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ABSTRACTS

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ASCJ Executive Committee
Tokyo, June 21, 2011
Marriage remains an ideal practiced by the majority of both men and women in Japan, but expectations of the institution and of the roles of husbands and wives are shifting. Postponement of marriage, an increase in divorce rates, and the emergence of a positive discourse of singlehood reflect these changes: the current median age of first marriage for women is 29.6 (compared to 26.9 in 1989), and the proportion of women who remain unmarried in their late-thirties has increased from 21.9% to 37.3% over the last twenty years (NIPSSR 2009: 67,74).

Thus while marriage remains a popular and likely end-destination for most Japanese women and men, the path to marriage appears increasingly fraught, and requiring guidance. Preparations for marriage, in the form of omiai (formal introduction for the purpose of meeting a marriage partner) konkatsu (an abbreviation of kekkon katsudō - marriage activities, or activities designed to prepare one for marriage) suggest a pragmatic approach to the negotiation of marriage, comparable to the preparations required in job-hunting (shūshoku katsudō).

This panel addresses the constructions of konkatsu in media and popular literature and omiai in the modern marriage industry (kekkon sōdan gyōkai). The papers examine marriage preparation and formal introductions within the context of the changing socio-economic landscape, and explore the notions of marriageability, attractiveness and idealized masculinity and femininity implicit in konkatsu and omiai. These notions are crystallized in the relationship between language and gender, and the tensions between ideals and the socio-economic realities of contemporary Japan.
1) Laura Dales, University of Western Australia  
*“Become happy!”: Konkatsu and the ideals of marriage*

Marriage and childrearing remain implicit markers of the ideal Japanese feminine life course, despite demographic shifts which suggest decreasing relevance. The appearance and currency of the term *konkatsu* (an abbreviation of *kekkon katsudō - marriage activities, or activities designed to prepare one for marriage*) suggests the resilience of marriage as an ideal, despite its decline in practice. While *konkatsu* is not exclusively feminine, this paper focuses on women as the target market for much of the *konkatsu* discourse.

While encouraging pragmatism and flexibility in relation to marriage conditions sought by women, the discourse of “marriage-partner-hunting” (as translated by Yamada Masahiro and Shirakawa Tōko) nonetheless suggests that formal marriage remains unchallenged as the ultimate feminine goal. However, while marriage may remain largely untroubled as an ideal end-goal for women, active pursuit in “partner-hunting”—for example through website dating, *konkatsu* parties or other formally organised activities—does not inevitably or uniformly follow.

This paper examines unmarried Japanese women’s perceptions and expectations of *konkatsu* and marriage, analysed with reference to the discursive framework of *konkatsu* literature produced by Yamada Masahiro and Shirakawa Tōko. Drawing on interviews from contemporary fieldwork, I explore the tensions between marriage as a desired destination, and *konkatsu* as (the) path to that point. The key questions for address are therefore: What does the discourse of *konkatsu* literature suggest about marriage as a universal ideal for women? How do unmarried women perceive *konkatsu*, as an activity in itself and in relation to marriage? And what do the gaps between ideals and practice suggest about marriage as a marker of idealized Japanese femininity?

2) Sally McLaren, Doshisha Women’s College of Liberal Arts and Asuka Tomaru, Bunkyo Gakuin University  
*The Konkatsu Boom and the Japanese Media*

Japan is now experiencing socio-economic problems connected to the rapidly ageing population and the low birth rate. Pertinent to these issues are gendered divisions of labor. In particular, 70% of women quit their jobs after marriage due to childbirth and childcare, finding it difficult to return to the workforce later. The collapse of the age-indexed pay system has made men’s incomes unstable, and the percentage of both women and men in irregular employment has increased. Yet traditional values remain strong: there is an assumption that men will be able to provide for their families through fulltime employment, whilst women work unpaid at home.

In this context, a *konkatsu* boom has emerged, focusing on ‘necessary activities to get married’. This word appeared for the first time in November 2007. Magazines have become one of the main media that have participated in the creation of the *konkatsu* phenomenon. They emphasise that both women and men in their late 20s and 30s must actively pursue *konkatsu*, otherwise they will have miserable and lonely lives. On the other hand, these magazines also encourage single women in their late 30s to hone their skills in order to improve their careers and gain higher incomes.

This paper will present the findings of a content analysis of magazines published in 2008 and 2009 which has references to *konkatsu*. We will show how the *konkatsu* boom has been created in these magazines and argue that this media focus has sidelined important gender and socio-economic issues, making them invisible.
3) Erika Alpert, University of Michigan

*Modern Matchmaking: Language, Gender, and Arranged Marriage in Contemporary Kansai*

“Omiai” are formal affairs that introduce a man and a woman to each other as prospective marriage partners, often mediated by parents, matchmakers, or both. The word itself conjures up the image of something one’s (hopefully happily married) parents did, at best. At worst, it brings to mind a tremendously old fashioned image, replete with the stiff discomfort of kimono and suits, of something nobody does anymore. In this paper I will discuss what the modern marriage industry (kekkon sōdan gyōkai) entails, based on my ongoing fieldwork with matchmakers in the greater Osaka area.

As a linguistic anthropologist, my focus is on how matchmakers and clients must work together to prepare the client for omiai. “Marriageability” and “attractiveness” are desirable inner qualities that must be performed externally through appropriate dress, bearing, chivalric behavior, table manners, and conversational proficiency. Moreover, I contend that the responsibility to perform well is gendered in interesting and perhaps unexpected ways. Much of the sociolinguistic literature on gender in Japan focuses on “Japanese Women’s Language” and the pressure this construct exerts on women’s speech. However, matchmakers assume that women better understand social niceties, and it is men who need to learn the art of conversation. This asymmetry paints men as passive, but also sexist, unable to converse with women because they are unconcerned with them. My paper thus addresses the relationship between language and masculinity in Japan, arguing that matchmakers bring people together by creating the space and skills necessary for a conversation.

Discussant: Beverley Yamamoto, Osaka University
Session 2: Room 213
Embodiment, Identity Construction and Connecting Local and Translocal Spaces in Okinawa and Taiwan
Organizer: Mei-ling Chien, National Chiao Tung University
Chair: Shu-jung Lin, National Tsing Hua University

1) Shu-jung Lin, National Tsing Hua University
*Cultivating an Environmentally Conscious Self: Social Engagement through Organic Food Production in Taiwan*

2) Hsueh-cheng Yen, National Taiwan University
*How Tea Competition is Possible? Embodying Hierarchy and Manufacturing of Subjectivity*

3) Mei-ling Chien, National Chiao Tung University
*Constituting the Everydayness and Hakka Identity through the Narration of Singing and Listening to Folk Songs*

4) Chi-fang Chao, Taipei National University of the Arts
*Dancing and the Aesthetics of *'Human Relationship' in Taketomi, Southern Okinawa*

Discussant: David Y. H. Wu, University of Hawaiʻi

The centrality of the body in various social forms has great potential for reflection and the development of critical thought. As suggested by Csordas (1994) and many others, embodiment can be treated as existential ground for understanding culture and self. An individual’s bodily experiences and social engagement in everyday life reveal rich information about: personal history, identity and ideology, and relationships with social worlds. However, in the milieus of globalization and late capitalism, bodily experiences and practices carry meanings among individuals, across boundaries between individuals and social groups, and between local, national and transnational spaces. This panel will analyze ways that embodied practices express individual agencies or social group engagement with social worlds, and ways that social engagement is supported by specific ideologies, values systems, and social discourses, whether real or imagined. Social actors use these various forms of social engagement to convey their identities to social groups via the embodied practices and experiences of personal and social transformation. Accordingly, embodiment not only allows social actors to express their self and group identities, but also connects the personal with wider local, national, and transnational social spaces. Social groups use embodiment to express their shared concerns regarding ideology and value systems, cultural traditions, ways of life, environmental concerns, ethnic and cultural identities, the consequences of globalization, and so on. The panelists will address these issues by presenting ethnographic case studies from organic food production, tea competition, folk song singing and listening, and dancing and body movement in Taiwan and Okinawa.

1) Shu-jung Lin, National Tsing Hua University
*Cultivating an Environmentally Conscious Self: Social Engagement Through Organic Food Production in Taiwan*

Organic food production and consumption are common lifestyle choices for many contemporary Taiwanese. Through a process of self-labeling (as organic food producers and consumers), individuals and social groups are participating in this trend through their bodies and jobs, as well as through their eating and overall consumption decisions. What concerns social groups is the interweaving of value systems and discourse construction expressed via
connections among food, humans, and nature. In this paper I will discuss how Taiwanese organic food producers are expressing their engagement and consumption as environmentally conscious individuals, especially through work habits and bodily practices that transform routine agricultural production into organic methods. Furthermore, many individuals and social groups are actively participating in discourse construction to articulate the meaning and significance of organic food; organic food producers are participating in this discourse construction to distinguish themselves from the rest of the population. I conclude that these practices and lifestyle decisions articulate an ideology of environmental concern that connects individuals with larger social and transnational movements. Bodily practices not only serve as means of self-cultivation through a return to healthy lifestyles, but also as expressions of engagement and concern for local and global environmental issues.

2) Hsueh-cheng Yen, National Taiwan University

*How Tea Competition is Possible? Embodying Hierarchy and Manufacturing of Subjectivity*

After the crash of the export market in the early 1980s, the survival of the Taiwanese tea industry depended on domestic sales. However, with much smaller demand, the unit price for the local market must increase tremendously to compensate for the loss of the export market. Competition has been the most important strategy to boost price for the local market. Interestingly, it is recognized among tea producers that taste in tea is relative. Assigning tea grades is therefore problematic. This paper examines how the tea producers absolve themselves from the relativist stance and legitimize tea competition. Rather than to reduce the meaning of a sense data to its synchronic cognitive context, tea producers find causal linkage between a particular flavor or aroma and its production procedure. One’s expertise is not based on knowing the name of a sensation but how the sensation comes about. While the former is arbitrary, the latter is not. With that expertise, one is able to produce whatever tastes a customer demands. The tea competition is therefore about one’s ability to suit the taste of the referee with whom they often have had close contact beforehand. This paper argues the ranking in competition embodies levels of craftsmanship, and a tea producer manufactured his/her subjectivity in the discovering the know-how of tea making.

3) Mei-ling Chien, National Chiao Tung University

*Constituting the Everydayness and Hakka Identity through the Narration of Singing and Listening to Folk Songs*

Through the life-history narratives of Hakka women in Northern Taiwan, this paper is to explore, from micro and local perspectives, their experiences of being colonialized, of listening and singing mountain folk songs, both within the daily and extraordinary context of the local community. Such narrations possess not only unique personal perspectives, but also collective experiences of Hakka villagers during specific time and space, traversing the Japanese occupation to the days after the WWII. The personal experiences were accented at the background of increased production of cash crops, such as tea, and the advent of popular commercial culture. With the focus on their narratives, it also enables us to examine and to keep records of certain everydayness of local Hakka societies from 1895 to 1955. By doing so, the multiple relationships between work and leisure are also represented. Firstly, through mountain folk songs, work and play, rite and everydayness, are presented sequentially in the community’s daily life. Secondly, mountain folk song as social marker has obscured the boundary between work and leisure. Through the narratives, singing while picking tea was the way of life in Hakka villages. Thirdly, under Japanese colonial culture and education, singing mountain folk songs was regarded as secondary in everyday life, and actually perceived by some narrators as ungentlemanly. Lastly, engaging in mountain folk song activities was an exhibition of local emotional and social life.
4) Chi-fang Chao, Taipei National University of the Arts

Dancing and the Aesthetics of 'Human Relationship' in Taketomi, Southern Okinawa

The term ‘human relationship’ is literally translated from the Japanese nigen kankei. This paper explores the dynamic process of embodying the dance and its meaning of realizing the social exegesis and cultural aesthetic of being in the physical and spiritual way in Taketomi island, southern Okinawa, which is currently part of Japan. Following Valentine (1988) and Hughes-Freeland (1997), the author starts from a presentation of the characteristics of space, time and how the body moves in dance which has been recognized as meaningful, followed by the empirical description of its practices among the islanders of Taketomi. In Taketomi, dancing is a highly relevant social activity for most of the local inhabitants. It is practiced in celebratory social gatherings and annual rituals. Traditional repertoire contains dances which reflects the group history and social change. It hence has become a symbol for collectivity identity. More than merely ideological, the embodiment of dancing, especially among the females, molds the notion of selfness in relation to other people through refined polishing of techniques and performances of dancing. Through the analysis, the author wishes to illustrate the relational aesthetic of sociality as realized in dance, which aims to bring out the ideal being.

Discussant: David YH Wu
Murakami Haruki: A Call for Academic Attention

Organizer: Gitte Marianne Hansen, University of Cambridge/Waseda University
Chair: Norihiro Kato, Waseda University

1) Gitte Marianne Hansen, University of Cambridge/Waseda University
From 1982 to 1Q84: Murakami Haruki’s Female Narrative-works

2) Chikako Nihei, Sydney University
It’s All in the Self: Boku’s Isolation in Hear the Wind Sing

3) Midori Tanaka Atkins, SOAS, University of London
Murakami Haruki: Neo-modern Narratives and their Delicate Distance against the “Other”

Discussant: Norihiro Kato, Waseda University

Murakami Haruki: A call for academic attention

Murakami Haruki’s latest novel 1Q84 sold out before it even reached bookstores in Japan. Such immense popularity has turned Murakami into a cultural phenomenon and cultural provocateur that prompts examination of diverse subjects such as ‘the place of Japanese literature within world literature’, ‘language and translation’, ‘the question of literary genre’, ‘modernity/postmodernity’, to list a few. His earlier works received, however, cold reception from Japanese critics, and this negative tone largely continues to diminish his value in academia. Consequently Murakami’s works are often neglected and seen as unworthy of serious academic and literary criticism.

This panel demonstrates the need to explore new Murakami works as well as revisit older works, challenge prevailing criticism and open up areas of new critical investigation.

Gitte Marianne Hansen examines Murakami’s female representation in a group of largely ignored works in which female characters challenge the notion of Murakami as a ‘boku-writer’. Chikako Nihei revisits the themes of isolation, commitment through writing and cultural “otherness” in the much neglected Hear the Wind Sing. Midori Tanaka Atkins investigates Murakami’s literary outlook as a transnational writer in addition to his desire to transcend Orientalist or sentimentalist portrayals of Japanese history. The Danish translator of Murakami’s works, Mette Holm draws on her own experience as a translator and explores Murakami’s role as an active translator of many English literary works. She discusses the style and language that Murakami adopts in the process of translation.

1) Ms. Gitte Marianne Hansen, University of Cambridge/Waseda University

From 1982 to 1Q84: Murakami Haruki’s Female Narrative-works

1Q84 (2009) is not the first Murakami work to portray a female main character or question issues regarding women. Beginning with Bāto Bakarakku wa osuki? (1982)—later renamed as Mado (Window)—Murakami has consistently authored a group of works that depicts the isolated, suppressed, and sometimes violent lives many women in Japan face. However, this group of Murakami works has largely been ignored. Literary analyses of his gender representations are often one-sided, concluding that his fiction mirrors Japanese patriarchy and positions female characters traditionally as objects for male subjectivities. Although such criticisms may make a much-needed point regarding some of his fiction, they are incomplete by ignoring his works where main characters, protagonists and narrators are females who act as subjects in their own worlds.

This group of Murakami works addresses a diverse array of political, social and personal problems that women in contemporary Japanese society face. It consists of both short stories and
novels and is not limited to any one literary style. I therefore suggest ‘Murakami Haruki’s female narrative-works’ as a broad categorizing term for this group. My aim in this paper is to show that Murakami’s female narrative-works as a group exists and how it connects to the ‘female experience’ in contemporary Japan.

2) Chikako Nihei, Sydney University

It’s All in the Self: Boku’s isolation in Hear the Wind Sing

Scholars and critics have often criticized Murakami’s first novel Hear the Wind Sing (1979) because of the protagonist’s isolation and wilful detachment from society. Consequently, the text has been dismissed as one of Murakami’s most superficial works— and has been neglected as an object of academic study.

However, upon closer reading, this work reveals itself to be important in order to understand the author’s attitude as a writer. In the novel, recalling the time when he systematically refused commitment towards others, the twenty-nine-year-old narrator announces that “now, I think I’m ready to talk”. Yet, this operation is far from straightforward. As a ‘speaker’, the narrator now deeply understands the difficulty in expressing himself through language, as stated in the first sentence of the novel: “There is no such thing as perfect writing”. These elements question the understanding of the novel as a sign of the narrator’s and, by extension, the author’s escapism.

Furthermore, the novel questions the simple dichotomy of commitment and detachment and the understanding of the narrator’s isolation as a result of his distrust in people, in a manner reminiscent of Slavoj Zizek’s notion of “double reflection”.

In this paper, I will discuss the process of the young narrator’s decision to seek isolation and the current narrator’s deep understanding of the difficulty of commitment through writing. I will also compare the narrator’s approach to ‘otherness’ and the author’s own attitude towards his ‘other’ on the cultural level, i.e. his relationship with foreign/Western culture.

3) Midori Tanaka Atkins, SOAS, University of London

Murakami Haruki: Neo-modern narratives and their delicate distance against the “other”

Capitalism assists and directs World Literature. Indeed, Murakami Haruki’s popularity is helped by his savvy manipulation to fashion himself as a new type of Japanese transnational writer particularly in the U.S and English publishing markets. His considerable following of readers elsewhere indicates, however, that his literature’s economic success is owed to something more than mere concerted market manipulation.

Murakami’s global recognition, his intention “to write a Japanese story” and his strong identification as a Japanese writer aside, Japanese writers’ and critics’ cold reception of his popular narratives is possibly indicative of their hesitance about the Japan that Murakami’s narratives represent. For example, while the place-bound literary style and aesthetic of Murakami’s predecessors’ reveal a conscious divide between their sense of self and the Western “other”, Murakami remains focused on defining Japanese-ness beyond the kitsch nationalism in his literature. Also, when his historical imagination of wartime stories is juxtaposed with magical realist events in the protagonists’ search for self in The Wind-up Bird Chronicle and Kafka on the Shore, Murakami condenses the nation’s collective memory down to the individual level. Such a treatment of national memory appears to transcend Japan’s positioning against others and thus creates a new type of “othering”.

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Drawing upon a comparative reading of essays by Etō Jun and Murakami and Murakami’s treatment of history in texts, this paper explores Murakami’s literary outlook as a transnational writer as well as his desire to transcend Orientalist or sentimental portrayals of Japanese society.

Discussant: Norihiro Kato, Waseda University
The Economic Crisis and Its Consequences for the Migrant Families, Employment and Education

Organizer/Chair: Edson Urano, University of Tsukuba

1) Maria Rosario Piquero-Ballescas, Toyo University
   *Impact of Economic Crisis on Filipino Migrants in Japan*

2) Gracia Liu-Farrer, Waseda University
   *Survivors of Economic Depression: The Chinese Migrants in Japan*

3) Lucia E. Yamamoto, Shizuoka University, Japan
   *The Impact of the Financial Crisis on Brazilian Children’s Education in Japan*

4) Edson Urano, University of Tsukuba
   *The Economic Crisis as an Opportunity for Reflection on the Needs of Transnational Social Agenda: The Case of the Brazilian Migrant Workers in Japan*

Discussant: Hirohisa Takenoshita, Shizuoka University

The Economic Crisis and its Consequences for the Migrant Families, Employment and Education

Organizer/Chair: Edson Urano, University of Tsukuba

The global economic crisis of 2008 has strongly affected migrants’ lives in many countries around the World, across dimensions such as employment, education, and household strategies for settlement in the host country and return to their homeland. Japan has been no exception. Faced with massive unemployment, especially in the industrial sector, the Brazilian community in Japan shrank considerably in the wake of October 2008. In contrast, there was a considerable increase in the number of Chinese residents in the same period. Unemployment and job transfers due to company restructuring have affected Filipino migrants, shifting their roles within their family in many cases.

Considering the stage and peculiarities of the migratory processes of different migrant groups in Japan, what kinds of changes were identifiable especially with regard to their lifestyle and their position in the labor market in a context of decreased wage levels and scarcity of employment opportunities? What are the consequences of rising employment insecurity in the ongoing economic crisis for their children and their education? How are these questions interconnected? These are the main points we are going to address in this panel.

1) Maria Rosario Piquero-Ballescas, Toyo University
   *Impact of Economic Crisis on Filipino Migrants in Japan*

How are the Filipino migrants in Japan coping with the present economic crisis? Through key informant interviews and focused group discussions, the presentation aims to allow the Fillipino migrants to speak about the challenges posed by the economic crisis and their various initiatives to cope with the ongoing crisis. There have been initial reports of unemployment and irregular
employment, of either being completely terminated from their jobs and/or having been asked to report to work for less hours or days and for lower salaries. Some single migrants with long-term visas have decided to return back to the Philippines to await better economic conditions in Japan. Some have resorted to self-employment (some undocumented workers resorting to cooking and selling Filipino food). Couples have witnessed role reversals with former employed spouses taking over household chores during their unemployed period and formerly unemployed spouses taking on irregular or part time jobs. Transfers to other work sites in other areas and communities have also been reported. Shifts to other types of jobs and skills upgrading have also been observed. NGOs and churches providing services to migrants have commented on the strong social capital or networking among Filipino communities, with much sharing of resources, time and attention among fellow Filipinos, especially those most affected by the economic crisis, and especially those with children. Civil society members have observed that suicide cases resulting from stress and pressure created by the ongoing economic crisis have been rare for Filipinos compared to other foreign nationals.

The discussion intends to incorporate these field data within appropriate migration theories and extract suggestions as well for further research and policy.

2) Gracia Liu-Farrer, Waseda University
Survivors of Economic Depression: the Chinese Migrants in Japan
The Lehman Shock shook the foreign community in Japan. In 2009, for the first time in the recent three decades the foreign resident population shrank in Japan. The Brazilians, losing livelihood in Japan, showed a net loss of over 45,000 people, composing nearly 15 percent of the previous population. Countering the trend, the Chinese nationals increased by 23,000. Though smaller than previous years, the persistent increase of Chinese immigrants amidst Japan’s economic recession begs explanations. Based on government statistics and fieldwork research, this paper argues that it is the particular migration, career and settlement patterns among the Chinese immigrants that have contributed to the total Chinese population increase. The statistical trends of immigration and the relative fluctuation of residential visa categories show that economic depression in fact reduced the import of both skilled and semi-skilled labor from China. However, a continuously strong trend of student migration and the general tendency for Chinese people to settle in Japan contributes to the increase of the residential Chinese population in Japan. Linking the statistics to qualitative data from fieldwork, this paper further suggests that expanding international education and economic integration in East Asia have caused the increase of Chinese migrant population in Japan during Japan’s economic
recession. Moreover, Japan’s economic future very much depends on immigrants from China and other countries in East Asia.

3) Lucia E. Yamamoto, Shizuoka University

_The impact of financial crisis on Brazilian children’s education in Japan_

The present paper analyzes the implication of the financial crisis on the education of Brazilian children in Japan. The focus of research on the education of Brazilian children conducted before the financial crisis was on the children’s adaptation to school and their academic achievements. According to these studies, the frequency of moving common in the Brazilian community has a negative effect on their children’s school performance. These studies also show that adapting to a new environment is not easy for those children. Besides the hard process of adjusting to Japanese society, when the children go back home, they have difficulty in re-adapting to Brazilian society, particularly to the school environment. As the economic situation gets worse, some families remaining in Japan have withdrawn their children from school, especially in cases where the children attended private schools. Besides, economic difficulties for any one of the members of the family leads to a family crisis. In these contexts, my focus is on the Brazilian families in Shizuoka Prefecture with one parent not employed. The following issues have been addressed. Firstly, what kind of measures have the local and Brazilian communities taken for the purpose of re-integrating the children into schools? Secondly, are the children Brazilian families with only one working parent more vulnerable to stress than children of families with a stable economic situation? Thirdly, what educational measures have both the public and private school systems taken to integrate Brazilian children to their schools?

4) Edson Urano, University of Tsukuba

_The Economic Crisis as an Opportunity for Reflection on the Needs of Transnational Social Agenda—the Case of the Brazilian Migrant Workers in Japan_

The 2008 global economic crisis dramatically affected the employment of temporary workers in industries such as auto parts and electronics, in which a considerable Brazilian workforce is concentrated, causing massive unemployment in regions like Aichi, Shizuoka and Nagano Prefecture. The Japanese Government enforced a package of urgent measures including enrolment in the unemployment insurance and return bonuses. Of the total of 21,675 beneficiaries of the bonus, more than 20,000 were Brazilians.

For the migratory process of the Brazilians in Japan, the Lehman shock caused a historical backdrop. The migratory stream, which started in the mid-80s, was boosted by the Revision of the Japanese Immigration Law in 1990, which allowed the entry of the persons of Japanese
descent of Third generation. Twenty years later, a visible process of settlement was in course, when the 2008 crisis occurred. The present paper will address some challenges the Brazilians are facing due to this contradictory situation: How are they going to solve this puzzling equation of migration, considering lowering salaries, the lack of professional perspectives? How are the host society and government going to deal with the formation of a new minority in Japan, including issues on their social integration? Finally, with regard to social policies, what are the needs emerging from the current situation, considering the very nature of their transnational lives? These are the questions we are going to discuss in this paper.

Discussant: Hirohisa Takenoshita, Shizuoka University
**Session 5: Room 314**  
**Individual Papers on Conflict, Cooperation and Cooptation in Contemporary Asia**

Chair: Koichiro Matsuda, Rikkyo University

1) Ayako Kano, University of Pennsylvania  
*Consequences of the Backlash against State Feminism: Fighting Back, Backpedaling, and Turning Back to Men*

2) Jamyung Choi, University of Pennsylvania  
*Blooming Students’ Middle-class: The Red Gate Consumption Cooperative and Student Life at Tōdai*

3) Yae Sano and Misato Kimura, Ritsumeikan Asia-Pacific University  
*Environmental Volunteering in Japan*

4) Carola Hommerich, German Institute for Japanese Studies  
*The Advent of Vulnerability: Perceptions of Crisis in Present-Day Japan*

5) Zeying Wu, Lingnan University  
*Does Patriotic Education Lead to Anti-Japanese Sentiments in China?*

6) Yongming Zhao, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
*Agent of Change: Road Building and Global Positioning in Southwest China*

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**1) Ayako Kano, University of Pennsylvania**  
*Consequences of the Backlash Against State Feminism: Fighting Back, Backpedaling, and Turning Back to Men*

Since the mid–1990s, the creation of a “gender equal society” has been formally promoted by the Japanese government, while the ideal of a “gender free” society has been advocated in a less formal way by educators and academics. Since about 2000, these elements of what might be described as “state feminism,” have faced a severe backlash, different in intensity, quality, and orchestration from the previous types of everyday chauvinism. Because the Japanese government’s promotion of gender equality has been intimately linked to its effort to boost the birthrate, and because the backlash reveals significant disagreement about the goals and methods of these policies, understanding this dynamic is both a pressing concern and a challenge with long-term implications. This presentation will analyze the recent controversy over state feminism in Japan by examining the language of the government gender policy and the process of its formulation, the proponents and arguments of the conservative backlash, and the range of consequent developments. These range from the concerted feminist “fight-back” and municipal “backpedaling,” to the shifting of discursive focus to men and masculinity, such as the government promotion of work-life balance, the media representation of the “herbivorous male,” and the debate about male participation in childcare.
2) Jamyung Choi, University of Pennsylvania

_Blooming Students Middle-class: The Red Gate Consumption Cooperative and Student Life at Tōdai_

This paper examines the Red Gate Student Consumption Cooperative (akamon gakusei shōhikumiai, hereafter RGSCC, 1928–1940) at Tokyo Imperial University—a branch of the Tokyo University Student Consumption Cooperative led by Kagawa Toyohiko and Abe Isoo—in the context of Japan’s middle-class politics. As middle-class life became a common aspiration in late Meiji Japan, consumption cooperatives, which lowered prices through collective purchase directly from producers, surfaced as a tool to promote a middle-class standard of living.

Exploring the RGSCC, I will argue three points. First, I will reconceptualize Todai collegiate society as a life community rather than simply an academic community by demonstrating that consumption of “middle-class” commodities (such as suits), along with education, leisure life, and employment, was a key part of the agenda. In so doing, I will characterize Todai collegiate society as a critical leap board toward middle-class status in interwar and wartime Japan. Second, I will contend that the RGSCC promoted middle-class culture among students despite its leftist predilection. Their activities to provide commodities cheaply did not diverge from more modest public professionals like Kagawa Toyohiko who wanted to promote middle-class consumer culture. Third, I will reconceptualize the wartime period as less a “dark valley” than a boon to middle class culture. The RGSCC prospered throughout the 1930s as students sought a buffer against wartime inflation. Its dissolution in 1940 did not mean the end of cooperative movements. The nationwide delivery system in wartime Japan marked the culmination of cooperative movements.

3) Yae Sano and Misato Kimura, Ritsumeikan Asia-Pacific University

_Environmental Volunteerism in Japan_

Why does environmental volunteerism vary in different parts of Japan? In this paper, we argue that the level of volunteerism in a particular region is a product of its level of urbanization. Residents of areas with lower rates of urbanization are more likely to volunteer in environmental activities than residents of areas with higher rates of urbanizations because of the role such activities play in providing services to the public. While local governments in urban areas have the budget and personnel to manage environmental issues, rural areas rely on information and services from volunteers. The smaller size of towns and villages also means
that residents have greater exposure to personal contacts or local media which gives information on the role model expected in their neighbourhood. Thus, those residents are under greater social pressures from neighbours, friends and families to join, and continue, such activities. To test this hypothesis, we use a survey from the Japanese Bureau of Statistics to compare the percentage of residents who participate in environmental activities as a volunteer in each of Japan’s forty-seven prefectures. All things being equal, the expectation is that a prefecture’s level of urbanization will have a negative effect on the participation rate in environmental volunteer activities. This study is significant because it suggests civil society in Japan remains strong even in those regions that continue to suffer from economic hardship and a declining population and, counterintuitively, that environmental volunteerism in Japan is more of a rural than urban phenomenon.

4) Carola Hommerich, German Institute for Japanese Studies

The Advent of Vulnerability: Perceptions of Crisis in Present-Day Japan

In recent years in Japan, the increasing precarity of living conditions has become a prominent topic in the media as well as in academic discourse. After some thirty years of economic success and a strong self-perception as “middle class society” (chūkan kaiso shakai), the new “gap society” (kakusa shakai) threatens not only the bottom fringe of society strongly affected by the economic crisis. Fear of financial setbacks and status anxiety can be detected throughout the whole of society, also among those who are materially well off and socially well integrated. “Happiness” in a sense of subjective well-being seems to have become a rare commodity in contemporary Japan. By analyzing the changes Japan underwent over the past twenty years, this paper will try to explain the strong feelings of anxiety to be found amongst the Japanese population today. After a short outline of some institutional characteristics of the middle-class era of the 1960s to 1980s, it will be analyzed how socio-economic changes since the 1990s have intervened with processes of social mobility, cohesion and welfare, leading to feelings of vulnerability and helplessness among greater parts of the population. In this context, results of a nationwide survey funded by the German Institute for Japanese Studies (DIJ), carried out by the author in fall 2009, along with time-series data from government surveys will be discussed. It is analyzed whether and how objective living conditions and feelings of status anxiety, subjective exclusion and happiness are interrelated.

5) Zeying Wu, Lingnan University

Does Patriotic Education Lead to Anti-Japanese Sentiments in China?
Anti-Japanese protests arose recently in China soon after the collision of a Chinese trawler with two Japanese Coast Guard vessels off the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands on 7th Sept. 2010. These protests reminded people of the massive anti-Japanese protests in 2005, and seemed to reflect a wave of nationalist negative feelings towards Japan among Chinese. With anti-Japanese protests continuously going on in the streets and on the Internet in China during the past two decades, the question of why anti-Japanese protests frequently occur in China is important. Public opinion surveys show that more and more Japanese believe that it is the “anti-Japanese patriotism” education in China that nurtures anti-Japanese sentiments among Chinese.

However, is it true? Do the Chinese undergo “anti-Japanese patriotism” education? Does the patriotic education in China lead to anti-Japanese sentiments among Chinese? These questions will be discussed in further depth through content analysis of Chinese history textbooks, which include both history textbooks in primary school and secondary school since 1989 when China shifted to emphasize a campaign of patriotic education. Besides, official documents on patriotic education, Chinese literature, and propaganda about Japan and wartime history in China are going to be analyzed as well while interviews with anti-Japanese protesters will be also conducted. Through this research, it is expected to shed light on the relationship between patriotic education and anti-Japanese sentiments in China, so as to help to rid the bilateral relations of nationalistic myths and the negative historical legacy.

6) Yongming Zhao, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Agent of Change: Road Building and Global Positioning in Southwest China

Viewing roads as agents of change that can bring rapid and complex transformations in both the ecological and social systems, this paper purposes to bridge the gaps separating monodisciplinary research on “road ecology,” “road economics,” and “road sociology,” making an interdisciplinary study of “roadology” and therefore appreciating better the complexity of roads’ impacts. Using China’s recent massive road building in the Southwest as a case in point, this paper will examine the efforts by local authorities to rebuild the Stilwell Road (Burma Road) and analyze how spatial reconfiguration, historical reinvention, and economy of hope all contribute to make the road building as an imagined means of global integration in Southwest China.
Session 6: Room 352

Sounds and Melodies, Words and Games: The Practice of Everyday Life in the Japanese Empire and Thereafter

Organizer: Takashi Mitsui, The University of Tokyo
Chair: Helen Lee, Yonsei University
1) Helen Lee, Yonsei University
   *Educational Imperial Desire: Play and Games in the Imperial Classroom*
2) Kyounghwa Lim, Inha University
   *Listen to the Voices from the Neighbors and Sing along: the Images of Korea in the Leftist Movement in Japan, 1945–1955*
3) Takashi Mitsui, The University of Tokyo
   *The Words that Speak the History: Lived History in Korean Words*
Discussant: Joseph Murphy, University of Florida

Sounds and Melodies, Words and Games: The Practice of Everyday Life in the Japanese Empire and Thereafter

The songs you sing, the melodies you hum to, the words you speak and the games you play are part of the everyday life that we practice in the most repetitive and familiar manner. These are also some of the most defining features that comprise a culture; through which we operate our sensory and bodily functions. In many ways the songs, melodies, words and games become marked qualities, the “under the skin” traits that are neither easily forgettable nor revocable.

This panel explores the political effects of Japanese imperial governance in Korea through an examination of these fundamental practices of everyday life. Helen Lee’s paper addresses how games are readily implemented in the Imperial Classrooms of the Kominka Era, largely intended to draw poor Korean children into the imperial education system. Kyoungwha Lim’s paper discusses how suppressed sounds resurfaced in the media immediately after the dismantling of the Japanese Empire, and emerged as a promising means of political alliance between the Japanese Communists and the Resident Koreans. Takashi Mitsui attempts to historicize the collision in linguistic contact zones by researching hybridized words (Japanized Korean) in two specific fields, art and construction, which became targets of postcolonial cleansing in South Korea. These three papers bring to light the most mundane, but tenacious, practices that persisted from the colonial to postcolonial eras, and show how these practices became politicized, sometimes as subversive means and at other times as state apparatuses.

1) Helen Lee, Yonsei University
   *Educational Imperial Desire: Play and Games in the Imperial Classroom*

One of the primary goals of the Kominka movement during the 1940s in colonial Korea was the total mobilization of all populations, high and low, rich and poor. The lofty calls of the
Kominka not only demanded thorough Japanization of Korean subjects, but also called for heightened services, even death, from the Korean population. Given the intended scale of mobilization, how did the colonial government reach out to the bottom rung of the Korean population that was illiterate, impoverished and unmotivated? This paper examines how the colonial government set up “Imperial Classrooms” outside the school system in order to reach out to the children of the poor, the drunkards, and the disenchanted. One specific example of such a program was through the Yamatojuku, which offered free compulsory level education, including Japanese language instruction. By engaging with a 1942 diary written by Asano Shigeko—who volunteered to teach Korean children at the Keijo branch Yamatojuku servicing the Mapo and A’hyon areas—I investigate how play and games, ranging from origami paper folding, hide-and-seek and organ-playing, were readily adopted in the Imperial Classrooms intended for the unmotivated children. Unlike the Imperial Classrooms in the school system, the Yamatojuku classrooms used more permissive and conciliatory pedagogic techniques to first bring the disenchanted population into the imperial classrooms and retain them inside, in order to educate the desire in tune with the imperial agenda.

2) Kyounghwa Lim, Sungkyunkwan University

*The Return of the Sounds under American Occupation*

Japan’s defeat in World War II not only liberated women from comfort stations and soldiers from the battlefronts, but also returned the suppressed sounds to the people. The postwar effort to recover sounds took on a variety of channels in the popular media such as songs, oral narration of folktales and poetry-reading, and Japan ushered in a Renaissance of sounds that cannot be thoroughly captured by textual analysis alone. This sudden outburst of sounds generated an environment that permitted increasing contacts among different sounds belonging to different groups that were previously not audible. My paper examines how sounds emerged as a contentious site for two groups, the Japanese Communists and the Resident Koreans. The zainichi “marriage of convenience” did not last long, as their agendas and priorities diverged more than they had anticipated, and their political alliance proved futile in the end. Bitterness and betrayal were all that lingered in the leftists’ attempt to build a united front to topple the American occupation forces. I argue how this era of political turmoil, though brief, opened up viable political options exemplified in the resurfacing of concrete sounds, which met the detrimental fate of reorganization and receded into abstraction on the political stage once and for all.
3) Takashi Mitsui, Tokyo University

*The Words that Speak the History: Lived History in Korean Words*

This paper examines the emergence of a new language in colonial Korea that is highly hybrid in form. Japan’s colonization of Korea commenced an encompassing social milieu that is primarily characterized by the ongoing encounters of the two cultural systems locked in asymmetrical power relations. The language of the colonizer and the colonized continuously intersected in a variety of social domains, engendering dynamics such as collision, elimination, fusion and adoption. For the most part, through the linguistic colonial contact zones, the Korean language would suffer a “contamination” or “deviation” as it grappled with the colonizer’s tongue. The colonial past, which was intimately intertwined in the everyday use of language, had to be revisited during the post-liberation era through a campaign to purify the national language by undoing the linguistic fusion. Specifically, the vocabularies used in art and construction were subjected to the most rigorous postcolonial cleansing. By tracing the linguistic hybridization in these two areas, I show how language set the stage for power politics. Though couched in national terms, both Japanese and Korean competed for the hierarchical upper-hand, delineating dynamics that cannot be reduced to a one-way oppression or subsequent resistance. My paper reveals complicated dynamics that are markedly oscillatory between opposition and manipulation, and historicizes this linguistic phenomenon within a broad context, including the cultural practices, social movements and dominant thoughts of the time.

Discussant: Joseph Murphy, University of Florida

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<td><strong>Meet the Editors</strong></td>
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This special lunchtime session offer a short introduction to peer-reviewed journals on Japan and an opportunity to meet their managing editors.
Session 7: Room 213
Medical Discourses as Social Discourses: Understanding Japan through the Lens of Infectious Disease, 1868 to the Present
Organizer: Pamela Runestad, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa
Chair: Akihito Suzuki, Keio University
1) Akihito Suzuki, Keio University
   Germs and the Making of Modern Japan: Etiologies of Cholera during the Meiji Period
2) Takeshi Nagashima, Senshu University
   The “Kawasaki Dysentery” and the “Imperial Capital” in 1935
3) Waka Hirokawa, Osaka University
   Understanding Modern Japan Through Epidemiological Patterns of Hansen’s Disease (Leprosy), 1880s–1940s
4) Pamela Runestad, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa
   Discussant: Yuriko Tanaka, Kyoto University

Medical Discourses as Social Discourses: Understanding Japan Through the Lens of Infectious Disease, 1868 to the Present
Organizer: Pamela Runestad, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa
Chair: Akihito Suzuki, Keio University
This panel examines different ways of framing infectious disease, and how people build conceptual boundaries using infectious disease discourse—for example, who supposedly gets a specific disease and why. Geography, the environment, transportation routes, tourism, and other factors help create and destroy infectious disease boundaries. Through discussions of cholera, dysentery, Hansen’s disease (leprosy), and HIV/AIDS we can see how such factors have shaped the ways in which people in Japan think about infectious disease from Meiji Japan to the present. In turn, we are able to elucidate the ways in which medical discourses are social discourses.

Akihito Suzuki, Keio University
Germs and the Making of Modern Japan: Etiologies of Cholera during the Meiji Period

During the nineteenth century, doctors and laymen disputed the causes of illnesses that are now recognized as infectious diseases. Visitations of cholera, outbreaks of typhus (“jail fever”), or flare-ups of smallpox prompted extensive debates over the causation of the diseases. Prophylactic concerns, as well as clinical and epidemiological observations, strongly influenced those debates. The questions such as “what kind of life should a healthy individual lead?” or “how should one organize a healthy society?” were incorporated into the discussion of the causation of diseases. Etiology thus reflected ideologies about the individual or the society.
Whether it was Florence Nightingale’s discussion of “hospital fever” as an infringement of

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moral purity or Edwin Chadwick’s public health policy as an integral part of New Poor Law, historians of medicine have clarified the connections between the etiology of infectious diseases and the ideologies of a given society.

This paper analyzes the influences of ideologies on etiologies of cholera in late nineteenth-century Japan. As the Japanese government was trying to transform the old society into a new one around the time of the repeated outbreaks of cholera, both yojo (personal hygiene) and the influence of Western bacteriological science contributed to the making of contemporary disease etiologies. Such health theories had wider implications for personal morality and civic responsibilities. Different etiologies of cholera in Meiji Japan were thus expressions of the fluidity of thinking about the individual and society at that time. This paper will analyze the changing configurations of ideas about cholera/individual/society and their consolidation towards the late nineteenth century.

2) Takeshi Nagashima, Senshu University

*The “Kawasaki Dysentery” and the “Imperial Capital” in 1935*

[Change of title, abstract may not reflect changes (Ed.)]

Of water-borne, oral-fecal infectious diseases, Cholera had almost disappeared and typhoid declined in Tokyo during the interwar period, largely due to improvements of water-supply and sewage disposal systems. In the meantime, dysentery morbidity rose to an unprecedented level in the 1930s. Why was the sanitary environmental control at the ‘macro’ level effective for cholera but not for dysentery? Public health experts were urged to seek reasons other than defects in the urban sanitary infrastructure for dysentery outbreaks, and many of them became concerned more about infections borne by foods. Some proposed to reinforce surveillance of food production and distribution processes. Others placed more emphasis upon the consumption side, that is, domestic food hygiene. As dysentery was chiefly a disease of children, particular attention was directed to food related hygienic risks to which children were exposed. For example, Dr. Futaki Kenzo (1873–1966), the discoverer of subspecies of the dysentery bacillus, advocated the boiling of foods as the easiest way of preventing diarrheal diseases. In later years, he and his followers went further: they came to insist on the importance of consuming nutritious foods to increase resistance to infections. While a shift in emphasis of health policy to domestic hygiene and the rise of nutrition sciences were more or less seen also in other western countries, it may be possible to see here a way in which modern medical discourses intermingled with yojo discourses in prewar Showa Japan.
3) Waka Hirokawa, Osaka University

*Understanding Modern Japan Through Epidemiological Patterns of Hansen’s Disease (Leprosy), 1880s–1940s*

Japanese doctors in the late 19th century and early 20th century understood the occurrence of Hansen’s disease in Japan in the context of domestic and international social milieu, as well as domestic and world history. Building the epidemiology of leprosy through disease statistics was thus a medical project deeply entangled with the self-recognition of Japanese society and the history of Japan. In this paper, I discuss the epidemiology of Hansen’s disease in modern Japan in its social and political contexts through analysis of medical research conducted at the time.

In the late 19th century, the Japanese Government began using epidemiology data for Hansen’s disease as the basis for related health policies, such as the capacities of leprosaria. Doctors, on the other hand, conducted epidemiological research to detect the paths of this infectious disease. As the result of both the government’s and doctors’ research, the economic and social situations of modern Japanese patients and their families has been made more clear. Analyzing the various types of statistical data makes it possible for us to clearly understand the states and circumstances of patients in relation to their socio-economic status.

4) Pamela Runestad, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

*Rural and Urban, “Us” and “Them”: Understanding Contemporary Japan through Museum Representations of HIV/AIDS Epidemic*

[Change of title, abstract may not reflect changes (Ed.)]

Human movement between rural and urban settings erodes the separation between the two, and the resulting distinction is largely conceptual. This becomes particularly apparent when focusing on HIV infection rates and treatment patterns in Japan. Although infectious diseases easily cross-conceptual borders such as class, ethnicity, gender, and place, the stigma associated with HIV stimulates people to re-create these very borders in an attempt to feel safe from infection—regardless of geography. While the public scrambles to assure itself that HIV is a disease of the “Other,” infection rates increase in both rural and urban areas, and HIV patients quietly visit neighboring towns or cities for treatment. By viewing the rural/urban descriptions of the HIV/AIDS epidemic as social discourses, it becomes possible to understand both the need to distinguish between rural and urban public health needs based on varying regional...
Medical Discourses as Social Discourses: Understanding Japan through the Lens of Infectious Disease, 1868 to the Present

epidemiological trends in HIV infection rates, as well as the need to challenge the assertion that HIV can simply be considered an “urban” problem in Japan.

Discussant: Yuriko Tanaka, Kyoto University
Session 8: Room 252

Exploring Issues of Diversity and Human Rights in Japan from a Feminist Perspective (Roundtable)

Organizer/Chair: Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow, Toyo Eiwa University

1) Keiko Aiba, Meiji Gakuin University
2) Kaoru Aoyama, Kobe University
3) Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow, Toyo Eiwa University
4) Sachiko Kaneko, Japan Women’s University
5) Leny P. Tolentino, Kalakasan Migrant Women Empowerment Center & Solidarity Network with Migrants Japan

The participants in this roundtable collaborated in the recently published volume Transforming Japan: How Feminism and Diversity are Making a Difference (The Feminist Press, 2011), edited by Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow. The volume was intended for students and scholars in Japan and abroad interested in studying and learning about the diverse faces of women in Japan, including so-called sexual minorities, minority women (Ainu, Buraku, Zainichi Korean, and migrant women), and single and divorced mothers, who confront challenges and struggles that in many ways overlap, yet in other ways are unique to specific groups. Many of the authors—who include academics as well as activists working with NGOs/NPOs—are themselves members of marginalized/minority groups, and their writing conveys personal meaning and immediacy. The authors all share a commitment to identifying and addressing human rights issues, especially as they pertain to women, and are working actively to rectify abuses. The participants (the book’s editor, five of the authors, and one of the translators) will discuss the issues and perspectives they seek to convey in the chapters they wrote. In addition, we will explore, together with the audience, ways of promoting awareness and understanding among students of these issues—about which many are apt to be either totally ignorant or else have only a superficial knowledge combined, often, with prejudices.

Keiko Aiba is Professor in the Faculty of International Studies at Meiji Gakuin University. Her most recent publication is “Joshi puroresuraa no kega to itami” (Injuries and pains of Japanese women professional wrestlers) in Supootsu to jendaa kenkyu (Journal of Sport and Gender Studies) (2010). The chapter she wrote for Transforming Japan is “Japanese Women Professional Wrestlers and Body Image.”

Kaoru Aoyama is Associate Professor at the Graduate School of Inter-cultural Studies, Kobe University. Her most recent publication is Thai Migrant Sex Workers: From Modernisation to
Globalisation (2009), and she contributed the chapter “Migrants and the Sex Industry” for the volume.

Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow is Professor of Education and Women’s Studies at Toyo Eiwa University. She is co-editor/author of Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future (1995), and editor/author of Transforming Japan: How Feminism and Diversity are Making a Difference (2010).

Sachiko Kaneko is a part-time instructor at Nagoya College. She is co-author of Higashi ajia no kokumin kokkakeisei to jendaa (The formation of the nation-state and gender in East Asia) (2007) and co-editor of Nihon joseishi daijiten (The great dictionary of Japanese women’s history) (2008). She contributed the chapter “Legal Rights and Reforms: A Historical View.”

Leny P. Tolentino has worked in Japan for over 20 years focusing on efforts to promote the empowerment of Filipino migrant women and their children. She co-authored the chapter titled “The Story of Kalakasan and Migrant Filipinas.”
Session 9: Room 253

Performative Aspects of Noh in Historical and Contemporary Works

Organizer/Chair: Titanilla Mátrai, Waseda University, Theatre Museum

1) Violetta Brazhnikova Tsybizova, Waseda University
   *The Sense of the Seasons in Noh Costumes: Yūya, a Case Study*

2) Titanilla Mátrai, Waseda University, Theatre Museum
   *Theatrical Elements in Shinjū Kaneto’s film Kuroneko*

3) Yusuke Suzumura, Hosei University
   *Noh in the Classroom: The Situation of Noh Education in High School Music Classes*

Discussants: Michael Watson, Meiji Gakuin University
Akiko Takeuchi, Hosei University

Performative Aspects of Noh in Historical and Contemporary Works

Early academic studies dealing with premodern Japanese stage crafts in Japan include works of Omote Akira and Kōsai Tsutomu in the field of Noh, who investigated dramatic texts and their historical developments by transliterating and annotating numerous manuscripts. In the West, scholars primarily dedicated themselves to translating famous plays, such as Arthur Waley, Ernest Fenollosa, and Ezra Pound in English, and Noël Peri in French.

Following the establishment of the term “performance” as a central category in the field of cultural studies, culminating in the 1990s, scholars have shifted their focus from understanding culture as text based to a performance art, impacting how it is examined and explored within literature. This shift of paradigms provides interesting points for departure in analyzing traditional Japanese performing arts.

This panel will deal with numerous performative aspects of Noh. Beginning with a historical perspective on staging, it will delve into topics in contemporary performances, crossing the borders of genres. The first paper examines the history of “carriage” on the medieval stage. The second paper investigates the representation of seasons in costumes. The second half of the panel will turn to contemporary representations of Noh in theatrical forms: the appearance of Noh in film, and the role of music in English Noh.

1) Violetta Brazhnikova Tsybizova, Waseda University

*The sense of the seasons in Noh costumes: Yuya, a case study*

This paper presents the relationship between the seasonal pattern in Noh costumes and the protagonist’s true intentions. The changing of the seasons have a significant presence in Noh, and is indicated via the usage of different props or costumes, which seek to transmit the character’s internal state of mind and to arouse emotions in the public.
Via concrete examples from *Yuya* this paper will argue that the season is present within the play in three different dimensions: the representation of the season in the pattern, the characters internal state and the actual season during which the action occurs. This paper will examine the specific approach the Hōshō School has to the different representations of the seasons, by contrasting it with the approach taken by the four other schools. Thus two of the three seasonal dimensions, the representation of the season in the pattern of the clothing and in the characters internal state of mind overlap. The feelings of the heroine are dyed by autumn, her internal season is autumn, although the play’s action takes place in spring. Reducing the three dimensions to two is within Noh perceived to be one of the highest expressions of the classical Noh aesthetic.

This presentation will point out the role of seasons in the protagonist’s emotional states and how the actor’s performance may change depending on the seasonal visual effect.

2) Titanilla Mátrai, Waseda University, Theatre Museum

*Theatrical Elements in Shindō Kaneto’s film Kuroneko*

Like Kurosawa Akira, Japanese film director Shindō Kaneto (b. 1912) relied on classical Japanese theatrical forms in several of his films. Who can forget the monstrous hannya Noh mask in his world famous film *Onibaba*, (1964)? Equally significant was the use of Noh in his film *Kanawa* (*The Iron Crown*, 1972).

In my presentation I will investigate Shindō Kaneto’s *Yabu no naka no kuroneko* (*Kuroneko* or *Black Cat*, 1968). In this film Shindō uses episodes from several literary works such as *Heike Monogatari* and *Konjaku Monogatari*. He also alloys narratives from the Noh play *Rashōmon* and the Kabuki play *Ibaraki*, incorporating the styles of these theatrical forms. In doing so, Shindō created a new story using and connecting these classical works. His work has overtones of the theatre in its use of lighting and gestures, and specifically references the traditions of Noh and Kabuki. To this end, Shindō cast the Kabuki actor Nakamura Kichiemon as one of the main characters and the Noh actor Kanze Hideo in a minor part.

In my presentation I will examine how Shindō employed theatrical elements such as stage-like spaces, abstract movements and the sarcastic way of storytelling, which, though it originates in the classical theatre tradition, still has much to offer audiences today. With this presentation I hope to introduce not only Shindō’s work, which is yet to receive the praise it deserves, but also
the unique cinematic mixture in which Noh simplicity is combined with the gaudy style of Kabuki.

3) Yusuke Suzumura, Hosei University

*Noh in the Classroom: A Situation of Noh Education in the High School’s Music Classes*

In 2003, current curriculum guidelines were implemented in high schools. The music curriculum guidelines exemplify Noh as one of the objectives to understand types and characteristics of the national or local traditional music of Japan. Before this exemplification, a vast number of high schools had held Noh appreciation classes and students had a chance to get in touch or be familiar with Noh. Nevertheless, in fact Noh is the foreign for them. One of main reasons of this situation may be the Western music-oriented educational system and absence of the teachers who are specialists of Japanese music. In addition, the total amount of music classes is limited, resulting classes of Japanese music, including Noh, Shamisen music (*katarimono*), or Biwagaku, to be relatively cut. In this presentation we investigated a situation of Noh education in the high school’s music classes based on such a point of view. In particular we conducted a field research in some high schools and surveyed the actual situation and condition on Noh education in the classroom.

Discussants: Michael Watson, Meiji Gakuin University
Akiko Takeuchi, Hosei University
China’s 1911 Revolution: Winners, Losers, and Japanese Supporters

Organizer: Demin Tao, Kansai University
Chair: Yoshiko Okamoto, International Christian University

1) Fan Jing, Kansai University
   *From Student to Revolutionary: Yan Xishan’s Transformation in 1900s Tokyo*

2) Chen Si, Kansai University
   *The Fates of Zhao Erxun and Zhao Erfeng: A Tale of Two Brothers and the 1911 Revolution*

3) Weiwei Shen, Kansai University
   *Japan and the 1911 Revolution: Tsuyoshi Inukai as Faithful Supporter of Sun Yat-sen*

Discussants: Demin Tao, Kansai University
Yoshiko Okamoto, International Christian University

**China’s 1911 Revolution: Winners, Losers, and Japanese Supporters**

Organizer: Demin Tao, Kansai University
Chair: Yoshiko Okamoto, International Christian University

The 1911 Revolution marks the end of the Chinese imperial monarchy and birth of the Republic of China. It also signifies the beginning of China’s modern history, an epochal milestone that ushered in a series of chaotic events that lasted for decades, including division of China by warlords and the central government’s struggle to gain power and implement constitutionalism. Many Chinese and some key Japanese figures contributed to the rise of modern China through their involvement in political movements both in China and in Japan. This panel seeks to place the significant event of the 1911 Revolution in historical perspective by focusing on several important political figures from China and Japan. Jing Fan tells the story of Yan Xishan, whose education in Japan brought him into contact with Chinese revolutionaries and who later became a revolutionary himself. Si Chen presents the divergent fates of the brothers, Zhao Erxun and Zhao Erfeng, by examining how their relationship influenced their contributions to the collapse of the Qing Dynasty and establishment of the Republic. Weiwei Shen discusses the Japanese politician, Tsuyoshi Inukai, and his support of Sun Yat-sen’s advocacy of a constitutional-based government. The involvement of these individuals in the modernization of East Asia epitomizes the multifaceted nature of Sino-Japanese interaction during this fascinating era.

1) Fan Jing, Kansai University
*From Student to Revolutionary: Yan Xishan’s Transformation in 1900s Tokyo*

In the early 1900s, the Qing emperor selected many promising young Chinese men to receive a modern military education in Tokyo. The emperor hoped these young men could help China repel foreign invaders and attacks from revolutionaries at home. Some of these young men, however, joined revolutionary organizations while studying abroad and eventually overthrew the Qing Dynasty. This paper discusses the life of Yan Xishan (1883–1960), one of these
young men. Born to a wealthy, landowning family in Shanxi Province, Yan Xishan received a traditional Chinese education. At the age of 19 he joined the local military, and was later selected by the government to study in Tokyo, where he stayed from 1904 to 1909. He studied at the Tokyo Shinbu Preparatory School and at the Imperial Japanese Army Academy. In Japan he became a member of Sun Yat-sen’s Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmenghui) and of the Zhangfu Tuan, a secret society of elite Tongmenghui members whose zeal for overthrowing the Qing court and building a new China influenced many young Chinese studying abroad. In 1909, Yan Xishan returned to Shanxi and worked at the local army school. He took part in the successful 1911 Revolution, and as a result was able to take power in Shanxi Province. Yan Xishan’s experiences in Japan and his cultural interactions there transformed him in turn from a student of new learning into a local revolutionary leader, a pragmatic governor, and military strategist. Yan Xishan’s many careers embody the turbulent transformations of the era.

2) Chen Si, Kansai University

*The Fates of Zhao Erxun and Zhao Erfeng: A Tale of Two Brothers and the 1911 Revolution*

Zhao Erxun (1844–1927), a Qing loyalist, served as governor of Hubei, Sichuan, and Fengtian Provinces until the 1911 Revolution, when he succeeded in maintaining the status quo in spite of pressure from revolutionaries and foreign powers. Then he resigned and returned to Qingdao, and was subsequently appointed director-general of the Qing Dynasty History Compilation Bureau, which position he retained until his death. He earned fame as a “diehard,” and was respected by his contemporaries. His younger brother, Zhao Erfeng (1845–1911), however, was not so fortunate. After he succeeded his brother as governor of Sichuan Province, the Sichuan Railroad Protection Movement broke out. Zhao Erfeng ordered the arrest of the leaders, which resulted in escalation of anti-government riots. It is believed that Zhao Erfeng’s approval of foreign loans helped instigate the movement, which is thought to be the prelude to the 1911 Revolution. Zhao Erfeng, unable to quell the unrest, was executed. His reputation was restored by his brother after establishment of the Republic. This paper is a comparative study of the brothers, including their reactions to events around them and their relationship to each other. Both held governorships when the upheaval occurred, both faced challenges owing to their loyalty to the Qing government, and both were in some ways behind the times. What accounts for their drastically different ends? This paper examines the transitional period between the collapse of the Qing and establishment of the Republic by focusing on the personal fates of the Zhao brothers.
3) Weiwei Shen, Kansai University

**Japan and the 1911 Revolution: Tsuyoshi Inukai as Faithful Supporter of Sun Yat-sen**

Tsuyoshi Inukai (1855–1932) was a politician famous for his strong advocacy of constitutionalism in Japan. He is also well-known for having been a major supporter of Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party, during Sun’s periods of exile in Japan. Inukai first met Sun Yat-sen in 1897 through Toten Miyazaki (1871–1922), whom he funded to collect information in China at that time. Inukai advocated a policy of helping revolutionaries like Sun to lead China in a new direction, and won approval from his mentor, Shigenobu Okuma (1838–1922) for his efforts. Inukai then protected Sun Yat-sen from his political enemies and offered continuous help to Sun for his revolutionary activities. After Sun Yat-sen’s death in 1925, Inukai was invited to attend the inauguration of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in 1929. A report in a contemporary Chinese newspaper described Inukai as a lifelong friend of both Sun Yat-sen and China. Inukai’s undaunted support of Sun Yat-sen can be ascribed not only to Inukai’s diplomatic concerns, but also to his belief in constitutionalism. This paper focuses on Tsuyoshi Inukai’s views on the revolution in China and on his opinions of Okuma’s China policy around 1911.

Discussants: Demin Tao, Kansai University  
Yoshiko Okamoto, International Christian University
Session 11: Room 314
Individual Papers on Transwar Asia

Chair: Curtis Gayle, Japan Women’s University
1) Chrissie Reilly, US Army Staff Historian/UMBC
   Whaling Policy in Japan during WWII and Postwar Occupation
2) Kiyoshi Ueda, Hosei University
   “State” Shinto in Postwar Japan: Association for Studies of Japan as a Case Study
3) Takuma Melber, University of Mainz/Waseda University
   Allied Studies concerning Morale, Psychology and Mindset of Japanese POWs in World War II
4) Kaori Saito, the Australian National University/Waseda University
   Can Japan Compete with “Emerging Donors”? Aid Policy for Cambodia
5) Jonathan Ping, Bond University
   China’s Relations with South Asia: From Threat Avoidance to Development Opportunity

1) Chrissie Reilly, US Army Staff Historian/UMBC
   Whaling Policy in Japan during WWII and Postwar Occupation

Modern Japanese whaling does not exist in a vacuum. Whaling has a complex history, and many of the modern whaling policies have roots that began during the Second World War and the postwar Occupation period. This paper examines how the Allied Occupation authorities, including the United States, altered whaling practices in Japan. It will examine the significance of whaling and whale meat consumption during the war years and postwar Occupation period. Whale meat consumption in Japan began centuries prior to WWII, but it was most popular during the years following the Second World War. Food shortages and policies to bolster Japan’s economic sector overlapped; it is no accident that Occupation policy was economically motivated to benefit both Japan and Allied nations. Occupation authorities directly impacted postwar whaling: in how the whales were acquired, what they were used for once they were caught, and where whalers went in the oceans to hunt them. Whale products during WWII often went to industrial uses, while postwar whale products were much more likely to be used for human consumption. This was not just meddling or greed-inspired Allied policies. Japan suffered from near-famine conditions and economic devastation on both an individual consumer level and a national level. Finally, whale meat was used as a diplomatic tool to achieve real security between Japan and the United States, and as a bolster of economic and military strength. In this sense, whale meat was critical to the reconstruction of national strength and identity in post-WWII.
2) Kiyoshi Ueda, Hosei University

“State” Shinto in Postwar Japan: Association for Studies of Japan as a Case Study

This paper explores the ongoing influence of “State” Shinto (kokka Shinto) in the (re)production of Japanese national identity, arguing that despite the abolition of Shinto as the official state religion in 1945, some devotees continued its views of Faith, History and Nation, and managed to influence several national debates on key issues. They committed to the image/concept of the “imperial nation” (kokoku), which was/is (re)produced through individual/collective experiences of National History (kokushi) at Shinto shrines, sacred/historic sites and commemorations. These sites and rituals sanctify this History, manifest its “spirit” and popularize its timeless narrative as a source of national faith, in which each individual is invited to “revive” in his heart the “spirit” (seishin) of the imperial loyalists who sacrificed their lives for the cause of imperial restorations in the 14th and 19th centuries, act accordingly, and “live inside History eternally.” Through this process, the Nation will “return” to the beginning of History where National Polity (kokutai) is determined, “restoring” Japan to its true form/image as an “imperial nation.” The study examines ideas/activities of the Association for Studies of Japan (Nihongaku kyokai) [est.1956] and its committed involvement in the preservation, manifestation, and popularization of the above views at Ise Grand shrine and Yasukuni shrine, at sacred/historic sites, including Yoshino, and in commemorations of the war-dead as “the imperial loyalists of 20th century.”

This paper takes an interdisciplinary approach to explore faith/rituals/methods practiced by devotees and other less or unintentional followers, thus showing the historical/contemporary relevance of “State” Shinto.

3) Takuma Melber, University of Mainz/Waseda University

Allied Studies concerning Morale, Psychology and Mindset of Japanese POWs in World War II

In the Pacific War allied human intelligence (HUMINT) played a key role: Widely known the Allies learned more about Japan’s methods of warfare, weapons, techniques and military strategy besides Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) by interrogating Japanese POWs.

In contrast to the European war theater comparatively few Japanese soldiers became POWs. Some thousands of them were transferred from the battlefields in the Pacific to the Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centres (CSDIC) in Brisbane (Australia), Byron Hot Springs (USA) and Old Delhi (India), where the Allies studied intensively morale and psychology of the Japanese soldiers. With the aid of interrogation reports, the analysis of captured diaries and
documents as well as protocols of secret recordings of the conversations of the Japanese POWs, the Allied CSDICs aimed to understand the motives, the mindset and mentality of Japanese soldiers and Japanese POWs. Targeting at a “mind map” of the Japanese troops American and British Army and Navy sections produced morale and psychological studies. Based on these allied sources, accessible at the National Archives of the United Kingdom (London) and the US-National Archives (Washington), this lecture presents results and gained knowledge concerning morale, mentality and psychology of Japanese soldiers, who become prisoners of war.

4) Kaori Saito, the Australian National University/Waseda University

Can Japan Compete with “Emerging Donors”? Aid Policy for Cambodia

Japan’s Official Development Assistance (ODA) is facing two competing international forces for change. One is exerted by the international aid regime and the other from the increasing role of ‘emerging donors’ such as China and South Korea. During the 1990s, Japan integrated itself into the international aid regime by shifting its aid policy towards the one with a greater emphasis on social and economic benefits for aid-recipient countries. More recently, international efforts to improve aid effectiveness has pressured Japan to coordinate aid policy with western donors and international organizations in order to achieve the international goal of poverty reduction. By contrast, emerging donors pursue more independent aid policy by focusing on building hard infrastructure and promoting investment and trade in collaboration with domestic firms. The increasing presence of China and South Korea as Cambodia’s economic partners is posing a threat to Japan’s ability to exert political and economic influence over the country. While Japan has been the largest source of bilateral aid in Cambodia, its investment and trade are smaller than those of China and South Korea. In this context, how has Japan sought to compete with them in ODA provision? Japan has recently shifted its aid policy for Cambodia by placing greater emphasis on improvement of business environment and investment promotion by adopting the Public-Private Partnership scheme. However, I will argue that Japan’s ability to deploy ODA for promotion of Japanese investment and trade is constrained by its association with the international aid regime.

5) Jonathan Ping, Bond University

China’s Relations with South Asia: From Threat Avoidance to Development Opportunity

This paper offers a historical overview of PR China’s relations with South Asia (from 1949 to the present). The South Asian region covering Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Burma/Myanmar has been attracting growing international attention in
recent years. PR China has become one of the main external actors to involve itself in the region. In this respect, the paper addresses the main elements of PR China’s current relations with the South Asian states and offers several case studies of Beijing’s relations with the region. The investigation also outlines the likely trajectories of PR China’s future relations with South Asia and also highlight the developments that are likely to impact on those relations.

[Session 12—Panel withdrawn]
Session 13: Room 352
Contesting Visions: Japanese (Language) Literature under the Shadow of Empire

Organizer: Mariko Naito, The University of Tokyo
Chair: Christina Yi, Columbia University
1) Pau Pitarch Fernández, Columbia University
   A Cosmopolitan in the Colonies: Sato Haruo’s Writings on Taiwan
2) Christina Yi, Columbia University
   “But Where are the Mothers?”: Interrogating the Gendered Aporia of Empire
3) Akito Sakasai, The University of Tokyo
   The Radiant Darkness: Post-war Black-market Narratives
4) Mariko Naito, The University of Tokyo
   Conflicting Visions of the Past in Postwar Films
Discussant: Toshiko Ellis, The University of Tokyo

Contesting Visions: Japanese (Language) Literature Under the Shadow of Empire

This panel re-examines both prewar and postwar literature written in Japanese through the lens of “alternative communities.” All four presenters are concerned with how various types of communities are discursively created, imagined, and controlled under (neo-)colonial regimes, and how issues of gender, ethnicity, language, and nationhood come into play in the making of literary canons. In particular, this panel addresses how different communities—whether defined through interpersonal affiliations, transformatory potential, or bounded areas of space—negotiate the double bind of power and resistance, chaos and opportunity.

Pau Pitarch’s paper seeks to answer the above questions by looking at the writings of the Japanese colonizer. By resituating Satō Haruo’s Taiwan travelogues within larger concerns of cosmopolitanism, aestheticism, and colonial modernity, Pitarch is able to shed new light on Satō’s depictions of the Taiwanese other. Christina Yi’s paper shifts the geographical focus to colonial Korea. She analyzes both the numerous (and often conflicting) utopian ideals espoused by Japanese intellectuals during the 1940s and the response that came from Korean colonial writers such as Kim Sa-ryang. Akito Sakasai’s paper focuses on postwar writings from occupation Japan. Sakasai looks closely at depictions of the black market in the works of Oda Sakunosuke, Ishikawa Jun, and Tamura Taijirō. In doing so, he shows how these spaces of seeming chaos were also spaces of liberation and protest. Finally, Mariko Naito discusses how postwar films by Fei Mu and Ozu Yasujiro embodied conflicting visions to the present community in relation to the war years.

1) Pau Pitarch Fernández, Columbia University
A Cosmopolitan in the Colonies: Sato Haruo’s Writings on Taiwan.
Satō Haruo’s collection Musha (1936) contains several pieces inspired by his three-month visit to Taiwan in 1920. Most of the critical attention so far has been focused on the short stories “Machō” (originally published in Chūō Kōron, October 1923) and “Jokaisen kitan” (Josei, May 1925), but the volume also contains several noteworthy kikōbun that relate Satō’s contacts with a wide range of individuals, from Atayal tribesmen to Chinese intellectuals or Japanese colonial officials. It was actually one of these journalistic pieces, “Shokuminchi no tabi” (Chūō Kōron, September and October 1932), that caused the book to be promptly banned in Taiwan upon publication, because it contained a thinly disguised dialog with Lin Xiantang, founding member of the Taiwan Bunka Kyōkai and leading figure of the pro-home rule movement on the island. This paper proposes an integrated reading of these works, spanning several genres, fictional and otherwise, to explore how they portray the many and conflicted faces of the metropolitan writer in the era of colonialism. Beneath their superficial quality as tales of the exotic, the writings collected in Musha question the ideals and limitations of modernization, colonialism, aestheticism and cosmopolitanism and the utopian communities they attempt to construct. Satō’s writings present in a nuanced, if unresolved, manner the contradictions that lay at the foundation of his own position as intellectual and artist and the possibilities, or lack thereof, of using literature to problematize the interplay of identities between colonizer and colonized.

2) Christina Yi, Columbia University

“But Where are the Mothers?”: Interrogating the Gendered Aporia of Empire.

1940 was the year of the “Korean boom” in the publishing circles of imperial Japan. Three decades of Japanese-language education policies had produced a new generation of young, mobile colonial subjects with the ability to speak in both Korean and Japanese, and 1940 saw a record number of Japanese-language texts by Korean writers published in prominent journals such as Bungei shunju and Bungakukai. Leading the trend was the Korean prose writer and journalist Kim Sa-ryang (1914–1950), whose short story “Hikari no naka ni” (Into the light, 1939) was nominated for the prestigious Akutagawa Prize early in 1940. Born in Pyongyang in 1914, Kim grew up under the shadow of Japan’s colonial rule and lived to see its end. Many of his stories feature a conflicted male protagonist, marked ethnically as Korean but linguistically as Japanese, and unable or unwilling to reconcile the two. Through a close reading of “Hikari no naka ni” and key zadankai (round-table discussions) held at the time, this paper seeks to explore the contradictory, highly contested spaces of empire embodied around and within the divided imperial subject, or kōmin. In particular, I place emphasis on the gendered implications of the utopian visions cited by colonizer and colonized alike, arguing that it is the abject maternal figure who stands silently—sometimes invisibly—at the nexus of motherhood, mother tongue,
and motherland.

3) Akito Sakasai, the University of Tokyo

The Radiant Darkness: Post-war Black-market Narratives.

Immediately after WW2, while urban infrastructure was in disarray, the ‘black-market’ was the only place available to the general public to support themselves. At the same time, it was also a place of anarchy, where police had no control; threats and thefts, pickpockets and frauds were all part of everyday life. Chaotic and immoral, it was a place overflowing with life. Despite the black-market’s dependence on pre-existing wartime conditions, its accessibility to everyday people clearly defines it from that of the wartime period. The post-war black-market was no longer ‘black’. To writers of the period, it formed a stage filled with stimuli and in the midst of its confusion and feverish atmosphere they found their inspiration.

In post-war fictions, there are several short stories set within the disorder of the black-market. Just as Sakaguchi Ango’s breakthrough work depicted the rampant depravity within post-war Japanese society, this anarchic environment allowed writers to rediscover the primitive state of human life. This became a recurring theme forming the sprout of a new age. The three short stories Oda Sakunosuke’s Sesou (Ningen, 1946), Ishikawa Jun’s Yakeato no Jesu (Shincho, 1947) and Tamura Taijiro’s Nikutai no Mon (Gunzou, 1947), clearly express this motif, and have been the subject of literary criticism. In contrast to the controlled, censored wartime society, the reality of the occupation and the establishment of a new political system, this paper attempts to demonstrate how these narratives structured the space of chaos or ‘hope within chaos’.

4) Mariko Naito, the University of Tokyo

Conflicting Visions of the Past in Postwar Films.

Springtime in a Small Town (2002) is a film by a contemporary Chinese film director, Tian Zhuangzhuang (1952-), which is a complete remake of a film with the same title, Springtime in a Small Town, released in 1948 and directed by Fei Mu (1906–1951). Although the film claims to precisely follow the original piece, it includes a scene which alludes to a Japanese film, Munakata Sisters (1949), directed by a prominent Japanese film director, Ozu Yasujirō (1903–1963). Both Fei Mu’s and Ozu’s films were made in the immediate postwar period, telling a love story that unfolds in the wake of wartime devastation. Interestingly, even though there is no direct relationship between these pieces, we can observe that they share many features in common.
Enlightened by Tian’s film, which sheds light on the shared experience of loss and devastation that led to the making of these films, this paper examines how the two works similarly explore alternative visions to the past. The configuration of contrasting motifs commonly found in the two films represents the conflicting visions of the present community in relation to the past, or more precisely, to the war years. This paper contends that through the representation of these conflicts, these postwar films explored a dialectic relationship between the past and present, thus proposing alternative visions to history and to the state of their respective societies. I wish also to illustrate how Tian’s film proposes alternative visions to our contemporary community through his interpretation of these postwar films.

Discussant: Toshiko Ellis, the University of Tokyo
Session 14: Room 205
The Minor Corporeality Exhibited in China and Taiwan
Organizer/Chair: Ta-wei Chi, Chengchi University

1) Guo Jie, University of South Carolina
   “Deep” Metamorphosis: The Desiring Body in Farewell My Concubine
2) Wen-chu Huang, Chengchi University
   The Impotence of Being Romantic
3) Ta-wei Chi, Chengchi University
   The Rhetoric Spoken for the Silenced
Discussant: Angela Yiu, Sophia University

The Minor Corporeality Exhibited in China and Taiwan
Organizer/Chair: Ta-wei CHI, Chengchi University

With attention to modern texts and contexts in China and Taiwan, this panel focuses on the ethical paradox that the minor corporeality is marginal in society at large but given center stage by such major forces as the state or global capitalism. By “minor corporeality,” we refer to the expressions, reflections, and intentional/unintentional performances of the body that does not reiterate the patterns of normalcy, respectability, and recognition. The word “minor” is borrowed from Gilles Deleuze’s oeuvres but it is even more strongly inspired by the collection Minor Transnationalism, edited by Francoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih (Duke UP, 2005); however, we intend to continue Lionnet and Shih’s ambitious project by centering on Taiwan and China. Thus, this panel returns to the disciplined body as exhibited in the widely discussed film Farewell My Concubine with a renewed attention to the minority of the body (Guo’s presentation). This panel dissects the (perhaps euphorically) embarrassed impotent men as gleefully spotlighted in the novels of certain female writers (Huang’s presentation); and it discusses the state-sponsored, neo-liberalist athletic spectacles nominally designed for the disabled citizenry, such as the 2009 Deaflympics in Taipei (Chi’s presentation). Although the four presentations focus on four different exhibitions, they seek to locate a common ground where the minor corporeality can be transregionally and transversally explored.
1) Guo Jie, University of South Carolina

“Deep” Metamorphosis: The Desiring Body in Farewell My Concubine

Appearing at a time when “up-to-date” same-sex identities and arrangements were in the making in Chinese-speaking societies, Chen Kaige’s film Farewell My Concubine (1993) casts spotlight on an age-old figure, the male dan actor, in its representation of male same-sex desire and relations. The male dan in this film, however, bears striking differences from his historical predecessors from the late imperial and Republican periods: While in his earlier incarnations, the male dan is often rendered as one trapped in a profession and an artificially feminized body, his counterpart in Farewell My Concubine, i.e. the protagonist Dieyi, is portrayed as someone who eventually more or less embraces—or, incorporates—what supposedly has been imposed upon him and his body. A comparison between this film and the late Ming anonymous story “A Martyr’s Love” (Qinglie ji) is revealing: In the story, the male dan is able to put on and cast off the feminine body, be it real or artificially created by way of cross-dressing, while in the film, Dieyi’s transformation appears to be deep in that it does not take place merely externally, but also internally. This metamorphosis—indeed, subjectification—gives birth not to a woman, but to a desiring subject with a body that is forever different from but inescapably linked to what it “originally” was. Imagined as such, the male dan in Farewell My Concubine is glazed with an unmistakably modern luster, which makes him relatively easily absorbable into the emerging contemporary gay discourses.

2) Wen-chu HUANG, Chengchi University, Taiwan

The Impotence of Being Romantic

As it is important to be earnest, it is also romantic to be important. This paper attempts to explore the painful experiences of impotent men as represented by female writers, such as Akiko Itoyama (1966-) from Tokyo, Ying-shu Cheng (1968-) from Taipei. Whether they live in Tokyo or Taipei, the two writers are affected by capitalism and other features that are integrated in their novels. They are good at describing the love story between men and women, which is tentatively regarded as romance. In the context of my paper, the framework is not to interpret the romance novel for the general public or to present it in any derogatory sense. It’s important to point out that the heroes of the novels invariably suffer from sexual dysfunction in the process of their lovemaking. These symptoms have revolutionized the narrative of romantic and poetic novels. Actor defects in the body or mind to some degree represent a metaphorical allegory. Furthermore, under the new capitalist culture evolution, men (especially in Japan) are no longer masculine, while women are no longer weak. During the Japanese colonial period in
Taiwan, men are always portrayed with a kind of castration anxiety. It’s also very intriguing that Itoyama describes Japanese men with similar disability while Cheng writes that men are still plagued by impotence and disease, which is very worthy of concern. The history of relationship disputes is very complex in Taiwan and Japan. After World War II, these relationships have always ambiguous because of both political and cultural reasons. Regardless of lifestyle, fashion, culture and the arts are interact (especially in two similar cities such as Tokyo and Taipei). Through the study of literature, Japan and Taiwan must re-think the above proposition in the context of their cultural and sociological interaction.

3) Ta-wei CHI, Chengchi University

_The Rhetoric Spoken for the Silenced_

Over the past decade, Chinese metropolises such as Hong Kong, Beijing, Shanghai, and Taipei have forcibly advertised themselves as global cities superior to their East Asian competitors. Spectacular sports events have been presumed to be magical self-advertisements for such global cities, a synecdoche for the nation-state behind these cities. Thus, we have seen the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, a major event applauding the body, which is also linked to a “minor” event exhibiting the “minor body:” the 2008 Beijing Paralympic Games. Taipei followed up with its 2009 Deaflympic Games, which was advertised with the slogan “the first time in Asia, the pride of Taiwan.” “The first time” in question ought to have referred to the Deaflympic Games, but “the pride of Taiwan” remains vague: proud of Taiwan’s deaf athletes, of its deaf citizenry, or of the Games without the deaf culture? Is there a caveat to invest national pride in the disabled? When the minor body is assigned a major role in a major national or international event, is the minor underlined or actually undermined? In 2009, Taipei was filled with the rhetoric that spoke for the silent population, and yet it is curious to consider whether this act “for” the minor was ethically facing the other, a la Emmanuel Levinas, or violently defacing the silenced. This presentation conducts a textual analysis, noting what is being pronounced as well as what is unspoken but forceful.

Discussant: Angela Yiu, Sophia University
Session 15: Room 252
International Japaneseness? Art and Architecture in Early 20th-Century Japan
Organizer: Yu Kishi, International Christian University
Chair: Mari Takamatsu, New York University

1) Daiki Amanai, JSPS Researcher
   Nationalism and Engineering: Japanese Architectural Discourse in the Early Twentieth Century
2) Yu Kishi, International Christian University
   Rethinking Imperial Crown Style: Architecture and Society in 1930’s Japan
3) Kyoko Ozawa, The University of Tokyo
   Narrating a History of Forms: From the Works of Yukio Yashiro

Discussant: Mari Takamatsu, New York University

Organizer: Yu Kishi, International Christian University
Chair: Mari Takamatsu, New York University

This panel aims to examine “Japaneseness” in Early 20th century Japanese Art and Architecture from the perspective of nationalism and modernity. “Japaneseness” is one of the necessary elements that defines Japan as an “imagined community.” Indeed, Japan’s self-identity required “Japaneseness.” In this context the issue of nationalism arises, but also the process of constructing “Japaneseness” relates to the dynamism of modernity. Art and Architecture in early 20th century Japan was thus inevitably connected with “Japaneseness,”

This panel presents three examples of intellectual activity in modern Japan integral to the whirlwind of nationalism and modernity confronting Japan in the 1930s. These three reporters of this panel have own disciplines; Aesthetics, Modern Japanese History, Interdisciplinary Cultural Studies. In addition, their attitudes toward Japaneseness are different. Through, these studies, we would like to present the methodologies. Amanai Daiki’s paper examines Sano Toshikata’s nationalism through the aesthetic study of the aseismic construction. Kishi Yu’s paper studies the modernity of eclectic design from the historical narrative of Imperial Crown Style 帝冠様式. Ozawa Kyoko’s paper draws Yashio Yukio’s nationalism and modernity through his original comparative method; the comparison of forms based on “pictorial details.”

1) Daiki AMANAI, JSPS Researcher
Nationalism and Engineering: Japanese Architectural Discourse in the Early Twentieth Century
The presenter describes a unique type of nationalism held by a Japanese researcher of seismic building Toshikata Sano (1880–1956). First, he shelved the nationwide development of the artistic side of architecture compared to the seismic or engineering side from the viewpoint of
national wealth. Secondly, he advocated the Japanese definition of architect as a person dedicated to the national finance as a member of the nation and as a professional through designing an efficient durable building at low cost. We will also examine his background experience on his way to study abroad or in his early days, which had shaped Sano’s own nationalism. His propositions covered from a seismic scale, newly introduced into Japan, to the substitutions of the metric system and even the Roman alphabet for each Japanese system of Shaku and Kana before and after the WWII. He also denied assigning the room with tatami mats for training Japanese domestic manners in primary schools in Tokyo after the Earthquake. Sano’s influence was evident in his student Toshihiko Noda (1891–1932), whose notorious essay was titled as “Architecture Is Not Art (or Theory of Inartistic Architecture)”, when Noda confuted the architectural style recognised as showing Japanese or Asian tastes generally for his contemporaries. After projecting a new light to the nationalism by displaying a theoretical preparation to total wars instead of discussing national tastes or styles in art and architecture, we will come to a question whether this type of nationalism is unique to Japan and, if so, how.

2) Yu Kishi, International Christian University

**Rethinking Imperial Crown Style: Architecture and Society in 1930’s Japan**

Imperial Crown Style 帝冠様式 was known as representative architectural design of the wartime Japan. This term was firstly appeared in postwar period, and the researchers “discovered” its origin in Meiji period. Generally speaking, the rapid growth of nationalism and government suppression of modern movement in architecture during 1930s took off any further development. Instead, there were some requirements call for a Japanese taste design that used traditional Japanese design in public architecture. That situation led to the appearance of eclectic design, Imperial Crown style, in which massive tiled roofs and Japanese decorative motifs were added to heavy, symmetrical western-style facades. However, Architectural historian, Inoue Shoichi, denied such historical description using a mount of primary historical sources. He argued there was not any government suppression in architectural expression during wartime. In fact, the buildings said to as Imperial Crown Style were built from 1931 to 1937. Recent studies show fanatic situation came up after 1937. After his book, most of architectural historians cautiously use Imperial Crown Style as historical term of the architectural expression in wartime Japan. Three questions still remain. First, why the Imperial Crown Style was regarded as the wartime expression of Japanese modern architecture and strongly used in the postwar period? Second, how do we explain why Japanese society required Japanese taste design in Early 1930s Japan. Third, in former Japanese colonial areas, there were some eclectic style buildings like Imperial Crown Style. What do you think of these buildings? This presentation tries to think about these questions.
3) Kyoko OZAWA, University of Tokyo

Narrating a History of Forms: From the Works of Yukio Yashiro

Yukio Yashiro 矢代幸雄, 1890–1975 was a pioneer of occidental art history in Japan. He also contributed to the protection of cultural objects as public property in the post war period. In Meiji era, compilation of history, including art history, was based on the Emperor-State Historicism and initiated by the government for the purpose of enhancing national prestige. Belonging to the next phase (Taishō humanism), he appeared to intend founding his historical narrative on his voluntary will and on personal judgment of taste. Yashiro is said to be the first art historian to use “details” in the analysis of paintings. These details reveal the formal similarities lying between the western old masters (e.g. paintings by Botticelli) and Japanese so-called lesser art (e.g. woodblock print of Utamaro, handcraft of Kenzan Ogata). This comparative method is, on the one hand, peculiar to men of culture in modern Japan, who intend to “rediscover” their domestic culture through westernized eyes. On the other, his approach has a potential to disturb the hierarchy of art based on regions (Occident/Far-East), epochs (Renaissance/modern times) and genres (subject paintings/genre paintings or handcrafts). As the outbreak of the WWII, Yashiro abandoned this method and committed himself to the so-called “international-nationalism”, celebrating the worldwide influence of Japanese art and advocating Japan as a cultivated nation. In this paper, I argue the potentiality of comparison of forms based on pictorial details and clarify Yashiro’s historical view reflected in the method he invented.

Discussant: Mari Takamatsu, New York University
Session 16: Room 253  
The Transmission of Asian Buddhist Thought and Imagery  
Organizer/Chair: Hillary Pedersen, Italian School of East Asian Studies  
1) Catherine Ludvik, Stanford Japan Center  
   *Benzaiten and Ugajin: The Skillful Combining of Deities*  
2) Hillary Pedersen, Italian School of East Asian Studies  
   *The Jingoji Godai Kokōzō Bosatsu Sculptures and Ninth-century Japanese Religious Multivalence*  
3) Karen Mack, Atomi Women’s University  
   *Amida Worship and Pure Land Visualization: Central Asian or Not?*  
Discussant: Patricia Fister, International Research Center for Japanese Studies  

The Transmission of Asian Buddhist Thought and Imagery  
Organizer/Chair: Hillary Pedersen, Italian School of East Asian Studies  

The spread of Buddhist teachings was a driving force behind the dynamic exchange of textual and visual culture throughout South, Central and East Asia. As Buddhist prelates travelled throughout the Buddhist world, however, they not only exchanged Buddhist teachings and images, but those from local traditions as well. Tracing the path of text and image transmission from India, through Central Asia, China and Japan, this panel will engage with a variety of visual media such as drawings, paintings and sculptures, as well as sutras, historical records, and other textual sources. Papers in this panel will explore concepts related to Indian nature deities, Central Asian visualization practices, Chinese Daoist and five-elements theories, as well as Buddhist traditions such as Esoteric and Pure land, in order to examine the ways in which images and iconographical concepts were transmitted and the purposes which such combinations served certain communities during the fifth through thirteenth centuries. By addressing the ways in which imagery was exchanged, adapted and utilized, this panel invites dialogue regarding the fluidity and flexibility of Buddhist imagery and thought during the ancient and medieval period.

1) Catherine Ludvik, Stanford Japan Center  
*Benzaiten and Ugajin: the Skillful Combining of Deities*  

The Indian riverine goddess of knowledge Sarasvatī was transmitted to China and thenceforth to Japan via Chinese translations of Buddhist texts (5th–8th centuries) and mandalas (9th century). In Japan, where Sarasvatī was called Benzaiten 芭蕉天, she was represented in two principal forms, eight-armed wielding weapons and two-armed playing a lute, each derived from a different channel of transmission. This paper will address the eight-armed Benzaiten and her identification, by the 13th century, with the mysterious snake deity Ugajin 魚賀神, resulting in the combined form of ‘Uga-Benzaiten’. Endowed with the body of a coiled snake and the face
of an old man, Ugajin came to be depicted atop Benzaiten's head. Associated with treasures, he shared with her his sovereignty over wealth, and she, in response, exchanged some of her weapons for jewel and wealth-related implements—a step which paved the way to Benzaiten’s eventual inclusion among the Seven Gods of Good Fortune (Shichifukujin 七福神). Connected with water, Ugajin revived her riverine origins, resulting in the representation and worship of Benzaiten in seas, lakes, ponds, and rivers. The Uga-Benzaiten pairing, therefore, proved to be an especially significant turning point with far-reaching consequences in the goddess’s conceptual and iconographic development. In this paper, I briefly introduce both Benzaiten and Ugajin, and then discuss their identification and iconographic combination, based on textual sources and visual depictions. Furthermore, I present selected sculptural and pictorial examples of Uga-Benzaiten, punctuating developments in the combined deity’s iconography.

2) Hillary Pedersen, Italian School of East Asian Studies

*The Jingoji Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu Sculptures and Ninth-century Japanese Religious Multivalence*

With the influx of Esoteric Buddhist texts and images into Japan during the eighth and ninth centuries, Buddhist clerics strategically selected elements of these teachings and various other belief systems in order to create dynamic visual programs which expressed certain religious and political goals. The Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu 五大虚空蔵菩薩 (Five Great Space Repository Bodhisattvas), a sculptural pentad housed at Jingoji 神護寺 in northwestern Kyoto, is one example of this phenomenon. This configuration is comprised of five manifestations of a single deity (Kokūzō Bosatsu), a bodhisattva which was the focus of a ritual incorporating the planet Venus. When depicted in pentad form, each of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu is associated with a different color and direction which resonate with correlative Chinese five-phases theories. These elements were combined with Buddhist concepts to create a configuration used to protect the nation. When the priest Shinzei (800-860), a disciple in the lineage of the Shingon Buddhist patriarch Kūkai (774-835), installed this pentad at Jingoji in the mid-ninth century, he bolstered the temple’s reputation as a site of national protection, not only through Buddhist practice here but through the significance of the sculptures’ combinatory iconography. Scholarship on this pentad has been limited to formalistic analyses. However, utilizing textual and illustrated sources, I will explore the multivalent religious milieu of ninth-century Japan as exemplified by the iconography of the Godai Kokūzō Bosatsu configuration, thus revealing the fluidity of Buddhist iconography.
3) **Karen Mack, Atomi Women’s University**

*Amida Worship and Pure Land Visualization: Central Asian or Not?*

Where did Amida Worship and Pure Land Visualization arise? There is scant evidence of Amida worship and visualization in India. The three Pure Land sutras themselves are problematic. Although the *Amida Sutra* has a Sanskrit version, much of the Chinese version of the *Muryōjukyō* sutra is not found in the Sanskrit version, and the *Visualization Sutra* (*Kanyō*) has no Sanskrit version whatsoever. Apocryphal texts are often assigned to Central Asia as their place of origin, but what exactly is meant by “Central Asia”? In the case of Pure Land belief and practice, there are early images for visualization practice found in meditation niches in Turfan, but the apocryphal sections of the *Muryōjukyō* sutra were obviously added in China since they contain supplementary explanations aimed at a Chinese audience, including even quotes from Laozi’s *Dao De Jing*. I would like to review possible places of origin of Pure Land thought taking into consideration the development of both the related images and texts from India, Central Asia, and China, and discussing the development of images and texts as concepts from foreign thought-systems were accrued during the transmission from India to China.

Discussant: Patricia Fister, International Research Center for Japanese Studies
Reconsidering *Ero Guro Nansensu* in the Context of Wartime Japan
Organizer/Chair: Nathen Clerici, University of British Columbia/Hokkaido University

1) Nathen Clerici, University of British Columbia/Hokkaido University
   *War and Nation in the Fiction of Yumeno Kyūsaku*
2) Yuichi Kuroiwa, Hitotsubashi University
   *Transformations in Ero guro nansensu: Reading Edogawa Ranpo’s Kotō no oni*
3) Kaori Yoshida, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University
   *Cartooning the Other: Shifts in Animalized Manifestation in War Manga*

Discussant: Katsuhiko Suganuma, Oita University

Our panel conducts a re-evaluation of *erō guro nansensu*, shorthand for “erotic grotesque nonsense,” a cultural and social phenomenon associated with interwar Japan. According to Shimamura Teru in the *Modan toshi bunka shirizu*, public interest and media coverage of *erō guro nansensu* reached an apex in the years 1930–1932, and declined rapidly afterward (2005, 628). Nevertheless, he considers *erō guro nansensu* to have been a significant cultural phenomenon from after the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake until approximately 1937, when Japan commenced total war in China. In her extensive monograph *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense*, Miriam Silverberg makes a similar assertion, adding that there were “repercussions lasting into the 1940s” (2006, 5), but her focus remains mostly on the 1920s and early 1930s.

There is very little scholarship on just how *erō guro nansensu* developed in the context of wartime Japan. The implication is that *erō guro nansensu* disappeared in the mid 1930s—or at least was stripped of any power as a cultural force—as government restrictions on artistic production expanded. We contend that *erō guro nansensu* did not disappear so much as morph into new forms, and our papers use a diachronic approach to explore these changes with war as the guiding theme. Yuichi Kuroiwa deals with queer and freak discourse in Edogawa Ranpo’s *Kotō no oni* (1929-30), and compares this to his wartime fiction. Nathen Clerici examines several texts by Yumeno Kyūsaku that use war and nation as main themes, and Kaori Yoshida discusses wartime *manga*.

1) Nathen Clerici, University of British Columbia (Hokkaido University)
   *War and Nation in the Fiction of Yumeno Kyūsaku*

Yumeno Kyūsaku (1889–1936) is best known as an *erō guro nansensu* mystery writer for modernist magazines such as *Shinseinen* and *Ryōki*, but he also wrote in other genres for various...
publications from the early 1920s until his death in 1936. This time span is nearly identical to the period in which *ero guro nansensu* was a significant public phenomenon. I use the development of Kyūsaku’s writing career as a means to consider the changes in *ero guro nansensu* discourse as Japan militarized.

Kyūsaku’s fiction, which favored fantastical, darkly atmospheric, mystery-laden settings and plots, established him as a *henkaku* (strange) writer. His uniqueness, even within his own writing circle, was enhanced by his being based in Fukuoka, far from Tokyo in geography and spirit. Moreover, unlike many of his contemporaries, Kyūsaku willingly took up themes of class, politics and war. His *ero guro nansensu* fiction was meant to do more than entertain. Kyūsaku’s writing contains paradoxes; he was a modernist who disdained Tokyo, and a political conservative who did not subscribe to mainstream conceptions of *kokka* (nation).

I conduct a comparative analysis of several texts centered around themes of war and nation, including *Shigo no koi* (Love After Death, 1928), *Inugami hakase* (Dr. Dog God, 1931–32), *Kōri no hate* (To the End of the Ice, 1933) and *Senjō* (Battlefield, 1936). I hope to offer a new angle from which to consider *ero guro nansensu* from its peak period through its supposed disappearance in the context of Japan’s militarization.

2) Yuichi Kuroiwa, Hitotsubashi University

*Transformations in Ero guro nansensu: Reading Edogawa Ranpo’s Kotō no oni*

After World War II, Edogawa Ranpo (1894–1965) looked back upon detective fiction around 1930 in *Tantei shōsetsu yonjū nen* (Forty Years of the Detective Novel). He wrote of his own work that, “It was mainly my *ero-guro mono* (erotic grotesque fictions) that were popular. They did not become popular as detective novels in the truly proper sense of the genre.” Without question, Ranpo’s works played an important role in creating the image of *ero-guro* at the time.

In this paper I consider the representation of male homosexuality and freaks in Ranpo’s *Kotō no oni* (*The Demon of the Lonely Isle*, 1929–30). I focus on two characters in order to analyze how *ero* combined with *guro*, how *guro* was eroticised, and finally how *nansensu* occurred as a result. The first character, Moroto, is called a “seiyoku tōsakusha” (sexual pervert) because of his “iyōna renjō” (strange love) for the narrator Minoura. The second, Hide-chan/Kichi-chan, is represented as a “kikei sōseiji” (freakish twin) of a girl and a boy artificially created by Moroto’s foster father.
Second, using the *ero guro nansensu* elements of my reading of *Kotô no oni*, I turn to Ranpo’s wartime novels for children, such as *Kaijin nijûmensô* (*Mystery Man of Twenty Faces*, 1936), *Shônen Tanteidan* (*Boys Detective Club*, 1937), *Yôkai Hakase* (*A Monstrous Doctor*, 1938) and *Daikinkai* (*The Great Lump of Gold*, 1939-40). *Ero guro nansensu* themes were not obvious in these fictions, but I argue they are hidden between the lines.

3) Kaori Yoshida, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University  
*Cartooning the Other: Shifts in Animalized Manifestation in War Manga*

Japan’s war-manga, both animation and comics, were powerful media that significantly contributed to national mobilization in the 1930s and 40s. As a propaganda tool, manga effectively served to glorify “the Self” and to demean “the Other” through heroic representation of the former and demonic representation of the latter, articulated by visual and narrative significations. In the field of visual media, one strategy to accentuate “otherness” is a dehumanized or animalistic manifestation of the Other, whose character may shift according to socio-political context.

This paper particularly focuses on ‘grotesqueness’ in dehumanized manifestations of Japan’s Other(s) in war-manga, and examines the shift in intensity and style over the course of WWII between the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and Japan’s 1945 defeat. I analyze propaganda animation, single-panel cartoons, and comic strips, including *Norakuro* series and magazine cartoons which animalized political figures such as Roosevelt and Churchill. The grotesque in war-manga was carried over to the postwar generation of manga artists, yet manifested in a different manner and with different intentions. Postwar works by Mizuki Shigeru and Tezuka Osamu, both of whom experienced the war, are closely studied. To analyze significations in each work and to draw out their implications, the paper takes a semiotic approach, with the theoretical framework of Self-Other articulation. As this study examines textual significations in specific historical contexts, it certainly helps in clarifying the linkage between cartooned manifestations and shifts in political intentions that feed and are fed by them.

Discussant: Katsuhiko Suganuma, Oita University
Session 18: Room 314

Individual Papers on Migration and Society in Modern Asia

Chair: Linda Grove, Sophia University

1) Frédéric Roustan, Hitotsubashi University
   *Challenging Colonial Domination: The Legal Categorisation of Japanese Migrants in French Indochina*

2) Linh Vu, University of California at Berkeley
   *Carless and Careless Natives: Car Accidents in French Indochina*

3) Yves Berna, University of Mainz
   *Political Aspects of the Escape of European Jews to Shanghai during WWII: The Role of Ho Feng-shan and the Chinese Bureaucracy in the Escape of 20,000 Jews from Europe to China/Shanghai*

4) Benny Teh, Universiti Sains Malaysia
   *Japanese Community under the Malaysia My Second Home (MM2H) Program*

5) Shakil Ahmed, University of Tsukuba
   *Civil Society of Bangladesh: Depoliticized in Working Agenda but Politicized in Power Relation*

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1) Frédéric Roustan, Hitotsubashi University

*Challenging Colonial Domination: The Legal Categorisation of Japanese Migrants in French Indochina*

The colonial domination in French Indochina was partly based on racialists and essentialists framing of populations through the use of legal categorizations. Then, boundaries were an issue of power that the presence of newcomers from regional migrations was complicating: migrants should find a place inside the legal structure of the colony without changing the organization of the colonial society. For this purpose, new laws were progressively enacted. However, because Japan was a “chimera-nation” which was playing with boundaries established by European evolutionist theories, the situation of Japanese migrants was particularly problematic for French colonial authorities. In this paper we will analyze how Japanese migrants have challenged the colonial order in French Indochina, by moving from a legal category to another, or even by going out of categories. We will take into account debates related to the racial acceptability of Japanese migrants and fears that were linked to the perceptions of Japan empowerment in the area. However, we will also try to present the effects of these legal frames on the populations of migrants. This paper will focus on the situation in the protectorate of Tonkin, between 1864 and 1954 and will follow a chronological framework by using as landmarks the main laws that were fixing for a time the status of the Japanese migrants.
2) Linh Vu, University of California at Berkeley

*Carless and Careless Natives: Car Accidents in French Indochina*

“Pity! The mind of the peasantry is truly hard to be enlightened!” Limbs broken, heads split open, blood spilled in streams… just cannot stop peasants from walking in the middle of the road, or on the left hand side, or running across the highway without looking left and right. This was the public sentiment regarding car accidents as portrayed by many Vietnamese newspapers in the 1920s and 1930s. Different from existing scholarship, my research focuses on the carless population, who were always on the outside of the vehicle, on the wrong side of the road when accidents happened, and on the guilty side in the eyes of the police and reporters.

Given the dominant scholarship of Truong Buu Lam, David Del Testa, and David Marr, it is unexpected to see that many Vietnamese reporters condemned peasants of being obstacles to smooth traffic and the road to modernity. The communist-nationalist discourse exposed by these scholars maintains that indigenous intellectuals in the early twentieth century fought against foreign powers with their pens. This remains true. However, the evidence that I found indicates that the Vietnamese intelligentsia was spread along the spectrum from pro-colonialism to anti-colonialism, and remained versatile in their agenda. Some were interested in the pragmatic side of traffic safety, while others used it as a vehicle to espouse their political message. Nevertheless, the manipulation of evidence in many reports that turned victims into criminals shows an unfamiliar angle of the “anti-French, revolutionary, and nationalist” indigenous intellectual.

3) Yves Berna, University of Mainz

*Political Aspects of the Escape of European Jews to Shanghai during WWII: The Role of Ho Feng-shan and the Chinese Bureaucracy in the Escape of 20,000 Jews from Europe to China/Shanghai*

This research proposal analyzes the role of the consul of the Republic of China in Vienna, Ho Fengshan, in the escape of thousands of Jews from Vienna to Shanghai during WWII, the only place where no entrance visa was required. Ho nevertheless issued hundreds of such visas from 1938–1940 when Shanghai was no longer controlled by Nationalist forces. For his actions, he posthumously obtained the title “Righteous among the Nations” in 2001.

In this research proposal, I intend to show that although Chiang Kaishek had a very friendly stance toward Nazi Germany, the official policy of the Republic of China did never aim at
excluding these Jews from China. Ho Fengshan himself also stated that China pursued an “open door” policy towards the Jews. Furthermore, as the results show, these visas to Shanghai were not necessary for leaving annexed Austria, for getting released from concentration camps or for obtaining ship tickets. This research proposal will furthermore analyse how the bureaucracy of the city of Shanghai reacted to the presence of Jewish refugees in the city after the KMT-regime was again controlling Shanghai from 1945 onwards.

I used various sources from the following archives: Leo Baeck Institute, NY and Berlin; YIVO Institute (NY); Holocaust Memorial and Museum, Washington; Central Archives (History of Jewish People), Jerusalem and Yad Vashem; Federal and Foreign Affairs Archives of Germany, Berlin.

4) Benny Teh, Universiti Sains Malaysia

*Japanese Community under the Malaysia My Second Home (MM2H) Program*

In Malaysia, the Japanese community has been actively participating in the Malaysia My Second Home (MM2H) Program. While the program has contributed to the increasing participation of the Japanese people living in Malaysia upon their retirement, there has been a general lack of information on how well they have adapted and assimilated into the Malaysian environment. This paper looks at the trend of the Japanese community under the MM2H program and aims to identify the issues and challenges facing them as they build their new homes and carry on with their lives. It will also highlight their abilities to communicate and build social networks with local residents as well as their contributions towards the enhancement of better societal values.

5) Shakil Ahmed, University of Tsukuba

*Civil Society of Bangladesh: Depoliticized in Working Agenda but Politicized in Power Relation*

The aim of this paper is to deal with a central question why civil society organizations (CSOs) are failing to democratize Bangladeshi state despite their burgeoning nature. It hypothesizes that the concept of depoliticization and politicization are opposite in nature but they coexist contextually in Bangladeshi development paradigm. The (CSOs) are depoliticized in their working agenda and this is convenient for the state, market and even for the CSOs because they don’t challenge anyone politically rather supplements each other. Nevertheless, this proposition is making the CSOs more prone to politicization in the line of party politics. Theses affinities to
Depoliticization and politicization are limiting the democratization prospect. This study is mostly based on extensive survey of 1005 CSOs of Dhaka, Bangladesh that was conducted by author with a structured questionnaire through direct interview in 2006 and 2007. The survey reveals that CSOs of Bangladesh are disproportionately leaned to the service delivery in comparison to the advocacy activities. The data also show that the politicization of CSOs is strategic choice than a tactical choice. This paper concludes that the instrumentalization of CSOs in addressing economic development has its own pitfall and it shouldn’t be negotiated in expense of democracy.
Internationally supported, private institutions were central to the development of women’s education in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Japan. The new Meiji state acted quickly to provide education for the future male leaders of Japan; higher education for women as mothers and civic leaders was a lesser priority. Women’s higher schools in each prefecture were not mandated until 1898 and never provided adequately for the existing demand. The private institutions established by missionaries and individual Japanese helped set the pattern educating women for the nation. This panel explores several aspects of the Trans-Pacific alliances among women that helped to construct Japanese institutions of higher learning for women. Linda Johnson examines the cooperation between Tsuda Umeko and her friend Alice Bacon in the establishment of Tsuda Juku, emphasizing their commitment to the ideal that education should provide women with financial independence and the capacity to be of service to society. Sally Hastings focuses on how graduates of Mount Holyoke College provided leadership in the founding of Kobe College and various women’s Christian secondary schools in Japan and how the American women mentored Japanese successors, sometimes by sending them to their alma mater. Patricia Sippel examines how the Canadian women at Toyo Eiwa Jogakko accommodated themselves to the wartime state. By bringing together different mission movements, educational institutions, and individuals, we provide a more textured account of the trans-Pacific relationships among women.
Following the 1880’s, when the influence of American missionaries on Japanese girls’ education was diminished, and an English-language curriculum was subject to criticism, Tsuda Umeko (1864–1929) and Alice M. Bacon (1858–1918) developed an alternative, transnational network of support for the establishment of an institution dedicated to the study of English and the financing of Japanese women’s education. Informed by a Christian social ethic, Tsuda and Bacon, as well as their American supporters, shared a commitment to the education as a means of providing women with financial independence and the capacity to be of service to society. Together, they promoted professional ties between Japanese and American educators at Kazoku Jogakko and Hampton Institute; wrote Japanese Girls and Women, (1891) in which they called for the development of Japanese women teachers; provided expertise and logistical support for the American Women’s Scholarship for Japanese Women Committee; founded, administered and taught at Joshi Eigaku Juku (1900), an English-language school for the preparation of teachers; and edited English-language instructional materials. Both served on the faculties of multiple women’s schools in Tokyo. Skillfully capitalizing on opportunities created by the government regulation of schools and the certification of teachers (designed, in large part, to diminish missionary influence and Western-centered curriculum), and the financial backing of loyal alumnae and American philanthropists who provided the material support for Joshi Eigaku Juku, the Tsuda-Bacon collaboration provided an alternative to the statist-centered direction of Japanese education for girls and women in the early twentieth century.

Even before Japan opened as a mission field, Mount Holyoke College and established itself as an institution with strong missionary ties, and women educated at Mount Holyoke were among the earliest missionary women to arrive in Japan as wives and single educators. Anna Eliza Clark Gulick, for instance, was sent with her husband to Japan in 1870. Graduates of Mount Holyoke College made substantial contributions to the development of mission schools such as Kobe College, Baika Girls’ School, and Sanyo Girls’ School as well as Japanese-founded institutions such as Tsuda College. Mount Holyoke, in turn, became a destination for Japanese women determined to acquire education that would allow them to contribute to the education of Japanese women. This paper will explore the networks that allowed Japanese women such as
Kajiro Yoshi, Ibuka Hana, and Amatatsu Fumiko to attend Mount Holyoke and contribute to the formal and informal education of Japanese women upon their return to Japan.

3) Patricia Sippel, Toyo Eiwa University

Toyo Eiwa Jogakko: Accommodating to Survive in Wartime Japan:

On November 6, 1934, Toyo Eiwa Jogakko, a girls’ school founded by representatives of the Canadian Woman’s Missionary Society, celebrated 50 years of history in a ceremony presided over by Principal Frances Hamilton, and attended by the Canadian ambassador, the governor of Tokyo, the Minister of Education and other dignitaries. The ceremony, conducted in new buildings necessitated by the school’s growing enrolments, reflected Toyo Eiwa’s success in making a progressive education that emphasized its Canadian and Christian roots attractive to Japan’s political and social elite. Already, however, Toyo Eiwa was making strategic accommodations to an increasingly nationalistic and militaristic Japanese government. A revised constitution passed in 1932 promised that the school would offer an education “founded upon Christian principles and in harmony with the Imperial Rescript on Education.” In 1935, it complied with a request to send students to attend a ceremony in memory of Emperor Meiji. In 1938, Hamilton stepped down as principal, to be replaced by a Japanese national. In 1939, the school accepted a portrait of the Emperor for display and in 1941 changed its name to remove any reference to its international origins. But wartime demands intensified. In December 1943, Toyo Eiwa’s remaining Canadian teacher was repatriated having been imprisoned briefly as a citizen of an enemy state. By the end of the war, part of the school was being used for military purposes. This presentation will analyze the experience of Toyo Eiwa to understand the challenges and the techniques adopted by an international and Christian girls school seeking survival in wartime Japan.

Discussant: Noriko Ishii, Otsuma Women’s University
**Session 20: Room 351**

**Individual Papers on Everyday Life and Health in Transwar Asia**

Chair: Gavin Whitelaw, International Christian University

1) Winifred Chang, University of California, Los Angeles  
*Imperiled Stronghold or Certain Victory: Between Everyday Life and Extraordinary Performance in Colonial Taiwan, 1937–1945*

2) Arnel Joven, University of the Philippines  
*Colonial Appropriation of Medicine and Health-Seeking Behaviour in the Philippines during the Japanese Occupation Period*

3) Wai Shing Lee, The Chinese University of Hong Kong  
*Reexamining Hong Kong Medical History under Japanese Occupation: Using HonKon Nippō (Hong Kong News) as the Main Reference*

4) Victoria Lee, Princeton University  
*Microbial Transformations: The Japanese Domestication of Penicillin Production, 1946-1951*

5) Franck Michelin, Meiji University  
*Hawks vs. Doves? The Analysis of the Occupation of Northern French Indochina Process as a Way to Transcend a Historical Myth*

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1) Winifred Chang, University of California, Los Angeles  
*Imperiled Stronghold or Certain Victory: Between Everyday Life and Extraordinary Performance in Colonial Taiwan, 1937–1945*

Taiwan had been a Japanese colony for 42 years when the Second Sino-Japanese War began in 1937. Before 1937, Japan implemented assimilationist policies designed to teach the Taiwanese people to feel that they were part of the Japanese Empire despite Taiwan’s existing weak cultural attachment to China. With the Sino-Japanese War, Japan initiated imperialization policies in Taiwan, intensifying its efforts to reshape Taiwanese people into Japanese imperial subjects. Japanese cultural policies in Taiwan stressed emotional and spiritual affinity toward Japan, instilled through textbooks, newspapers, and other media. As Japan gradually began to lose the war, it called upon Taiwan to become a “stronghold.” At the same time, state rhetoric of “certain victory” continued to be propagated, even as the same discourse demanded increasingly extraordinary performance by the Taiwanese people in their daily lives. Glorifying all types of involvement, whether it was volunteering to fly kamikaze missions, or taking a Japanese name—demanded performance with affective overtones, regardless of genuine emotional foundation. When extraordinary wartime circumstances became everyday, along with the emphasis on “heart and spirit” in patriotism, the alignment of internal emotions and external performance was a prime concern of Japan regarding Taiwan. Ultimately, clear inconsistencies between the difficulties of wartime living, promised abstract glories abroad, and inner grappling with imagined Chinese identities resulted in cognitive dissonance for some intellectuals, as shown through their diaries. Oral histories of common Taiwanese people, however, revealed a
greater willingness to conform to and participate in the martial ideals of Japanese imperial nationalism.

2) Arnel Joven, University of the Philippines

*Colonial Appropriation of Medicine and Health-Seeking Behaviour in the Philippines during the Japanese Occupation Period*

This paper seeks to discuss how much of the previous American colonial health-sanitary order persisted in the Philippines during the Japanese occupation. From the previous American colonial order, the Filipinos were under an organised colonial health-sanitary superstructure that reached many sectors of the population. During the war, complications by the realities of war and occupation, dislocations and shortages forced the civilian population to adapt to conditions characterised by shortages in food and medical supplies. In areas where the people had the opportunity to obtain medical resources, Filipino medical leaders served as agents who negotiated in all levels with various authorities, in order to preserve the Filipinos’ already-deteriorating health situation, and to hopefully improve the worsening sanitary conditions. This study proves that through these Filipino agents, the old American blue print of the colonial health structure continued in operation despite the limitations posed by the realities of war and occupation.

For this, the research obtained representative experiences from Manila and surrounding provinces in the lowland Luzon area in assessing patterns of adaptations and negotiations from the people’s varied experiences and perspectives. The study looks at Filipino initiatives working around Japanese occupation policies on health, and how these policies were received. This therefore situates Filipino civilians as the central leading actors interacting with each other and their social environment. The study utilises theoretical perspectives from medical anthropology as tools of interpretation as a necessary step towards an integrative understanding of the people’s health-seeking behaviour in their daily lives during the occupation period.

3) Wai Shing Lee, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

*Reexamining Hong Kong Medical History under Japanese Occupation: Using HonKon Nippō (Hong Kong News) as the Main Reference*

This is a study of the medical history of Hong Kong under the Japanese occupation (1942–1945), using *Honkon Nippo* (Hong Kong News) as the main reference. Although there are plenty of books for general readers, memoirs of British troops and Chinese guerillas, and oral
history records about the Japanese occupation in Hong Kong, this period has not yet received
due academic treatment. Medical history of Hong Kong, as a part of socio-economic history, is
relatively well-documented and researched. However, there is a missing link, namely the
medical history during the Japanese occupation. Writings about medical condition in Hong
Kong during this period are shattered and one-sidedly negative. Based on Honkon Nippo, the
representative newspaper published by the Japanese during the occupation period, and other
primary sources, my study aims to examine the medical development of Hong Kong under the
Japanese, highlighting the changes that the Japanese brought to Hong Kong and their impact on
postwar Hong Kong medical history. This study will shed new light on medical history and
history of Japanese occupation.

4) Victoria Lee, Princeton University

*Microbial Transformations: The Japanese Domestication of Penicillin Production, 1946-1951*

With the introduction of antibiotics in the 1940s, fermentation eclipsed chemical synthesis for a
time as the most advanced method of drug production in the pharmaceutical industry. This
paper traces the implementation of penicillin production in Japan, and how it both built upon
and transformed Japanese fermentation science and industry. Although the Japanese penicillin
story begins during the Second World War, this paper examines the period from 1946 when
serious efforts began to introduce submerged culture technology, with full access to American
expertise, support from the Occupation government and cooperation from industry. The paper
follows developments until 1951 when research on penicillin manufacture was largely
complete, drawing in particular upon the records of meetings of the Japan Penicillin Research
Association (*Nihon Penishirin Gakujutsu Kyōgikai Kiji*). I aim to highlight the significance of
this episode scientifically, and not merely as an industrial and policy example. Despite the great
infusion of American knowledge and expansion of microbiological science in postwar Japan,
which began with penicillin, I stress that throughout Japanese microbiologists continued to
display a proclivity for problems of production, the roots of which lie in the prewar period.
5) Franck Michelin, Meiji University

Hawks vs. Doves? The Analysis of the Occupation of Northern French Indochina Process as a Way to Transcend a Historical Myth

A very common vision of the process that, in Japan, lead to the Pacific War has been a conflict between hawks and doves, the former trying to accelerate the movement towards a confrontation with the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom, the latter trying to stop these dangerous initiatives. This vision has been widely shared by the specialists of traditional diplomatic history. It has also been strongly linked with the way Western powers were considering Japanese politics before WW II. This vision of international relations and foreign policy has been the cause of numerous misconceptions, since the decision making process in the field of foreign policy has never been the result of a simple opposition between two sides, one being pacific and the other one being warlike. In this paper, we will try to show that the fact that the road to the Pacific War was uneven was not caused by the opposition of two settle sides, but was the product of a dynamic process where different groups were trying to take the lead. The analysis of the occupation of Northern Indochina is a very useful way of analysing this process, since it took place at a moment of acceleration of history for Japan.
Session 21: Room 352
Contemporary Japanese Social Movements
Organizer/Chair: Alexander Brown, University of Wollongong
1) Takuro Higuchi, Kyoto University
   *A Prehistory of the Alter-Globalization Movement in Japan: Subterranean Autonomous Networks in Japan since the 90s*
2) Risa Tokunaga, The Australian National University
   *Struggles of the Cabakura Union: Cabaret Hostess Workers against the “Rule of the Night”*
3) Alexander Brown, University of Wollongong
   *Mayday Mayday! Freeters March for Freedom and Survival*
Discussant: Hideaki Tazaki, Rikkyō University

Contemporary Japanese Social Movements
Organizer/Chair: Alexander Brown, University of Wollongong, Australia

Since the collapse of the bubble economy in the early 1990s, the Japanese labour market has become increasingly casualised. Social institutions such as the family, school and corporation, which provided a social safety net in the post-war period, have become fragmented. In this context of generalised precarity, new social movements are emerging which seek to challenge neoliberalism and provide a dignified existence based on demands for ‘freedom and survival’. These movements engage with a political understanding of precarity which has circulated through the transnational networks of the alter-globalisation movement. Contemporary social movements engage with labour issues affecting young workers but don’t limit their activity to the workplace. They seek to highlight the connection between exploitation at work and broader social issues. By engaging in struggles for dignity, freedom and survival, participants develop a sense of self-worth and collective power. In this panel, we will provide an interdisciplinary perspectives on these new social movements by describing the political and cultural context in which they have emerged and highlighting the inventive strategies they have developed to confront neoliberalism.

1) Takurō Higuchi, Kyoto University Global COE Program

*A Prehistory of the Alter-Globalisation Movement in Japan: Subterranean Autonomous Networks in Japan Since the 90s*

Notions, such as prefiguration, horizontality and connectivity, are characteristic of the alter-globalisation movement. Some researchers argue that they have developed in European autonomous movements since the late 1970s. Yet, it is very hard to find the streams of autonomous movements in Japan, as no squatted buildings or social centers exist. Even though these physical elements did not exist, the idea of DIY (Do It Yourself) punk has diffused within
Japan since the early 1990s. In fact, the punk movement since the late 1970s triggered the big diffusion of autonomous movements in the early 1980s in Europe. Traditionally, DIY punks (re)produce their activities by themselves; organizing shows, making records and distributing them independently from the market. More important, DIY punk culture fostered autonomous networking among people over the last three decades. Nowadays the idea and praxis of DIY punk can be seen beyond European countries. Some researchers find the basis of connectivity in this phenomenon. This paper aims to describe the rise of DIY punk since the early 1990s in Japan as a prehistory to the contemporary alter-globalisation movement in Japan. A significant development occurred when one of the individual distributors opened an info-shop to distribute DIY punk related self-made materials in Tokyo in 2004. Global autonomous networks then became embodied in Japan within a physical space. The network constructed around the info-shop sustained anti-summit mobilizations during 2008 G8 in Japan, and nowadays, the shop has become one of the most prominent nodes of the alter-globalisation movement in Japan.

2) Risa Tokunaga, The Australian National University

_Struggles of the Cabakura Union: Cabaret Hostess Workers against the “Rule of the Night”_

The _Cabakura_ Union, established in December 2009, is an industrial chapter of the Freeters Union (_furītā zenpan rōdō kumiai_) based in Tokyo. The Freeters Union is an independent union, whose members are mostly non-regular workers which has uniquely brought about movements for freedom and survival in addition to taking up day-to-day labour disputes. This paper highlights the struggle of the _Cabakura_ Union which deals with the job of cabaret-club hostess, which is getting popular among young women but is not properly recognised as work. My paper explains how the _Cabakura_ Union has unionised and the background of union members. Following a brief picture of the _cabakura_ industry in Tokyo, I analyse case studies of labour disputes of the _Cabakura_ Union. Case studies show that the character of the _cabakura_ industry follows the “rule of the night,” which is often referred to as an excuse by managers for violating the labour law. The next point is that there is an underlying issue of the dignity of _cabakura_ workers. While the _cabakura_ hostesses draw hot attention as a highly paid fashionable job in the mass media, the reality is that the job is usually highly problematic. Most _cabakura_ workers seek to reclaim their dignity through labour struggles against their bosses. In conclusion, I raise the issue of women’s work and the _Cabakura_ Union’s important role in recognising _cabakura_ hostesses as workers.
May Day has been an important day of protest and celebration for the labour movement since the nineteenth century. In recent years, precarious workers’ movements in Europe and Japan have revived the May Day tradition for a new generation of precarious workers. In Europe, this revival has taken place under the banner of ‘EuroMayday’. In Japan, numerous groups have organised independent May Day celebrations. In Tokyo, the Freeters Union (furītā zenpan rōdō kumiai) has adopted the title ‘Mayday for Freedom and Survival’ (jiyū to seizon no mēdē) for its May Day celebrations. The Mayday for Freedom and Survival is an eclectic protest march, which, I will argue, is helping to produce a common political subjectivity around the twin themes of freedom and survival. It is part of an emerging global political subjectivity which has adopted the notion of precarity to challenge the difficult economic and social conditions faced by young people. The march draws on images of rebellion and resistance which have their origins in Japanese and global political traditions. It references traditional left-wing slogans and concepts but reinvents and recreates them to suit a new cultural context. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri have pointed to the production of common cultural forms within contemporary social movements. In this paper I will argue that the ‘Mayday for Freedom and Survival’ is a form of cultural commons. It demonstrates the emergence of an increasingly fluid, transnational and carnivalesque political subjectivity within contemporary social movements.

Discussant: Hideaki Tazaki, Rikkyō University
KEYNOTE ADDRESS

“Comprehending Disaster from Afar: Harvard University’s Digital Archive of Japan’s 2011 Disasters”

Ted Bestor
Reischauer Institute Professor of Social Anthropology
Chair, Department of Anthropology
Harvard University

Room 262
6:00 P.M.—6:40 P.M.

This will be a brief introduction to the ongoing collaborative project among Harvard University’s Reischauer Institute and its MetaLab and Center for Geographical Analysis, the National Diet Library, the Library of Congress, the Internet Archive, the North American Coordinating Council on Japanese Library Resources, and many other institutions and individuals to compile an as-full-as-possible digital record, across many platforms and formats, of the immediate responses to and reflections on longer term consequences of the disasters of March 11. http://jdarchive.org/

I am presenting this on behalf of a group of collaborators at Harvard and elsewhere, not as an individually authored talk.
Session 22: Room 205
Individual Papers on Modern Japanese Fiction

Chair: James Baxter, J. F. Oberlin University

1) Katarzyna Sonnenberg, Jagiellonian University
   *From Recollection to Perception. A Bergsonian Reading of Higuchi Ichiyō’s Narratives*

2) Davinder Bhowmik, University of Washington
   *The Trope of the Basetown in Contemporary Fiction by Murakami Ryuū and Ikekawa Natsuki*

3) Yukiko Shigeto, Whitman College
   *Fiction as Artifice: Estranging the Will to Immediacy*

4) Jonathan Dil, Keio University
   *Open and Closed Systems in Murakami Haruki’s 1Q84*

1) Katarzyna Sonnenberg, Jagiellonian University

*From Recollection to Perception. A Bergsonian Reading of Higuchi Ichiyō’s Narratives*

In Higuchi Ichiyō’s (1872–1896) diaries and novellas recollecting past experiences is crucial in constructing the protagonists’ present moment. The act of remembering, what has already been indicated, is an attempt both to escape from and to understand the “here and now” context. On the other hand, however, the process of recollecting the past intervenes with the protagonists’ perception of the present and influences their actions. This paper will examine the heterogeneity of time structure and the role of remembering in Ichiyō’s works. While referring to Henri-Louis Bergson’s concept of memory as presented in his *Matter and Memory*, I will try to argue that, contrary to what is commonly accepted, the narrative vector in Ichiyō’s diaries and novellas (including *Yamiyo*, *Utsusemi*, *Nigorie*, *Jūsanya*) is not from the present to the past but rather from recollection to perception and that what Bergson calls memory-images change in Ichiyō’s narratives into what he considers active or motor memory seated in the present and looking only to the future. Bergsonian understanding of memory should help me to try and revisit the existing interpretations of a number of intriguing moments in Ichiyō’s works, including the famous *marukibashi* scene in *Nigorie*.

2) Davinder Bhowmik, University of Washington

*The Trope of the Basetown in Contemporary Fiction by Murakami Ryuū and Ikekawa Natsuki*

Murakami Ryū’s 1996 comic novella *69* and Ikekawa Natsuki’s 2009 historical novel *Kadena* are surprisingly lighthearted given that the backdrop of these works is Japan’s turbulent and politically charged late 1960s when many questioned the renewal of the United States-Japan Security Treaty and the deployment of American military forces stationed in bases in Okinawa and Sasebo to war torn Vietnam. In *69*, Ryū’s protagonist pays mere lip service to the pressing
issues of 1969 all the while reveling in the glory of his sex-crazed youth. In *Kadena*, Ikezawa’s multiple protagonists find themselves amateur spies in a game whose mission it is to alert Vietnamese to aerial bombings by the U.S. military during the Vietnam War. The nostalgic mode of these fictional works, which treat the summers of 1968 and 1969 as the pinnacle of their protagonists’ existence, severely undercuts the far weightier subject matter of radical student activism and the escalating Vietnam War. This paper will not attempt to reconcile the lightness of the fictional works’ style with the somberness of content but rather will focus on how the base towns that lie at the heart of both stories—Sasebo and Kadena—generate high drama making visible the irrepressible violence contained in military structures so often described by critics as naturalized or invisible. The paper will also argue that only through their decidedly retrospective narratives is it possible for Ryū to satirize the student movement and for Ikezawa to make war entertainment. That is, the belatedness of the stories told is the condition of their telling.

3) Yukiko Shigeto, Whitman College

*Fiction as Artifice: Estranging the Will to Immediacy*

Dazai Osamu’s “December 8th” (1942) and Sakaguchi Ango’s “Pearl” (1942) are works of fiction that both directly address the attack on Pearl Harbor. In reading these texts one may be tempted to ask whether or not they criticize Japan’s war effort. A host of scholars have, indeed, analyzed these works motivated by this very inquiry. In my reading, however, I explore a way of treating these fictions not as a criticism or support of Japan’s imperial project but rather as what throws into crisis the safely distanced standpoint of a critic in approaching texts from wartime Japan, and for this purpose, I trace the ironic narrative strategy of these two texts. Both “December 8th” and “Pearl” are replete with sentiment-laden narrative, bringing to the fore the will to immediate fusion with the nation’s war effort at the start of Pacific War. Yet, this pathos-filled narrative is constantly interspersed with largely nonsensical and whimsical narrative, which in turn works to mock and displace boundless identificatory emotions as soon as they are evoked. I attend to this ironic double gesture, arguing that it opens up a possibility of engaging with the allure of ecstatic identification, however uncomfortable it may be, instead of hastily dismissing it from a rationalist standpoint.
4) Jonathan Dil, Keio University

*Open and Closed Systems in Murakami Haruki’s 1Q84*

Murakami Haruki’s writing since 1995 can in part be read as a continued response to the Aum Shinrikyō cult sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway system. It is his attempt to answer the rhetorical question he posed in his non-fictional work *Underground* of what “we” (and more specifically he) could offer “them” (members and former members of Aum) in return. His most recent novel, *1Q84* (2009 and 2010), takes up a similar theme of a dangerous cult and those who are trying to resist its dangerous pull. Is *1Q84* then an anti-religious novel? Rather than anti-religious, I will argue that it is better to see it as a work against what Murakami has called in interviews “closed systems”, whether political or religious, and part of his ongoing attempt to explore what an “open system” like literature can offer in return.
Session 23: Room 252
Visual Satire in Asia: A Dying Genre?
Organizer: Yulia Mikhailova, Hiroshima City University
Chair: Noriko Iijima, Hiroshima City University

1) Yulia Mikhailova, Hiroshima City University
   *Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro in Political Cartoons: On Characteristic Features of Contemporary Japanese Cartoons*
2) Mo Tian, Hiroshima City University
   *3D Cyber Cartoons in the Construction of Neo-Nationalism in China*
3) Tokoro Yukiyoshi, Professional Cartoonist
   *A Demonstration of Satirical Cartoons*
4) Galina Tyun, St. Petersburg State University
   *Indonesian Cartoons: from Politics to High-Tech*

Discussants: Kosei Ono and Atsushi Hosogaya

Visual Satire in Asia: A Dying Genre?
Organizer: Yulia Mikhailova, Hiroshima City University
Chair: Noriko Iijima, Hiroshima City University

The idea of this panel was prompted by the recently expressed apprehensions about the demise of editorial political cartoons. Indeed, nowadays newspapers have to struggle with TV and the Internet for their share in the media market; cultural environment permeated by issues of political correctness narrows down the space for criticism, while restyling of politics into “performance” and the global popularity of comics seem to jeopardize the existence of political cartoons. Papers in this panel will attempt to answer these questions examining the past, present and future of political cartoons in China, Japan and Indonesia from the viewpoints of their contents, visual language and the influence of the IT revolution on their creation. Sonja Hotwagner, using the example of *Tokyo Puck*, raises the question of interaction between the indigenous and international elements in the visual vocabulary of cartoons. Yulia Mikhailova analyzes Japanese cartoons on Koizumi Junichiro demonstrating how the restyling of politics influences contemporary cartoons in Japan. Mo Tian discusses historical and contemporary factors standing behind the anti-Japanese cartoons in China and argues that presently widespread 3D cyber cartoons serve as a means for constructing neo-nationalism in China. Galina Tyun examines Indonesian cartoons ridiculing the daily life where people are becoming dependent on various technological gadgets, such as the Google, for example. She points out that these cartoons are rather friendly to people familiarizing them with the development of technology. The discussants will not only comment on papers but also share their considerations about the current state of the political cartoon genre.
1) Yulia Mikhailova, Hiroshima City University

*Prime-minister Koizumi Junichiro in Political Cartoons: On Characteristic Features of Contemporary Japanese Cartoons*

Being the result of an immediate reaction to political events, political cartoons become an indispensable source of information about political life and political attitudes. This paper compares representations of Koizumi Junichirō on TV and in newspaper cartoons concentrating on the period from July to September 2005 when Koizumi struggled for the bill on the postal reform. The paper raises the following questions. How do pop-culture, commercialization and new mass media influence the genre of political cartoon? What additional information on contemporary politics can we obtain through political cartoons? The analysis of Koizumi cartoons demonstrates that in contrast to television, which aimed to create an attractive image of the prime-minister, cartoons, by virtue of the genre itself, looked at him more critically. In particular, they emphasised that his first and foremost concern rested not in people, but in relations with other politicians and in popularizing himself. However, in the post-war Japanese society where consensus and conformism prevail, political cartoons are losing their function of satire and serve as a means of entertainment. Their sarcasm refers only to the behaviour and style of politicians, but not to the essence of politics. In this sense, Japanese political cartoons fit well into the contemporary political style characterised by performance and attention to persona.

2) Mo Tian, Hiroshima City University

*3D Cyber Cartoons in the Construction of Neo-Nationalism in China*

During the 15 years of Sino-Japanese War (1937–45) political cartoons were quite instrumental in propagating anti-Japanese feelings. Now, when a new tide of anti-Japanese movement is on the rise in China, anti-Japanese cartoons have appeared again. This paper compares cartoons of both periods and examines, through their iconography, what ideological, social and other issues are at play in each case. As one can expect, cartoons of the 1930s and 1940s slandered the Japanese as “military aggressors and oppressors of people” while their vocabulary was close to the Marxist one. Contemporary cyber cartoons continue to use many history-related topics (Sino-Japanese territorial disputes, interpretation of war in Japanese textbooks, visits of Japanese politicians to Yasukuni shrine, etc.) but their visual language differs dramatically. It is amazingly bold, with allusions to international pop-culture, including strong sexual references and issues of everyday life. The paper argues that visual political satire has always been a powerful weapon in the construction of nationalism, Chinese including. Nowadays it serves to reconstruct the Chinese collective memory and to strengthen patriotism when the communist
rhetoric is no more attractive. The anti-Japanese sentiment aims at consolidating society and encouraging solidarity. Cartoons also give evidence to the Chinese obsession with Japan in various periods of its modern history. Recent computer generated images look attractive and appeal mainly to the young generation of the Chinese. However, the problems as to what extent they are products of individual creativity or ideological manipulations of the government remains.

3) Tokoro Yukiyoshi, Professional Cartoonist

*A Demonstration of Satirical Cartoons*

4) Galina Tyun, St. Petersburg State University

*Indonesian Cartoons: from Politics to High-Tech*

The name of Herluf Bidstrup and his sharp drawings are well remembered by everyone. In Indonesia his drawings became popular since the late 1940s when he created his series The Flying Duchmen which mocked at the Duch colonial collapse there. It was Bidstrup who familiarized the Indonesians with funny and sometimes tragicomic pictures called cartoons and understandable to every society member regardless of age or ethnicity. Since that time cartoonists have enjoyed popularity in Indonesia with karikatur politic playing the main role. This paper will first examines Gatot Eko Cahyono political cartoon series published in 2001 and demonstrates how he poked fun at the appearance and behavior of politicians, noting that his pictures were satirical, sarcastic, even aggressive, but not always fair. However, it seems that in present day cartoons different topics prevail. They are scenes of everyday life, incidents in the streets, transport, leisure activities and other life situations, often driven to the absurd. Cartoons are becoming less aggressive and even friendly to audience familiarizing people with new achievements in modern technology. They may show, for example, a little schoolboy explaining his grand-pa a new cell-phone model or a young long-legged girl demonstrating Google abilities to her elderly boss. Present cartoons are getting less oriented to political or other acute problems of the day, and since they perform a sort of an enlightening function, they may prevent the decay of the cartoon as a genre in future.

Discussants: Kosei Ono and Atsushi Hosogaya

The panel includes a demonstration of political cartoons by the artist Tokoro Yukiyoshi himself.
Session 24: Room 253

Alternative Moralities in Medieval and Early Modern Texts
Organizer/Chair: Patti Kameya, Kent State University

1) Gergana Ivanova, University of British Columbia
   *Heian Writers and the Construction of Tokugawa Womanhood*

2) Niels Van Steenpaal, Kyoto University
   *The Social Significance of the Celebration of Filial Children in the Edo Period*

3) Mathew Thompson, Sophia University
   *Caricatures of Morality: Changing Representations of Minamoto no Yoshitsune in Medieval and Early Modern Narrative*

4) Patti Kameya, Kent State University
   *Economics and Moral Values in Anecdotal Collections on Strange People*

Discussant: Bettina Gramlich-Oka, Sophia University

Alternative Moralities in Medieval and Early Modern Texts
Organizer/Chair: Patti Kameya, Kent State University

This panel explores unconventional sources and uses of early modern moral texts in order to understand the complex didactic landscape of medieval and Tokugawa Japan. These papers address how diverse sources from classical Heian texts to Tokugawa hearsay result in syncretic moral visions that reach beyond conventional Confucian and Buddhist tracts. They also investigate alternative values addressed in the texts, from the Heian court to Tokugawa economic and social ideals. Collectively, these papers demonstrate the efforts of various historical actors to present their own distinctive visions of an ideal society in early modern Japan.

1) Gergana Ivanova, The University of British Columbia

*Heian Writers and the Construction of Tokugawa Womanhood*

Heian (794–1185) literary works and their authors have been frequently employed as vehicles for advancing moral ideologies, and in particular, for defining the scope of Japanese womanhood. Likewise, shifts in officially prescribed and lauded gender roles have shaped perceptions of Heian writers and their texts over the centuries. This presentation deals with the Edo-period (1603–1868) constructions of Heian literary women in educational texts for female readers *jokun*, such as *Ominaeshi monogatari* (Maiden Flower Tales, 1661). Focusing on Sei Shōnagon (966?-after 1017), the highly-educated female attendant to Empress Teishi (977–1000) and author of *Makura no sōshi* (The Pillow Book, 11th c.), I will consider the attempts of *jokun* to utilize Heian literary texts as tools for the transmission of Confucian values and training Japanese womanhood in the early modern period. This presentation will delineate the sphere of knowledge which *The Pillow Book* was seen as transmitting to Tokugawa women,
examine the shifts in the representations of the work and its author, and consider the role that educational texts have played in the canonization of Heian literature.

2) Niels Van Steenpaal, Kyoto University

*The Social Significance of the Celebration of Filial Children in the Edo Period*

In 1771, Matano Gyokusen, domain scholar of Tatsuno, compiled a work called *Kōfu Meiseihen* (Spreading the Glory of the Filial Wife). The work consists of a biography detailing the filial deeds of a woman named Yoshi, over a hundred poems praising her virtue, and an afterword appended by Nakai Chikuzan, the head of the Kaitokudō Academy in Osaka. When it was published the following year, however, Chikuzan’s afterword was removed, and three more biographies were added besides that of Yoshi.

What should we make of this work and the changes made to it before publishing? That is the problem to be tackled in this presentation. By identifying its intellectual framework, and contextualizing it within the socio-political currents of the later eighteenth-century, I will show that the *Kōfu Meiseihen* was a way for Matano Gyokusen to spread not only the glory of Yoshi’s filiality, but also that of his own scholarship and Tatsuno domain.

3) Mathew Thompson, Sophia University

*Caricatures of Morality: Changing Representations of Minamoto no Yoshitsune in Medieval and Early Modern Narrative*

In the earlier variants of the *Heike monogatari* (The Tale of the Heike) corpus of texts, Minamoto no Yoshitsune (1159–1189) is painted in shades of grey, a morally ambiguous actor in the chaotic events surrounding the Genpei War. In seventeenth century narrative traditions (*mai no hon, otogizōshi*, etc.), however, he appears as a caricature of warrior rectitude, a lord whose education, refinement, benevolence, and ability to inspire loyalty is second to none. This presentation will examine the shifting characterizations of Yoshitsune across a range of genres and texts between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. Within what moral frameworks were Yoshitsune’s character and his role in the Genpei War repeatedly re-imagined? Which of Yoshitsune’s qualities as a warrior are accentuated in each genre and era? Analyzed in this manner, the legend of Yoshitsune has the potential to shed light on issues ranging from the identity of the warrior class within popular imagination to the increasingly moralized practices of reading and writing.
4) Patti Kameya, Kent State University

Economics and Moral Values in Anecdotal Collections on Strange People

In the late eighteenth century, two anecdotal collections about strange people were published by merchant scholars in Kamigata (Kyoto area). While Ban Kōkei’s Kinsei kijinden (Eccentrics of our times, 1790) draws upon the Daoist recluse ideal to provide an alternative moral model, Ikenaga Hadara’s Tōsei chijinden (Fools of these times, 1795) appears to rebut this idea by affirming the superficial values of the pleasure quarters. A closer examination reveals that both texts reject an economic worldview that places a moral value on preserving household resources. This paper will investigate alternative economic moral frameworks presented in these two anecdotal collections of eccentrics, frameworks that promote spending resources on leisurely pursuits such as poetry writing. Together, these texts responded to a Tokugawa society compromised by commercialization.

Discussant: Bettina Gramlich-Oka, Sophia University
Theoretical Approaches to Narratives Involving Female Fantasies of Male Homosexuality

Session 25: Room 303

Visions of Yaoi/BL Studies: Theoretical Approaches to Narratives Involving Female Fantasies of Male Homosexuality

Organizer: Kazumi Nagaike, Oita University
Chair: Kazuko Suzuki, Texas A&M University

1) Kazuko Suzuki, Texas A&M University
   Transgressing Duality and Normativity: Gender and Sex(uality) Manipulation in Japanese Yaoi Discourse

2) Tomoko Aoyama, University of Queensland
   BL Literacy: Subversion, Resuscitation, and Transformation of the (Father’s) Text

3) Kazumi Nagaike, Oita University
   Queer Readings of BL: Are Women “Plunderers” of Gay Men?

Discussant: John Lie, University of California, Berkeley

Visions of Yaoi/BL Studies:

Theoretical Approaches to Narratives Involving Female Fantasies of Male Homosexuality

Organizer: Kazumi Nagaike, Oita University
Chair: Kazuko Suzuki, Texas A&M University

What theoretical approaches are available for studies of Yaoi? And what theoretical contribution can we make by studying Yaoi and its relevant social phenomena? Yaoi or BL (Boys’ Love)—an umbrella term for male-homosexual erotica predominantly produced and consumed by women in Japan—has rapidly spread across the world since the mid–1990s and has recently drawn attention of scholars as an object of study. The earliest research on Yaoi in Japan focused on a curious aspect of this phenomenon and focused on a question of why heterosexual Japanese women read about male-homosexual romance and pornography. As Japanese Yaoi has become highly commercialized and circulated globally, scholars in various disciplines have started examining Yaoi works and its relevant phenomena from various angles. Nonetheless, research related Yaoi is still underestimated in mainstream academia outside Japan. Thus, this panel attempts to show the theoretical potential that Yaoi/BL Studies demonstrates. While maintaining a coherent theme related to gender, sex, and sexuality throughout the panel, our panelists with different disciplinary backgrounds in literature, comparative cultural studies, and sociology examine Japanese Yaoi/BL narratives, and analyze social controversies and feminist achievements that the narratives of women’s fantasies on male homosexuality brought about in a larger society. The panel is given closure by a social theorist who will critically assess this cross-disciplinary panel and navigate toward more productive cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary directions in Yaoi/BL Studies.
1) Kazuko Suzuki, Texas A&M University

**Transgressing Duality and Normativity: Gender and Sex(uality) Manipulation in Japanese Yaoi Discourse**

The past decade has seen the emergence of studies of Yaoi/BL that have focused on gender and sex as analytical categories. Such scholarship is important in understanding fan-based cultures, production and consumption. However, a conflation of gender, sex, and sexuality at the analytical level in Yaoi/BL impedes further theoretical development. By making a clear conceptual distinction between these intertwined notions as distinctive analytical categories, this paper attempts to clarify Yaoi’s achievement in the (un)conscious feminist agenda among Japanese women. The study examines more than 300 commercial Yaoi/BL novels written in Japanese. Through descriptive statistics based on and textual analysis of the samples, the paper first identifies some important features in the contemporary Yaoi texts such as transgression of sexual norms, subversion of gender fixity, renewed definitions of masculinity and femininity, and highly context-dependent sexual orientation of protagonists. By doing so, I argue that Yaoi/BL has made it possible for Japanese heterosexual women 1) to transgress normative gender dualism, sexual acts and sexuality at least at the level of discourse; 2) to use men’s images not only for their empowerment but also for their own gratification. This is a significant step forward from early Yaoi works that focused upon getting affirmation from others and fleeing from patriarchy. As a final point, by presenting some preliminary evidence based on interviews with Yaoi fans, the paper discusses the linkage between their Yaoi-related activities and their choice of enhancing their personal quality of life in lieu of a quest for legal or institutional equality.

2) Tomoko Aoyama, University of Queensland

**BL Literacy: Subversion, Resuscitation, and Transformation of the (Father’s) Text**

The significance of reading in girls’ culture has been widely recognized. In Japanese cultural studies girls’ magazines of the 1920s and 30s and girls’ manga from the 1970s onwards have attracted particular attention. In both, a highly sophisticated literacy is evident; recognition and sharing of texts form the core of the “imagined community.” In communicating their thoughts and feelings about selected texts, members of this “community” create and develop their own style and conventions. People outside the “community” may find it difficult to understand their “language” and so dismiss their culture. The selection of the texts, language, and style thus constitutes the boundary, which, as Huizinga pointed out, is essential to the “play” of Homo ludens. This paper examines contemporary BL (Boys’ Love) literacy, that is, the ability to read
and write/draw male homo-erotic stories according to the specific conventions of this genre. In particular, I am interested in the innovative use of intertextuality, which is closely related to gender criticism. Rather than emphasising patriarchal and heterosexist oppression, contemporary BL artists and readers can transform potential threats into pleasure and gratification. The notion of Nioi-kei, for example, is an interesting one: BL-literate readers can detect a nioi (literally, scent or fragrance, i.e. a hint, a touch) of BL implicit in some non-BL texts, including the Tale of Heike, novels by Sōseki, and Dazai, and even Moby Dick. BL reading can revive and resuscitate some of a dead/dying canon with a carnivalesque transformation of the homosocial/misogynistic into the homoerotic.

3) Kazumi Nagaike, Oita University

*Queer Readings of BL: Are Women “Plunderers” of Gay Men?*

Previous critical analyses of BL have explored this popular genre of male homosexual fantasies in relation to the presumed heterosexual orientation and desires of Japanese women. In attempting to analyze the discursive aspects of “queerness” in the BL genre, I propose reading BL narratives from a decentred perspective, primarily by addressing the ways in which gay men consume and respond to this particular female-oriented genre. My analysis of gay men’s reception and consumption of BL narratives is mainly based on the vocal criticisms of BL by a number of gay Japanese male activists that began during the early 1990s. Some gay readers harshly criticize this female-oriented genre, on the basis of the stereotyped, limited images of the gay characters which appear in it. They claim that, on a subconscious level, female BL writers/readers are homophobic, and that this genre thus “plunders” gay men’s images. In this study, I attempt to formulate a synthesis between the relative validity or invalidity of these critiques in relation to the parties immediately concerned: i.e. the female consumers of BL representations and the male homosexuals who are offended by them. I will therefore engage in a textual analysis of BL narratives, as well as examining the differing perspectives of those involved, by means of interviews with gay readers and BL publishers. In order to contextualize this analysis, I will include substantial discussion of alterity theory, primarily stemming from queer and post-colonial theories, as this intersects with the process of identity construction among supposed minority groups.

Discussant: John Lie, University of California, Berkeley
Session 26: Room 314
Individual Papers on Modern Art and Literature in Asia

Chair: Mark Caprio, Rikkyo University

1) David R. George, Jr., Bates College
   *A Spanish Novelist’s Tour of Japan: The Image of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez in the Taisho Press (1919–1928)*

2) Mauricio Baros, Universidad de Chile
   *The New Horizons of Whistler: Japan and Chile*

3) Tomoki Ota, Japan Society of the Promotion of Science/Tokyo University of the Arts
   *Promoting Public Understanding of Art History through Popular Culture in the 1920–50s: Kōdan Stories, Radio Dramas and Children’s Books*

4) Tomoe Ikeda, Kansai University
   *Development of the Detective Story in 1920s China*

1) David R. George, Jr., Bates College

*A Spanish Novelist’s Tour of Japan: The Image of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez in the Taisho Press (1919–1928)*

On July 20, 1923, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* reported to readers that Spanish novelist Vicente Blasco Ibáñez would tour Japan in late December. In the months leading up to the writer’s arrival, the initial story was followed by a series of articles profiling his achievements as a novelist, journalist and filmmaker, and his activities as the standard bearer of the Spanish Republican movement. Indeed, how the item was expanded in the *Yomiuri*, and echoed in other Tokyo dailies (*Ashahi*, *Mainichi* and *Hochi*), and the coverage the 10-day visit received during and afterwards, confirm the extent to which in the 1920s Blasco was recognized as Spain’s most famous writer after Cervantes. Yet, the particular enthusiasm expressed towards him in 1923–24 in Japan, suggests that a more complex relationship existed between the Spanish writer and the mass of urban readers that defined Japanese culture in the Taisho period.

In this paper, I examine a selection of articles, press notes and advertisements on Blasco and his works that appeared in Japanese periodicals between 1919 and 1928, in order to take account of the phenomenon of his popularity. Through the study of the image of the author projected in these news items, I make the case that it was the republicanism of his public persona combined with the cosmopolitan themes of his literature that caused him to resonate with the preoccupations and aspirations of Japanese society under the Taisho democracy.
2) Mauricio Baros, Universidad de Chile

*The New Horizons of Whistler: Japan and Chile*

The trip of the painter James Abbott McNeil Whistler to Chile in 1866 had as consequences a radical change in its pictorial work, the painter begins a new phase much that moves away of the realism of his first stage and that comes near to the vanguards that will arise by the end of century. The origin of it would be in two factors the influence of the *japonisme* on the one hand that already had known in Europe through other painters and Japanese products imported into Europe, and the experiences that it will have in its trip to Valparaíso by reasons in principle of economic character. Both factors contributed as much to a transformation of the pictorial techniques as of the conception of the pictorial space, these works break with the space of the conventional perspective and display a new atmosphere given by a new use of the color, a change that is product of the search of new horizons, as much pictorial to the interior of the same canvas (*japonisme*) as geographic and symbolic in the search of new experiences (Trip to Chile). Both factors are examined to determine as this trip served to amalgamate tendencies that already came foreshadowing in their previous work but which they matured at this moment giving rise to consider what some Orientalists claim that Latin America is that in many instances is in a meeting between East and West.

3) Tomoki Ota, Japan Society of the Promotion of Science/Tokyo University of the Arts

*Promoting Public Understanding of Art History through Popular Culture in the 1920–50s: Kodan Stories, Radio Dramas and Children’s Books*

Previous research on the history of art history has shown that the narratives of Japanese art history had been formed in the Meiji era in order to show Japan’s national identity to the West in a visual way. This paper examines how the narratives of Japanese art history came to be known to the Japanese public after the Meiji era, by focusing on popular culture from the 1920’s to the 1950’s that provided contents related to the history of Japanese art. This paper analyzes popular culture productions, in particular the Kodan story “Okyo’s Picture of Ghost” (1936), the radio drama “Hogai Kano, Reviving the Legitimacy of Nihon-ga” (1952), and the children’s book *Sesshū, Saint of Arts* (1953), and concludes by clarifying the following three points: Firstly, this popular culture had an important influence on the formation of people’s knowledge of art history before the 1960’s, when public museums and art exhibitions increased throughout Japan. Secondly, some art history narratives in popular culture played a social education role by exaggerating the admirable aspects of artists’ personalities, such as industriousness and honesty. Thirdly, the narratives of these popular culture products influenced the art history narratives of
academic studies of Japanese art history and exhibitions at museums after the 1960’s in no small way. These days, when it is asked how museums, humanities, and art as high culture can get closer to the public, the promotion of public understanding through popular culture is an important historical case that should be referred to.

4) Tomoe Ikeda, Kansai University

*Development of the Detective Story in 1920s China*

Today the detective story is considered one of the most famous genres in popular fiction. Edgar Allen Poe is called the “father of the detective story,” the emergence of which was related to new media, such as newspapers and magazines that appeared in the 19th century. The detective story was introduced to Japan and China when those countries were compelled to “modernize” by the Western powers during the same era. An initial boom in translations of detective novels in both Japan and China was followed by divergent paths of development of the genre: while the detective story continues to be popular in Japan, its development in China faded during the late 1930s and beginning of the 1940s. This paper examines how the development of detective fiction in China reflects the Chinese response to the process of modernization. The paper focuses on specific aspects of the Chinese detective novel in the 1920s when Chinese writers first adopted the genre, including how they imaged/wrote detective stories. I analyze Chinese detective fiction carried in well-known contemporary magazines such as *Zhentan shijie* (The World of Detectives; 偵探世界), *Banyue* (Fortnightly; 半月), and *Ziluolan* (Violet; 紫羅蘭), tracing in concrete terms the development of the Chinese detective story in the 1920s and 1930s, to provide a fresh perspective for understanding Chinese “modernization.”
Session 27: Room 316

Corporeal Space, Urban Space and Outer Space: Locating the Colonial Imagination
Organizer: Jing Wang, University of Toronto
Chair: Baryon Tensor Posadas, University of Toronto

1) Nicole Go, University of British Columbia
   Chinese Coolies, (Auto-)Ethnography and (Post-)Colonial Spaces: Racialized Labour in Japanese
   and Asian North American Literature

2) Jing Wang, University of Toronto
   Reading Tokyo Through Shanghai in Modern Japanese Literature

3) Baryon Tensor Posadas, University of Toronto
   Imperial Imaginations: Colonial Genealogies of Japanese Science Fiction

4) Darcy Gauthier, University of Toronto
   Between Bodies: The Theatre of Abe Kōbō Studio

Discussant: Yōichi Komori, University of Tokyo

Corporeal Space, Urban Space and Outer Space—Locating the Colonial Imagination
Organizer: Jing Wang, University of Toronto
Chair: Baryon Tensor Posadas, University of Toronto

Colonialism is figured not only as a political-economic system but also as a discursive regime that mobilizes and regulates the imaginary. Rather than simply approaching colonial modernity as a singular historical moment, our panel apprehends it as a plurality whose impacts cut across history. Taking up different spaces as crucial arenas to address the problem of colonial modernity, we will discuss various cultural products in Japan as sites of both representation and contestation. Specifically, our papers will analyze how the force of colonial modernity is inscribed and registered in literary representations of urban space, in the fantasies of difference staged in science fiction, and in the body as an expression of ethnicity, identity and resistance against cultural imperialism.

Nicole Go investigates the abjectification of racialized labour in (post-)colonial spaces through a discussion of author positionality and contemporaneity. Jing Wang’s paper focuses on questions raised by colonial modernity in the literary representations of urban space during Meiji and Taisho periods. Baryon Tensor Posadas examines the discursive formation of the genre of science fiction and how it is enmeshed within the history of colonial governance and nationalist biopolitics. Finally, Darcy Gauthier offers a new mapping of Abe Kōbō Studio by demonstrating how its experimentations with the audiovisual capabilities of theatre can be understood in the context of a resistance to “colonial” inscriptions of the body.
1) Nicole Go, University of British Columbia

*Chinese Coolies, (Auto-)Ethnography and (Post-)Colonial Spaces: Racialized Labour in Japanese and Asian North American Literature*

In David Henry Hwang’s *The Dance and the Railroad* (1981), a former Chinese opera singer practices his art with what remaining energy he has after a day working on the Transcontinental Railroad. He says, “When my body hurts too much to [practice], I look at the other Chinamen and think, ‘They are dead. Their muscles work only because the white man forces them. I live because I can still force my muscles to work for me.’” Hwang’s work attempts to re-masculinize an Asian male subject castrated by the effects of indentured labour during the late 19th and early 20th century, a period formative to a modern, abject Asian North American subjectivity.

The abjectification of the Chinese body is also apparent in Natsume Soseki’s *Travels in Manchuria and Korea* (1909); however, coolies are racialized primarily through senses of smell and touch rather than skin colour. Visual senses are reserved for admiring the Chinese body at work, with Soseki likening a group of coolies to vanquishing warriors in *The History of the Chinese Armies* despite their subjugated position. In doing so, he gestures, as Hwang does, towards a lost culture swallowed by the workings of modernity.

This paper discusses author positionality and contemporaneity and its effects on literary representations of the Asian body in white and non-white spaces. I will also explore how the demands for racialized labour influenced cultural identity formation during periods of intense nation-building.

2) Jing Wang, University of Toronto

*Reading Tokyo Through Shanghai in Modern Japanese Literature*

This paper will focus on problems raised by “colonial modernity” in Japan through a discussion of literary representations of urban space during the Meiji (1868–1912) and Taisho (1912–1926) periods. Akutagawa Ryūnosuke’s (1892–1927) and Tanizaki Jun’ichirō’s (1886–1965) texts on the heterogeneous cityscapes of Tokyo and Shanghai will serve as my main examples in questioning the applicability of the singular narrative of (western) modernity.

From the Meiji period, the transformation of urban space delivered a particular message about modernity, a product partially originating from colonial encounters. The coloniality of modern
urban space, especially in the capital city of Tokyo, was captured in various texts during this time. During Japan’s imperial expansion in other Asian countries, colonial space in such cosmopolitan cities as Shanghai has often been depicted alongside Tokyo in the works of many Japanese writers. Metaphorical colonial tensions within the metropole were made even more visible by reading colonial space in Shanghai. At the same time, the ambivalent multiplicity experienced in cities like Tokyo and Shanghai also complicated the discourse of (western) modernity. Akutagawa Ryūnosuke and Tanizaki Jun’ichirō are representative Tokyo-born writers whose Tokyo writings generate different meanings when juxtaposed with their works on Shanghai. Through examining the relationship between Tokyo and Shanghai as well as their literary representations, I intend to explore how these narratives demarcated and simultaneously blurred the boundary of “(western) modernity.”

3) Baryon Tensor Posadas, University of Toronto

Imperial Imaginations: Colonial Genealogies of Japanese Science Fiction

This paper takes as its premise the following contention: the genre of science fiction forms a coherent and historically situated discourse indebted to the language and practice of colonialism. Through its inter-textually circulated motifs, images, and narratives of imperial expansion, encounters with alterity, and war, the genre participates in the reproduction and circulation of commodity racisms and ideologies of industrial progress.

It is with this backdrop in mind that I discuss the early history of science fiction in Japan. Japan makes for an effective test case for the interrogation of the genre’s intermediation with shifting discourses of empire and the nation: on the one hand, it has become a fetishized and orientalized site in Anglo-American science fiction texts; on the other hand, the emergence of the genre in Japan in the 1920s is tied to the ideological deployments of notions of science and “civilization” embedded in the nation’s historical position as the only non-Western colonial empire. As such, I argue that Japanese science fiction is a productive point of departure for apprehending the complex negotiations of fantasies of difference under an emergent “planetary consciousness” of colonial modernity. To illustrate these points, I take up both the discursive contestations of the genre alongside the fictions of Unno Juza and Kigi Takatarō with particular attention placed on their engagement with the perceived social function of the genre to mobilize a rhetoric of science and how this discourse is enmeshed in the history of colonial governance and nationalist biopolitics.
4) Darcy Gauthier, University of Toronto

*Between Bodies: The Theatre of Abe Kōbō Studio*

A common entry into Abe’s work is to make reference to the liminality and instability of his upbringing, how he was raised in Japan-occupied Manchuria (Mukden), how he was then moved to American-occupied Japan (in Hokkaido, Japan’s ‘frontier land’), how neither Japanese nor Chinese language or nationality were native to him—biotopographical facts which all impact upon his writing (its obsession with the Other, with loss of identity and with alienation) as well as his politics (his skepticism towards all forms of national belonging, the themes of exploitation and anti-colonialism that run through much of his work). Abe’s work as such is easily situated within a cosmopolitan, postcolonial discourse, and his theatre especially, through its expression of bodies in motion, provides notable potentialities for negotiating resistances and struggles against cultural and corporeal imperialism. Focussing on the Abe Kōbō Studio (1973–79), I propose that its experimentations with the audiovisual capabilities of theatre—its resistance to logocentric theatre and its emancipation of the body from pre-inscribed patterns of movement—can be understood in the context of a resistance to the centripetal forces of the two zones of language and the body, those through which the imperial machine most claims its authenticity. I will propose that in Abe’s theatre the body in movement becomes a site of active resistance, not merely Foucault’s “inscribed surface of events” but an active symbolic structure capable of, as Elizabeth Grosz says, “the possibility of a counter-strategic reinscription”.

Discussant: Yōichi Komori, University of Tokyo
Session 28: Room 351
Individual Papers on Asian History
Chair: Sven Saaler, Sophia University

1) Anatoliy Anshin, Moscow International Higher Business School MIRBIS/ Russian State University for the Humanities
   *Daidōji Yūzan’s Warrior Precepts: The Paradox of Tokugawa-era Writing*

2) Luke Hambleton, Beijing Normal University
   *An Environmental Approach to the Early Development of Tobacco in China*

3) Sangho Ro, Princeton University
   *Offspring of Tonghak, Modern Media and Consumer Culture, 1898–1910*

4) Klaus Dittrich, Hanyang University
   *The Foreign Community in Late Joseon Korea, 1882–1910*

5) Joyman Lee, Yale University
   *Japanese Industrialization Experience and Chinese Thinking on Industrial Development, 1910–1935*

6) Christian W. Spang, University of Tsukuba
   *The Expansion of the German East Asiatic Society (OAG) in East Asia (1930–45)"

1) Anatoliy Anshin, Moscow International Higher Business School MIRBIS / Russian State University for the Humanities

*Daidōji Yūzan’s Warrior Precepts: The Paradox of Tokugawa-era Writing*

The foundations of the pre-Tokugawa warrior culture have remained largely obscure and understudied, first of all due to the lack of consistent sources showing what kind of physical practices and mental attitudes the descendants of the hereditary warrior houses in Japan needed in order to maintain all aspects of their existence as warriors during times of incessant war and unrest.

In contrast, the peaceful Tokugawa era (1603–1867) presents an abundance of sources written by warrior-authors of all stripes. However, these are characterized by academic moralizing, abstract and verbose theorizing on matters removed from the real life, an emphasis on theoretical study of military strategy, and virtually a complete neglect of physical training. An important exception to the norm is Daidōji Yūzan’s *Budō shoshinshū* (A collection of precepts for young warriors, early eighteenth century) that has not received much attention from scholars.

I will examine Daidōji’s work and show that he managed to extract the quintessence of the pre-Tokugawa warrior culture by systematizing its major elements, whose mentions were chaotically dispersed in pre-Tokugawa warrior house rules and precepts. In his work he argues, quite convincingly, that the pre-Tokugawa warrior ethos was inseparably linked with warrior
bodily practices and very concrete mental attitudes. Paradoxically, Daidōji’s work, written during the Great Tokugawa Peace, is a valuable source on pre-Tokugawa warrior culture.

2) Luke Hambleton, Beijing Normal University

*An Environmental Approach to the Early Development of Tobacco in China*

Tobacco is first recorded as being introduced to China in the late 16th century, first in and around the Portuguese enclave of Macau in Guangdong province and slightly later through the Fujianese port of Zhangzhou. While tobacco farming in Guangdong remained extremely small-scale and localized in nature, Fujian farmers and landlords quickly adapted to the new crop province-wide. Nevertheless, by the early to mid-17th century tobacco growth in Fujian had declined, in the wake of a boom in tobacco yields in neighboring Jiangxi. Previous research shows that during this period the Jiangxi tobacco industry was dominated by the Fujianese, with many Fujianese farmers migrating to Jiangxi border counties for the purpose of tobacco cultivation. When viewed in the context of 16th–17th century climate change, ever-growing pressures placed on Fujian’s land and water resources by the expanding tea industry and the decline in hydro-engineering projects culminating in frequent droughts and flooding, this paper argues that a seemingly economically-driven phenomenon was in fact environmental in nature. By answering the question of what caused this dramatic relocation of the Fujianese tobacco craft, I draw conclusions that not only assist in our understanding of the nascent tobacco industry in China but furthermore the affect tobacco had on the Fujianese eco-system and the resulting social change in southeast China.

3) Sangho Ro, Princeton University

*Offspring of Tonghak, Modern Media and Consumer Culture, 1898–1910*

During the critical decade of 1900s before Korea was annexed to the Japanese Empire in 1910, Korean print market dramatically increased. In this paper, I argue that offspring of Tonghak, the religious heresy of last Chosŏn dynasty, became the unexpected indigenous agent of promoting the popular culture and imagining a new social identity: a consumer. In particular, this paper analyzes two daily newspapers—Cheguk sinmun and Mansebo—published by Tonghak members; as the radical rebel of the regime, Tonghaks revived from the disastrous failure of the military revolt in 1894-5, and restarted the publishing activity to criticize the ruling elites and the Yangban culture in the decade. They intended to speak toward minor social groups which had been marginalized in Chosŏn kingdom, so, I will argue, their press composed of the early Radical media of testing cultural limits in 1900s’ Korea. However, their mass media for
communicating with women and minor groups, of blurring traditional boundary of status and gender, curiously intersected with the growth of commercial enterprises. The expansion of Korean reading publics, including consumers of the Radical press, occurred with the rise of print market, which everyone was eligible to access to and in which he/she was able to acquire the information as a universal cultural good. Therefore, I’d like to argue that modern consumer culture in Korea began to evolve with intriguing interplay among the religious minority, the cultural radicalism, and the growing economy at the beginning of the twentieth century.

4) Klaus Dittrich, Hanyang University

The Foreign Community in Late Joseon Korea, 1882–1910

Korea was forced to establish diplomatic relations with European and American powers in the early 1880s. As a consequence of these treaties individuals from several countries settled down on the Korean peninsula. The foreign community consisted of various categories of individuals. One of them was diplomats. Additionally, the Korean government hired foreign advisors and other experts. They worked as highly influential government councillors as well as in specialised technical domains which were not yet developed in the country. Businessmen came to Korea in order to pursue commercial activities. Missionaries, mostly but not exclusively Protestants from the United States, constituted an important group. Individuals from the lower classes of society, such as sailors, also came to Korea. Although excellent scholarship on key individuals, such as the German advisor to the Korean government Paul Georg von Moellendorff, does exist, no collective biography has been drawn so far. This paper presents the rationale of a new research project on the foreign community in late Joseon Korea and some of its first results. It is a contribution to a transnational history of individuals in a period of early globalisation. Firstly, typical career patterns will be presented, illustrated by individual trajectories. Secondly, emphasis will be put on the everyday life of a predominantly bourgeois group. Thirdly, the question if the foreign presence in Korea contributed to the modernisation of the country or marked the way into colonisation will be addressed. Finally, the situation of foreigners in Korea will be compared to China and Japan.

5) Joyman Lee, Yale University

Japanese Industrialization Experience and Chinese Thinking on Industrial Development, 1910–1935

This paper explores the impact that the Meiji experience of industrialization had on Chinese industrial thinking in the Republican period. The Meiji Japanese nation state was able to guide
Japan’s industrialization efforts with neither the tariff nor monetary autonomy that China achieved in the early 1930s, and therefore the Meiji government’s success in effecting a positive policy towards industrialization rested largely on an effective industrial policy, known at the time as *shokusan kōgyō*. Late Qing and early Republican Chinese policymakers and industrialists understood well this Japanese reliance on an ‘information infrastructure’, and attempted to emulate the program as reflected in the National Conference of Commerce and Industry in 1912. This paper explores the impact of this consensus on two critical aspects of Republican industrialization, namely the cotton textiles industry and industrial finance. It focuses on the debates on industrialization in these two arenas to examine how the Chinese system showed both continuities with and key differences from the Japanese experience.

6) Christian W. Spang, University of Tsukuba

*The Expansion of the German East Asiatic Society (OAG) in East Asia (1930–45)*

The German East Asiatic Society was founded in 1873 and is therefore one of the oldest (Western) academic associations in East Asia. Being based in Japan, the society focused its research on “Things Japanese” (1) while other Asian countries remained for a long time at the fringe of OAG-interests and activities. After a short portrait of the OAG as a place of bilateral exchanges between Germans and Japanese in general, this paper is going to deal with the OAG during the Nazi-era. To provide the necessary historical background, I am going to mention the local Nazi organizations in Japan and their relations with the OAG. The focus of my paper will be an aspect of history that has long been overlooked, namely the local OAG-groups (“Zweiggruppen”) that developed in other East Asian countries during the 1930s and early 40s. While the foundation of similar groups had failed before World War I, the OAG later managed to establish groups in Shanghai, Batavia (Jakarta) and Manchukuo. Despite the fact that Germany had lost its colonies in the Pacific and the leasehold of Qingdao in China’s Shandong province, the existence of these OAG groups shows that a considerable number of Germans remained active in some parts of East Asia before and during the Pacific War.

(1) Actually, Basil Hall Chamberlain, whose famous book (“Things Japanese”, 1890) provided some easy-access information about Japan, was a member of the OAG.
Session 29: Room 352
Between Resistance and Cooperation: The Movement of the Imperial Subject in Colonial Taiwan under Japanese Colonization
Organizer: Chiali Lin, Chengchi University
Chair: Peichen Wu, Chengchi University
1) Chiali Lin, Chengchi University
   A Relative Position Caused by “Kominka”: The Possibility of Modifying the Binary Frame
2) Peiting Liao, Chengchi University
   Amity between Japanese and Taiwanese in the Late Japanese Colonial Period of Taiwan: Lung Ying-tsong and Lu He-ruo’s Short Stories as Example
3) Peijuang Lai, Chengchi University
   Kominka Factors of the Movie “Sayon no Kane”: In Observation of the Receptors
4) Hsiaowei Bai, Chengchi University
   From Taiwan to China: Difficulties Reflected in the Works of Taiwanese Authors in China during the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945)
Discussant: Yukari Yoshihara, Tsukuba University

Between Resistance and Cooperation: The Movement of The Imperial Subject in Colonial Taiwan Under Japanese Colonization
Organizer: Chiali Lin, Chengchi University
Chair: Peichen Wu, Chengchi University

After the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Taiwan as a Japanese colony had no choice but to face Japan’s more powerful and all-pervasive dominion. For the sake of expanding war, Japanese government enforced three main policies sought to mobilize Taiwanese manpower and material resources: 1. Turn Taiwan into a logistic base for the Southern Expansion Policy. 2. Taiwan’s industrialization. 3. Kominka (make people become subjects of the Japanese emperor). Therefore it’s highly significant to analyze how Taiwanese reacted to this relationship under the colonial power, how Taiwanese were reconsidered as being Japanese, and why Japanese government couldn’t always achieve its expectations.

This panel will discuss the issue from a cultural and literary point of view. Lin tries in his paper to go beyond some of the earlier studies, which dressed down some Taiwanese who inclined to become Japanese. Then he will focus on Ye Sheng-Ji’s diary and Zhou Jin-Po’s novel to discuss why they thirsted for being Japanese. Liao’s paper will discuss the amity between Japanese and Taiwanese by examining Lu He-Ruo and Lung Ying-Tsong’s short stories in the early 1940s. Further on, she shows how Taiwanese novelists responded to the Japanese policies during wartime. Lai’s paper will be concerned with the role of mass media in the colony. Under the control of the colonizer, the movie Sayon no Kane (1943) was falsified, and the colonizer undertook different attracting methods to succeed its policy. The last paper submitted by Bai,
shows how some Taiwanese obtained the chance to move to China because of the “Southern Expansion Doctrine”, and why they had to face more obvious difficulties than those staying in Taiwan.

1) Chiali Lin, Chengchi University

*A Relative Position Caused by “Kominka”: The Possibility of Modifying The Binary Frame*

This paper originates in a doubt about a binary frame which existed in earlier Taiwanese studies about the Japanese colonial period. This binary frame emphasized that there is a certain relationship between the colonizer and the colony which results in opposing resistance and control, so when some Taiwanese intellectuals had shown different attitudes toward the Japanese colonists, they would be regarded as the betrayer of nationality. But if we comprehend the historical development of Taiwan especially around the year of declaring martial law ended, we will find it were Chinese consciousness and Taiwan consciousness, which had different political aims, collectively produced the said binary frame in the same time they contending for the cultural interpretation. When the binary frame tried to erase or criticize something endangering the imaginary nationality, a limitation, caused by prohibiting possibility except “resistance”, would be inevitable outcome. It was not only imprudently neglecting the power and complexity of “Kominka”, but also unfair to the intellectuals lived in the era.

This paper will try to go beyond the binary frame on one hand, develop a different viewpoint called “relative position” on the other to understand the special narration of identification under “Kominka”. In order to carry it out, we will start with a biography of Ye Sheng-Ji, who were certainly inclined to Japanese on one occasion but were praised in his biography in the end, trying to find a contradiction of the said binary frame. Then, we will return to Ye’s diary and compare it with Zhou Jin-Po’s novel to define what “relative position” should be.

2) Peiting Liao, Chengchi University

*Amity between Japanese and Taiwanese in the Late Japanese Colonial Period of Taiwan: Lung Ying-tsong and Lu He-ruo’s Short Stories as Example*

During Japanese colonial period, it was common that novels included narrations of interactions between Taiwanese and Japanese. This paper focuses on the amity between Japanese and Taiwanese in colonial Taiwan during the Kominka (imperialization) period. As a basis for this research serve the following four short stories: “Wax Apple Garden” 蜜露の庭院,
“Song” 歌 written by Lung Ying-tsong 龍瑛宗, and “The Neighbor” 隘居; “White Michelia” 玉蘭花 by Lu He-ruo 吕赫若, these four short stories were all published in 1942 to 1944.

Novels such as Lai-ho 賴和, Chen Shi-gu 陳虛谷, Tsai Cho-tong 蔡秋桐 written by Taiwanese writers when Taiwan new literature movement was under rapid development reveal many types of physical and psychological coercion that the ordinary people of Taiwan faced under Japanese occupation. They realized the unbalance between the colonist and the colonized in an apparently ironic and critical way. Writers responded to the experience of colonial rule, they also reflected social changes caused by capitalist development.

Since the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” had been advocated during the second Sino-Japanese War or Greater East Asia War between 1937 and 1945, writers belonging not only about Japanese colonial experience, but also areas in diverse genres such as “War Literature”, “Labor Literature”, and “Increasing Production Literature” were regarded as main topics. Besides this, stories related to cross-national friendship between Taiwanese and Japanese presenting the conformity and difference form the main topic analyzed in this paper.

3) Peijuang Lai, Chengchi University

Kominka Factors of the Movie Sayon no Kane: In Observation of the Receptors

The story of “Sayon no Kane” サヨンの鐘 was reproduced again and again during the Kominka period, during severance of the ROC and Japan, and periods of political party replacement in Taiwan. The image of Sayon was largely falsified with varied extent to enter the Public Sphere during different times.

Based on Michel Foucault’s concept of “Heterotopias,” receptors were divided into “Takasagun” 高砂族 or “urban residents.” Furthermore, the Wushe 霧社 incident site was chosen as the film location and members of the pro-Japanese Chunyang 春陽 tribe were selected as some of the actors, instead of choosing members of the Riyohen 利有亨 tribe, or the original Sayon event site. The varying memories about the movie of the receptors in the two tribes could be separated into “identifying with” or “having reservations towards” the movie. As prior studies confirmed, the audience who identified with the characters were impressed by the movie, and some even joined the army. However those with reservations towards the movie seemed to still have concealment and contradictions when compared to present oral histories. Not only did it imply the power of the current public sphere to change personal history, but also
The Movement of the Imperial Subject in Colonial Taiwan under Japanese Colonization

suggested that the colonizer stressed on the image of the “brave and valiant” Takasagun by portraying the national imperative image of Takasagun during wartime. The movie attracted the urban residents more because of popular songs and famous actress. Therefore the colonizer Japan exploited Li Xianglan 李香蘭 as a Chinese identity image and associated love scenes as part of a determined plan on strengthening amity and converting Taiwanese to Japanese, to further ideals of Kominka as part of its mission.

4) Hsiaowei Bai, Chengchi University

From Taiwan to China: Difficulties Reflected in the Works of Taiwanese Authors in China during the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945)

The Second Sino-Japanese war began in 1937. During the war, the Japanese government used many strategies which sought to expand the colonial power. In the last phase of the colonial period, the “Southern Expansion Doctrine” for example, aimed to help the Japanese government to set up Taiwan for further expansions.

At this time, some Taiwanese left or had to leave Taiwan and moved to China Mainland. While staying in China, these Taiwanese had to face many difficulties; thus, through their experience, in contrast to those staying in Taiwan, they gained different perspectives, which obviously influenced their writings.

This paper focuses and discusses the problems and difficulties faced by Taiwanese who had to move to China during the war period (1937–1945). The following three texts present the basis for this discussion: Wang Shi-lang’s 王詩琅 “The farewell in Cha-ki road” 沙基路上の永別, Wu Cho-liu’s 呉瀮流 “The Orphan of Asia”アジアの孤兒, and Zhong Li Ho’s 鍾理和” Bai-shu’s sorrow” 白薯の悲しみ. Further concerns are the experience these Taiwanese authors had in China, in special consideration of social issues during the war period, and their Self-identity problems. Therefore it is also observing a different form of Taiwanese literature in the 1940s.

Discussant: Yukari Yoshihara, Tsukuba University, Japan
LUNCHTIME SESSION: 12:10 A.M.–13:00 P.M.

Room: 213
Open Session: Disaster Strikes Japan/the World
Organizer/Chair: Tom Gill, Meiji Gakuin University
Participants
Tom Gill, Meiji Gakuin University (social anthropology)
Sukeyasu Steven Yamamoto, Tokyo University, emeritus; RIKEN Special Advisor for International Relationships (nuclear and high energy physics)
David McNeill, journalist, The Independent and Irish Times
Leslie Tkach Kawasaki, Tsukuba University (political science, media)
Michael Shackleton, Osaka Gakuin University (social anthropology)

The earthquake and tidal wave of March 11, 2011, coupled with the ongoing disaster at the Fukushima nuclear power plant, add up to a disaster of great magnitude. Already the word “saigo” (post-disaster) has been coined, in deliberate reference to “sengo” (post-war), as a linguistic reminder that things will never be the same again.

Or won’t they? The response to 3/11, by individuals, communities and governments, has prompted a fresh tsunami of punditry, commentary and political point-scoring, spreading through the domestic and international media. Many have praised the fortitude and endurance of those affected; others have sought underlying cultural reasons for the perceived inadequacy of emergency countermeasures. As with the end of World War II, elements of continuity and change are tightly interwoven and anyone who can provide a persuasive take on what is going on has every chance of influencing public perceptions and thereby—perhaps—reality.

Some three months on from the disaster, ASCJ’s own team of pundits will try to make some sense of it all. Each will speak for just seven or eight minutes, before debate is thrown open to the floor. Those who wish to take the discussion further are welcome to stay on after the scheduled finish.
Session 30: Room 205
The Gender and Genres of Activism: Political and Literary Writings by Japanese Women
Organizer: Mamiko Suzuki, University of Utah
Chair: Samuel Perry, Brown University

1) Mamiko Suzuki, University of Utah
   Marriage or Mirage: Imagining Meiji Women’s Politicality in Women’s Rights Fiction

2) Abbie Yamamoto, U.C. Berkeley
   Seeking Female Solidarity across Class Lines

3) Samuel Perry, Brown University
   The Canard of the Communist Housekeeper: Scandal and Commitment in Women’s Proletarian Fiction

Discussant: Timothy van Compernolle, Amherst College

The Gender and Genres of Activism: Political and Literary Writings by Japanese Women
Organizer: Mamiko Suzuki, University of Utah
Chair: Samuel Perry, Brown University

This panel brings together three papers that broadly speaking investigate the intersections of gender, politics and leftist writings. Bridging the disciplinary borders of historical inquiry and literary critical analysis and addressing three distinct historical sites—the proletarian literary movement of early Showa Japan, the Taisho Bluestockings movement and the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement of the mid-Meiji period—we each examine how writing by women produced social spaces that enabled collective forms of identification, and how these collectivities were articulated as a means toward social change. Mamiko Suzuki’s paper on the intersection between women’s activism and joken shosetsu reads Hirotsu Ryuro and Nakajima Shoen’s political novels for the way in which they dramatize women’s political experiences and are in conversation with upheavals in governance and society. From within the pages of Seito magazine, Abbie Yamamoto draws out evidence of a new kind of solidarity among women of different social and economic classes and considers how these were challenged by masculine modes of personhood. Examining several works of 1930s proletarian fiction, Samuel Perry offers readings that challenge Cold War literary criticism, which has continued to be influential in discrediting proletarian literature for its sexist treatment of women. While we all read women’s writings with the realist epistemology that enabled their political critiques, our papers also find common currency in our historical exploration of women’s collective consciousness as it relates to the concerns of nation, class and the internationalization of women’s politics.
1) Mamiko Suzuki, University of Utah

*Marriage or Mirage: Imagining Meiji Women’s Politicality in Women’s Rights Fiction*

The decades following the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement were increasingly repressive for politically minded women. Those activists who participated as orators, including Kishida Toshiko and Kageyama Hideko retired from public speaking, while all women were barred from any form of political participation after 1889. Political novels were a particularly fruitful space in which to explore the drama of women’s political acts in the midst of such repression. As women found it increasingly difficult to organize for political causes that ran counter to the Meiji government’s aims, their heroism or terrorism were sources of inspiration for many a bloody or explosive narrative. This paper explores two contrasting works of Meiji (1868–1912) women’s rights fiction (*jokon shosetsu*): Hirotsu Ryurō’s *Joshi sansei shinchūrō* (Mirage: women’s suffrage, 1889) and Kishida Toshiko’s *Sankan no meika* (Noble flower of the mountains, 1889, written under the name of Nakajima Shōen). The former is a soap opera of love triangles, political debates, and shootings, the latter a semi-autobiographical contemplation on the dilemma between marriage and women’s potential for activism. While both address women’s activism on the eve of the Meiji Constitution’s promulgation, Shōen’s work draws from the everyday dilemmas of educated women, making politicality an accessible option for mid-Meiji women. By also focusing on the semi-autobiographical nature of *Noble Flower*, the paper will aim to consider the effect of this imagery on the lived realities of politically minded women.

2) Miyabi M. Yamamoto, University of California, Berkeley

*Seeking Female Solidarity Across Class Lines*

New paradigms of knowledge organization were introduced through new systems of education during Japan’s modernization project. Particularly for women, learning that the biology of their sex might be more of an important factor in deciding their identity rather than their household or social class they came from brought with it a new sense of self and a new view of social organization. For educated women, suddenly all women, including those of the servant-class or entertainment-class, became visible and potential members of the same “imagined community” of women.

*Seitō* (1911–1916), the famed women’s magazine, was a literary and arts magazine that provided women a forum to experiment with literary style and motifs. Many of the texts, the vast majority of them fiction, grapple with issues of womanhood, motherhood, and marriage.
One of the most salient questions that arise in this is how to imagine or create female solidarity among women of differing social and economic classes. The two stories that I take up in this presentation, “Otoya to ani” (“Otoya and Brother”) and “Nyōbō hajime” (“Beginning Wifehood”), both show how difficult it is for the female protagonists to imagine geisha (female entertainer) as fellow women. The ultimate failure of their imaginations exposes the inherent masculinity of the model of personhood and calls into question the notion of a natural womanhood.

3) Samuel Perry, Brown University

*The Canard of the Communist Housekeeper: Scandal and Commitment in Women’s Proletarian Fiction*

Unfolding through a series of disagreements over the nature and legacy of the Japanese proletarian literary movement, the ‘Politics and Literature Debate’ of the late 1940s marked the appearance of a strain of Cold War literary criticism that aligned itself with the cause of women. Hirano Ken’s accusations of Kobayashi Takiji’s “inhuman” representation of women in his “The Life of a Party Member” gained particular purchase in the postwar period as the figure of the communist “housekeeper” came to symbolize the incommensurability of women’s politics and the aims of the Communist Party—and by extension those of the proletarian literary movement in general. The gendered critique of proletarian literature has since come quite properly to challenge the movement’s male-centered sexual politics, and also, though more problematically, to offer a language-centered critique of it’s symbolic system. But it has done so largely by constructing a false dichotomy between the “Communist Party” and “women,” and at the cost of sacrificing an understanding of women’s self-conscious commitment to the cause of revolution. Re-examining the mixed legacy of literary proletarianism in relation to women’s oppression and giving particular attention to the concerns and strategies prioritized in women’s writings, my paper maintains that that women writers connected to the Communist Party endeavored to enrich and expand class analysis through the representation of women’s experiences.

Discussant: Timothy van Compernolle, Amherst College
Session 31: Room 252
A Post-Western IR? Examining the Possibility of an ‘Asian’ International Relations Theory (Roundtable)
Organizer/Chair: Giorgio Shani, International Christian University
1) Giorgio Shani, International Christian University
2) Patrick Strefford, Kyoto Sangyo University
3) Kosuke Shimizu, Ryukoku University
4) Hiroyuki Tosa, Kobe University

Infamously termed an “American social science” (Hoffmann 1987), International Relations (IR) is a discipline premised upon Eurocentric and Occidentalist assumptions and traditions. Despite recent attempts to “provincialize” the ontological and epistemological claims of IR through a tentative engagement with postcolonialism, non-western and subaltern voices remain marginalized or silenced within the “House of IR” (Aganthangelou and Ling 2004). Most International Relations Theories (IRTs), including those “critical” of the positivist methodology and ahistorical assumptions of explanatory IR, continue to speak for and to the West.

This roundtable seeks to respond to Acharya and Buzan’s provocation that there is no non-western International Relations Theory (2007, 2010) by examining discourses on the “international” and “political” from Asian socio-cultural traditions. The term “Asia” is here seen to refer to the multiplicity of geographical and cultural linkages that constitute the continent in the Western imaginary. Specifically the roundtable will discuss the following questions: To what extent is it possible to “move beyond the West” (Inayatullah and Blaney 2004) given the indispensability of western cultural categories to the discipline? What specifically can “Asian” cultural traditions contribute to the formulation of a “post-western” IR (Shani 2008)? Finally, how would a “post-western” IR be able to meet the real or perceived needs of people living in Asia?
This panel explores the relationship of affect and national belonging in Japan in response to a dissatisfaction with both an enduring disciplinary and theoretical trajectory in Japanese studies. First, despite promising critiques of the “homogeneous” (Befu 2001), “holonic” (Harootunian 1989), and “holistic” (Ryang 2004) society, many analyses of the social in Japan leave “Japan” unproblematized, abstracting its signification to a common denominator of “that which happens in Japan constitutes Japanese culture” out of disciplinary expedience. Second, studies of national identity in Japan have been dominated by narrow readings of Anderson’s (1983) theory of the nation that focus exclusively on the symbolic and imagined dimensions of community. Neglected in this framework are accounts of affect that document how capacities to feel rather than think national belonging are differently and variously built into subjects.

Drawing examples from bureaucratic practice, kinship, art, and relationships with pets, this panel brings together anthropologists and historians conducting research in and through the idea of Japan and presents evidence for the inextricability of affect from national belonging. Its purpose is three-fold: first, to provide examples from the field on the role affect plays in culture, especially in distinction to other anthropological studies which take “emotion” or “sentiment” as primary conceptual objects of inquiry; second, to take a provocative stance toward area studies, exploring affect’s potential to challenge essentialist and localized notions of Japanese culture; and third, to stimulate a dialogue on creative ethnographic design and modes of writing most conducive to future investigations of affect.
1) Daniel White, Rice University

*Soft Power and the Affective Registers of Bureaucratic Practice in “Japanese” Cultural Administration*

An obvious notion to the fieldworker but one less attended to in studies of Japanese nationalism is that subjects do not at all times and in all places think of themselves as Japanese. In fact, as seen in indignant right wing defenses of Yasukuni Shrine or in ebullient pride at a World Cup match, they sometimes hardly think at all; rather, they are moved, impassioned, and affected. Despite the enduring legacy of Anderson’s theory of nationalism, national identity in Japan reveals itself to be a process of feeling rather than imagining. And it is so contingently, evoked only in particular contexts or “affective registers” (Irvine 1990) where national sentiment is often mobilized in response to the specific urgencies that threaten it.

This paper focuses on one of many possible registers of national belonging in Japan. Based on fieldwork among cultural administrators in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japan Foundation engaged with cultivating Japan’s soft power in national branding campaigns, it asks how those charged with the occupational obligation to care for the nation feel Japan. The paper identifies speeds, sentiments, and affects of national administration that show affinities with similar practices in cultural administrations of other countries—the U.S., China, South Korea. Thus, the paper argues for one particular way of feeling Japanese that is constructed as much horizontally across nation states as it is vertically within Japan. The paper ultimately traces how affects of anxiety and hope over Japan’s immediate economic future are built into national cultural policy.

2) Kathryn Goldfarb, University of Chicago

*Thicker than Water?: Affective Relationships within Japanese Children’s Homes*

“Fostering and adoption will never spread in Japan because blood relationships are too important to Japanese people.” During my field research I heard this statement often, sometimes from fosterers or adopters. 90% of children in Japanese state care live in children’s homes, while only 9% live in foster care. The numbers in the UK, for example, are opposite. This comparison makes for easy essentialized proclamations of Japanese national character with the family at the center.

Current parental rights laws often allow birth parents to prevent their children from placement in foster or adoptive care even though these parents may never contact their children, and may
have a history of abuse and neglect. Blood relationships are thus institutionally and legally privileged, constraining children in institutional care from creating affective ties in foster or adoptive care.

This paper inverts the privilege supposedly granted to blood and legal ties as constituting kinship in Japan and instead examines kinship as knowable through these ties’ vulnerability to loss. The paper addresses the experiences of several Japanese young people who were separated from family and guardians and placed in children’s homes, and separated from siblings within the institution. Here, affective affiliations for age group peers quickly become more important than affiliations with siblings, and the young adults that leave state care often do not re-contact the siblings with whom they entered. Kinship can be understood as the affective relationships that exist not through the immutability of blood ties, but because of their very fragility.

3) Paul Roquet, University of California, Berkeley

*Low-affect Sociality in Contemporary Japan*

Many forms of art in Japan from the 1970s onward portray anonymous people in anonymous spaces with little in the way of strong emotional investments. This low-affect subjectivity continues to alarm cultural critics, who insist on reading the phenomenon as symptomatic of psychological and social collapse. A line is repeatedly drawn between this aesthetics of depersonalization and the full gamut of Japan’s contemporary social problems, often followed by a call for a return to the more solid identities of an earlier time.

I wish to challenge this assumed equivalency between social withdrawal and low-affect subjectivity, and to question the nostalgia for ‘community’ that often follows in its wake. Drawing on an understanding of urban subjectivity first developed by Georg Simmel, I argue that depersonalization can be understood as a highly adaptive strategy for enabling communicative mobility within an increasingly diverse urban metropolis. Shaking off binding cultural identifications may raise the risk of personal isolation, but in most cases the intention is quite the opposite: to evaporate oneself into the anonymous everywhere in order to operate effectively in a world of strangers. This self-dispersal works towards modes of urban coexistence that can function effectively without need for the shared investments of the ‘imagined’ community. Without forgetting important recent critiques of multiculturalism and cultural ‘tolerance,’ I propose it is time to revisit the impersonal, focusing on how the cultivation of low-affect states enables a wider sociality precisely by loosening localized emotional investments in nation and family.
4) Paul Hansen, University of Calgary

Skinship, Kinship and Affect: King Solomon’s Ring and Emerging Japanese Canine-Human Relationships

King Solomon was said to have a magic ring that allowed him to communicate with animals and demons; a mythical prosthesis that enabled him to bridge the gaps within the mundane and spiritual world. Konrad Lorenz, a pioneer in modern ethology or animal behavior, used the title King Solomon’s Ring: A New Light on Animal Ways to ironically underscore the idea that towards this end magic is not required. Demons aside, communication across species lines is possible, not through a shared language but through shared time, space, and observation. This paper suggests that anthropomorphism, a common human practice and the bane of scientifically inclined researchers, is affect in disguise; that is to say, emotive non-linguistic communication that is hard to define but harder, if we are earnest and honest, to avoid.

Recently, much research has been devoted to analyzing Japan’s shifting demographics; an ever-aging, ever-urbanizing, and ever-nuclearizing population shifting away from the ‘idealized’ national family underscored by an often commented upon myth of homogeneity. But seldom commented upon in discussions of changing family structures is the rapid increase of urban canines. In Japan pets now outnumber children under the age of fifteen and over 22% of households in Japan claim a dog as a family member. Adults with children who have left the household are the fastest growing population of new dog owners. What role does affect play in these new familial relationships, relationships of species otherness that are often ethnographically recounted in terms of skinship and kinship?

Discussant: Joseph Hankins, University of California, San Diego
Session 33: Room 303
Organizing the “Sense-able:” Media, Aesthetics, and Politics in Postwar Japan
Organizer: Patrick Noonan, University of California, Berkeley

1) Rea Amit, Yale University
   Rebirth of a Nation

2) Ryan Cook, Yale University
   But Does It Threaten Global Monopoly Capitalism? The Yoru no Kai (Evening Society), the Kiroku Geijutsu no Kai (Documentary Art Society), and the Place of Aesthetics in the Postwar Political Film Circle

3) Patrick Noonan, University of California, Berkeley
   The Politics of Disaffection: Melancholy, Anger, and Irony in Terayama Shūji and Tenjō Sajiki’s Dokumentarī iede (Documentary Runaway, 1969) and Zengakuren’s Jiyū o warera ni (Freedom For Us, 1968)

Discussant: Kim Icreverzi, University of California, Irvine

Organizing the “Sense-able:” Media, Aesthetics, and Politics in Postwar Japan
Organizer/Chair: Patrick Noonan, University of California, Berkeley

Recent studies of media have shown how media technologies do not simply transmit signifying systems, but offer experiences—interpretive and sensory—that make possible modes of social and political participation. Building on such work, our panel asks how historical tensions and demands figured the intersection of aesthetics and politics in postwar Japan. How does “aesthetics” work to arrange people into communities like the nation, while also serving as a means for self-organization and self-representation? Rea Amit opens with an analysis of continuities between a wartime nationalist cinematic aesthetic in the 1930s to 1940s and a new “national aesthetic movement” in late 1950s film. Ryan Cook examines the unstable politics surrounding the role of film “art” within independent film circles during the 1950s. Finally, Patrick Noonan shows how the representation and circulation of affects -transmitted sensibilities that link and transform people - particularly, melancholia and anger, in print media organized the youth of the late 1960s in radical movements. What emerges out of this panel is a study of varying forms of organizing through the aesthetics and consumption of media technologies in postwar Japan. While we examine the representational forms of visual and print media, we work against the tendency to see form as symbolically transmitting ideologies that produce subjects. Rather, we consider how these media facilitated communal participation, modes of affect, and competing desires in the postwar.

1) Rea Amit, Yale University
   Rebirth of a Nation

During and shortly before World War II, Japanese filmmakers were somewhat forcefully
encouraged to portray an idealized image of Japan, i.e. to promote a nationalist cinematic aesthetics. This notion was intentionally suppressed and was under constant threat of censorship during the days of the American occupation. However, the very same notion had a revival sometime after the occupation ended, in the late 1950s. While not guided by any governmental or other authorial institution, films such as Watanabe Kunio’s, Meiji tennō to nichiro daisensō (Emperor Meiji and the Great Russo-Japanese War, 1957), Inagaki Hiroshi’s, Nippon tanjō (The Birth of Japan, 1959) and Komori Kiyoshi’s, Kōshitsu to sensō to wagaminzoku (The Imperial House, The War, and The Japanese Nation, 1960) could be thought of as part of a new “national aesthetic movement.” Although there is little reason to suspect that these films were made under a single code or one ideological (either political or ethical) concept, they nevertheless follow a similar tendency to represent an idealized image of Japan as a unified national culture. This paper will not only analyze this unique and new aesthetics in terms of cinematic style and form, but also in relation to spectatorship issues in order to highlight both its sui generis visual characteristics and its reception among critics and audiences of the time. In other words, this paper examines a voluntarily reemerging national cinematic aesthetics in relation to what Jacques Rancière has referred to as “The Distribution of the Sensible” in the realm of both politics and aesthetics.

2) Ryan Cook, Yale University

But Does It Threaten Global Monopoly Capitalism? The Yoru no Kai (Evening Society), the Kiroku Geijutsu no Kai (Documentary Art Society), and the Place of Aesthetics in the Postwar Political Film Circle

The postwar independent film exhibition movement, following the Toho studio strikes and the mobilization of a correlated independent production movement, is often thought about as having been a pragmatic response to the problem of insufficient screening options for films and as a movement engaged in political efforts on the left. Film circles over the course of the 1950s not only opened community spaces such as schools and workplaces for screenings of documentaries and independent films, but also through seminars and self-published journals were among the most active sites for promoting cinematic “democratization.” However, to speak of a unified movement is misleading. The political film circle was in fact a divided phenomenon, and the term that often rumbled beneath its fault lines was “art.” While aesthetics was a common concern, how to integrate notions of film as an art with pragmatic and political objectives was always in dispute. We sense this difficulty in the strong words with which Yamada Kazuo, a Communist Party chronicler of the movement, accused colleagues of indulging in “salon-style banter and masturbatory avant-gardism” while dismissing “underground” art cinema as mere
image play with the “pocket money of capitalists.” This paper reconsiders independent exhibition in the 1950s with an emphasis on “art” and “aesthetics,” looking especially to early literary and arts circles such as the Yoru no Kai and the Kiroku Geijutsu no Kai, and to the figures Hanada Kiyoteru and Abe Kobo to evaluate their influence on the film circle movement as an aesthetic intervention.

3) Patrick Noonan, University of California, Berkeley

*The Politics of Disaffection: Melancholy, Anger, and Irony in Terayama Shūji and Tenjō Sajiki’s*, *Dokyumentarī iede (Documentary Runaway, 1969)* and Zengakuren’s *Jiyū o warera ni (Freedom For Us, 1968)*

In the late 1960s, the publisher Nobel Press (Nōberu shobō) released a number of books documenting the social and political youth movements occurring in Tokyo and throughout Japan. Through poems, diaries, and letters the youth present themselves in these works as furious with social institutions while longing for a real and imagined past and an unfettered future. By examining two of these publications, Terayama Shūji and Tenjō Sajiki’s, *Dokyumentarī iede (Documentary Runaway, 1969)*, and Zengakuren’s, *Jiyū o warera ni (Freedom For Us, 1968)*, this paper considers how the passions of melancholy and anger as circulated through print media at this moment in history offered new modes of social being in contrast to or outside of dominant institutions like the family, and political structures like representational democracy. Melancholy and anger, I contend, were not simply emotions that individuals experienced internally and then outwardly expressed, but affects - sensibilities that held the potential to link and transform people - that manifest in narrative as well the style and structure of the print medium. In *Documentary Runaway* we see how runaways imagined and enacted a form of social life organized around dissolving the emotional and ideological bonds uniting individuals into coherent communities. *Freedom For Us*, by contrast, shows how a different set of youth, those involved in Zengakuren or the All-Japan Federation of Student Self-Government Associations, sought to fashion a revolutionary movement not through abstract rational discussion, but through shared sentiments.

Discussant: Kim Icreverzi, University of California, Irvine
Session 34: Room 314
Individual Papers on Modern Literature and Film
Chair: Michael Bourdaghs, University of Chicago

1) Namhee Han, University of Chicago
   *Wide and Deep: Anamorphic Urbanscape in High and Low (1963)*

2) Timothy Iles, University of Victoria
   *Miike Takashi: Ridiculous Visions of Impossible Masculinity*

3) Shota Ogawa, University of Rochester
   *A Cinematic History of Zainichi Koreans*

4) Elise Foxworth, La Trobe University
   *A Postcolonial Analysis of Mandogi Yūrei Kitan [The Extraordinary Ghost Story of Mandogi] by Zainichi Korean Writer Kim Sok Pom*

1) Namhee Han, University of Chicago

*Wide and Deep: Anamorphic Urbanscape in High and Low (1963)*

In 2010, the centennial of Akira Kurosawa’s birth is celebrated all over the world, reintroducing his major works and reappreciating his influences on global filmmaking practices. Seeking a new analytical tool to reexamine Kurosawa’s works, my paper revisits *High and Low* and argues that Kurosawa searches for an alternative national vision conveyed by multiple perspectives of city dwellers. The film was released in the midst of the postwar reconstruction of urban Japan and final preparations for the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. Working against the ongoing historical task to promote Tokyo as a clean bright metropolis, detective thriller *High and Low* is set in Yokohama, another metropolis developed as an international trading port and exposes the contentious social space of Yokohama, in which the hierarchical relationships of the geopolitical and economic are chaotically inscribed. I first analyze the city dwellers’ discrete embodiments of postwar urban space. As they move inside Yokohama or to Yokohama’s suburbs while chasing or being chased by each other, historical and cultural topographies of postwar Japan ranging from “heaven” to “hell” are revealed, reminding us of the film’s original title, *Tengoku to jigoku* (Heaven and Hell). Second, I demonstrate that various embodiments of urban space are carefully engaged with widescreen aesthetics deploying panning, tilting, and other distinctive camera movements that explore a wide and deep space. By conducting these analyses, I will argue that it is the contiguity or coexistence of extreme social space that *High and Low* ultimately asserts as an alternative vision of contemporary postwar Japan.

2) Timothy Iles, University of Victoria

*Miike Takashi: Ridiculous Visions of Impossible Masculinity*

This paper argues that the vastly diverse films of Miike Takashi offer representations of absurdly-proportioned masculine power as a near-hysterical reassurance of hegemony, a
concerted resistance to change in the gender landscape. It situates Miike’s male protagonists—old, young, legitimate father-figures or drug-crazed yakuza killers—within a political world simultaneously traditionalist, nationalist, and ‘masculinist’ to argue that Miike’s vision of contemporary Japan tangibly denies the possibility of gendered equality in a solipsistic frenzy of “testosterone aesthetics.” This paper focusses on four of Miike’s many films—Gozu, Korishiya Ichi, Odishon, and Kurōzu: Zero—reading them in a context of ‘gender trouble’, economic malaise, immigration woes, and masculinist panic. The result? A male gaze fixed firmly on spectacular images of ‘the male’ itself, as both model and facade, a place of refuge, retreat, and resistance.

3) Shota Ogawa, University of Rochester

A Cinematic History of Zainichi Koreans

What is the relationship between Japan’s Korean minorities (zainichi Koreans) and their filmic representations? Scholars have explored this question either with a historiography of stereotypical images of Koreans perpetuated in Japanese films, or monographic studies of a handful of zainichi Korean filmmakers. I propose a notion of “cinematic history” that pays closer attention to the materiality of films and the power of archives to condition public memory. Even films that stereotypically depict Koreans contribute to the formation of a visual archive that is open for appropriation by future filmmakers. I will present a case study of the extensive footage of zainichi Koreans made by the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) during the Occupation era (1945–1952). SCAP documented the activities of zainichi Koreans who they policed as potential criminals and pro-communist agents. Japanese and zainichi Korean filmmakers have, however, relied on this rare visual document of Koreans in immediate postwar years to create films, including those that were critical of the U.S. policies on Koreans such as the PR film Chosen no ko (1955) made by Chongryun (the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan) and Yamada Tengo’s Song of the Japan Sea (1964). More recently, Oh Deok-soo’s monumental documentary The Story of Koreans in Postwar Japan: Zainichi (1997) innovatively used SCAP’s public documents alongside the private footage of a family movie from the late 1950s. Cinematic history allows us to study each film as a site in which the notion of private and public is contested.
4) Elise Foxworth, La Trobe University

_A Postcolonial Analysis of Mandogi Yűrei Kitan [The Extraordinary Ghost Story of Mandogi] by Zainichi Korean Writer Kim Sok Pom_

This paper presents a postcolonial literary analysis of the 1971 Japanese novel _Mandogi Yűrei Kitan_, by Japan-based second-generation Korean writer Kim Sok Pom (1925–). Kim’s ghost story is the sentimental tale of a sweet but simple blundering temple boy of mixed cultural identity, who finds himself facing execution in the little known 1949 Cheju Massacre in South Korea. Kim applies literary devices such as allegory, magic realism and the trope of the ghost to point to a subtext about the historical effects of colonialism and war on Japan’s diasporic Koreans. Kim draws a distinction between tradition and modernity, while at the same time highlighting the moral dimension of each in order to discredit a dissolute modernity. Buddhist philosophy is a running discourse in _Mandogi Yűrei Kitan_, which offers strategies for maintaining psychological integrity in the face of cumulative catastrophes. This paper calls attention to how Kim’s novel can be read as both an astute study of cultural identity as well as a critique of twentieth century modernity.
Session 35: Room 316
The Exhibitionary Complex and the Police State: Imperial Pedagogy in Taiwan under Japanese Rule
Organizer: Paul Barclay, Lafayette College
Chair: Robert Eskildsen, J. F. Oberlin University

1) Hui-yu Caroline Ts’ai, Academia Sinica
   *Everyday Coloniality, Social Networking, and Knowledge Production: The 1925 Taipei Police Exhibition*

2) Takeshi Soyama, Kyushu Sangyo University
   *Tourism under Japan’s Colonial Rule in Taiwan: From the Perspectives of Privilege, Exclusion, Assimilation and Resistance*

3) Paul Barclay, Lafayette College
   *Ethnic Tourism, Wartime Surveillance and Public Relations: The Taiwan Photography of Harrison Forman*

Discussant: Robert Eskildsen, J. F. Oberlin University

The Exhibitionary Complex and the Police State: Imperial Pedagogy in Taiwan under Japanese Rule

This panel conceptualizes several examples of imperial pedagogy in colonial Taiwan as parts of an “exhibitionary complex.” Japanese visionaries, employing techniques explored in the papers, configured the peoples, places, and built environment of Taiwan as a series of exhibits to be viewed, categorized, and displayed for the purposes of statecraft, economic gain, and discipline. By shifting the focus of culture-studies inspired scholarship to individual “exhibitors,” and the agency of the “exhibited,” these papers also argue that colonial “exhibits” were constructed in a context of intra-governmental conflict and local constraints. Caroline Hui-yu’s paper shows how the 1925 Taipei Police Exhibition, ostensibly staged to instruct Taiwanese subjects in “everyday modernity,” could also serve as an arena of competition between recently arrived Japanese policemen and “Taiwan Hands” for influence in the colonial state. Sōyama Takeshi’s paper analyzes government-sponsored tourism as a mechanism for enforcing spatial boundaries between Japanese and Taiwanese in the realm of leisure, while tourism also sought to erase boundaries in the realm of political identity. During the post-1937 period, Taiwanese subverted this pedagogical enterprise by disguising trips to Chinese folk temples as visits to Shinto shrines. Paul Barclay’s paper argues that model villages in Taiwan’s “indigenous territories” failed as commercialized tourism “exhibits.” Nonetheless, they provided image-hungry foreigners with photo-ops that played upon shared Japanese and Western assumptions about the
place of indigenes in the international order. These journalists portrayed Japan’s polices favorably abroad, thus vindicating a security apparatus often at odds with the tourism industry.

1) Hui-yu Caroline Ts’ai, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica
*Everyday Coloniality, Social Networking, and Knowledge Production: The 1925 Taipei Police Exhibition*

The interwar years serve as an intriguing period for the analysis of “everyday coloniality.” Following current academic interest in questions of “vision,” this “new” turn of colonial studies tends to rest on a rich ground of “things visible” and “tangible.” The problem, however, is that history is more often than not being abridged or curtailed, and the attempt to seek historical facts is sometimes muted in the process. This case study of the 1925 Taipei Police exhibition illustrates just this need to bring history back to textual analysis. Since the 1925 Taipei exhibition was unique in the way that it seems to have been the only recorded hygienic exhibition initiated by the police in colonial Taiwan, the questions I will ask include arts and culture of the Taishō period (such as music, movies, radio, advertisements, and leisure entertainment), the supporting groups which helped or donated the displayed items, and the makeup of the “old Taiwan hands” (mainly, the police staff and the range of the social networking). Ultimately, I am interested in how Imperial Japan managed to produce its colonial knowledge about Taiwan.

2) Takeshi Soyama, Kyushu Sangyo University
*Tourism under Japan’s Colonial Rule in Taiwan: From the Perspectives of Privilege, Exclusion, Assimilation and Resistance*

Japan’s colonial rule in Taiwan caused Japanese cultural concessions in Taiwan. For the Japanese who lived in Taiwan, Taiwan was an extension of the Japanese mainland, and of course, this was also true for the Taiwanese and native Taiwanese. This concept of an extension of the Japanese mainland was categorized into two types. One type was privileged spaces for Japanese people, such as Japanese-style hot springs and inns. The general Taiwanese population tended to be excluded from these attractions that had Japanese cultural characteristics. Elementary school excursions were the only opportunity for access to such places. At the time, elementary schools for Taiwanese children were to assimilate children into Japanese culture. These facilities for assimilation, such as elementary schools and shrines, constituted the second type of extension of the Japanese mainland. In 1937, when the Sino-Japanese War broke out, the Governor-General of Taiwan began to force the Taiwanese to visit and worship at Japanese
shrines. In the meantime, the Taiwanese urged the Governor-General Railroad Section to conspiratorially conceal their “joss house” (Chinese folk temple) tours under the disguise of Japanese shrine tours. This situation shows that assimilation and compulsion were cleverly transformed into resistance in the context of colonialism and tourism.

3) Paul Barclay, Lafayette College

*Ethnic Tourism, Wartime Surveillance and Public Relations: The Taiwan Photography of Harrison Forman*

On April 1, 1938, the photo journalist Harrison Forman began a tour of Taiwan. Forman’s visit came at a nadir in U.S.-Japanese relations, just after the Nanjing massacres. Although only a few photographs from Forman’s excursion were published, they provide, in conjunction with his unpublished diary and over sixty archived photographic negatives, a telling example of how Japanese officials and merchants utilized the infrastructure of tourism to manage the image of Japanese empire abroad. The great majority of Forman’s images depicted Taiwan Indigenous Peoples, who constituted less that 2% of Taiwan’s population. In general, cameras were tightly regulated and photography discouraged on the home islands and in Taiwan. Nonetheless, the colonial state encouraged the production and dissemination of photographs of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples. Pamphlets, postcards, and illustrated books were readily available at train stations, small shops, and the tourist bureau and freely distributed to foreign guests.

This paper asks why Taiwan Indigenous Peoples were treated as the privileged face of Taiwan in the 1930s, while previously they had symbolized the failure of the government general to govern the island. I argue that image-conscious officials and thrill-seeking Westerners found common ground on guided tours to model villages in the “Aborigine Territory.” There, visitors recorded impressions of an orderly yet exotic colony while police officers monitored their movements on easily patrolled interior routes. In the bargain, visitors were diverted from Taiwan’s military installations and other vistas deemed embarrassing or sensitive by the colonial government.

Discussant: Robert Eskildsen, J.F. Oberlin University
Session 36: Room 352

Japan and China: Thinking about Money and Empire, 1860–1920
Organizer: John Sagers, Linfield College
Chair: Mark Metzler, University of Texas at Austin

1) Wenkai He, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology
   Gold, Silver, and Paper Notes: Fiscal Centralization in Japan and China, 1860–1900
2) John Sagers, Linfield College
   Bad for Business: Shibusawa Eiichi and the Costs of Japanese Imperialism, 1890–1910
3) Steven Bryan, Independent Scholar
   Trade, Taiwan, and the Empire of Japan
4) Jung-Sun Han, Korea University
   A Forgotten China Specialist: Yoshino Sakazō and the Fall of Chinese Empire, 1909–1919
Discussant: Mark Metzler, University of Texas at Austin

Japan and China: Thinking about Money and Empire, 1860–1920
Organizer: John Sagers, Linfield College
Chair: Mark Metzler, University of Texas at Austin

The 1894-95 Sino-Japanese War, which confirmed Japan’s expansionist course and inaugurated the final reformist phase of the Qing dynasty, raised many questions: How could government best raise the money to pay for modern military forces? How might those who bore the financial burden oppose government policies? How would Japan integrate Taiwan into its empire? How should Japanese intellectuals respond to the new republicanism in China? By examining how leaders in Japan and China conceptualized these problems and the strategies they chose, we hope to clarify convergent and divergent developments in both countries and to better understand the evolution of ties between them in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

1) Wenkai He, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology
Gold, Silver, and Paper Notes: Fiscal Centralization in Japan and China, 1860–1900

From the 1860s on, both the Meiji and Qing governments turned to indirect taxes on domestic consumer goods to raise revenue. In Japan, collection of duties upon sake was centralized by 1880. Fiscal centralization made a vital contribution to the success of government-issued long-term domestic bonds for naval expansion and railway construction, which in turn paved the way for Japan’s defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894–5. In contrast, the Qing government continued a decentralized fiscal operation and it did not aggregate its lijin revenues to mobilize financial resources. How shall we explain the differences in the institutional
development in Japan and China between 1860 and 1900?

In this paper, I argue that the path toward central collection of indirect taxes in Meiji Japan resulted from the government’s efforts to redeem the massive amounts of non-convertible paper notes which were printed as unintended consequences of the Restoration in 1868. The adoption of the gold standard in Japan in 1872 significantly increased the pressure to redeem the notes once gold prices in the international market began rising steadily after 1874. Fiscal centralization then proceeded at an unusually fast rate, despite the regime’s original intention to move gradually.

China, on the other hand, continued to use silver as its major currency, so the center did not face similar pressures, particularly after 1874 when silver started flowing back to East Asia. In this situation, provincial governors instead bore the major burden of meeting centrally-issued spending orders. They therefore developed methods to directly collect lijin duties, which were quite similar to those used for sake duties in Japan. In order to make a counterfactual argument about Qing government’s potential ability to centralize fiscally, I use the institutional development toward central collection of lijin duties when the Qing government had to pay huge indemnities to Japan after 1895.

2) John Sagers, Linfield College

Bad for Business: Shibusawa Eiichi and the Costs of Japanese Imperialism, 1890–1910

Shibusawa Eiichi (1840–1931), one of Japan’s premier business leaders in the Meiji era, seemed like an enthusiastic supporter of Japanese imperial expansion. He supported wars with China and Russia as a leading promoter and purchaser of war bonds. From the helm of Dai-Ichi Bank, Shibusawa also welcomed expanded investment opportunities in Taiwan and Korea. In speeches and in print, he typically justified Japanese imperialism in terms of national security and extending modernization.

However, this paper will argue that Shibusawa Eiichi’s support for the Japanese government’s policies was, in fact, more complicated and limited than it first appears. Shibusawa was a vocal critic of the Japanese government’s imperialist economic policies and opposed rapid expansion of military budgets and the accompanying tax burden these placed on private businesses. He also resisted Matsukata Masayoshi’s plan to convert Japan’s currency to the gold standard recognizing the harmful effects this move would have on Japanese textile exports. As we will see from his arguments, Shibusawa frequently called the Japanese government to consider the
costs of expansion and restrict its actions to what was genuinely in the country’s economic interests.

3) Steven Bryan, Independent Scholar

*Trade, Taiwan, and the Empire of Japan*

A Great Power view of the world dominated Japan’s economic policy toward China at the turn of the twentieth century. For currency, this meant determining which type of money would best serve Japan as a financial power, trading power, and imperial power. But Japan’s adoption of the gold standard in the late 1890s also raised the question of what to do about its newly acquired colony Taiwan and Taiwan’s economic ties with China. Taiwan offered a pre-existing set of economic institutions and relations with China facilitated by silver currency. But, though economically advantageous, these relations posed political and ideological problems.

Japanese proponents of the gold standard in Taiwan were less concerned with trade and technical matters than they were with sovereignty and the presumed natural relations between colonies and metropoles. For gold supporters, Taiwan was as central to Japan as Shikoku, Kyūshū or Hokkaidō and had to be treated as such. To have two currency systems in the same country would damage the honor of the nation. To allow continued economic ties to China would undermine Japanese sovereignty.

For those concerned that Taiwan might some day vanish from Japanese control, Taiwan had to be treated as an integral part of Japan proper—a part of the greater Empire of Japan, not a simple imperial appendage. It could not just be a colony. If Japan mistook Taiwan for a colony, Taiwan might some day be lost entirely to Japanese control. And it was this view of political control that registered at least as loudly as arguments about trade and finance.

4) Jung-Sun Han, Korea University

*A Forgotten China Specialist: Yoshino Sakuzō and the Fall of Chinese Empire, 1909–1919*

This presentation highlights Yoshino Sakuzō (1878–1933) as one of the representative China specialists in Taishō Japan. Celebrated as the “apostle of Japanese democracy,” Yoshino Sakuzō is known for his ideas of *minponshugi* (democracy) popularized through his personal and institutional ties with one of the leading opinion journals, the Chūō kōron in the late 1910s and the early 1920. Yet, the period was also the time when the unfolding events in Sino-Japanese relations loomed large in Japanese society and politics as the Japanese Empire was expanding.
onto the Asian mainland. It is, therefore, not surprising that Yoshino, who was also a keen observer of international politics, wrote extensively on Sino-Japanese relations. In fact, Yoshino’s fame as a China specialist overlapped with his popularity as “Mr. Democracy.” By refocusing Yoshino as a China specialist, I argue that Yoshino’s experience of China around the time of the Chinese revolution of 1911 set the undertone for his minponshugi in the following years. First, I will introduce Yoshino’s firsthand experience in China from 1906 to 1909 as the private tutor of Yuan Shikai’s son and analyze how the experience in turn shaped his view on the nature of Japanese empire. Second, I will examine Yoshino’s contemporaneous views on the emergence of a republic in China in the 1910s.

Discussant: Mark Metzler, University of Texas at Austin
Social stability and economic development are two important tasks for local government in contemporary China. China’s continuous economic development has resulted in a huge growth of social wealth. Chinese society is getting stronger and has begun to ask for more autonomy in social life. Meanwhile, economic development brings serious social conflict between various social classes. On the one hand, local government has to develop the local economy to keep a high score of GDP. On the other hand, local government needs to deal with social instability and the growing demand for autonomy. “How to govern?” is a serious task for local government in contemporary China.

This panel will provide details of governance at the local level from three different perspectives: autonomy, stability and economic development. Huang’s paper focuses on the relationship between business associations and local government to examine how the local government deals with the growing demands for autonomy from the wealthy. Osada’s paper focuses on the “Shequ” (Community) in an urban area to observe how local government using the “Shequ” system to keep social stability. Ren’s paper focuses on land development to analyze how the local government promotes the local economy by using state owned enterprise.
1) Mei Huang, Tsukuba University

*Towards Civil Society or Still State Corporatism: A Quantitative Analysis of the Business–Government Relations in Wenzhou, China*

Since the 1980s, with the development of the “Wenzhou Model”, the growth of business associations has also gained great attention. Many empirical studies have discussed the rise of bottom-up associations and how they influence state-society relations in contemporary China. The difference of many top-down business associations, like the ones in Wenzhou is independence from government, self-governance by members, and the exploration of channels to advance entrepreneurs’ interest. Faced with the actions of business associations in Wenzhou, some scholars referred to them as a symptom of civil society, and the market dynamic has been opening up a socioeconomic space in China. However, when we shift the viewpoint on the patron-client ties between entrepreneurs and government, these associations are still regarded simply as “transmission belts”, meaning a tool of the system of state corporatism. All these studies find that the elements of the civil society and corporatism at the same time existing in China.

This paper will focus on the relations between business associations and local government, especially the fields of finance, personality, and actions based on two surveys of business associations in 2001 and 2010 in Wenzhou. Based on the comparative analysis, this paper discusses whether the pattern of bottom-up associations in the economic realm will lead to the rise of civil society or empower the system of state corporatism in China.

2) Yoji Osada, Consulate General of Japan in Shanghai

*The limitation and problems for “Community” as a social stable system*

With the deterioration and a collapse of the “Danwei” (unit) system, China has begun to reform its fundamental control system. A new “shequ”(Community) system has been formally started in 2000. From the perspective of residents, “Community” is a new resident organization supporting welfare and social services which the Danwei system used to offer. For the residents, the community is also an autonomous organization that people could manage their social issues by themselves. However, from the perspective of the government, “Community” system means a useful social control system in the bottom level that could find factors of instability like illegal migration, criminal and other emergency.
In this paper, I’ll focus on the interaction between local government and resident to examine the impact and limitation of “Community” system based on my long term fieldwork in Beijing.

3) Zhe Ren, Hokkaido University

*State-Owned Enterprise as a Development Tool: A Study of Land Development in Urban China*

After 1992, the Chinese government accelerated the reform of state owned enterprises (SOE) by using Joint Stock System and Privatization. With the exit of SOEs from the market, the government seeks to guide the market system instead of directly controlling the market. However, in some industry fields, huge number of state owned enterprises were newly launched by the government, and expanded dramatically. This paper tries to analyze the role of these new SOEs focusing on the real estate industry.

This paper proposes three research questions: 1) Why are there so many SOEs in the real estate industry? 2) What kind of relationship do the SOEs have with the government? 3) How do these relationships affect policy implementation at the local level?

To answer these questions, SOEs were divided into two categories, central government owned and local government owned enterprises. First, I analyze the historical background of SOE and the relationship with the government focusing on human resources. Second, I focus on land development in three areas (Shanghai, Beijing and Guangdong) to examine the role of SOEs. The main purpose of this paper is to argue that the relationship between local government and SOEs soften the intensity of policy implementation.

Discussant: Guoguang Wu, University of Victoria
Session 38: Room 252  
**World Expos and the Economic Modernization of Japan and China**

Organizer/Chair: Masato Kimura, Shibusawa Eiichi Memorial Foundation

1) Hui Zhang, Huazhong Normal University  
   *The Influence of World Fairs upon East Asian Entrepreneurs: A Comparison between Shibusawa Eiichi and Zhang Jian*

2) Zisu Liang, Kansai University  
   *Economic Modernizers: Shibusawa Eiichi and Zhang Zhidong*

3) Ling Xi, Kansai University  
   *Sakatani Yoshirō and Modern China’s Financial System during the Meiji and Taisho Eras*

4) Guan Wang, Kansai University  
   *The 1970 Osaka Expo: Catalyst of the Modern Japanese Economy*

Discussant: Haruo Noma, Kansai University

**World Expos and the Economic Modernization of Japan and China**  
Organizer/Chair: Masato Kimura, Shibusawa Ei’ichi Memorial Foundation

This panel discusses the economic modernization of East Asia from the perspectives of World Expositions and of four individuals who had great impact on the economic development of their countries: Shibusawa Eiichi, Zhang Jian, Zhang Zhidong, and Sakatani Yoshirō. In the mid-19th century, exhibitions of culture and industry in the first World’s Fair, which was held in London, opened a new era and even influenced East Asia. Hui Zhang’s paper compares the impact of the World’s Fair on Shibusawa Eiichi with that of the experiences of Zhang Jian, who visited the National Industrial Exhibition that was held in Osaka. Zisu Liang’s paper also treats the subject of Shibusawa Eiichi, by comparing him with Zhang Zhidong in terms of the contributions that the two men made to the economic modernization of their countries. Ling Xi’s work is to explicate Japan’s relationship with modern China’s financial system by examining the pivotal role of Sakatani Yoshirō, who was a Japanese economist and statesman, and was also the son-in-law of Shibusawa. Guan Wang’s topic focuses on the influence of the 1970 Osaka World Exposition on Japan’s economy. The economic modernization of East Asia is a timely research topic in light of the success of Expo 2010 in Shanghai. These four papers provide a new perspective for research in this growing field.

1) Hui Zhang, Huazhong Normal University  
   *The Influence of World Expos upon the Giant Entrepreneurs of East Asia: A Comparison of Shibusawa Eiichi and Zhang Jian*

The World Expo is an economic, scientific, and cultural Olympics. The first World Expo was held in London in 1851. In 1867, Japan was invited to participate in the World Expo held in Paris. The Paris Expo strongly influenced Shibusawa Eiichi (1840–1931), who attended as a
delegate at age 27. Born to a samurai family, Shibusawa spent two years after the Expo travelling throughout Europe and then decided to devote his life to business. After returning to Japan, Shibusawa was appointed Chief of the Tax Bureau by the new Meiji government, and eventually became a business tycoon, establishing over 500 enterprises, including the first national Japanese bank, and joint-stock corporations. Shibusawa’s business philosophy comprised an ethic combining Confucianism and capitalism, which to a great extent laid the foundation for future Japanese business ethics. Quite aptly, Shibusawa is called the “father of modern Japanese capitalism.” Correspondingly, when Japan held the National Industrial Exposition in Osaka in 1903, Zhang Jian (1853–1926), who earned first place in the palace examination in the late Qing Dynasty, became an eight-time visitor to the Osaka Expo. Being as astonished as Shibusawa had been in Paris, Zhang was inspired to emulate Japan and the West. He established museums, shipping and printing companies, as well as the 1910 Nanyang Industrial Exposition Promotion Research Group in order to stimulate the feeble Chinese economy. Like Shibusawa Eiichi, Zhang in turn is called the “father of modern Chinese industry.” This paper is a comparison of these two industrial giants.

2) Zisu Liang, Kansai University

*Shibusawa Eiichi and Zhang Zhidong: Leading Economic Modernizers of East Asia*

During the process of economic modernization in Japan and China, influence of external factors, such as foreign capitalization and internal factors, such as actions taken by local governors and businessmen, have been most significant. In Japan, the businessman Shibusawa Eiichi (1840–1931), a leader in the introduction of Western capitalism to Japan, is considered the “father of Japanese capitalism.” Shibusawa’s myriad contributions to Japan’s modern economy include the founding of the first modern Japanese bank based on joint stock ownership; establishment of the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry; support for higher education, including the first women’s university; and many works of philanthropy, such as the founding of hospitals and the Japan Red Cross. In China, the governor-general of Hubei and Hunan provinces and one of the members of the Self-Strengthening Movement of the late Qing period, Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909), can be considered a pioneer in Chinese industrialization and in particular, “the father of China’s steel industry.” He opened coal mines, the Daye iron mines, and Hanyang steel works, which were incorporated to form the Hanyeping Iron and Coal Company, in order to promote interior railroad construction. He helped bridge transition to the modern era by combining a reformist concept of Chinese learning for the essence of reform with Western learning for practical utility. This study compares the philosophies and roles of these two contemporaries—
Shibusawa Eiichi the businessman and Zhang Zhidong the governor—and their contributions to the economic modernization of their respective countries.

3) Ling Xi, Kansai University  
*Sakatani Yoshirō and Modern China’s Financial System in the Early Twentieth Century*

Sakatani Yoshirō (1863–1941), a Japanese statesman, served as Minister of Finance, Mayor of Tokyo, and a member of the House of Peers. He was also an economist. He took part in Japan’s currency reform in 1897, and solved the problem of the national debt during the Russo-Japanese War, a feat that brought him recognition in Western economic and political circles. Sakatani Yoshirō was also involved with China for nearly thirty years, from his first contact with Qing China to his visit to the Republic of China in 1918. Over the years, Sakatani was especially concerned with China’s currency; he wrote a draft in classical Chinese on currency reform in China, which he sent to Li Hongzhang in 1889. Although Li declined to follow his suggestions, Sakatani continued to hold great interest in China’s financial affairs. When Jeremiah Whipple Jenks (1856–1929) went to China as China’s financial advisor in 1904, Sakatani served as one of his assistants. He also accepted a request from Sun Yet-sen for financial advice and gave assistance to the new Chinese government at the beginning of 1912. Sakatani was invited by the Chinese government in 1918 to visit China and become economic advisor. While in the country, he made public his suggestions for China’s financial system. It is the aim of this paper to explicate Japan’s relationship with modern China’s financial system through examination of the pivotal role of Sakatani Yoshirō.

4) Guan Wang, Kansai University  
*The 1970 Osaka Expo: Catalyst of Japan’s Postwar Economy*

In the 19th century, the World Expo was important for national commodity exchanges. In imitation of the World Expo, Japan held six National Industrial Expositions between 1877 and 1907, which stimulated the Japanese economy and contributed to the country’s rise to the top economic tier in East Asia. After World War II, rapid recovery and high economic growth led to the Japanese government’s decision to host the 1964 Olympics and the 1970 World Expo. The 1970 Osaka Expo was the first of its kind ever held in Asia, and served to introduce new technological innovations and to promote social development. Attracting 76 countries, four international organizations, and more than 64 million visitors, the Osaka Expo was extremely profitable. A sum of 3.3 trillion yen was invested to improve infrastructure, including new monorails and high-end urban residences. Futuristic pavilions and robots showcased the
possibility that technology could provide a high quality of life. Compared with previous World Expos, the Osaka Expo, whose theme was “Progress and Harmony for Mankind,” was concerned with people’s livelihoods. In World Expo history, not only was this the first time that the slogan “harmony” had appeared, but also the first time that the issue of environmental protection received public attention. This paper will examine the impact of the 1970 Expo on the Japanese economy, on Japan’s rising status in the world, and on the consciousness of environmental protection.

Discussant: Haruo Noma, Kansai University
Session 39: Room 253
Risk and Consequences in Japan
Organizer/Chair: Tina Burrett, Temple University Japan

1) Jeff Kingston, Temple University Japan
   Risk and Consequences in Japan: Unstable Jobs and Families

2) Tin Tin Htun, Temple University Japan
   Social Identities of Minority Others in Japan

3) Tina Burrett, Temple University Japan
   Risk and Consequences in Japan: No Risk No Gain in Japanese-Russian Relations

4) Matthew Linley, Temple University Japan
   Risky Rhetoric: The Framing of International Disputes by Political Elites and Public Opinion about Foreign Nations in Japan

Discussant: Robert Dujarric, Temple University Japan

Risk and Consequences in Japan
Organizer/Chair: Tina Burrett, Temple University Japan

This is an interdisciplinary panel encompassing a diverse array of disciplines including psychology, history, political science and international relations. The purpose of this panel is to examine the rise of risk in Japan, how people and policymakers are coping with various aspects of risk and what the consequences have been from micro and macro perspectives. Our historian examines the consequences of risk in Japan associated with labor market deregulation beginning in the Lost Decade. This has lead to the rise of a precariat, amplifying disparities that challenge the prevailing egalitarian ethos and influence political discourse and elections. The psychologist on our panel offers a view on risk from the perspective of generating tensions with neighbours. Responding to such tensions, opinion leaders strongly influence public perceptions of foreign countries, employing risky rhetoric that constrains diplomatic compromises. Our political scientists focus on foreign policy, one looking at domestic debate and how that influences perceptions and diplomacy while the other closely examines developments between Russia and Japan regarding their face-off over the Northern Territories/Kurile Islands.

1) Jeff Kingston, Temple University Japan
   Risk and Consequences in Japan: Unstable Jobs and Families

Since the late 1990s there has been a dramatic increase in risk in Japan associated with deregulation of the job market and the emergence of a growing precariat. Japanese society has been ill-prepared to cope with this growing risk as prevailing norms and values in the Japan, Inc. model focused on minimizing and mitigating risk as much as possible. This paper examines the rising misery index associated with growing risk in Japan and how this has lead to
significant social and political consequences. As Japan enters the third decade of the Lost Decade there is a growing frustration about the failure of leaders to deliver reforms that address effectively the accumulating problems of economic stagnation. The dramatic ouster of the LDP from power in 2009 is traced to the Toshi Koshi Haken Mura (Village of Fired Contract Workers) and the shift of public attention to the *kakusa shakai* (unequal society).

2) Tin Tin Htun, Temple University Japan  
*Social Identities of Minority Others in Japan*

Minorities exist at the margins of Japanese society and have long experienced the risks and disparities that are now becoming more common in Japan. Although the existing literature on minorities in Japan offers different explanations as to why ethnic minority groups are invisible in Japan at the structural level, a framework for analyzing and interpreting the position of minorities at the intergroup and individual levels has been lacking until now. In this paper, I examine the narratives of members of Ainu, Buraku, and Zainichi Koreans in Japan to understand what it may mean to be a minority in a so-called mono-ethnic society. I draw on social identity theory to interpret how socially disadvantaged groups in Japan deal with their minority social identity and lead their lives as minority others.

3) Tina Burret, Temple University Japan  
*Risk and Consequences in Japan: No Risk No Gain in Japanese-Russian Relations*

On 1 November 2010, Japanese-Russian relations hit a 20-year low when President Medvedev became the first Russian leader to visit the Northern Territories; a group of four islands off Hokkaido, seized by Stalin in WW2. This paper argues that for Japan, deepening hostilities with Russia poses risks beyond the confines of its bilateral relations with Moscow. An emerging China and resurgent Russia are radically altering power dynamics in North East Asia. In territorial disputes, while its rivals—China and Russia—pursue a pragmatic foreign diplomatic agenda places national destiny over national interest. Unwilling to risk alienating public opinion, in negotiations on the Northern Territories, Japanese leaders belligerently refuse to accept less than the return of all four islands. As a result of its adversion to risk, Tokyo’s record in dealing with post-Soviet Russia is a catalogue of missed opportunities and miscalculations. The impasse in Russian-Japanese relations has negative consequences for both parties as well as for the wider region. To mitigate the common threat of Chinese dominance requires Russia and Japan to act in unison. In its relationship with Russia, by doing nothing Japan runs the greatest risk of all.
In 2010, negative public opinion in Japan towards China and Russia both increased significantly following disputes over the Senkaku Islands and the Northern Territories yet it did not turn negative towards the United States following a dispute over the relocation of Futenma Air Station in Okinawa. This poses an interesting puzzle - why do some international disputes produce increases in negative mass attitudes towards the country involved while others do not? I argue that increases in negative Japanese opinion towards a foreign nation are a product of the framing of international disputes by policymakers. Since voters operate under conditions of uncertainty when confronted with the complex sphere of foreign affairs, they tend to rely on cues from political elites as mental shortcuts (Zaller, 1992). Under Japan’s new electoral rules implemented in 1994, politicians now have an incentive to appeal to voters on broader issues affecting the whole country, such as appearing to be competent in their handling of foreign policy (Rosenbluth and Thies, 2010). One means to achieve this is to frame an international dispute in a way that absolves the Government of blame while attributing responsibility to the other nation. When this is successful, negative public opinion towards the other nation increases. To test this hypothesis, I use the Jiji Press public opinion polls to conduct a series of case studies of disputes involving Japan and the US, China, Russia, South Korea and North Korea. The expectation is that increases in the dislike of the other nation will be greater in those disputes where Japanese policymakers generate strong frames assigning responsibility to the other nation than in those disputes in which they do not. While the purpose of framing events in this way may be to appeal to domestic audiences, policymakers run the risk of generating long-term negative mass opinion of particular countries which may then limit their policy options when dealing with future foreign policy issues.
Transformation of Resistance Movements in Okinawa

Organizer: Kozue Uehara, The University of Tokyo
Chair: Rinda Yamashiro Kayatani, University of Hawai‘i at Manoa

1) Kozue Uehara, The University of Tokyo
   *Continuity and Change in Social Movements in the 1970s Okinawa: Analysis from the Narratives of Kin Bay Struggle activists*

2) Rinda Yamashiro Kayatani, University of Hawai‘i at Manoa
   *Making Sense of U.S. Military Presence in Okinawa: A Case study of Anti-Base Okinawan Women’s Groups*

3) Keisuke Mori, Hitotsubashi University
   *Possibilities of the Contemporary Anti-military Base Movements in the Post-Neoliberal Era*

Discussant: Yasuhiro Tanaka, International Christian University

Okinawa has a long history of resistance against the U.S. and Japan’s power over its islands. Okinawans have been engaging in various forms of resistance to protect their ancestral lands, dignity and human rights, of which they were deprived as a result of Japanese and U.S. colonization. The three emerging scholars will examine different examples of resistance across time and space that emerged in the 1970s and later, to illustrate how multifaceted the forms of resistance are. Over the span of more than thirty years, the fundamental goals of the movement are the same, but the ways in which the participants understand the issues at hand and how they carry out the movement have broadened. Kozue Uehara looks at the Kin Bay Struggle that emerged after Okinawa’s “reversion” to Japan in 1972. The movement contributed to introducing anti-reversion political thoughts and new trends in the social movements in post-war Okinawa. Meanwhile, Rinda Yamashiro draws on her preliminary research to investigate how women’s anti-U.S. military base movement groups that emerged after 1995 understand the politics of military presence in their everyday lives. One method the Japanese government uses to “silence” the municipal governments that host U.S. base is to fund infrastructural developments. Keisuke Mori focuses on how this money game intervenes in the local governance and impacts the residents and their resistance activities. The panel aims to examine the dynamics and complexities of the resistance in Okinawa from interdisciplinary perspectives.
1) Kozue Uehara, University of Tokyo

*Continuity and Change in Social Movements in the 1970s Okinawa: Analysis from the Narratives of Kin Bay Struggle Activists*

In 1969, Prime Minister Sato and President Nixon agreed upon the 1972 reversion of Okinawa from the U.S. occupation to Japan. The rapid social change accompanied with the agreement over the reversion created ambivalent conditions for the people of Okinawa. The U.S. and Japan agreed upon maintaining military alliance and presence of bases in Okinawa. Japanese Government and corporations also implemented economic development over the land and oceans of Okinawa for economic growth nationwide. The decisions made by governmental agencies at the national and local levels and entities in both the public and private sectors including Okinawa Prefectural Government and political parties uncritically supported positions in favor of the proposed developments. The unified goal of reversion restrained those individual agents and communities to freely express their concerns over reversion and act against those decisions, however, it also brought the emergence of anti-reversion political thoughts and new trends in social movements in post-war Okinawa. This paper examines how those new thoughts and actions emerged around the 1970s and how they were brought together in Kin Bay Struggle (1973–1983), which has been known as “residents’ movement” protested against the reclamation of eastern coast of Okinawa Island the construction of oil stockpiling camp. In this presentation, I analyze narratives of those individuals involved in the struggle (i.e. local fishermen, teachers involved in unionized movements, younger generation experienced new-left and anti-development activisms and returned to Okinawa) and examine what their different experiences were in the 1960s and how they were brought together in post-reversion Kin Bay Struggle.

2) Rinda Yamashiro, University of Hawai’i at Manoa

*Making Sense of U.S. Military Presence in Okinawa: A Case Study of Anti-Base Okinawan Women’s Groups*

U.S. military presence in Okinawa traces its roots back to 1945 during World War II and has caused countless political and social disturbances in Okinawan society since then. People have organized and participated in various types of anti-base movements to protect their land, dignity and human rights. Throughout the long history of the anti-base movements in Okinawa, women had always been there and supported the cause. However, most of the movements were dominated by male leadership and tended to place women in the background. It is only recently that women have gained the opportunities and spaces to organize autonomous groups to express
their concerns. In this paper, I would like to focus on four different anti-base Okinawan women’s groups that were established after 1995. I will examine how women’s groups expanded, as well as the ways in which they articulated their concerns. Among many military issues in Okinawa, the relocation of U.S. Marine Futenma Air Station to Henoko, northern part of Okinawa, is one of the most sensitive issues for Okinawa today. The four groups that I will analyze are from different parts of Okinawa; a group from Ginowan where Futenma Air Station is located at, two groups from Nago, where Henoko is located at, and a group from Naha, the capital city of Okinawa. Focusing on these four groups that have different experiences with the military presence will give us a broader understanding on how women of different backgrounds understand military issues.

3) Keisuke Mori, Hitotsubashi University

Possibilities of the Contemporary Anti-military Base Movements in the Post-Neoliberal Era

What do (not) the contemporary social movements take over from the old movements? In 1996, the US and Japan agreed with the SACO (Special Action Committee on Okinawa) final agreement. The partial return of the Northern Training Area is also included in this agreement, but conditionally: Six new helipads are going to be build in the vicinity of Takae district of Higashi Village. At the same time, the Japanese government announced its plans for promoting further development on the local governments facing on the “burden” of the presence of the US Military bases. Because of the promotion, Higashi Village accepted the new base construction, whereas Takae district was strongly opposed to and started sit-in protest to stop construction since July, 2007. Moreover, the ratio of promotion of Defense Ministry on Okinawa has been increasing since 1996 that means the further intervention of Defense Ministry in the local governmental politics. In this presentation, I would like to focus on the on-going anti-U.S. Military base movements in Takae. I will first analyze the features of the anti-base movements in Takae compared to the old movements, and will secondly argue what the regime change from Liberal Democratic Party to Democratic Party of Japan in 2009 brought about movements in Takae district. Finally, I will examine what the anti-base movements in Takae do (not) take over from those old movements.

Discussant: Yasuhiro Tanaka, International Christian University
Session 41: Room 314
Individual Papers on Premodern Japanese Culture and Society

Chair: David Cannell, University of California, Irvine

1) Ben Grafström, The Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme
   Religious Dimensions of the “Ideal Warrior” in Muromachi-era Fiction

2) Dylan McGee, Nagoya University
   Defacing Books: Allographic Inscription and Reader Reception in Early Modern Japan

3) Gideon Fujiwara, University of British Columbia
   Religious Thought and Practice in Hirata Kokugaku: The Case of Disciples in Hirosaki Domain

4) Takako Suzuki, International Christian University
   Political Interests and Religious Miracles in Hayashi Razan’s Honchōjinjakō

5) Maria G. Petrucci, University of British Columbia
   Silver, Salt and Saltpeter: The Rise and Demise of Sixteenth-Century Japanese Piracy in Kyushu

1) Ben Grafström, The Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme

Religious Dimensions of the “Ideal Warrior” in Muromachi-era Fiction

Audiences have been fascinated by the warrior-monk Saitō Musashibō Benkei (retainer of Minamoto Yoshitsune) for centuries. Depictions of Benkei appear in a wide range of pre-modern literary performance genres. A great deal of scholarship has already been done which examines Benkei featured in literary genres such as gunki mono (war tales), nō and kabuki. These texts all seem to send the message to audiences that Benkei’s success as an “ideal warrior” relies on the balance he maintains between being a fierce warrior and cunning trickster. This paper attempts to show how depictions of Benkei in Muromachi-era kōwakamai narratives emphasize the point that Benkei’s religious aspiration plays just as important a role in being an “ideal warrior” as his strength and wit. Three kōwakamai in particular display the significance Benkei’s spiritual prowess makes in his role as a formidable warrior: Shikoku-ochi, Togashi, and Oi-sagashi. While the scenes in these three selections correspond to those featuring Benkei in other genres, these narratives seem to truly assert the religious dimension of Benkei’s character and the central part religion has in forming the “ideal warrior.”

2) Dylan McGee, Nagoya University

Defacing Books: Allographic Inscription and Reader Reception in Early Modern Japan

During the Edo period (1603–1868), a burgeoning print industry created new market structures for the production and consumption of popular literature, and dramatically changed the aesthetic experience of reading a text. Of no less consequence was the commodification of the book, a corollary development which reified both the market value and cultural value of books, and endowed readers with a sense of ownership—and, I would argue, inscriptive license—over the material they were reading. This study aims to take up the under-examined subject of readerly
inscription in early modern printed books, demonstrating how the act of putting brush to paper constituted an important aspect of reading practice during the Edo period. Allographic inscription (words or images produced by someone other than the author) can be read as a powerful assertion of ownership over a commodified text, as well as an expression of alienation from (and mode of resistance against) institutionalized modes of literary production, which all but foreclosed the possibility of readerly participation in the production of texts.

While this study will foreground the problem of reader alienation from modes of literary production, its main focus will be on examining inscribed books as artifacts of reader reception. A vigorously executed scribble over the face of Kō no Moronao in a gōkan adaptation of Chūshingura, for example, can tell us not only that the reader disliked this famous villain, but through the performative and emotive value of the inscription itself, how passionate his disdain was. As a site of interaction between reader and text, inscription reveals the aspects of a narrative that elicited the strongest responses from readers. While this focus represents a departure from the traditional emphases on documented critical reaction and publication data in reader response scholarship, I would argue that it yields more reliable evidence of how certain works were received in the market. Moreover, a broad based study across multiple genres and periods, such as the one I am proposing, promises to yield new insights into how different constituencies of readers responded to works produced in different genres, and how certain, observable patterns of response and reception changed over time.

3) Gideon Fujiwara, University of British Columbia

Religious Thought and Practice in Hirata Kokugaku: The Case of Disciples in Hirosaki Domain

Kokugaku scholar Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843) has been credited by Matsumoto Sannosuke with the "positivization" (sekkyokuka) of the Way and "religionization" (shūkyōka) of Shinto, in response to his contemporaries' need for comfort in the face of death. Tahara Tsuguo has also contrasted the "scholarly, static characteristic" of Motoori Norinaga's (1730–1801) kokugaku to the Hirata school’s "religious tendency" and Atsutane's "evangelist-like" character. Examples of the adoption of Hirata religiosity in terms of both thought and practice are seen among the school’s disciples throughout Japan in the 19th century. As demonstrated by Anne Walthall, the Ina Valley agricultural community practiced Hirata kokugaku like a new religion, with its prayer-books, devotional manuals, and map of sacred places.

Since the formation of their group in 1857, the posthumous disciples of Hirosaki (Tsugaru) domain in northern Japan carried out kami and ancestral worship and demonstrated a
concern for spirits and the invisible *kakuriyo* realm, which were all central to Atsutane's teachings. In this presentation, I consider aspects of religious worship practiced by this local community in order to consider Hirata *kokugaku*’s role in late-Tokugawa to early Meiji Hirosaki. My talk focuses mainly on townspeople and group leader Tsuruya Ariyo (1808–71) and his thoughts on the afterlife, ancestral and *kami* worship, and *norito* liturgy.

4) Takako Suzuki, International Christian University

*Political Interests and Religious Miracles in Hayashi Razan’s Honchōjinjyakō*

Political interests in Hayashi Razan’s religious views are reflected within his works on Japanese shrines. Through a close analysis toward his motives for writing *Honchojinjyako* 本朝神社考, a study of major Japanese shrines, it can be said that Razan’s religious interests were shaped by the political needs of his time. During an era of religious turmoil in Shimabara, Razan was obliged to focus on the social psychological impact religion claimed over its believers. Razan was forced to admit that legal restrictions had its limits when confronted with the social effects of religious charisma. For this reason, he had analyzed the bases of religious miracles to prove whether they were trustworthy or dangerous superstitions. Razan’s text evaluations toward sacred documents were pursued in order to provide an official version of religious legends, free from superstitions and religious fantasies. This paper will focus on Razan’s *Honchojinjyako* in order to clarify his political interests toward Japanese shrines.

5) Maria G. Petrucci, University of British Columbia

*Silver, Salt and Saltpeter: The Rise and Demise of Sixteenth-Century Japanese Piracy in Kyushu*

The silver traders who included Japan in the world maps of the sixteenth century brought wealth to local warlords and to the central government, but how did they affect the lower layers of the population and the cities where this trade was practiced? I will analyze the effects of the silver trade on local industries such as saltpeter and salt production in relation to piracy in several harbor towns located in the Otomo and Matsuura domains of Kyushu. Past scholars have studied Japanese piracy, while often omitting the connection between economic changes and trade. In this respect, this work is quite innovative, as it will delve into the complexity of the Japanese economy through its links to the “peripheral” world of piracy. The economic entrepreneurship of local warlords brought an increase in the trade of sulfur for Chinese saltpeter, allowing illicit trade between China and Japan. This trade was financed by exchanges in silver for silk, which augmented the wealth of local harbor towns and of local warlords, as
well as opened the doors to smuggling and piracy. Local pirates’ wealth increased not only by pillaging unfortunate ships, but also by controlling and regulating waterways between Kyushu and the Seto Inland Sea, and by exacting toll fees and monopolizing salt productive islands. Hence, as local Kyushu pirates’ independence thrived, they could choose who to side for in the wars for territorial aggrandizement.
Recent scholarship has focused on the place of reproduction in the Sino-Japanese art world, and it is now widely accepted that “reproduction” (or copying) in Asian art should not be evaluated within the modern discourse, which considers the “copy” to be an inferior reflection of the “original” or “real.” Reproduction played an essential role in the visual culture—as a means to learn, contemplate, perfect, interpret, preserve, and even replace selected artworks. Our panel builds upon these understandings in order to further define the role of reproduction in the Japanese premodern and modern visual fields. Each of the papers in this panel examines a different case study of the transmission of visual forms from the premodern to the modern Japanese art world through the production of reproductions. By historically contextualizing particular cases of transmission, we realize a more detailed understanding of the motivations of artists to use copying techniques. Artists and patrons, we suggest, were aware of the complex significance of replicating earlier forms; reproductions, as a result, contemplated the act of repetition in order to manipulate their reception as refreshed interpretations of issues of significance to their receivers. Namely, reproduction is a sophisticated form of appropriation. Copying thus involves not only a set of forms but also a set of values. This approach to transmission can be further clarified when examined within contexts of socio-historical transformations. Our papers thus discuss visual transmissions between different media or transmission at times of historical and social changes.
1) Shalmit Bejarano, Kanagawa University

“My flawed edition conveys the teaching of the Sage”: Revisiting Reproduction in Printed Manuals for Painters

The artist Tachibana Morikuni (1679–1748) was described in a slanderous fashion in ukiyo-e lexicons for his “stealing” of the Kano-school’s secret models and publishing them as cheap compilations in print for the benefit of amateur artists. Indeed, Morikuni’s illustrations carry direct relation to the Sino-Japanese masterpieces that were canonized by Kano-school artists, and their motifs were widely appropriated by print artists of the later Edo period (18th–19th centuries).

My paper, however, interprets Morikuni’s “theft” narrative within the discourse on early modern artistic reproduction. First, I analyze Morikuni’s own introductions to his illustrated manuals. Contradictory to what one may expect of his later image, Morikuni acknowledged that his work was in the classical Chinese tradition of reproduction and bestowed his reproductions a virtuous aura by quoting the words of Confucius, Xie He (5th century), and Zhu Xi (12th century). Furthermore, by acknowledging the importance of learning from tradition, Morikuni positioned his illustrated manual books - and thus also the receivers of his books - within the Sino-Japanese artistic canon.

Secondly, I examine Morikuni’s painting-manuals in light of his later historiographies which clearly delineated the Kano traditions and the iconography of the popular prints. I suggest that the historiographical choice an artist made within the discourse of “reproduction,” “transmission,” or “originality” should be examined not merely through the visual resemblance between the “source” and its derivations but also through the lenses of reception and canonization.

2) Ryoko Matsuba, Ritsumeikan University and the British Museum

The Concept of Reproduction on the Kabuki Stage

Kabuki performance practices are strongly interrelated with print culture of the Edo period. Essential and deep connections link between the art of kabuki and the visual arts of woodblock prints and illustrated books. In my presentation, I will draw upon comments in Hyobanki (annual kabuki critiques), prints, and book illustrations to explore the ways in which kabuki actors relied upon them when standardizing acting patterns (Kata).
Kabuki actors created conventional acting patterns for the stage. The history of kabuki demonstrates many cases in which actors performed roles established by their predecessors. An acting pattern became popular by being performed again and again. Thus, the actors’ method became also a key to identify specific scenes, situations, and casts on stage. Furthermore, artists selected acting patterns as visual key elements to signify complex dramatic moments. They depicted not only theatrical elements, such as specific costumes and props, but also the essentials of certain well-recognized acting patterns. Even today different acting styles coexist in kabuki, a fact that further supports the claim that transmission was closely indebted to tradition while inviting different interpretations.

Through my talk, I define the concept of onstage reproduction through the prism of printed images, as a typical method for constructing a drama. I indicate the possibility to study kabuki representations by relating them to a wider world of Edo visual culture.

3) Shiori Nakama, Dōshisha University

*Kishida Ryusei’s Strategy of Reproduction and Appropriation in the Portraits of Reiko Series*

Kishida Ryusei (1891–1929), a representative of Western-style painters in modern Japan, produced a large number of portraits of his daughter Reiko. He left more than one hundred works using several different techniques, both in Western styles and in Japanese traditional painting and print.

The production and circulation of the *Portraits of Reiko* are closely related to the place of reproductions in modern Japan. First, Kishida used other artists’ images as a source of ideas for the Reiko’s portraits. For example, he borrowed some patterns of female portraits from an imported art book of collected paintings by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528).

Secondly, in creating the *Portraits of Reiko*, Kishida had a positive attitude toward appropriation from Western and East Asian art. As noted in his diary, the vulgar smile with teeth in *Smiling Reiko* (1922) was modeled after the *Portrait of Lady in Slovenia* by Dürer (1505). Thirdly, Kishida seems to make reproductions of his own works. The above-mentioned oil painting of *Smiling Reiko* and water-color *Smiling Reiko* (1922) were produced and displayed together in a private exhibition. These works are similar in style, but are different in technique, motif and price.
Through analyzing the three stages of reproduction and appropriation in Kishida’s *Portraits of Reiko*, I examine how artists and viewers produced and received works of art during the beginning stage of mass reproduction in modern Japan.

4) Naoko Gunji, Augustana College

*Replication of the Sacred: Emperor Antoku’s Portrait in Sculpture and Photographs*

Prior to the end of WWII, Miyaji Naokazu (1886–1949) and Oba Iwao (1899–1975) of the Home Ministry made survey trips to numerous Shinto shrines and archaeological sites all over Japan in order to keep and later compile volumes of photographic records of the objects they observed. Among their records I recently discovered the photographs of a wooden portrait of Emperor Antoku (1178–1185). The portrait of Antoku, serving as a sacred body at the Shinto shrine Akama Jingu, has never been shown to the public since the Meiji persecution of Buddhism when the current shrine replaced the mortuary temple Amidaji. Special permission to take photographs of Antoku’s secret portrait may have been given to Miyaji and Oba; however, according to the current head priest of Akama Jingu, the statue shown in the photographs is not the same as the “real” statue currently kept in the shrine. The priest claims that the real statue had been evacuated to a safe place before the destruction of the shrine by air raids, but the copied piece (which presumably appears in Miyaji and Oba’s records) was lost.

My paper will provide a case study of the relationship between the “real” and “substitute” icons by focusing on Antoku’s portrait, which stands out from other imperial portraits as an absolute secret image. Analyzing textual and visual evidence, I will examine motivations for the production of a substitute piece and the issue of its ritual efficacy in relation to the real and secret portrait.

Discussant: Morihiro Satow, Kyoto Seika University
Meeting Gender in Everyday Life: Explorations of How Japanese People Experience, Embody and Play Out Gender Discourses

Organizer/Chair: Maho Isono, Waseda University

1) Noriko Yamaguchi, University of Chicago
   *Reconstructing Gender in Everyday Life: Postwar Social Reconstruction and Gender Relations in Tochigi, 1945–1960*

2) Hiroshi Aoyagi, Kokushikan University
   *Can the Current Popular Discourse on Japanese Femininity Satisfy Beauvoir?*

3) Maho Isono, Waseda University
   *Seeing the Anorexic Body as the Center of Practicing Discourse: A Case Study of an Anorexic Woman and Japanese Discourses of Eating Disorders*

4) Emma Cook, JSPS Post-Doctoral Fellow
   *Navigating Dominant Discourses of Manhood in Japan*

Discussant: Glenda Roberts, Waseda University

Gender studies have already discovered numerous gender discourses and elucidated their constructs from geopolitical, economic, sociocultural, and historic perspectives. Gender studies in Japan are not the exception. However, while these studies have shown how gender discourses exert power in gender stratification, they tend to see human beings as passive agents merely conforming to and acting on these discourses. Conversely, this panel engages with and contributes to this field of inquiry by regarding human beings not as marionettes of the discourses but active agents who experience, manipulate and restructure the discourses. Noriko Yamaguchi’s paper investigates the ways in which Japanese local people changed their everyday gender relationships in the wake of World War II under the influence of the Home Life Extension program set up by the Allied occupation and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Hiroshi Aoyagi’s paper ethnographically explores Japanese popular culture and questions whether Japanese young women who appear to be more self-centered and freed from male influences than ever before actually fulfill the ultimate goal of women’s liberation as proposed by Simone de Beauvoir. Maho Isono’s paper argues that while gender discourses are usually framed as oppressing and disempowering women, Japanese female anorexic individuals conversely utilize a discourse of Japanese eating disorders to empower themselves. Emma Cook’s paper demonstrates how young male part-time workers negotiate, resist, and reject the “salaryman” (full-fledged business man) discourse of masculinity and discusses why this discourse still continues to exert a hegemonic hold on normative ideals of masculinity in contemporary Japan.
1) Noriko Yamaguchi, University of Chicago

_Reconstructing Gender in Everyday Life: Postwar Social Reconstruction and Gender Relations in Tochigi, 1945–1960_

How did gender relationships among Japanese people change in the wake of World War II? This paper pursues and attempts to answer the question through examination of the local practice/acceptance of the Home Life Extension program set up by the Allied occupation and continued by the Ministry of Agriculture in the post–1945 period. Specifically, it analyzes how local residents of Tochigi prefecture reconstructed everyday life after the war and after the 1949 Imaichi earthquake, when problems of prewar and wartime gender relationships also became more apparent. Under such conditions, the gender categories of “men” and “women” changed, and the Home Life Extension program had the effect of freeing people, particularly young wives, from traditional gender roles—even though slowly and rather inconspicuously under the conservative local cultural atmosphere. Since the 1950s, Tochigi residents have set up various seikatsu kaizen (life improvement) groups. This paper will look at the experiences of a local female facilitator of the Home Life Extension program, and individuals from the Youth Association (mostly male) and the Women’s Association who were involved in the reconstruction process after the war and especially after the earthquake and who became members of seikatsu kaizen groups later. Doing so will shed light on how local residents rebuilt their everyday gender relationships by rebuilding their everyday life under the Allied occupation and aftermath.

2) Hiroshi Aoyagi, Kokushikan University

_Can the current popular discourse on Japanese femininity satisfy Beauvoir?_

A French pioneer of contemporary feminism, Simone de Beauvoir made a proposition to the world as early as 1949 on the possibility of a woman to act subjectively in accordance with choices that she makes, along with the possibility of a civil society to establish a culturally diverse social environment that allows any and every women to choose their ways of living, as conditions to fulfill the ultimate goal of women’s liberation from the forces of male domination. With sociohistorical process(es) of its own, Japanese have generated a social environment in which women today appear to be more self-centered and freed from male influences than ever before. Yet, accompanying this trend is a series of disturbing news about child-abandonment which generally point to the idea that young women of Japan today are selfish enough to enjoy sexual life of their own for the sacrifice of childrearing, and that these women’s attitudinal tendencies to stay aloof from familial and communal concerns are contributing to the destruction of Japan’s domestic lifeworld. My presentation will dig into this controversial “gender problem” as it is manifested in the current era of post-modernity in order to pursue
through ethnographic means the nature of emergent popular discourses on young women’s liberation in Japan today, social outcomes of these discourses, as well as possible solutions to the problem of sustainable kinship.

3) Maho Isono, Waseda University

*Seeing the Anorexic Body as the Center of Practicing Discourse: A Case Study of an Anorexic Woman and Japanese Discourses of Eating Disorders*

Anthropological studies of gender often portray individuals as passive agents who unquestioningly receive discourses, enact, and enforce them in everyday life. When women are centered in the subjects of these studies, especially, they are usually depicted as the victims of an oppressive discourse that serves the needs of patriarchy. Likewise, in studies of eating disorders, female individuals with these disorders are often portrayed as powerless victims of either patriarchal society or dysfunctional families. Recent studies of individual practices, however, understand individuals as active agents who choose, negotiate, and attempt to maximize their own social benefits through strategic employment of discourses surrounding their everyday lives. This study endeavors to reframe studies of eating disorders by focusing on how those with these disorders can employ the discourses surrounding eating disorders in order to empower themselves. This study introduces a woman who experienced both anorexia and bulimia nervosa. Living within the social network composed of herself, her parents, her attending doctors, and the members of a support group organized by the doctor, she appeared to benefit from enacting the patient role assigned by a particular Japanese discourse regarding eating disorders that identifies causality in the parents of those with these disorders. Based on over three and half years of interviews with this woman, this study shows how a particular discourse can exert power on a social network through an active agent who negotiates her position within this network, analyzes her social capital, and enacts a particular patient role prescribed by the discourse.

4) Emma Cook, JSPS Post-Doctoral Fellow

*Navigating Dominant Discourses of Manhood in Japan*

A long recession and particular labour reforms in the late 1990s have contributed to a significant increase in the irregular workforce in contemporary Japan. Young part-time workers who are neither students or housewives, dubbed freeters, have in the last ten years been either berated for being lazy, irresponsible youth, or discussed as victims of a changing economic situation. What often remains unstated is the gendered nature of this discourse, which implicitly suggests that male freeters are shirking their responsibilities as adult men. Men in Japan have been seen, typically, to define themselves and be defined largely through their work. So-called
irresponsible freeters are often juxtaposed against upstanding ‘salarymen’ types, or at least men with stable incomes. This paper ethnographically explores how and why freeters engage with, negotiate, resist and reject the salaryman discourse of masculinity. Furthermore, even though large-scale economic and corporate changes have taken place within the last few decades which have significantly affected work choices and trajectories in the contemporary moment, this paper seeks to shed light on why the discourse of the salaryman continues to exert a hegemonic hold on normative ideals of masculinity in contemporary Japan.

Discussant: Glenda Roberts, Waseda University