s racial tensions and hierarchy. What she observes, how she observes them, and how her observations affect her as someone who married across national and racial borders serves as a case study in discussing the identity of cross-national immigrants through marriage while inhabiting a cosmopolitan city.

2) Jordan Smith, University of California, Los Angeles

Satori and Sainthood in Mexico: Poly-fictionalizing the Spiritual Quest in Ōe Kenzaburo’s Jinsei no Shinseki (An Echo of Heaven)

Ōe Kenzaburo’s time in Mexico in 1976 as a visiting professor has crystallized in at least one of his major novels, Jinsei no Shinseki (tr. An Echo of Heaven). In this intensely spiritual and philosophical travel narrative, the narrator is suspiciously similar to the author: both have a severely mentally handicapped son who has grown up to become a famous composer, both are academics and writers, and both have spent time in Mexico and the U.S. Although this parallel experience of travel unites author and narrator, it is the main character of the novel, Marie, who employs travel as both a means of escape from dysfunctional and decimated family to a surrogate family bound together in a religious community seeking spiritual enlightenment (satori). Her quest leads to Mexico, where the agricultural commune she works hard to sustain canonizes her as a ‘saint’ upon her untimely death.

The novel integrates numerous levels of fictive narration and realism: Ōe’s semi-autobiographical appearance as narrator, the fictional tale, and the documentary/biography of Marie that the characters undertake. What does this ambiguous relationship with reality say about travel writing as a genre for a reading imagination? As the novel uses Mexico as the agrarian commune that will eventually produce the martyr, while employing numerous Japanese-Mexican immigrant characters to challenge and invent Marie’s satori and sainthood, this paper seeks to understand Mexico’s role in the Japanese imagination: how does exoticization of Mexico as land of toil, sexual danger, and the lingering Japanese colony figure in the reiteration of the classical intimacy between travel and spirituality? Why Ōe, and why during the economic ‘boom’ years in Japan?

3) Timothy Unverzagt Goddard, University of California, Los Angeles
Views of Murakami Haruki: Tōi Taiko and the Contemporary Travel Narrative

In this paper, I examine Tōi taiko, a collection of travel writing by Murakami Haruki. The volume, originally published in 1993, covers a three-year period from the autumn of 1986 to the autumn of 1989, during which Murakami lived in Italy and Greece. It was a significant time in the author’s life and career, as Norwegian Wood was published in 1987 to spectacular success. Yet it is Murakami’s deliberate avoidance of the spotlight that is most intriguing, as it lends a deeply personal dimension to his travels. By considering the events described in Tōi taiko as they relate to Murakami himself, I seek to better understand why Murakami left Japan for Europe, and what his experiences there meant to him.

In addition to providing insight into his own sensibilities, Murakami’s travel writing also serves as a conduit between the cultures of Europe and Japan. On this broader scale, the significance of Tōi taiko is tied to its place within the tradition of Japanese travel writing, but is also reflective of constantly changing cultural dynamics.

Finally, although Murakami’s novels are widely translated into English, his other writings are not. With this inquiry into Tōi taiko, I seek not merely to address the aforementioned questions of personal and cultural identity, but also to reassess the ways in which Murakami is viewed in the West.

Discussant: Michael Bourdaghs, University of California, Los Angeles

Session 26: Mass Utopia in East Asia
Organizer: Sujaya Dhanvantari, Chuo University
Chair: Bernard Wilson, University of Hong Kong

This panel includes papers that consider the spread of the phantasmagoria of modernity in East Asian locations. The concept of the dream world or utopia is put forward by Susan Buck-Morss in Dreamsworlds and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West (MIT 2000) as a 20th-century phantasmagoria, in which competing Soviet and American visions of industrial modernity harnessed the psychic energy of the masses. Taking this as an inspiration, this panel will examine mass utopia in East Asia. The papers consider how East Asian mass utopias recall Soviet or American phantasmagorias of modernity, representing a migration of capitalist and/or communist forms. They also address the current crisis over utopian constructions of modernity and the anxiety of modern consciousness. Finally, they consider the current spread of mass utopian modernity in Japan through the current growth of religious institutions. This panel examines the layered sites of meaning in East Asian cultural modernities through film, literature, and institutions. Papers that examine current crises and developments show how there has been a passing of mass utopia in East Asia, followed by the growth of new utopian forms.

1) James Tink, Chuo University

Somersaults and Contradictions: Confounded Modernities in Japanese and Korean Fiction of the 1990s

Susan Buck-Morss has discussed the sense of cultural disappointment that has followed the failure of the modern utopian imaginaries of the last century. This paper will examine the theme of that disappointment in two recent works of fiction. Ōe Kenzaburō’s Somersault (1999), his first novel since winning the Nobel Prize for Literature, describes the disintegration and revival of a utopian new age religious cult in Japan. In fact, the novel reiterates a number of Ōe’s long-standing interests in Japanese modernity, such as the
anxiety of historical repetition and the tensions of a national cultural imaginary. This will be compared with Yang Gui-ja’s bestseller *Contradictions* (1998), which consciously uses the genre of popular romantic fiction to reflect upon the loss of historical certainty and the parlous state of the subject in the consumer capitalism of South Korea. Both fictions, it will be argued, are evocations of how modernity is experienced as something confounded by history. In particular, both novels foreground the failure of synthesis to represent historical experience, producing fictions marked by repetitions, aimless somersaults and baffling contradictions.

2) Sujaya Dhanvantari, Chuo University

*Visions of Modernity in Soviet and Japanese Radical Film of the 1920s*

This paper will be a comparative study of two films from the 1920s: Dziga Vertov’s *Man With a Movie Camera* and Kinugasa Teinosuke’s *Page of Madness* (*Kurutta Ippeji*). These silent films expose the early 20th-century dreamworlds of industrial modernity. My aim is to examine the spread of cinematic utopias as a creative force that shaped interpretations of modernity. Particularly relevant is the attempt to articulate the role of mass society in relation to visions of industrial modernity through film. I will make the case that both films name particular communist and capitalist forms of modernity. By drawing on Susan Buck-Morss’s work that argues for a similarity between capitalist (West) and communist (East) forms of industrial modernity, I will show how these films share visions of a mass cultural utopia. My paper will suggest that the study of 20th-century phantasmagorias in East Asia reveals how radical cinema represented modernity as a mass dreamworld that was shaped by international cinematic representations.

3) John Clammer, Sophia University

*Japanese New Religions*

A major source of utopian thinking in Japan has had its source in religion, and this is especially true of the ideas emerging from the “New Religions,” whether those of a Buddhist, Shinto or magical variety. Many of the Japanese New Religions have become mass movements with, in some cases, membership running into the millions. Furthermore, many have now become major exporters of their ideas to an international market. This paper will explore utopianism in the Japanese new religions, its sources in Shinto and Buddhist concepts of purity/pollution and the Pure Land, the extreme Japancentrism of many of these utopian projects, with Japan seen as being the new promised land uniquely merging material success and spiritual depth, and the profound differences between most European utopian thinking and that discovered in Japan. In conclusion the paper will discuss the future of these utopian impulses, both as ideas and as projects in contemporary Japanese society.

Discussant: Bernard Wilson, University of Hong Kong
1) Limin Bai, Victoria University of Wellington

Confucianism in the Context of Sino-Japanese Intellectual Interchange: Modern Chinese Textbooks and Japanese Influence

“Confucianism” in this paper is taken as an intellectual agent in the Sino-Japanese intellectual interchange; the composition of modern Chinese textbooks in the transitional period of the 1890s is discussed to illustrate how the “Japanese Confucianism” played a significant role in the diffusion of western learning in China.

In the 1890s many Chinese reformers regarded western education, or the “modern form of education,” as one of the critical factors contributing to the successes of the West. Yet the western “foreignness” and the language barriers made it difficult for the Chinese to digest western ideas. Looking at Japan’s achievements, these reformers considered Japan a gateway to the sciences and technology of the West. In their view, Japan was successful at preserving Confucianism while adopting western learning. The native Chinese Confucianism in Japan was successfully interculturalised not only to comply with the Japanese culture but also to incorporate western learning, and to contextualise the foreign “otherness” into the form of Confucianism. This process bridged the gap between Confucianism and western learning. Through this Japanese version of Confucianism the Chinese reformers found the ground for borrowing the foreign ideas and knowledge, and the sharing of Chinese characters in both writing systems supplied the means for this intellectual borrowing. Under these circumstances, some Japanese textbooks, including subjects in both sciences and xiushen (morality and behaviour), were translated into Chinese or used directly as Chinese textbooks, and had a great impact on the composition of new Chinese textbooks in aspects of content, format and design.

2) Naoko Kato, University of Texas at Austin

Shanghai’s Ambiguous Identity: Sino-Japanese Cultural Exchanges at Uchiyama Bookstore

The Republican China period is generally seen as a series of anti-imperialist and anti-foreign movements that coincide with the development of Chinese nationalism. Instrumental leaders of the New Cultural Movement such as Lu Xun, Yu Dafu, and Guo Moruo are regarded as heroes, or as culminating symbols of the May Forth spirit. What is overlooked is the fact that they had continual ties with Japanese intellectuals even in the midst of the movement.

I explore the relationship between Japanese and Chinese cultural literati in Shanghai, using Uchiyama Bookstore as the focal point. I argue that the bookstore served as a Sino-Japanese salon that sustained the activities of May Fourth writers; a shelter for Chinese political refugees escaping from the Kuomintang; a must-past-through “Shanghai Customs” for Japanese writers eager to meet their Chinese counterparts; and an indispensable networking center for Japanese left-wing activists working for the Communist cause. My primary objective is to question the nation-centered narrative of the New Cultural Movement, by focusing on a mixed group of Chinese and Japanese cultural literati in Shanghai. I show the ambiguous nature of Shanghai, where contradictory forces of foreign imperialism and Chinese nationalism coexisted.
3) Christopher Dewell, Waseda University

*Japanese Instructors at the Beijing Police Academy, 1901–1912*

Japan had long existed in the shadow of Chinese cultural fluorescence and the period from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century was a curious juncture where this traditionally defined relationship between China and Japan was transposed. Because Meiji Japan had a head start in pursuing reform and shared a profound cultural affinity with China, it was a logical model to follow in the eyes of many Chinese leaders who sought a way to strengthen their country. The final decade of the Qing Dynasty (1901–1912) was a particularly unprecedented period when Meiji Japan and Qing China pursued reform aimed at strengthening their countries and countering Western encroachment in East Asia. Often this pursuit of reform involved mutual cooperation between Japanese and Chinese visionaries. This case is illustrated in the contributions of Kawashima Naniwa and the nearly three dozen colleagues that served as instructors at the Beijing Police Academy. Kawashima served as the head of the Beijing Police Academy from 1901–1912, a contribution which greatly influenced police reform throughout the late Qing dynasty and early Republic in China. More than 1,600 Chinese trainees graduated from the police academy, and they were dispersed throughout the empire to put abstract ideas for reform into practical application. This study aims to answer what motivated individuals like Kawashima, the novelist Futabatei Shimei, and other former Japanese Army interpreters and Keishi-chō police officers to make Chinese reformist causes their own.

4) Jeremy Phillipps, Kanazawa University

*Imperialism and Regional Identity: The Japan Sea Period and Japanese Imperialism in the Early 1930s*

This paper examines the response by regions along the Sea of Japan coast of Honshū to the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932 in the context of the “Japan Sea Period” idealism of regional development. In doing so, it deals with questions relating to the different perceptions of Imperialism by state and periphery, and examines how patriotism was developed out of regional pride to be associated with national goals. Even more so than Korea, Manchukuo offered the potential of seemingly limitless resources to power Japan’s industrial development. This was most acutely sensed in the comparatively under-developed cities of the Hokuriku region, which were closest to the new trade routes across the Japan Sea. The period between 1932 and 1937, book-ended by the creation of Manchukuo and the start of full-scale war with China, and as relayed to the public by contemporary industrial expos in the principal Hokuriku cities of Kanazawa and Toyama, shows a dramatic rise in local visions of Imperialism, tailored to local goals and ideals for regional development. In particular, an examination of the themes and displays of the two expos shows a clear link between regional pride and national patriotism, with the displays and media publicity focusing on the importance of both militaristic pride and the related economic benefits that the ‘Japan Sea Era’ would bring. This adaptation of national goals to further regional interests formed a type of ‘regional Imperialism’ in which peripheral regions supported Imperialist goals not solely through patriotic fervour but through pragmatic economic motives.

5) Iu Yiu, Chinese University of Hong Kong

*Globalization and Localization of the “Seiyū” Culture in an Asian Context*
This paper focuses on the popularization, perception and impact of Japanese seiyū (voice artists) in an Asian context from historical, cultural and comparative perspectives. Through a systematic overview of the historical development and current conditions of seiyū in Japan, it discusses reasons for the rising popularity of the seiyū culture and the importance and influence of seiyū on Japanese as well as Asian popular culture. Besides giving scholarly attention to the cultural and social importance of seiyū, this paper examines whether seiyū is a unique Japanese culture and how different patterns of acquiring and adapting foreign cultures emerge. By comparing with its Hong Kong counterpart, the impact of Japanese seiyū culture on the national and cultural identities among Hong Kong youths will be investigated in the lens of such cultural globalization theories as cultural imperialism, glocalization, indigenization and hybridity.

Session 28: Japanese Youth and Deviance: Representations in Print and Visual Media
Organizer/Chair: Melanie Czarnecki, Sophia University

This panel hopes to contribute to the growing interest in Japanese youth studies. From both historical and contemporary perspectives, our panel offers an interdisciplinary approach to the interpretation of the relationship between youth and deviance depicted in newspapers, letters, photographs, novels, academic texts, manga, and anime. Deviant behavior needs to be considered within the context of the political, social, and technological environments which govern human activity during certain times. As such, our panel will offer specific illustrations of what it meant, and means, to be young and deviant citing examples from late-Meiji, post-WWII, and contemporary Japan. Some themes that will be explored include, the profound impact that “civilization and enlightenment” adapted ideologies had on the construction of the image of the Japanese schoolgirl as a sexual deviant in Meiji Japan; American and Japanese views of post WWII orphans, who were reduced to poverty-stricken circumstances and left with no choice but to carry out so-called deviant behavior to survive; an analysis of Murakami Haruki’s challenge to simplistic, patriarchal interpretations of deviance and delinquency in Wind-Up Bird Chronicle and Kafka on the Shore; and finally an examination of Evangelion, Paranoia Agent and Densha Otoko, which will show that deviance becomes an invisible menace associated with the category of youth as the otaku loses its mark of absolute asociality.

1) Melanie Czarnecki, Sophia University
Social Outcasts: Schoolgirls and Abortion in Late Meiji

Nine years prior to the promulgation of the Girls’ Higher School Order (1899), abortion became a crime punishable under law in Japan (Dataizai, 1880). Similar to the formalization of girls’ higher education for the purpose of realizing a prosperous and powerful nation (kokka fukyō), Japan’s new abortion law also aimed to advance the nation’s quest for prosperity and power by increasing the birthrate. “Good-wife-wise-mother” ideology, the cornerstone of girls’ higher education, called for the cultivation of the ideal Japanese woman. Thus, the importance of protecting one’s chastity until marriage, at which time one was expected to reproduce as many future soldiers as possible, was stressed in school curriculums. Schoolgirls who disregarded these teachings and freely engaged in love affairs were regarded as morally degenerate and faced society’s scorn. However, schoolgirls who found themselves pregnant and underwent an illegal abortion doubly faced the risk of social persecution or even criminal prosecution. The double standards
that Japanese law and society placed on young girls meant that their male lovers avoided persecution, while they alone were condemned for engaging in delinquent behavior.

Through an investigation of newspaper articles and an analysis of Oguri Fūyō’s novel, Youth (Seishun, 1906), which depicts the illicit relationship between schoolboy Seki Kinya and schoolgirl Ono Shigeru, culminating in her pregnancy and subsequent abortion, I plan to uncover certain complex structural mechanisms that were both counterproductive to state initiatives and situated single pregnant women in a no-win situation, regardless of whether they chose to go through with their pregnancy or not.

2) Joanne Izbicki, Ithaca College

There’s No Such Thing as a Bad Otoko no ko: Japanese War Orphans and Fr. Edward Flanagan

In a photograph published in the Asahi Shimbun in July of 1947, a young boy with clenched fists and a fierce grimace resists being ejected from the subway by two Tokyo Station attendants. In sharp contrast to the obvious distress and fury of the boy, the attendants are smiling, apparently amused by the boy’s non-cooperation. This and many others photos from the early years of the Allied Occupation exhibit dirty, often shoeless children inhabiting the train stations at night and eking a living on the streets by day—the orphans of the Pacific War. Some were nuisances in the eyes of adults, some were considered social deviants, and still others became victims of exploiters. To address this problem of vagrant children, the United States’ State Department, at the behest of General Douglas MacArthur, invited Edward Flanagan—the Catholic priest who founded and ran Boys Town in the U.S.—to visit Japan, study the situation of the children, and recommend policies to alleviate the problem. Flanagan’s famous motto for Boys Town was “There’s no such thing as a bad boy” and he approached his Japanese mission from the same perspective.

The Japanese and American press gave considerable coverage to Flanagan’s visit and the priest himself wrote and spoke extensively about Japanese children during and after his trip. This paper examines the American and Japanese views of these vagrant children that emerged in word and image during and following Father Flanagan’s mission.

3) Maria Flutsch, University of Tasmania

Murakami Haruki and His Killer Teenagers

Murakami Haruki’s interest in disturbed, alienated youth finds its apotheosis in his psycho-analytical interrogation of the conscious and the sub-conscious of two teenage killers, 16 year-old May Kasahara, in Wind-Up Bird Chronicle, who accidentally but directly brought about the death of her boyfriend, and Kafka Tamura in Kafka on the Shore, who murdered his father on his fifteenth birthday. The liminal, social and psychological space that these teenagers find themselves in due to the effects of their crimes on their psyches and on their social position is intensified by their pre-adult stage of psycho-sexual development in a society which itself has recognised its difficulty coping with this age-group of its members. This paper contends that Murakami’s treatment featuring a complex pastiche or mosaic of intertextuality allows for a range of seemingly incompatible interpretations. References to Oedipal dynamics of Lacanian psycho-analytical theory, to mythical archetypes drawn from Jung, Joseph Campbell, Shinto and the classical Japanese literary canon; a historicisation of the issue of criminality through metonymy; a Bakhtinian privileging of the dialogic nature of language; as well as comparisons with the models and modes provided by the 1960s American novels questioning normative pressures of society on youth by Salinger, Vonnegut
4) Christophe Thouny, McGill University

_Synchronizing with the World: The Desire for Connectivity in Post-EVA Japanese Youth Culture_

By examining a variety of academic texts on Youth and Otaku culture along with works such as _Evangelion, Paranoia Agent_ and _Densha Otoko_, I would like to examine the shift now occurring at the level of otaku discourse from the “M Generation’s” ironic celebration of the Otaku as a new stage of humanity, to the current rehabilitation of the otaku as a social category played out onto the field of Japanese society. I believe the turning point in discourse on otaku-youth culture is best exemplified by the EVA-boom as it defines the main orientations of “what was to come”: a temporality of arrival that valorizes a synchronicity of bodily reactions; one that cancels out any opening onto the future and prioritizes the act of linking.

According to several Japanese sociologues, “tsunagari” has now become a self-fulfilling/self-rewarding consuming act that, through the compulsive perverse repetition of the psycho-affective encounter, brings together in the sublime moment of synchronization the self and the world. Such a regime of temporality implies a distinct mode of individuation, one that is not, as Kitada Akihiro remarks, built on the classical opposition between the reflexive self and the romantic self. This shift in modes of individuation is mirrored by one in modalities of deviance. As the otaku looses its mark of absolute asociality, deviance itself becomes an invisible menace now associated with the ubiquitous category of Youth.

Discussant: Robert Yoder, Chuo University

Session 29: **Women’s Mobility and Emancipation in Asia**

**Organizer:** Shong Gor Ooi, Keio University

**Chair:** Fabio Aschero, Keio University

Women in contemporary Asia are experiencing an unprecedented diversification in their life-course paths. Tensions arising from increased opportunities for emancipation alongside the persistence of traditional gender roles find expression in the choices women are forced to make. This panel analyses mobility and change in occupational and marital behaviors as women increasingly explore new options. In an examination of the factors that shape women’s marital choices, work and family, our panelists find evidence of drastic change coexisting with continuity. Aschero uses census and large-scale public opinion data to argue that women are marrying later and less often, not only as a result of choice, but because women who find it difficult to dovetail career ambitions and marriage prefer to avoid choice and remain unmarried. Ooi uses in-depth interviews to investigate migratory experiences of Japanese women who are seek alternatives for their career advancement in Asia. Her findings indicate that skilled Japanese women experience higher job satisfaction and a new life style, but their career prospects are limited in Japanese corporations overseas. Finally, Zaimoglu examines Turkish women who came to Japan through
international marriage or family migration. She conducts interviews and finds a connection between the educational and employment backgrounds of the informants and their conflicts or satisfactions towards their life in Japanese society.

1) Fabio Aschero, Keio University

*Choice or Compromise? Marriage Postponement in Japan and Italy*

According to the “Independence Theory,” the prevalent explanation for marriage postponement, socio-economic emancipation in industrialized countries gives women the power of control over marriage and birth, causing an increase in the mean age at marriage and a drop in the fertility rate. In contrast to the Independence Theory, I demonstrate that in Japan and Italy the phenomenon of marriage postponement is only partly the result of choice and control. Japan and Italy differ from West European countries where gender equality prevails and alternative ways of family formation coexist. These two countries share a similar persistency in gender role segregation in private life and a strong familism: those two factors increase the opportunity costs and the de-powerment risk of marriage, by delaying the exit from the parental home. Marriage postponement is therefore less the result of a choice than that of a compromise. To demonstrate my argument I use data from the Japanese National Fertility Survey, conducted by the National Institute of Population in 1998 and 2002, and from the Multipurpose Survey on Families: Family, Social Subjects and Childhood, performed by the Italian Statistical Office in 1998.

2) Shong Gor Ooi, Keio University

*Skilled Migrant Japanese Women in Asia*

In general, less skilled and skilled Asian men and women tend to migrate to more economic advanced countries for better salaries and social mobility. This study aims to fill the gap in the literature concerning skilled Asian women migration within Asian countries to challenge the stereotypical images and dominant perceptions of migrant Japanese women as dependent spouses, students or skilled migrants who mainly migrate to western countries. Using in-depth interviews I conducted from 2004 to 2005, with 50 skilled Japanese women working in Asia, in particular in China, Malaysia and Singapore, I argue that this new trend of migrant Japanese women’s diasporas in Asia reveals the emergence of a new cosmopolitan class who seek possibilities for career prospects and a new way of living in prosperous developing Asian societies. Skilled Japanese women gain more satisfaction and higher job autonomy as local hires. Also, they experience a different lifestyle; particularly Japanese working mothers are liberated from domestic work and childcare, making career advancement possible. However, Japanese women’s career prospects are limited by working under the system of local hiring in most of the Japanese corporations in urban cities in Asia.

3) Ozlem Zaimoglu, University of Tokyo

*Turkish Women Migrants in Japan*

Various academic scholars in different disciplines pay attention to the “feminization of international population migration.” This study aims to deepen our understanding of Turkish women’s experiences in crossing borders and living in Japan. In 2004, I interviewed sixteen Turkish women who came to Japan through their commitment to their husbands and children. Using information from these interviews, I argue
that my informants’ educational and employment backgrounds determined their level of satisfaction with their lives in Japan. One subgroup of women, who were highly educated and career ambitions, had inner conflicts which prompted serious decisions such as leaving Japan or getting divorced. Another subgroup, who were less educated and were satisfied with traditional gender roles such as childcare and housework, were more satisfied with their lives in Japan and preferred to continue their stay.

Discussant: James Farrer, Sophia University

Session 30: **Newspapers and Journals in Republican-Era Tianjin and Shanghai**
**Organizer/Chair: Timothy Weston, University of Colorado / Waseda University**

There is presently relatively little in the English-language scholarly literature on the press in Republican-era China, yet during that period newspapers and journals exploded in number and importance. This panel brings together three scholars who are currently doing research on journalism in either Tianjin or Shanghai, Republican-era China’s two most open and Westernized cities. Each paper will address specific journals or newspapers in an attempt to arrive at a better understanding of, variously, the way the press functioned, who its main readers were, and how it was related to the worlds of business, advertising, and politics. The papers will all focus on the 1920s and 1930s, a historical era during which urban Chinese society was undergoing rapid cultural, social, and political change. The discussant for this panel, Professor James Huffman, is the foremost English-language authority on the development of the modern Japanese newspaper press and will bring a comparative perspective to the panel.

1) **Timothy Weston, University of Colorado / Waseda University**

*The Politics and Business of Shanghai’s Commercial Newspapers in the 1920s and 1930s*

This paper will focus on the evolving position of Shanghai’s biggest commercial dailies (for example, *Shenbao*, *Xinwenbao*, and *Shibao*) in the 1920s. I am particularly interested in the ways these major newspapers negotiated the terrain between business imperatives on the one hand and political constraints and opportunities on the other. My paper will consider how the newspapers were financed, managed and marketed as well as the ways they adapted themselves to dramatically changing political developments. Among other things, I will comment on the extent to which business considerations did or did not lead these papers away from political reporting and how the managers of the newspapers cultivated (or failed to do so) ties with political leaders at the local and national levels.

2) **Linda Grove, Sophia University**

*The World of Women’s Magazines in 1920s Tianjin*

Tianjin, North China’s largest city, was home to several little-known women’s magazines in the teens and 1920s. This paper will explore the world of women’s magazines through an analysis of two women’s magazines, *Kuaile Jiating* (Happy Family) published in the teens and *Funu*, published in the mid 1920s. The paper will consider questions of content, language, and design in an effort to identify the target audiences of the magazines.
3) Toshihiko Kishi, The University of Shimane
Advertising and Graphics as Seen in I Shi Bao

*I Shi Bao*, one of the major newspapers published in Tianjin in the prewar period, devoted much more space to advertisements than the other newspapers in Tianjin. And more than half of the advertisements were for foreign companies in Tianjin. From this we can see that *I Shi Bao* devoted much time to developing its advertising base, and that the local business community came to give it a high evaluation as an advertising site. This paper will analyze the advertisements in *I Shi Bao*, looking at the design of advertisements, and copy that is attached to them and the types of products that were advertised.

Discussant: James Huffman, Wittenberg University

Session 31: From Edo to Tokyo: The Dissolution of Urban Society in Early Modern Japan
Organizer/Chair: Roderick Wilson, Stanford University

What happens to a city of over a million inhabitants when it suddenly loses half its population? When a new government rapidly confiscates close to seventy percent of the city’s land? And, when centuries old religious institutions are ordered to split in two, moved about, or dismantled all together? This is what happened in Edo on its way to becoming Tokyo. In Edo, Japan’s preeminent castle town and the headquarters of the Tokugawa government, the Meiji Restoration seemed to point less toward a clear path to the future than to a continuation of the economic hardship and political disarray that were the hallmark of the previous two decades.

In the four papers that make up our panel, we focus on the dissolution of old patterns of life in Edo and the changes experienced variously by merchants selling goods in Nihonbashi, Shinto priests overseeing their shrines, fishermen drawing up nets in Edo Bay, and pilgrims walking the highway to and from temples in the Chichibu Mountains. Rather than focus solely on the turmoil surrounding the year 1868, however, all four authors have started earlier with the Tempo Reforms of 1841–43 and looked further toward the end of the nineteenth century. We also emphasize the spatial aspects of this transformation both within city of Edo itself and in the city’s relationship with its surrounding mountains and sea. In doing so, our panel offers a multidimensional and multidisciplinary perspective on how people experienced the unraveling of one worldview and the formation of another.

1) Kaoru Iwamoto, University of Tokyo
Chichibu’s Kannon Temples Before and After the Meiji Restoration

In this paper, I focus on the Chichibu kannon pilgrimage. Located about 100 kilometers to the northwest of Edo, people began making the pilgrimage to the 34 *fudasho* temples in the Chichibu Mountains during the fifteenth century. By the early eighteenth century, however, individuals and groups of pilgrims began increasingly to visit the temples from the nearby metropolis of Edo. To further promote such pilgrimages and increase its own prestige, the *fudasho* temples also began to hold regular events, such as *kaichō*—the exhibition of the sacred images of the 34 Kannons both in Chichibu and in Edo. The most obvious result of such active promotion was that commoners, samurai, and even daimyo came to patronize the temples and believe in the Kannons’ sacral authority.
After the 1868 Meiji Restoration, however, the structure of this pilgrimage radically changed. Initially, a number of fudasho temples were either destroyed or forcibly reorganized by the newly established local governments through the promulgation of the 1868 order for the separation of shrines from temples (Shinbutsu bunri-rei) and the later prohibition of Shugendo (Shugendo kinshi-rei). As this suppression by local officials continued, the temples also encountered increasing difficulty in attracting pilgrims from the new Westernizing capital of Tokyo. In addition, I use this examination of the changing fortunes of the Chichibu’s Kannon Temples to illuminate how the transformation of Edo into Tokyo also had a profound impact on peripheral areas like the Chichibu region.

2) Masato Takenouchi, University of Tokyo

**Dissolution of Early-Modern Urban Society and the Activities of Shinto Priests in Edo and Tokyo**

In cities throughout early modern Japan, there existed a large population of Buddhist and Shinto priests directly associated with temples and shrines as well as those less well off who earned a living by offering their services in incantation, fortune telling, or public entertainment. In line with the religious policies of the Tokugawa Shogunate, most temples and shrines fell under the control of court nobles or main, so-called honjo, temples or shrines. Little, however, is known about the activities, lives, and social relations of these various kinds of priests and even less is known about what happened to these city-dwelling priests in the wake of the 1868 Meiji Restoration.

Based a reading of documents kept by Shinto priests at the Suginomori Shrine near Nihonbashi and the Sumiyoshi Shrine on Tsukada Island in the mouth of the Sumida River, the first half of this paper begins by reconstructing the lives and activities of these hereditary priest families and their shrines in the first half of the nineteenth century. Having described the social structure of these two shrines, the second half of the paper shows how these priests reacted to the slow dissolution of the Edo society by looking first at their forced relocation during the Tempō Reforms (1841–43) and the greater disruptions caused by the 1868 Meiji Restoration.

3) Roderick Wilson, Stanford University

**From Edo Bay to Edomae: Environmental Relations in Tokyo’s Fishing Communities, 1850s–1890s**

Mention the word Edomae in Tokyo today and images of fresh sushi or chic cuisine are likely to come to mind. Originally used to refer to the broad area to the south and east of Edo Castle, by the mid-seventeenth century Edomae also took on the meaning of fish caught in the nearby Edo Bay and sold fresh at up to seven markets throughout the city. While this sense of freshness and authenticity remain, its application to fish caught as far away as the Alaskan and West African coastlines indicate just how distant Edomae has drifted from Edo Bay.

In this paper, I focus on the changing environmental relations of Shibaura’s Honshiba and Kanasugi fishing communities (located below what is now the Tokyo Metropolitan Expressway and in the afternoon shadow of the Tokyo Tower). The first part of this paper focuses on the seasonal flow of fish and work in the prior to and after the 1868 Meiji Restoration and introduces energy as the protean concept that best expresses how people are inextricably embedded in nature. The second part focuses on the social geography of these two communities during the Meiji period to how the creation of a new legal system regarding the ownership and use of waterside land, regulations for the management of the fisheries, and
dredging and land reclamation along the bay shore worked in tandem to de-localize the production and supply of fish for the Tokyo market.

4) Megumi Matsuyama, University of Tokyo

Renters’ Rights: Changing Patterns of Tenancy in Meiji-Period Tokyo

A singularly important characteristic of Japan’s early modern cities, nearly all of which were castle towns, was a system of zoning where urban space was segregated according to three social groups—those of samurai status, Buddhist or Shinto priestly status, and commoner or townsperson status. Accordingly, in the largest castle town of Edo, townspeople constituted 70% of the city’s population but occupied only 30% of the city’s area. In addition, because the Tokugawa bakufu’s strict regulations on ground and building rents discouraged all but the wealthiest of merchants from seeking a profit though the actual ownership of property, most of this urban population rented the land on which they lived and worked.

Following the 1868 Meiji Restoration and Edo becoming Tokyo, however, both the social position and central location of these townspeople became increasingly important. While the new government expropriated many of the estates held by families of the samurai class and abolished many of the restrictions on land ownership and rent, it more importantly determined that the land tax would be its primary source of revenue. Amidst the disorder following the dissolution of the early modern order, the practice of land ownership and rent changed dramatically. In this paper, I trace the changing patterns of tenancy in the important commercial area of Nihonbashī from the time of the Tempō Reforms (1841–43) to the late 1890s to show how these early-Meiji period legal reforms and later lobbying in the National Diet strengthened renters’ rights nationwide.

Discussant: David Howell, Princeton University

Session 32: Transformation as Innovation: The Uses of China in Eighteenth to Twentieth-century Japanese Artistic Practice

Organizer/Chair : Sachiko Idemitsu, Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures

Japanese artists have conventionally regarded both China and Chinese artistic traditions as models; they depicted Chinese landscapes and employed Chinese themes. During the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, however, the notion of what symbolised “China” shifted in Japanese artistic practice. The aim of this session is to examine the ways in which Japanese artists engaged with Chinese culture from the early modern era to the Second World War.

Sachiko Idemitsu will begin with a talk on eighteenth-century Japanese artistic practice by focusing on “true view paintings.” Until now, scholarship has analysed the concept of “true view paintings” based on the artist Ike no Taiga (1723–1776) and his followers. This paper reconsiders the concept of “true view paintings” by examining formative works created by priests of the Ōbaku sect.

Secondly, Rosina Buckland will speak on the activities of the nineteenth-century literati artist Taki Katei (1830–1901). She examines how elements of Chinese style were taken from literati culture and were transformed into a form of bird-and-flower painting to represent Japan. Her analysis sheds light on a neglected field: the mid-Meiji literati world and its renewed interest in Chinese-influenced culture.
The final speaker, Maki Kaneko, will present a paper on the numerous images of the Great Buddha in Yungang Grottoes produced by Japanese artists during the wartime period. This paper explores how the notion of China was transformed in Japanese painting, acquiring new artistic meaning as well as political connotations.

These papers will clarify various aspects relating to the transformation of Japanese perceptions of China, and the artistic innovations that resulted.

1) Sachiko Idemitsu, Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures

The Birth of True Views: One Aspect of Artistic Activities by Ōbaku Priests in Early Eighteenth-Century Japan

Works by the Nanga painter Ike no Taiga (1723–1776) and his followers have been studied by art historians as “true view” paintings (shinkei-zu) primarily because one of Taiga’s followers, Kuwayama Gyokushū (1746–1799), presumed Taiga to be the pioneer of this genre. A survey of paintings by priests of the Ōbaku sect of Zen Buddhism shows, however, that similar styles of “true-view” depictions had already appeared in the early eighteenth century, before Taiga’s birth. In the Japanese Ōbaku sect, as a practice, twelve holy places of the temple were often cited, linking them to images of Chinese Ōbaku temples. Moreover, Japanese Ōbaku priests attempted to find their Chinese images of famous places even in the Japanese landscape. The priest Hyakusetsu Genyō (1668–1749), for example, depicted Wondrous Scenery of Kinosaki, but associated them with the famous images of Mount Li in China.

This presentation examines how Japanese Ōbaku priests regarded Japanese scenery under the influence of Ming and Qing culture. Furthermore, it will explore the extent to which styles and compositions were transformed during the eighteenth century, through a comparison of handscrolls by Japanese Ōbaku priests in the early eighteenth century and by Taiga in the mid-eighteenth century. As a result, one aspect of the uniqueness of “true views” by Taiga will be clarified. My study of “true-view” landscape paintings will also explore how, through the Ōbaku sect, Japanese people accepted and altered Chinese contemporary culture during the Tokugawa era (1603–1868).

2) Rosina Buckland, New York University

Transformation as Innovation: From Travelling Bunjin to Meiji Master

Scholarship has tended to assume that Chinese-inflected culture in Japan—painting styles, painting and calligraphy parties, informal collaborative scrolls, poetry in Chinese—was obliterated in the late nineteenth century by official policies of Westernisation. On the contrary, far from dying out after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, it remained a strong field until the late 1880s.

However, with the creation of the infrastructure of a modern nation-state, and increasing hostility towards the Qing empire, style became isolated from the larger cultural consciousness of China. In my paper I examine how painters of the Japan Art Association (Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai) used elements taken from their training in Chinese styles, but deployed them strategically in service of an ‘invented tradition’ of bird-and-flower paintings in order to represent Japan, a form that matched contemporary international tastes for the ornate and decorative.

My focus is on the works of Taki Katei (1830–1901), a representative Meiji master, and one of the last generation of painters trained in the styles of Ming- and Qing-dynasty painting, and who had sought
out genuine Chinese contact in Nagasaki early in his career. By the mid-Meiji era he and his colleagues were transformed through participation in new professional art societies, public exhibitions and commissions for the court. They benefited greatly from the change of regime, with the most successful of them becoming Imperial Household Artists. Yet they were ultimately eclipsed, and their achievements forgotten, due to factional rivalries and the subsequent direction of government-sponsored art.

3) Maki Kaneko, University of East Anglia

Representing Asia: Images of the Great Buddha in Wartime Japan

When war with China broke out in 1937, the Japanese government used as justification the ideal of establishing an East Asian cultural and economic pact. In this political context, the centuries-old notion of China as the motherland and source of cultural inspiration acquired new artistic meaning.

This paper examines how Japanese artists appropriated imagery from China in this tumultuous age. For this purpose, the focus is on a specific theme that flourished in Japanese visual culture of that time: the Great Buddha of the Yungang Grottoes in the Shanxi Province. As a result of the war, the Yungang Grottoes were placed under Japanese supervision in 1937. A group of Japanese scholars carried out extensive research at the site, and the results were published in Japan, together with photographs.

Using their own experiences in China, as well as published reports and photographs, artists such as Maeda Seison (1885–1977) and Kawabata Ryūshi (1885–1966) represented the Yungang Grottoes in their work. Their styles differed, but their depictions of the Great Buddha had in common a departure from the conventions of traditional Buddhist and landscape painting. Instead, the paintings obtained political connotations: the Great Buddha as a representation of the glorious Asian heritage now safeguarded by the Japanese military. By examining images of the Great Buddha as seen in Japanese visual culture after 1937, this paper will explore how Japanese perceptions of ‘China’ were transformed in the age of war.

Discussant : Matthew Mckelway, Gakushuin University

Session 33: Individual Papers on Writing and Language in Japan History

Chair: Tzvetana Kristeva, International Christian University

1) Jan Leuchtenberger, University of Puget Sound

Spreading the Word: The Role of the Kashihonya in Disseminating One Forbidden Kirishitan Text

A popular fascination with the “foreign” during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Japan inspired a variety of texts about faraway places and “others,” including some about the Kirishitan (Christian). One such tale, commonly known under the title Kirishitan shūmon raichō jikki (True Record of the Arrival of the Kirishitan Sect), circulated only in manuscript from the late seventeenth century until it was first printed in 1868. Recent archival research by the author has catalogued the existence of extant manuscripts of the tale under a surprising 65 different titles. While in some cases only one copy of a given title exists, in others there are up to eighteen copies of a title, bringing the total number of extant copies to approximately 150. This number generally exceeds that of extant copies of more widely known titles and even printed texts from the period.
The diffusion of this text is even more remarkable considering the longstanding ban on printing or selling anything about the Kirishitan sect and the promulgation of edicts as early as the seventeenth century prohibiting the production of the jitsuroku (jikki), or “true account.” Despite this ban, however, research into the book trade and kashihonya (lending libraries) has shown that the jitsuroku was a popular and important part of the lending libraries’ inventory. Through a discussion of the circulation of Kirishitan shūmon raichō jikki, this talk will examine the kashihonya system as a point of access for “underground” texts that was hidden in plain view of the censoring authorities.

2) Paul Clark, West Texas A&M University/Rikkyo University

*The Genbun'itchi Society and the Drive to “Nationalize” the Japanese Language*

The language we know today as modern Japanese began to take shape in the Meiji era (1868–1912). Rising out of the chaos of several, variant writing styles and multiple spoken dialects, a national language, read and understood by most Japanese emerged to become a unifying force in the first decades of the twentieth century. Today, the Japanese language is revered as one of the most important cultural markers delineating Japanese identity. Indeed, many Japanese feel a spiritual bond towards their language. Yet, most are unaware that modern Japanese was a construction of the late Meiji era and are unacquainted with those who sought to mold it to suit the needs of the broader Meiji “nationalization” movement. This paper will outline the influence of the Genbun’itchi Society on the development of modern Japanese

In March of 1900, the Imperial Society for Education launched the Genbun’itchi Society for the purposes of promoting the colloquial style in fields other than literature. They made a bold statement in establishing a language reform advocacy group with the name of “Genbun’itchi” and were indicating that they rejected one of the traditional forms such as kanbun or sōrōbun—and even the interim form of futsūbun in favor of the colloquial form. I will demonstrate how the concept of a national language emerged in the Meiji era.

3) Curtis Anderson Gayle, Leiden University

*Writing History and Contesting Memory: Ehime and the Emergence of Chi’iki Josei-shi*

In early post-war Japan history and memory were contested spheres of discourse and practice. For some, history-writing within the context of everyday life represented a means to help bring about social and political change. The Ehime Women’s History-Writing Circle, which this year celebrates 50 years of continuous activity, was inspired by Marxian approaches to history-writing as a form of social activism. Members of the Ehime group were, in fact, both personally and professionally acquainted with Marxian historians such as Inoue Kiyoshi. Yet, their praxis of history-writing also indicates that they sought to construct a different locus of historical subjectivity from Marxists. Memories of the wartime past, seen within the context of tribulations in Ehime and their impact upon local women, helped shape the goal of writing a new kind of “local,” or “chi’iki,” that had not yet been seen on the post-war historical landscape. In Ernst Bloch’s terminology, the Ehime group’s sense of historical time and memory was “non-synchronous” with other narratives and approaches to history-writing in the 1950s. This paper will examine how the ‘non-synchronous’ sense of history in Ehime was rooted in specific memories of the war and the desire to write women’s history from the margins. The conclusion of the paper will also offer
evidence that early post-war developments in Ehime were instrumental to the subsequent emergence of ‘regional women’s history’ during the contemporary period.

4) Kelly Hansen, University of Hawaii

*Genbun’itchi in the Twenty-first Century: The Case of Densha Otoko*

*Genbun’itchi*, or the unification of the spoken and written languages, is a term generally associated with the early Meiji Period. Because the writing styles of the time were considered archaic and inadequate for describing the rapidly changing society, many leaders of the time advocated the development of a written form which more closely approximated the spoken language. However, early attempts at *genbun’itchi* were unsuccessful. This was due in part to a misconception that gave the spoken language primacy over writing, and in part to the mistaken belief that oral discourse could simply be transcribed into a written language. *Ukigumo* (The Floating Cloud, 1887–89) by Futabatei Shimei, considered one of the first successful attempts at *genbun’itchi*, actually drew upon wide range of discourses, including Edo Period fiction, poetry, and theater. In short, many of the conventions associated with the modern written Japanese language have their origins in both oral and written discourses.

Even now in the twenty-first century, new forms of *genbun’itchi* continue to emerge. This paper examines the popular novel *Densha Otoko* (The Train Man) by Nakano Hitori (2004) as a prime example of twenty-first century *genbun’itchi*. In particular, it will be shown how this text, written predominately in the form of e-mail exchanges, merges oral conversational discourse with newly emerging e-mail writing conventions. In other words, much like the Meiji Period *genbun’itchi* movement, *Densha Otoko* draws upon a variety of discourses to create a new written form in response to the changing times.

5) Noriko Manabe, CUNY Graduate Center

*Globalization and Japanese Creativity: Adaptation of the Japanese Language to Rap*

As a genre without a melody but a well-defined beat, rap offers an opportunity to explore the rhythmic and musical aspects of a language. An interesting case study is rap in Japanese, which has completely different syntax, vocabulary, accent patterns, and phonemes from English. Several rap pioneers initially thought that rapping in Japanese was impossible: while the most striking aural patterns in American rap are the rhymes and stress accents, which punctuate the rhythm, Japanese verbal arts have traditionally not emphasized rhyming, and the language lacks stress accents. Therefore, Japanese rappers had to find ways of exploiting the grammatical and phonological resources of their own language to create flow for their raps.

Drawn from interviews with rappers, transcription, and analysis, this paper explores the problems that Japanese rappers initially faced in rhyming and rhythm, the solutions they have applied, and the innovations they have made. To form rhymes, Japanese rappers capitalize on their vocabulary, enriched from Chinese, Japanese, and Western sources. Rappers also use the pitch accents of the Japanese language to create a melodious flow and certain syllables to vary the rhythms. Hence, the rappers have shown that Japanese is unsuitable for rap only when viewed with the restrictive notion that the sound of the English language itself, with its stress accents and poetic feet, is the model, rather than the hip-hop sound. Furthermore, they reflect the culture by employing such hallmarks of Japanese communication as image-painting, subtle turns of phrase, and onomatopoeia, creating raps whose sensibility would be lost in translation.
The paper explores the issue of language in adapting a global genre and the process in which imitation leads to innovation. As studies of the interaction of the features of a language and rap remain relatively neglected, I suggest potential areas for further investigation.