



Joint
East
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Conference

Book of Abstracts

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Keynote Lectures

Lecture title: The Korean War and the East Asian Peace

Professor Charles Armstrong (Columbia University)

Abstract:

Following a century of nearly continuous violent conflict, the East Asian region has not experienced major inter-state warfare since 1979. At the same time, the divided Korean peninsula has been in a state of military tension and hostility just short of warfare since 1953. The co-existence of the “East Asian peace” and the Korean conflict may not be as paradoxical as it appears. The frozen conflict on the Korean peninsula has been at the centre of East Asian geopolitics since the early Cold War, in effect serving as a substitute for direct hostilities among China, the US, Russia and Japan. Ultimately however the Korean armistice, and hence the East Asian peace, is a fragile construct based on a military standoff that could easily break out into open warfare. The East Asian peace cannot last without a long-term solution to the “Korean question”: the problem of sovereign authority and external influence on the Korean peninsula that has been central to East Asian history since at least the nineteenth century.

Speaker biography:

Charles K. Armstrong is The Korea Foundation Professor of Korean Studies in the Social Sciences in the Department of History at Columbia University. He is the former Director of Columbia’s Center for Korean Research and former Acting Director of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute. Professor Armstrong is the author, editor or co-editor of five books, including most recently *Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950 – 1992* (Cornell University Press, 2013; winner of the John Fairbank Prize of the American Historical Association) and *The Koreas* (Routledge: second edition, 2014). His current research projects include a history of modern East Asia (forthcoming from Wiley-Blackwell publishers), a study of American cultural policy in East Asia during the early Cold War, and the interaction between urbanization and the environment in North Korea and Northeast China. Professor Armstrong holds a B.A. in Chinese Studies from Yale University, an M.Sc. in International Relations from the London School of Economics, and a Ph.D. in History from the University of Chicago. He has taught at Princeton, the University of Washington, and Seoul National University, and joined the Columbia faculty in 1996.

Lecture title: Trans-East-Asia as method

Professor Koichi Iwabuchi (Monash University)

Abstract:

In a globalized world, we are required to take into consideration cross-border mobility, connections and exchange and understand how transnationally shared issues are specifically and inter-relatedly articulated in a particular country or society. This paper will address the productive potential of “trans-East-Asian” approaches to further advance “Joint East Asian Studies”. Referring to research projects that I have been conducting such as media culture flows and connections and multiculturalism from below, it will consider the ways to engage and tackle the issues, which East Asian societies commonly and differently face, by tactically advancing trans-regional comparison, referencing and exchange and fostering collaboration across various divides and borders.

Speaker biography:

Koichi Iwabuchi is Professor of Media and Cultural Studies and Director of Monash Asia Institute, Monash University in Melbourne. His main research interests are cultural globalization, trans-Asian media and cultural flows and connections, and multicultural questions and cultural citizenship in the Japanese and East Asian contexts. He has published more than one hundred academic works (books, journal articles and book chapters) in English and Japanese and his work has been translated in Chinese, Korean and French. His English publication includes *Resilient Borders and Cultural Diversity: Internationalism, Brand Nationalism and Multiculturalism in Japan* (Lexington Books, 2015); *Recentering Globalization: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism* (Duke University Press, 2002); *Multiculturalism in East Asia: A Transnational Exploration of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan* (co-edited with Kim Hyun Mee and Hsiao Hsiao-Chuan, Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016); *East Asian Pop Culture: Approaching the Korean Wave* (eds. with Chua Beng-Huat, Hong Kong University Press, 2008). Iwabuchi is the editor of the new book series, *Asian Cultural Studies: Transnational and Dialogic Approaches* (Rowan & Littlefield International).

Lecture title: Restitution vs Treaty: Different Sovereignty Claims for the South China Seas

Professor Lin Man-houng

Abstract:

In January 1935 the issue no. 1 of Bulletin of Land and Sea Maps Examination Committee was published in the Republic of China (ROC). This periodical included a table of English-Chinese Names of South China Sea Islands which, after government audit, announced the names of 132 islands and reefs located in the South China Sea. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in July 7, 1937, Japan occupied the Pratas (Tungsha), Paracel (Shisha), and Spratly (Nansha) Islands in 1938 and 1939 subsequently. On March 30, 1939, Japan integrated what was called “Shinnan Gunto” (comprising approximately two thirds of the Spratly Islands) into Takao Prefecture (today known as Kaohsiung City) through Announcement No. 122 of the Taiwan Governor-General’s Office. In 1946, following the end of World War II, the ROC government reclaimed the Pratas, Paracel, and Spratly Islands and put them gradually under its effective control. The current South China Sea Issue mainly involves the sovereignty disputes over the Spratly and Paracel Islands. According to the Treaty of Peace between the ROC and Japan effective from 5 August 1952 (Taipei Treaty hereafter), its Article 2 stated: “It is recognized that under Article 2 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan signed at the city of San Francisco in the United States of America on September 8, 1951, Japan has renounced all right, title and

claim to Taiwan (Formosa) and Penghu (the Pescadores) as well as the Spratly Islands and the Paracel Islands.”

This study will point out that during the process of the negotiation of the Taipei Treaty, how the Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Hu Qingyu, who was also the deputy representative of that negotiation, made the said Article 2 of the Taipei Treaty to have included the Paracel and Spratly Islands by referring to the facts that Spratly had been part of Taiwan 1939-1952. This study will also note: Despite the fact that the Taipei Treaty could be deemed as a domestic law of ROC, which had passed through the Executive Yuan and Legislative Yuan and had been announced as a presidential proclamation, as well as an international treaty on record in the United Nations, it is such a treaty that has long been overlooked by the ROC itself and other countries. After pointing out the background of the neglect, this study will investigate how the various international parties up to now have argued for their sovereignty claims on the basis of the principle of restitution in international law. The principle of restitution means that in case country A renounces the territory that it has occupied but without the counterpart for such relinquishment, country B, which once occupied that territory before country A's occupation, can reconstitute that territory. On the premise that the ROC's strength is rather little, returning to Article 2 of the Taipei Treaty which clearly indicates that ROC has been the counterpart for Japan's renunciation in San Francisco Peace Treaty can still be helpful to launch the South China Sea Peace Initiative for the international community, which suggests joint development of the disputed areas.

Speaker biography:

Man-houng LIN was born in Taiwan in 1951. She was mostly educated in Taiwan and received her Ph.D. in History and East Asian Languages from Harvard University in 1989. Lin has been a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica since 1990 and Professor at the Department of History, National Taiwan Normal University since 1991. Lin's main area of research focuses on Treaty ports and Modern China, Native opium of late Qing China, Currency crisis and early nineteenth-century China, Various empires and Taiwanese merchants' great east Asian overseas economic networks, 1860-1961. She has published 5 books and about 80 papers in Chinese, English, Japanese and Korean in these areas. Her book, *China Upside Down: Currency, Society and Ideologies, 1808-1856* (Harvard East Asian Series, 2006) links China's topsy-turvy change from the center of the East Asian order to its modern tragedy with the Latin American Independence Movement. The passport change of the Taiwanese merchants going abroad in the period of 1860-1961 leads her to have touched upon the neglected Taipei Treaty which defines the sovereignty of Taiwan, Senkaku/Diaoyu, and the South China Seas.

Panel 1

Diverse Childhoods in Japan: Identity and Representation

Chair: Michael King

Panel abstract:

This panel brings researchers together to explore themes of identity, diversity, and vulnerability amongst children and youth who have experienced atypical childhoods in Japan.

Motomori opens with a theoretical overview of how children and childhood have been problematized. Motomori explains the social and historical context by which the modern Japanese image of childhood was realised and explains how this has hidden diverse childhoods. The panel then presents three examples of diverse childhoods.

Firstly, Mithani explores the representation of teenage and pre-teen sex, pregnancy and motherhood in manga, television and film. Social discourses on sex education and the community's role in childrearing are explored in three stories.

McGuire then presents on a group of deaf and hard-of-hearing youth. McGuire looks at changes in education practices and the impact of these on how these children negotiate their identity and belonging in the grey zone between the hearing world and the deaf world.

Finally, King examines why Japan still relies on large-scale institutions despite a global move towards foster care and adoption. King argues that the construction of the family-bond leads to children being institutionalised or left in highly abusive households and that this is constructed as being in their best interests.

Paper 1

How Did Japan Forget Diverse Childhoods? A Hypothetical View

Eriko Motomori (Meiji Gakuin University) motomori@soc.meijigakuin.ac.jp

Since the end of the 20th century, Japanese society has been afflicted by various child-related problems. Researchers in the 1980s diagnosed this problem as a "changing childhood." In the late 1990s, sexual offenses such as "*enjo kōsai* (compensated dating)" and "an increasing number of atrocious juvenile crimes and bullying" created moral panic in society. During the same period, society witnessed and condemned the emergence of child abuse in family settings. In the 2000s, child poverty became a major social issue. People began to discover deviances of children from the "normal childhood" due to "malfunctioning" schools and families.

This kind of discourse is not peculiar to Japan. Modern societies have frequently referred to "dangerous children" and "children at risk"; some critics have repeatedly diagnosed these cases as representing the "disappearance of childhood." Academic arguments that insist on overcoming these views have also been reiterated. For example, the so-called "New Sociology of Childhood" in Europe, popularized in the late 1990s, criticized a uniform image of childhood in the existing childhood studies ("the child" in development and socialization theory) and went on to advocate for children's agency and membership in the social structure. Later, this movement itself was questioned because it would have reproduced a concrete image of childhood.

The Japanese discourse on childhood seems to follow a similar trajectory. However, it also has its own specific features. In Japan, the longstanding tradition of *dōshin shugi*, or a peculiar child-centered sentiment, made the Japanese concept of childhood more robust than its Western theoretical counterparts. Moreover, the postwar economic growth and expansion of upper secondary education realized the inclusion of most children into standardized childhood. This historical concept of childhood has rendered various actual childhoods invisible.

Using statistics and narratives on childhood and children, this paper provides a hypothetical explanation of Japan's modern image of childhood, and clarifies how Japanese society hid its actual diverse childhoods, under what social and historical contexts this was realized.

Paper 2

Tween Mothers as Role Models? The Representation of Precocious Sex and Pregnancy in the Japanese Media

Forum Mithani (SOAS, University of London) f_mithani@soas.ac.uk

Teenage sex and pregnancy are controversial topics in contemporary Japanese society. Demographic statistics appear to support the view that precocious motherhood is considered undesirable: in 2014, only 1% of births involved mothers under the age of 20. For mothers under the age of 15, the figures are negligible. Furthermore, against a background of economic and demographic crisis, the last two decades have seen a number of 'moral panics' grip Japan, from the 'scandalous' behaviour of school girls engaging in compensated dating, to an increasing fear that women are losing their 'maternal instinct', with shocking cases of child abuse making headlines. So it is perhaps unsurprising that when the subject of precocious sex and motherhood is broached in the media, it arouses great interest, as well as debate, criticism and suspicion.

My paper will examine representations of teenage and pre-teen sex, pregnancy and motherhood in manga, television drama and film. The long-running drama series *Kinpachi Sensei* (1979-80) was the first of its kind to deal with the issue of teen pregnancy with its storyline of a 15-year-old who becomes pregnant by her classmate. Twenty-six years later, the provokingly-

titled drama *14-Year-Old Mother* (2006) caused controversy over its depiction of a junior high school student who risks shaming her middle-class family and elite private school by electing to keep her unborn baby. Around the same time, the manga *Kodomo no Kodomo*, later adapted into a film (2008), pushed the boundaries even further with its portrayal of an elementary school student completely ignorant about sex, who manages to hide her pregnancy from the adults in her life until after the birth.

These representations of pre- and early-teen mothers force audiences to confront the seemingly incongruous juxtaposition of youthful innocence and sexual maturity, blurring the lines between childhood and adulthood. My paper will examine the role they play in social discourses on sex education, teenage pregnancy, motherhood and the role of community in childrearing in contemporary Japan.

Paper 3

Child Abuse in Japan: Who cares?

Michael King (University of Oxford) michael.maherking@pmb.ox.ac.uk

In every country there are some children who cannot be cared for by their parents. Be it due to neglect, abuse, bereavement or illness, there are circumstances where the state intercedes into the family and places the child into foster care, institutional care, or adoption. The global-trend, embodied in the UN guidelines for the alternative care of children, is towards family based care, in supporting the guardians to care for the child, adoption, and foster care. This is particularly emphasised for those under three years old due to research into the long-term damage institutionalising babies and infants can do.

Japan is an outlier here in three main regards: The first is that Japan places half the number of children into care than the next lowest OECD country, Italy. This sees many children who have faced life-threatening abuse or neglect being returned to their abusive parents. The second puzzle is that 85 per cent of children who enter care are placed into institutional care, the largest of which houses 159 children. The final puzzle is that only 17 per cent of those under two years old are placed into foster care. The use of baby and infant welfare institutions is relatively un-problematized, with even the Japanese Red Cross running these institutions.

This paper explains these three puzzles with reference to case-studies of children entering care. Drawing on a year of ethnographic fieldwork with child guidance centres it explains how national policy is understood and implemented across three different 'types' of local authority. The paper argues that a contested but relatively uniform understanding of the family-bond underpins similarities in how policy is implemented across local authorities and that differences in policy implementation are connected to different constructions of the child and of foster care. The paper explains how the use of baby and infant welfare institutions, the use of child welfare institutions instead of foster care, and keeping a child in an abusive household are at times understood as being in the best interest of the child.

Panel 2

Geopolitics in East Asia: Resistance and Counterbalance

Paper 1

Diplomacy for Korean Neutrality and Buffer Zones: Modern History and Implications

Seung Young Kim (University of Sheffield) fletchersy@yahoo.com

Because of its sensitive geopolitical location, the Korean peninsula has been centre stage for rivalries that have ignited conflicts since the late 19th century: the first Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War, and the Korean War. Prior to these conflicts, there was diplomatic probing and negotiations to find compromise over Korea by guaranteeing its neutrality or the establishment of buffer zones, but those efforts failed to produce any lasting compromise. This paper first examines how and why Japan chose to change its strategies toward Korea and China in the late 19th century, from supporting a neutral Korea to securing its exclusive control through the war with China. It also examines China's earlier efforts to strengthen its control over Korea and the Korean reformers' wishes for neutrality. The paper will then examine how and why Japan and Russia could not reach compromise over Korea before the Russo-Japanese War, despite various suggestions made by the Japanese, Russian, and Korean governments for Korean neutrality and buffer zones in northern Korea. The final section of this paper will examine the debates in the US and British governments on the Korean neutrality and buffer zones during the Korean War, which were aimed at preventing Chinese and Russian interventions. This section will also examine the considerations of China when it chose to intervene in the Korean War. The conclusion will discuss the lessons and implications of these cases on current international relations in Northeast Asia, where similar kind of competitions among major powers continue diplomatic and strategic arenas, though they have not been escalated into armed conflict.

Paper 2

Japanese NGOs and Activists in Asia: Toward a Transnational History

Simon Avenell (Austalian National University) simon.avenell@anu.edu.au

The 1960s and 1970s mark the beginning of an intensive phase of Japanese civic engagement in the Asian region. Beginning with the anti-Vietnam War movement and expanding into initiatives for the environment, human rights, peace, and development, this generation of activists and NGOs began to grapple with a new range of global issues in multiple mobilizations throughout Asia. Scholarship to date has meticulously examined Japan's postwar political and economic reengagement with Asia yet we still know very little about this history of Japanese grassroots involvements in the region and even less about the impact of such interactions on the activists and groups involved. This presentation examines the rich tapestry of Japanese movements and NGOs active in Asia from the 1960s onward and the ways these initiatives opened the door to new and progressive regionalist visions previously unimaginable in postwar Japanese civil society. The presentation shows how the Asian region served as both a medium and a platform for a new generation of Japanese NGOs to embrace the agendas of an emergent global civil society. Activism in Asia became a primary conduit for engaging with the "shock of the global" and for imagining new forms of "grassroots globalization." Explaining the evolution of Japanese civil society in recent decades requires consideration of these new movements in Asia and their pursuit of the new global agendas.

Paper 3

Strategic Theory and Xi Jinping's Taiwan Test

Lauren Dickey (King's College London / National University of Singapore) lauren.dickey@kcl.ac.uk

Whether Xi Jinping will pursue reunification with Taiwan presents a serious challenge for scholars and policy practitioners alike. A major concern is how reunification will ultimately occur, be it through peaceful negotiations and gradual integration or through the use of military force. But is reunification still an option, or is Xi's pursuit of a steadfast goal of the CCP too little, too late? This paper will utilise a framework of strategic theory – a set of purposive assumptions first delineated in the work of economist Thomas Schelling – to examine how the concepts, resources, and objectives of Chinese strategy toward Taiwan align. A theory of strategy has never explicitly been used by cross-Strait experts in examining the trajectory of relations; instead, scholars tend to conflate strategic *culture* and strategic theory, asserting instead that there are certain culture-specific attitudes and beliefs that shape Chinese posture on the resolution of the Taiwan issue. Strategic culture, while useful, is subjective and sticky such that goals of peaceful development, economic stability, and military modernization are something that many countries (not just China) share. Thus, instead, this paper will rely upon strategic theory to offer analytical rigor and a basis to purport an existence of four core themes in the Chinese strategic tradition toward Taiwan: constitutional, political, geoeconomic, and military instruments. These elements have been consistently present throughout the contemporary history of Chinese strategy on Taiwan and are taking shaping under the Xi administration. This paper will thus develop an understanding of strategic theory and the cross-Strait relationship as well as the four strategic themes of the historical Chinese strategic tradition. Future work will comprise an assessment of how Xi's Taiwan strategy has utilized each instrument and its contribution to the dual goals of reunification and rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

Paper 4

David against Goliath: How a small village on Jeju Island in South Korea became a centre of the peace movement in East Asia

Jeong Im Hyun (University of Turku) hyunjeongim@hotmail.com

Since 2007, some 700 residents of the small village of Gangjeong on Jeju Island have been struggling against construction of a United States' naval base. No one, not the even village residents, thought the struggle would last so long: it seemed lost in

advance. Their competitors were the Korean government, the US Navy and major construction companies: they have power and capital. Despite being only David, the Gangjeong people have already won: not only they rose up to defy "Goliath", but also the resistance is still ongoing after 9 years.

The main question of this research is how a small community without many resources succeeded in maintaining the movement for a long period of time and became one of the important centre of the peace movement in East Asia. I conducted in-depth interviews and participate observations on June 2015 in Gangjeong. My analysis will focus on the dynamics of the roles of three different types of actors in the place (native residents, activists and catholic religious), as they are bringing resources: material, non-material, creating frame of meaning for the movement and mobilizing people: nationally, internationally. Catholic religious actions are quite particular here: by celebrating 'street-mass' every day with parishioners in front of constructing site, they are creating 'protesting sanctuary' not only for actors but also 'common people'.

Panel 3

Family, Marriage, and Singlehood in East Asia

Paper 1

Homogamy or Hypergamy? Status Differential and Marital Satisfaction among Foreign Brides in Korea

Paul Chang (Harvard University) paulchang@fas.harvard.edu

In this study we examine the relationship between socioeconomic status differential and marital satisfaction among foreign-born wives in Korea. The extant literature on assortative mating, or homogamy, suggests that people are more likely to marry those who are similar to them on key dimensions (e.g., education, religion, income, culture) and that to the extent they do, they are happier in marriage. Research on international marriage, on the other hand, focuses on the notion of hypergamy (i.e., “marrying up”) and its implications. Are people who marry similar others happier than those who marry up, or vice versa? We seek to answer this question by turning our analytic attention to a relatively novel context: interracial unions between native Korean men and foreign brides. Supporting the hypergamy perspective, results from multilevel logistic regression analysis of the National Survey of Multicultural Families (2009) show that greater improvements in status are positively related to marital satisfaction. Second, and more interestingly, the analysis also shows that women who experience status differential in either direction (i.e., move up or down) are significantly less satisfied than those who do not undergo such change in family socioeconomic standing, a finding that substantiates the homogamy argument. We complement the quantitative analysis with in-depth qualitative interview data to tease out these seemingly contradictory results and offer explanations that have relevant theoretical lessons for the study of cross-border marriage, in particular, and sociology of marriage more generally.

Paper 2

Global family disputes re-entering the domestic intimate sphere: The resurgence of joint-parenting of the separated family against ‘traditional’ family values in contemporary Japan

Takeshi Hamano (The University of Kitakyushu) hamano@kitakyu-u.ac.jp

The traditional idea of the modern East Asian family has been transformed in the age of globalisation and represents a meeting point between Asia and the West. Japan is by no means exempt from this shift and trend. Currently, the general idea of the Japanese family (and parenting style in particular) has been contested, influenced by the high number of family disputes related to the separation of parenting duties and the breakdowns seen with the increasing number of cross-border marriages and couples. This has resulted in different facets appearing in unsolved family issues at the transnational level, such as conflicts between cultures, legal frameworks, and politics, with those family issues often being highlighted in the extreme cases of international child abduction by parents who are Japanese nationals and reside overseas. Continued foreign pressures, as well as diplomatic debates, have meant that those issues have been reframed as Japanese issues within the intimate sphere (of the abducted child), and moves beyond cultural concerns at the international level. Japan conflicts between The Hague Convention on the International Child Abduction in April 2014 was a result of dealing with these transnational family disputes beyond national structures. Interestingly, the process of establishment of a resolution to address the increasing number of transnational family disputes has recently been appropriated in the claims of a number of domestic parents (and their activist groups) who are suffering from sharing joint custody of their children after divorce. This is due to the principle of solo custody after divorce is represented in family law and the juridical mediation system. This paper aims to examine the ongoing process in which the progress of structurally addressing transnational family disputes unintentionally encouraged other parents to confront their domestic issues in the face of notions of traditional families in Japan. By exploring the texts and actual voices of the participants of the study, the paper demonstrates how transnational incidents perform a meditational role in transforming the formals how transnational incidents archs in which the progress of of the family in East Asia today.

Panel 4

New perspectives on the Japanese colonial period in Korean history

Paper 1

Baby Welfare, Leprosy and Mental Illness: Australian Medical Volunteerism in Modern Korea (1902-1941)

David William Kim (Australian National University) davidwj_kim@yahoo.co.uk

Modern Korea witnessed a historical transition from the monarchy era of the Korean Empire (1897-1910) to the colonial reign of the Japanese Empire (1910-1945). During this time, over seventy Australian men and women voluntarily came to the Korean peninsula and dedicated their lives to the local enlightenment of the Kyōngnam province. While the colonial policy of modernisation was gradually harsh, the liberal ideology of Australian workers under the spirit of Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) emitted a glow in the traditional Confucian nation. Regional improvements of education, health and culture were the main concerns as they made developments for the less privileged people of the society, including women and children. Among them, how did they involve the public health of Korea? What was their strategy to improve the local health in Kyōngnam province? What was their impact on the modernisation of Korean medical science? Considering testimonial sources of official correspondences, personal diaries, local and international newspapers, original publications, and diplomatic documents, this paper will not only explore the historical development of the regional health in the context of Korean renaissance but will also argue that the initiation of practicing the modern medical and health technology positively challenged the traditional concepts of sickness and treatment, especially for baby welfare, leprosy and mental illness.

Paper 2

Translating the Ideal Figure as a Christian Young Man in Colonial Korea

Hanna Chong (Yonsei University) librian@naver.com

This paper focuses on the “Biography of George Williams” published serially in “Kidok Ch’ōng-nyōn (The Christian Young Man)”, the main publication channel of Korean YMCA in Tokyo in the late 1910s. It aims to investigate the social-cultural meaning of translating biographies, and to provide an alternative view on youth community in colonial Korea through the frame of religion.

The translator of “Biography of George Williams” was Namhoon Baek, one of the major figures of Korean YMCA in Tokyo. Baek translated selected passages from *The Life of Sir George Williams: founder of the Young Men's Christian Association*. This paper pays critical attention to the translated text in two aspects; first, it will explore the cultural context of biographies. Western biographies, such as Napoleon or Bismarck, were enthusiastically translated in 1900s to represent the ideal character of the modern to Koreans. Young Korean intellectuals, who were involved in Korean YMCA in Tokyo, had grown up reading those biographies. Questions at stake are: Why did they pay attention to George Williams who seems to be relatively ordinary? How did they describe George Williams as a great man in the translated text? Answering these questions will lead us to consider the meaning of Christianity in Korean youth community. Second, by comparing the original text, written in English, and the translated text in Korean, it will reveal which parts were added or deleted from the original text to analyze the desires of the translator and readers. It is crucial to note that the translated text tends to emphasize the similarity between Korean society and English society; therefore Korea could be linked to the Western society in a direct way. This could be seen as one way of erasing the Empire of Japan, which was often considered as a mediator between colonial Korea and the Western. It can be read as the desires to overcome the Empire of Japan-colonial Korea frame. In conclusion, the paper argues that Christianity is appropriated to criticize the reality of colonial Korea.

Paper 3

Political economy of public cemeteries in colonial capital Seoul 1910-1945

Hyang A Lee (University of Cambridge) lee.hyanga@gmail.com

This paper traces capitalist urbanisation process in colonial Seoul through transformation of public cemeteries, created by Japanese colonial government. The Government General Korea proclaimed the burial rules in 1912, the first modern law in its kind to control the dead in the state-realm. The kernel of the 1912 burial rules was to prohibit long-standing interment custom such as feng-shui based private burying grounds and to make public cemeteries as the only place for interment. The rules were ones of the governing strategies in the ways which controlled and transformed Korean's habitus and aimed efficient land use throughout the country.

Since public cemeteries were first introduced by the 1912 burial rules, they have gone through transformation of functions and meanings throughout colonial period. This paper argues, to certain extent, their transformation mutually constituted to capitalist urbanisation of colonial Seoul at three stages. First, public cemeteries just outside of Seoul functioned primary and informal settlement for rural migrant urban poor, who would be reserved for cheap urban labourers. Second, before and after extension of Seoul limits in 1936, colonial government kept selling public cemeteries inside of Seoul. The sales of public cemeteries contributed to budget-constrained colonial government with its initiatives on implementation of urban planning by providing financial and spatial resources. At this stage, public cemeteries became ‘colonial urban primitive accumulation’ for capitalist urban development. Lastly, being removed function of burying grounds, sold and cleared public cemeteries turned into the most capitalist space by providing housings for newly created urban middle class. In sum, public cemeteries kept transformed their values from space for the dead to space for urban poor and to spatial capital, public cemeteries interlocked with capitalist urban development in colonial Seoul.

Paper 4

South Korean Blockbusters and a Colonial History

Hyunseon Lee (SOAS University of London) hs53@soas.ac.uk

In my paper I will explore the ways colonial history is performed in the recent South Korean cinema. Independent art house cinema seems to be concerned with remembering uncomfortable moments in history. South Korean blockbusters often draw attention to national history, particularly forgotten history. However, while the former mostly remain unpopular despite the positive responses of film critics towards films such as those by Kim Ki-duk, blockbusters dealing with Korean history not only enjoy huge box office appeal, with audiences of millions, but also international success, both in film festivals and global markets. The blockbuster itself is a new phenomenon in Korean cinema, and its most interesting characteristic can be seen in the engagement with or even enactment of historical events. Nationalism is not only a kind of filmic attitude but also an important factor in the popularity and success of blockbusters, as they focus on remembering, rewriting and archiving historical events. Why is the nation and its history such an interesting subject for Korean blockbusters? In which ways are these aspects depicted? How different are they from Hollywood blockbusters? In what sense can these films be considered as a kind of archive? In my paper these questions will be discussed, focusing on the recent films dealing with Japanese colonial history such as Kang Je-kyu's *My Way* (2011) and *Assassination* (2015) by Choi Dong-hoon.

Panel 5 East Asian Soundscape: popular music

Paper 1

When K-Pop and Kugak Meet: Popularizing P'ansori in Modern Korea

Anna Yates-Lu (SOAS University of London) 565875@soas.ac.uk

In recent years, there have been many publications on the Korean Wave and K-Pop (for example Howard 2006, Chua and Iwabuchi 2008, Korea Observer 43/3 (2012), Kim Youna 2013). Much less has been written on the intersections between this popular culture and kugak, Korean traditional music, although notable exceptions exist (e.g. Finchum-Sung 2009, Korean Studies Vol. 35 (2011)). The Korean government has often turned to the Korean Wave as an impulse for spreading traditional culture, an example being the Ministry of Culture's 'Creative Strategy for the Development of Traditional Culture' (2012). But what exactly happens to p'ansori and other traditional art forms in a contemporary Korea profoundly shaped by popular culture?

Having gone through waves of popularity in the past, p'ansori has returned to broadcasting in new, hybrid forms strongly influenced by K-Pop. P'ansori singer Park Aeri, for example, draws attention for performing on the KBS music variety show Immortal Song 2 (Bulhu ūi myōnggok), alongside her husband, the hip-hop dancer Poppin' Hyunjoon. On MBC Jeonju, a survival battle between master p'ansori singers (Kwangdaejeon – Pansori Masters' Battle), based on an audition show format, has just completed its fourth season. A film about p'ansori featuring idol group Miss A member Suzy was released in 2015 to mixed reviews. These and other examples demonstrate the pressures and opportunities that emerge for p'ansori practitioners in contemporary Korean society.

Drawing on a comparison with Harkness's 2014 description of Christian vocal music in Korea, this paper sheds light on the economic and social systems that define the p'ansori world, demonstrating how these are intimately linked to and affected by the Korean Wave, both within and outside Korea. Based on interviews gathered during recent fieldwork in Korea (September 2014 – March 2016), I offer an all-too-brief glance at Korean popular culture through the eyes of p'ansori practitioners, and how their perceptions of it affect their strategies for popularizing the genre that they prize.

Paper 2

The inflow and reception of Jazz in colonial Korea

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The Jazz was regarded as a part of 'Yangak' (western music) from the moment of being introduced to Korean consumers in the late of the 1920's. The reception of Jazz in colonial Korea could be said the revenue of world-wide trends. At the same time the jazz were placed at the top of the music field in terms of the hierarchy of taste. As the jazz began to be introduced into Korea, it functioned as the cultural coordinate of differentiation in generation, class and the educational attainment. This presentation aims at inquiring the phase and aspects in the reception of jazz and then how Korean consumers have adopted and enjoyed the jazz in accordance with their life style or cultural sophistication. In general, the jazz rooted into Korean music scene in three ways; to pursuit the origin of jazz, to consume the jazz to use for background music of dance hall and to create jazz song as a sub genre of Korean popular song.

The first trend could be found among them who were highly educated, kept the urban life style and worked in a professional field. The earnest attention to the origin of jazz were portrayed at times as highly-priced records, the books on the history of jazz, or an admiration for American jazz musicians.

The dance hall became a fully functioning the escape exit of the urban youth in the 1930's. Through depicting the passion and pleasure of night, the jazz could be accordance with the decadent atmosphere of the dance hall. In addition, the dance hall and jazz were obviously the turning point of generation divide.

The jazz song to be examined belong to the sub genre of Korean popular song and particularly consist of those songs derived from the western music. Even though the core melody and rhythm of jazz songs were drawn from the western music, the main interests of jazz songs were the picture of urban life and the portraits of urban youth. In other words, the jazz songs could be said to be an accurate reflection of the social condition of the time.

Paper 3

The East-Asian Grist to the Amis Tradition's Mill: K-pop, J-pop and Mando-pop in Suming Rupi's Music

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'Ziji de wenhua ziji jiu [We are responsible for safeguarding our own culture] (自己的文化自己救)! This quote, from a song by Suming Rupi, presents the determination of young Amis to revive their declining language and traditions. Suming is concerned by the invasion of 'foreign culture': venues for rituals and gatherings have become restaurants, then snooker rooms, then game rooms, and finally internet cafés. These shifts provide young Amis places to indulge in pop culture rather than maintaining spaces where they can learn their own traditions. In Suming, his 2010 eponymous album and its videos filmed in Atolan Township, Taiwan, Suming purposely uses Amis language and images of traditional costumes and dances, featuring teenagers from his hometown. At the same time, he embraces the essence of East Asian pop, namely, the vivid audio-visuals, hybridity, fancy dance and colourful outfits of K-pop, the traditionesque elements of J-pop, and the album concept of Mando-pop.

This research is based on an ethnographic case study, music analysis and literature review. I question the role of locally foreign but familiar East Asian elements, and the justification for their inclusion within a promotion of Amis music. I borrow the theory of language orientation (language-as-problem, language-as-right and language-as-resource; Ruiz 1984) to explore how the language of lyrics can be juxtaposed against modern music and video technology, non-traditional stylistic and idiomatic elements, and the

incorporation of Western instruments. My argument is that musicians such as Suming are experts in accessing and incorporating a diversity of musical resources, but that their concern for their land and peoples allow them to use these as a key for strengthening and sustaining tradition. In contrast, where cultural production lacks originality and is ignorant of cultural roots, it is inferior (after Lévi-Strauss 1978: 20). In other words, Suming's music is generated by an intention to sustain his people; it is a model of 'edutainment' – entertainment designed to teach something, contrasting the tourist-oriented 'airport art' (Kaepler 1977, 1979) and the consumer-oriented 'eatertainments' and 'shoppertainments' of the contemporary West (Howard 2012).

Paper 4

From Peking opera to contemporary forms of multimedia/digital theatre in China: the transnational body in performance

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Mei Lanfang, the most famous Chinese Peking actor, amazed the American stage in 1930 with his embodiment of grace and femininity, mediated by a set of skills and stylised movements, part of the long tradition of Chinese xiqu. Watching Mei Lanfang in Moscow in 1935, Brecht wrote important essays on alienation, referring back to Chinese traditional theatre. In a process of displacement and negotiation, the Chinese body on stage had inspired the political body of Western avant-gardes. Ninety years later, contemporary forms of theatre in China still employ the embodied language of Peking opera, yet this time combined with the use of video-projections and a multimedia/digital setting.

Influenced by forms of live-art installation, similarly to many contemporary theatre-makers from East-Asia and South-East Asia, Chinese emerging 'avant-garde' director, Wang Chong has made this combination of multimedia/digital elements on stage and Peking opera part of his trademark. But what do Peking opera and multimedia/digital theatre have in common?

Both exemplify a process of disembodiment, what Jo Riley, in regard to Mei, calls 'the dissected body', and the transformed mediated body of multimedia/digital theatrical practices. Furthermore, both bring the attention to a process of cultural negotiation, of intercultural exchange between Asian and Western theatrical languages and approaches. Similarly to Mei, Wang Chong's scope of his theatrical practices seeks to transcend national, cultural and artistic boundaries while working through paradoxes, the tensions between self-orientalization and innovation, between national assertion and international ambition.

It is in this context that this paper explores the process of disembodiment, and its implications, in contemporary Chinese theatrical practices, such as that of Wang Chong, and as rooted in the Chinese, and by and large Asian, theatrical heritage. The wider aim is to re-define the knowledge of the body and mechanisms of viewing the body in performance as a way to map the future of intercultural exchange, which can no longer be defined by terms such as intercultural theatre. I use here transnational theatre and transnational body because these better describe contemporary cultural and artistic negotiations as further complicated by the assertive presence of new technologies and digital media.

Panel 6

After Aum: Revisiting the Aum Affair Twenty Years On

Panel organizer: Rin Ushiyama (University of Cambridge) ru210@cam.ac.uk

Panel abstract:

The Aum Affair was a series of crimes committed by the new religious movement Aum Shinrikyō between the late-1980s to the mid-1990s, which culminated in the gassing of the Tokyo subway system in March 1995. While many existing works have focused on the causes of Aum's turn to violence, this panel explores the lasting impact of Aum Shinrikyō on Japanese culture from an interdisciplinary perspective, with the twentieth anniversary of the Tokyo attack in March 2015 as its primary reference point.

Cultural historian Mark Pendleton compares the memoirs of two of Aum leader Asahara Shōkō's daughters, exploring questions of gender, autobiographical writing, childhood trauma and the politics of terrorism in 21st century Japan. Religious Studies scholar Erica Baffelli focuses on women in Aum, who have often been dismissed as simply the lovers of male leaders, despite occupying three of the five most senior roles in the organisation. Baffelli rethinks the gendered politics of religious violence and how this is understood in contemporary debates around 'radicalization'. Finally, sociologist Rin Ushiyama studies the works of intellectuals Murakami Haruki and Mori Tatsuya and argues that dialogue can help to posit alternative interpretations of events to narratives which justify the social exclusion of perpetrators.

Paper 1

Cleaning bad karma: Women in Aum Shinrikyō

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Comparatively little attention to women who participated in radical religious and political movements has been paid in studies addressing issues related to religion and violence. Women participation is often discussed within the normative narratives of "exceptionality" of violence (Parashar 2010), as something "out of the ordinary" and "out of the norm". This approach is based on the assumption that women are more peaceful than men and less aggressive because they are supposed to be more nurturing and non-violent (Alison 2004). This paper discusses the role of women in Aum Shinrikyō, a millenarian movement that perpetrated a sarin gas attack in Tokyo subway in 1995 and several other crimes. To date, the role of women in Aum - who are often dismissed in media accounts about the group as Asahara (the group leader)'s lovers - has been overlooked, although three out of five senior disciples in the group were female. Furthermore recent publications by ex-Aum members, as well as interviews with ex-members, suggest that some female members played a crucial role in conceptualization and justification of violence. In addition female ex-members seem to be facing more marginalization than male members in the aftermath of the Aum affair. The analysis of Aum members' experiences offers an important perspective to challenge both previous interpretation of charismatic authority in Aum Shinrikyō and also normative definitions and current approaches to "radicalization".

Paper 2

Writing Gendered Victimhood: Reading the memoirs of Asahara's daughters

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Media representations of female Aum Shinrikyō members since the events of 1995 have tended to be shaped by three dominant tropes: the irresponsible wife/mother (often associated with the figures of Matsumoto Tomoko and Ishii Hisako); the dangerous (terrorist) beauty (Ishii again, along with Katō Tomoko and Miyakozawa Kazuko); and the contaminated girl. In this paper, I focus on the third of these tropes, and in particular the ways in which this manifested in the lives and writings of two of Aum leader Asahara Shōkō's daughters.

Matsumoto Satoka and Matsumoto Rika have both published memoirs over the last six years that explore their lives in the lead-up to the events of 1995 and in the decades since. Their identities as Asahara's daughters have had profound effects on both of their lives, including struggles to access rights to education and experiences of bullying. These experiences are common to many former Aum associates, but are particularly associated with Asahara's daughters. They also have difficult and shifting relationships with their families, and in particular their father. This is indicated in the contrast between Satoka's despairing memoir title 'Why was I born the daughter of Asahara Shōkō' and Rika's (so far) futile attempts to have her father's death sentence reconsidered in the light of his seriously unwell mental state.

In reading these memoirs I draw out greater resonances beyond the particular experiences of two young women, in particular around contemporary issues of girlhood, childhood trauma, historical memory, and the politics of terrorism in 21st century Japan.

Paper 3

Cultural trauma and dialogical intellectuals: the works of Murakami Haruki and Mori Tatsuya in the context of the Aum Affair

Rin Ushiyama (University of Cambridge)

This paper situates the Aum Affair as an instance of 'cultural trauma', a highly disruptive event which threatens collective identity, and studies the role of public intellectuals as carriers of trauma who shape public memories of historical events. It offers a dichotomy of between 'authoritative intellectuals', who draw on their privileged parcours and status to impose a monological narrative, and 'dialogical intellectuals', who engage in dialogue with local actors to produce polyphonic and open-ended narratives, and situates the works of Murakami and Mori as exemplars of the latter type of intellectuals.

It analyses how both Murakami and Mori's works challenged authoritative narratives (mainly propounded by anti-cult activists and intellectuals) of Aum Shinrikyō as a brainwashing death cult through an incorporation of the experiences of local actors into their interpretation of the Aum Affair. Murakami's two-volume *Underground* series engaged with victims of the Tokyo gas attack as well as ex-believers through interviews. Mori Tatsuya's two documentary films *A* and *A2*, as well as his collection of essays *A3*, challenged the one-sided representation of Aum Shinrikyō as a dangerous brainwashing cult by directly engaging with current and former believers.

This paper assesses the relative impact of such dialogical works on national memories of the Aum Affair, and discusses the significance of their works with respect to Murakami and Mori's more recent intellectual interventions. It highlights Murakami's notion of intellectual commitment as siding with ordinary people, as seen in his acceptance speech for the 2009 Jerusalem Prize. It also locates the significance of exchange of dialogue as a potential antidote to Japan's 'collectivization' (*shūdanka*), a process Mori warned of in his interventions marking the twentieth anniversary of the Tokyo attack.

Panel 7 Queering Korean Culture: Identity, History and Transnationalism

Panel abstract:

Almost thirty years after the inauguration of an activist LGBT+ community in South Korea, queer studies has found recognition as an important set of analytical tools within Korean studies. This panel builds on the momentum of recent scholarship that has profitably employed these tools to examine Korean culture. Examining Kim Hyena's novel, "Junk," Allan Simpson draws on the concept of 'queer unwanted' to understand LGBT+ subjectivities in an age of homonormativity—as new legal rights have worked to normalise queer experiences and bring once radical identities in line with nationalism and gendered dichotomies. Simpson reads Kim's novel as an index for understanding the radical possibilities of queerness not yet abandoned in South Korea. JaeWook Ryu looks at the film "A Frozen Flower", a revisionist film set in the Goryeo dynasty before Neo-Confucianism so thoroughly institutionalizes patriarchal gender relations in the Yi dynasty. Ryu argues that the queer gaze of "A Frozen Flower" works to underscore the role of state support in the formation of gender and sexuality. Samuel Perry turns to an originative moment of modern Korean queerness, when Japanese sexological and Korean popular discourses merged to fabricate an enduring figure of the Korean mediascape: the same-sex desiring schoolgirl. Perry sets fictional and journalistic narratives about schoolgirl intimacy in the historical context of colonial modernity. If queer studies works to create an awareness of non-normative sexual identities as historically constructed, it also highlights the unease that often rests at the heart of heteronormative representation. Eugene Lee's paper draws on this alternative analytical impulse to interrogate the construction of masculinity and otherness in travelogues produced in the Yi dynasty.

Scrutinising the ways travellers deployed normative constructions of sexuality and gender to represent their encounters with the Chinese 'other', Lee asks how these writers produced historically specific frameworks of knowledge that simultaneously perpetuated and undermined practices rooted in Confucian-based heteronormativity. All papers share in common the effort to historicise constructions of gender and sexuality in specific moments of Korean history while overlapping with JEAS conference themes in their focus on queer identity, history and the transnational flows of culture.

Paper 1

The 'Queer Unwanted' and 'Junkification' in Kim Hyena's 2012 Novel <정크> ('Junk')

Allan Simpson (SOAS, University of London) allansimpson@gmail.com

Queer characters in contemporary South Korean literature are seldom discussed. Especially with the burgeoning LGBT+ rights activism and visibility—the 2015 Korea Queer Culture Festival being a recent and spectacular example—the often overlooked chasm created between the queer and the homonormative widens, while myriad associations, definitions and identifications of 'queer' and 'LGBT' become blurred. With real, current, political demands for legal implementation of gay rights and establishment of gay marriage in South Korea, as well as increased progressions in university, workplace, and government representations, the push for 'equality' inevitably becomes one of hetero-approved rights and recognitions, encouraging homonormativity and homonormative agenda. This paper asks such questions as: What happens to the queer? How do the new marginalised—those who do not/cannot fit into the homonormative ideal—survive? What rights do they have? And how are the spaces they inhabit and the practices they engage in affected? Kim Hyena is an excellent example of a contemporary writer who presents to us representations of South Korea's queers and, in her novel <정크>, the 'queer unwanted'. Borrowing from the 'queer unwanted' theoretical discourse of David Bell, Jon Binnie, Judith Butler, as well as non-Western writing such as that of Ben Murtagh, Seo Dongjin, and comparative South Korean studies, this paper seeks also to consider Kim Hyena's 'junkification'—that is, presenting subjects in all their queer and realistic grit, graphically subjecting the reader to experience all their levels of societal marginalisation. In the realistic urban world that Kim Hyena's queer characters inhabit, their existence is without such entitlements as gay rights, yet they exist also without homonormative desire. This paper aims to discuss Kim Hyena's junkification as a device for the queer unwanted to ultimately achieve a queer self-identification and absolute acceptance, independent of hetero- or homonormative influence.

Paper 2

A Frozen Flower (2008): Inverting the Enforcement of Gender Conformity in Korea

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The Korean mainstream film industry normally limits the representation of gender to ensure that it conforms with two social norms: heteronormativity and hyper-masculinity. The social construction of masculinity, in particular, exerts a strong influence on Korean politics, economics, culture, and education, and the film industry is no exception. In this paper I argue that the film *A Frozen Flower*, however, offers a radical departure from the Korean mainstream film industry by challenging the heteronormativity and hyper-masculinity rooted in so-called traditional gender values. When the film *A Frozen Flower* appeared in 2008, it represented homosexual love and behaviour that the Korean mainstream film market had never portrayed before, for its story was based on the actual history of homosexual practice at the end of the Goryeo dynasty. The Goryeo dynasty preceded the 500-year long Chosŏn dynasty which was responsible for institutionalizing the kind of patriarchal neo-Confucianism that has continued to play a role in the social construction of gender relations today. This earlier Goryeo dynasty was thus a time when the social position between male and female was relatively equal.

What *A Frozen Flower* does is to reveal how gender construction is largely mediated by the dominant power. Unlike other queer films, *A Frozen Flower* manages to invert gender relations by virtue of its setting in the Goryeo dynasty, where it positions homosexuality as the dominant gender power. By inverting homosexuality and heterosexuality, the

film thus helps to expose and underscore how gender is socially determined. In drawing on the example of a very different historical moment—one not rooted in Confucianism—it shows us how gender is controlled and restricted by the dominant ideological state apparatus. By analysing the changes in gender identity of different characters in *A Frozen Flower*, I explore in this paper how masculinity in particular plays a role in the construction of gender identity in Korea. The film itself helps to show how Korean gendered society today is articulated in relation to dominant gender relationships, heteronormativity, and the display of hyper-masculinity.

Paper 3

Between Perversity and 'Good Practice': Same-sex Schoolgirl Intimacy in Korean Literature

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The representation of same-sex love amongst schoolgirls in colonial Korea coalesced at the intersection of competing discourses on sexology, social development, and the modern girl. Eroticized in the titillating language of male journalists, presented as liberated subjects of their own sexual autonomy, and confined at the same time to that period of transition normally referred to as adolescence, the figure of the same-sex desiring schoolgirl was just as overdetermined as that of the 'modern girl' and of the 'new woman,' the broader umbrella categories of female subjectivity that managed to capture the imagination of the mass media in the 1920s and 1930 as it attempted to make sense of the antinomies of colonial modernity via the bodies of young women. What were the contours of this discourse on schoolgirl intimacy in colonial Korea, and how did popular and medical discourses—often originating in Japan—help to give it shape in the heteronormative milieu of mid-colonial mass culture? How did this discourse change after WWII in the wake of South Korean 'liberation' and how did it continue to draw on established narratives? Looking at works by Ko Pom, Yi Kwangsu, Ch'oe Ch'ong-hui and others, this paper looks at several works of journalism and fiction produced during and shortly after the colonial period to examine the representation of same-sex love as a tightly contained discourse, bound by prevailing notions of nation, gender and class.

Paper 4

"Queering Chosŏn Travel: Bodies, Transgressions, and Male Friendship in the *Yŏnhaengnok*"

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Throughout the Chosŏn period, in ideology and in practice, foreign travel and "serious" literary production belonged to the domain of men. Men traveled abroad, conducted foreign diplomacy and trade, and wrote histories, treatises, and poetry in literary Chinese (*hanmun*), whereas women stayed at home, attended to domestic matters of the private household, and read fiction and didactic manuals in vernacular Korean (*han'gŭl*). Ironically, however, a specific corpus of writings produced by these heteronormative, Confucian-driven circumstances—male travel accounts of Qing China more commonly known as *yŏnhaengnok*—offers us glimpses of a more complex and fluid understanding of corporeality, gender, and sexuality than would seem typical of the class of high-minded *yangban* to which the authors belonged. *Yŏnhaengnok* authors wrote about female and male bodies, indecent behaviors, and desire; some did so in more detail or more frequently in their work than others, but the fact that they discussed these subjects at all is striking and highly unusual for a Chosŏn discourse purporting to be non-fictional, informative, and far from frivolous.

In this paper, I explore how and how far queering the heterosexuality, that is, the presupposed masculinity, of Chosŏn travelers to Qing China might further our understanding of the role of gender and sexuality in Chosŏn-Qing encounters. By queering I do not mean speculating about any of the travelers' sexual orientation, but rather paying close attention to the ways in which the travelers have deployed gender norms and normative sexuality to represent their encounters with the Chinese Other; I am interested in how these, in turn, work to produce knowledge that may perpetuate, challenge, or complicate heteronormative structures and relationships. The greater part of this paper focuses on Hong Taeyong (1731-1783), who produced both a *hanmun* and a *han'gŭl* account of his journey to Beijing, and considers his impact on the development of the *yŏnhaengnok* into an immensely popular yet potentially subversive genre within the Korean literary tradition.

Panel 8

Geopolitics in East Asia: Cross-border Conflicts and Cooperation

Paper 1

Transboundary Water Management in the Tumen River - Focus on the Greater Tumen Initiative

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This study aims to evaluate the development of transboundary water management in the Tumen River Basin with special reference to the Greater Tumen Initiative (GTI) since 2005. Special attention is paid to not only the three riparian countries, North Korea, China and Russia but also the neighboring countries, South Korea, Japan, and Mongolia. The Tumen River serves as the border between the riparian countries and provides water for the agricultural sector and industrial development together with a high degree of biodiversity. Abundant natural resources including oil, gas, and minerals are available in the region, and thanks to the strategic position, the river can function as transport hub through railways, roads, and sea routes towards South Korea, Japan and Mongolia. UNDP embarked on the Tumen River Area Development (TRADP) in 1991 to promote trade for socio-economic development, which was later renamed as the Greater Tumen Initiative (GTI) in 2005. Since then, GTI has contributed to promote economic cooperation in the Greater Tumen Region accommodating the riparian countries as well as South Korea and Mongolia as the member countries. Various tensions have been identified in the river basin, i.e. China's discontent on North Korea's unilateral use of upstream water and Russia's complaints of North Korea and China about water pollution. In addition, GTI encompasses a series of challenges, including the ownership issue, a lack of clear long-term vision, inadequate funding, non-participation of North Korea and Japan, and a lack of non-state actors' involvement in decision making. The key to rekindling the commitment of the countries in the region depends on how to prioritize tailor-made socio-economic development and environmental protection projects. Collective efforts to achieve sustainable development in the region will pave the way for the success of GTI as well as the prosperity of the region in the long-term.

Paper 2

The Crisis of Internationalism: 15th International Conference of the Red Cross in Tokyo, 1934

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This project explores the involvement of the Japanese Red Cross Society (JRCS) in the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement in the interwar period. Most historiographies of the Red Cross have been dominated by a West-centred narrative of humanitarianism. However, an epistemological framework of Japanese humanitarian activities in the 1930s was temporally and spatially far beyond our traditional historical discourse. In 1934, the JRCS hosted the 15th International Conference of the Red Cross in Tokyo. The conference was the first Red Cross International Congress in Asia after the beginning of modern nation state building. The JRCS invited forty-five representatives from a range of nations and regions, such as Afghanistan, South Africa, and Latin America, while it invited fifty-five representatives of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. In addition, a number of organisations, such as the League of Nations, and the Boy Scouts, were invited. The total number of participants was 319. The conference was one of the largest scale meetings in the interwar period. While nationalism was radicalised, and Japan announced its withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933, the JRCS secured support of both the government and business industries in Japan, while it collaborated with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which was initiated by the President of the JRCS, Tokugawa Iesato (the 16th head of the Tokugawa Family). The Tokyo Declaration was adopted to the Geneva Convention. The resolution emphasised the importance of the protection of non-combatants from chemical and biological weapons, establishing a legal basis for protecting civilians from aerial warfare, and concerned the security of non-combatants of opposed nations residing in territories of belligerents. This study will analyse to what extent the 15th International Conference of the Red Cross of 1934 in Tokyo imposed the discourses of the crisis of humanitarianism and Wilsonian internationalism during the period of colonialism and imperialism, and will re-explore the history of the humanitarian organisation through the lens of 'humanitarianism' with the aim being to recover the voices of aid workers.

Paper 3

The Long Path of Resistance: Comparative Case Studies of US Force Realignment in East Asia

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The stability of East Asia has been maintained partly by the military presence of the United States; meanwhile, the footprint it has in the region sometimes becomes a wedge between the US and its allies. Japan and South Korea, although close allies of the US, have bitter memories of this footprint. Considering the deteriorating relationship between US forces and local communities, the US had earlier agreed to return two bases in Seoul and Okinawa to the host governments. Yongsan Army Garrison is scheduled for relocation to south of Seoul near Pyongtaek. Marine Corps Air Station Futenma is scheduled to move to the north of the island. Yet, both facilities have remained unchanged and fully operational for about two decades. These are unique cases because the United States has closed its bases overseas within a couple of years of concluding an agreement with host countries. Some scholars on base politics highlight that the two host countries have established credible political institutions, which consolidates US deployments in those countries. It is puzzling that they are having difficulty in accommodating the relocation projects. This paper examines why it has taken so long to close the two US military bases and considers what the delay means for the US alliances with South Korea and Japan. This paper compares similarities and differences of the development of the two relocation issues by exploring from several aspects: the sequence of events, changes in the contents of agreements, cost sharing and the handling of local protests against the relocation projects. It then observes what has hindered the relocation processes. It argues that the Japanese government lacks political support, especially from the local community shown in

the lukewarm cooperation of Okinawan governors as well as continuous protests. On the other hand, the Korean government managed to weather anti-base expansion protests but other technical issues have impeded relocation. This paper concludes by pointing out that persistence on the agreed relocation plans without national support could only erode the respective central government's credibility.

Paper 4

Why Domestic Groups Matter in the Sino-Japanese Island Disputes

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While Sino-Japanese confrontations in the East China Sea have been well- documented and researched, the discourse is framed with states as the prime actors that make the relevant decisions and actions. The activities and contribution of domestic groups such as activists, right wing nationalists, ordinary fishermen and local politicians with their constituents have been largely under-analyzed despite recent events that highlight their importance and agency. This paper examines the role of domestic groups and the effect of their actions in the contest for territory between states. It analyzes and compares three key events in the Sino-Japanese island disputes; first, in 2004, when Chinese activists landed on islands, second, in 2010, when a Chinese trawler collided with a Japanese Coast Guard vessel, and third, in 2012 when a Tokyo governor attempted to purchase some disputed islands. All three incidences led to a diplomatic crisis between the Japanese and Chinese state and to surprising foreign policy decisions such as the quick return of the arrested activists in 2004, the Chinese ban on rare earths export to Japan in 2010 and the Japanese nationalization of the disputed islands in 2012. A key finding is that domestic groups act as triggers to confrontations between states through their activities which support their home state's claim (i.e. island landings/visits, fishing in nearby waters, and even plans for habitation and development). In pursuit of such activities, they change the status quo. They have the demonstrated ability to constrain state actions and affect official policy under certain conditions, including but not limited to domestic mobilization of critical mass of the public, linkage to other politically volatile issues, the distribution and accumulation of power by the ruling elites, etc. These factors combined can amplify a domestic actor's influence within the state and the international order at large. Thus, domestic groups are an important element and may even hold the key to the stabilization and eventual resolution of the East China Sea island disputes.

Panel 9

New Women in the aging East Asia

Paper 1

Doing Ethnographic Research among Older Women in Urban China

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Plaza dance (Guangchangwu, a kind of collective dance in public areas, such as parks, plazas, etc.) has been one of the most popular leisure activities among Chinese older women in today's China. Many younger generations make complaints about it owing to its loud music and older women's dominance in communal areas, which leads to some biased images of Chinese older women and intergenerational misunderstanding. Although there is increasing media exposure of older women (known as 'damas') and plaza dance, few damas' life stories and opinions can be heard, which reveals the need to explore the living conditions of today's Chinese older women and hear their own stories. This paper focuses on the gendered experiences of conducting a three-month participant-observation of plaza dance and thirty semi-structured interviews with middle-aged and older women in urban China. As many Chinese older people emphasise caution and pretence in their later lives and they tend to adopt strategies such as 'conflict avoidance by retreat', 'maintenance of values' to tackle the challenges in the transitional Chinese society (Boermel, 2008), how to ensure the quality of data when I carried out ethnography in the field became an essential issue. Based on my three-month fieldwork in Nanjing, the capital city of Jiangsu Province, this paper explores how I, as a young feminist researcher, managed my emotions and varied roles through 'deep acting' when I danced with Chinese older women and had in-depth conversations with them. I am also going to examine how 'woman-interviewing-woman' fit into the wider picture of gender/age hierarchies and intergenerational relations in today's Chinese socioculture landscape.

Paper 2

Low Fertility, Demographic Change, and Local Biologies of "Ovarian Ageing" in Contemporary Japan

Chigusa Yamaura (University of Oxford) chigusa.yamaura@wolfson.ox.ac.uk

Fertility is a highly salient issue in contemporary Japan. The Japanese state and media have decried the declining national birth rate as a problem threatening the very viability of the Japanese nation. In addition to social and economic factors, the greater numbers of Japanese women marrying and having children later in life are also cited as causes for Japan's demographic woes.

Corresponding to this, there has been an increase in the number of voices in Japanese society warning against late childbirth. In particular, a new discourse about "ageing ova" has recently gained in prominence, warning childless women to act before it becomes too late for them to bear children. For instance, in 2012 a national TV program cautioned viewers that regardless how young and healthy a woman might look, her ova are still ageing. Ignorant of this, it continued, many women delay pregnancy until after thirty-five and face infertility, miscarriage, or infants with chromosomal abnormalities. Moreover, in 2015, the Japanese government decided to distribute new high school textbooks stressing the problem of infertility and clarifying the "appropriate reproductive age" (a woman's twenties, according to the textbooks).

Certainly, reproduction has its biological clock; women over the age of thirty-five do face increasing risks. The NHS website also notes the risks in pregnancies over the age of 35, but it states, "women should not be overly concerned..." The discourses of ovarian ageing in Japan, however, politicize and even pathologize women's biological clocks and seem aimed to provoke feelings of fear.

Examining how the Japanese media and other popular sources address the issues involved in late childbirth, this paper argues that the discourses we observe, particularly those of ovarian ageing, do not simply reflect biological facts. Rather, they are shaped by what Margret Lock calls "local biologies" (1994) in which gender and cultural norms and values influence medical knowledge. Moreover, I further argue that such local biologies transform within shifting demographic trends. Precisely, this paper will explore how medical discourses of childbirth in post-capitalist Japan provide a window onto shifting social norms, values, and anxieties in a state facing demographic decline.

Paper 3

Damas: the emergence of a social category at the intersection of age, class and gender

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The year 2013 has seen the emergence of a new Chinese buzzword: dama (大妈), which will be the focus of my paper. Literally meaning "Big Mothers" in Chinese, the term is also sometimes translated as "Chinese Aunties" and roughly designate Chinese middle-age women characterized by their daily and leisure practices. Indeed, the term was initially made popular when the Wall-Street Journal used it to refer to the gold-craze of Chinese middle-age women, when gold prices plunged during the 2013 crisis. In the following years, it quickly became associated with other sorts of practices, such as square dancing (广场舞), with the term "dancing grannies" (广场舞大妈). This paper will show that dama can be understood as a new category of ageing in contemporary China, as it has the specificity to describe a group of people characterized not only by their age but also by their generational, gender and class belonging.

Relying firstly on media reports, the paper will review the recent genealogy of this term, by examining the contexts it was embedded in, as well as the variety of meanings related to it: how did the meaning of dama evolve from designating middle-age gold-buyers to a generation of women? I will then explain how this word can be understood as a new age-related category in the general context of population aging and retirement of the first generation of mothers of only-children.

Indeed, ways to describe old age evolve in time, and categories of aging are socially and historically constructed: *dama* is such a word which appear to designate middle-age women in a very specific context. I will finally examine how such categories are assimilated by Chinese middle-aged women themselves, and made into an identity to be proud of. Taking the example of a recently famous web-show called “Beijing *dama* has something to say” (北京大妈有话说), we will see how these videos, extremely popular among young middle-aged women, reveals new tendencies of age-related identifications in contemporary aging China.

Paper 4

Dancing Ballet with an Ageing Body

Sayako Ono (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies), ono385@gmail.com

In Japan's ageing population, many people are concerned about their health and their body's condition. In particular, going to the gym has seen a recent boom amongst elderly women, and according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (2012), the elderly more than the young (and women more so than men) went to the gym most often. Similarly, more and more middle-aged and elderly women have recently begun dancing ballet; while only 20% of women in their 20s and 30s take part, an astounding 60% of middle-aged and elderly women in their late 40s to 60s are involved. Therefore, this paper explores why ballet, a Western performing art, has been taken up as a hobby by middle-aged and elderly Japanese women.

It is true that until the early 2000s it was unusual for elderly women to enjoy ballet as adult beginners. Dancing ballet had always been seen as a hobby for young girls to take up. Although since the 1990s some middle-aged beginners began dancing, until recently such activities had been popularly considered *mittomonai* (unseemly) by both older men and women because they are expected to conform to the *ryōsai kenbo* (good wives, wise mothers) ideology.

However, in today's ageing society elderly women have more economic power compared to previous generations, and it makes it more socially acceptable for them to express themselves through moving bodies. Moreover, Japanese ageing bodies do not always represent negative images unlike the West. In traditional Japanese arts, for example, ageing bodies are often considered more aesthetic (see Nakajima, 2011). Therefore, this paper highlights how the ageing population's socio-economic situation and Japanese notions of ageing bodies are related to middle-aged women's choice to practice ballet as a hobby.

Panel 10 Transcultural flows in premodern Korea and Japan

Paper 1 Recording or worshipping the Stars: Pictorial Practice in Creating Constellation Images in the Early Modern Korea

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In previous studies, astrology in pre-modern East Asia has been often distinguished between “portent” astrology, based on empirical observations of the sky, and “horoscopic” astrology, which was introduced from the West. Likewise, visual representations of the sky have been also distinguished according to this dichotomy: diagrams or graphic presentation such as star maps versus symbolic representations, as exemplified by tomb murals or Buddhist mandalas illustrating constellations. However, this dichotomy distorts our understanding of how celestial objects and their visual representations were perceived in the past, and so should be reconsidered.

My paper will examine the act of painting, which possesses its own tradition and logic, distinct from those of both religion and science, through a late fourteenth century- Buddhist painting, The Descent of Tejaprabha Buddha (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), and astronomical illustrations dating from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. The Descent of Tejaprabha Buddha is an interesting case in that it contains not only personified stellar deities but also constellation charts. The ways of depicting the sky and stellar objects here show that The Descent of Tejaprabha Buddha was not a perfect case of either “portent” astrology or “horoscopic” astrology according to the aforementioned distinction. Rather, the artist may have used various available models of constellation images, unrestricted by such conceptual distinctions.

Indeed, there has been a longstanding tradition of depicting constellations, not only in religious contexts, but also in secular or academic environments. For instance, an astronomical text entitled *Butiange* 步天歌, or “Song of pacing heaven,” published in Tang era China and reprinted in early Chosŏn Korea, includes illustrations of constellations. Ch’ŏnsang Yŏlch’a Punyajido 天象列次分野之圖, or “Chart of the Constellations and the Regions they Govern” (1395) is another example of contemporary constellation images that the artist may have referred to.

Through this material evidence, we may glimpse how people represented the celestial space and its objects. By observing the ways of drawing and arranging each constellation and asterism in each case, I will argue that the distinction between two different astrologies was not clear in the field of material culture, nor, indeed in terms of its concept itself.

Paper 2 A lonely cloud: A Thematic Overview of Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn’s Poems

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Names are important in the Sinitic cultural sphere. Besides a given name decided at birth, a literatus would have at least a courtesy name and a penname, which were freely chosen. These names indicated shifting literary fashions, as courtesy names and pennames alluded to authoritative texts and had registers in literary sources. Highly suggestive of the trends of the time and reflective of personal motivations, they compose an indispensable part of the identity of a literatus. Though Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn’s courtesy name and pennames are not agreed upon by all, available sources have all shown that “a lonely cloud” is used either in Ch’oe’s self-styled or procured names, which is a reliable suggestion of how Ch’oe imagined himself. This paper traces the origin of the poetic invocation of “a lonely cloud” to Tao Yuanming’s poem, “Odes to poor scholars,” in the *Wen Xuan*. I examine how this imagery as a signifier came to gather rich and diverse layers of meaning and was reworked into many poems by later literati for their own philosophical, religious, and aesthetic purposes. Among them, Ch’oe not only opted for “a lonely cloud” as one of his names, but Tao’s imagery of a lonely cloud also plays out as a prominent theme in his many poems. I argue that his inter-textual engagement with “a lonely cloud” points to a cosmopolitan engagement with the world and touches base with a reconfigured Confucianism relevant to Choe’s position as an official for Tang and Silla.

Paper 3 French Thought in China and Chinese Postmodernism

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This paper aims to examine the Chinese reception of French thought—especially poststructuralist theory—since the 1980s. A new wave of enthusiasm for Western theory and philosophy took place in post-Mao China, in which French existentialist and poststructuralist thought featured prominently, with Sartre, Barthes, Foucault, Beauvoir, and Derrida successively achieving cult status. This reception of French thought therefore played an important role in shaping Chinese postmodernism. Nevertheless, French thought was transmitted and appreciated via the crucial medium of translation, which is a prism of both interpretation and distortion. And as it happened, in certain important aspects, French theory was appreciated precisely because it was misunderstood in ways that suited the Chinese context. Here I consider specific examples such as Barthes and Chinese literary theory, Derrida and the misunderstanding about the ‘absence’ of Chinese philosophy, Baudrillard’s simulation theory and Chinese fiction. Through this examination, I will demonstrate that although the reception of French thought in China since the 1980s involved much misunderstanding and resulted in certain uncritical applications of French theory to Chinese literature, thought, and society, Chinese scholars saw this as much less problematic and deplorable as Western sinologists did. This is because, instead of seeing the rise of French theory in China as the reduction of Chinese studies to Western conceptual frameworks, the Chinese saw this as a cultural cannibalism that assimilated French thought to nourish Chinese culture. I will consider whether this is indeed a more helpful way to understand the French influence on Chinese postmodernism in my conclusion to this paper.

Paper 4

A study on The Interpretations of Taoteching during the Joseon Dynasty

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The purpose of this study is to examine the characteristics of five Joseon dynasty annotations of the Taoteching, a sutra of Taoism. The Joseon dynasty was a country that adopted Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism as its state ideology; as a result, Taoism and Buddhism were considered heresies. In studying Taoism of the Joseon dynasty, we face two different interpretations. One is byeokdobul -denouncing Buddhism and Taoism-, and the other is iyu seongno-understanding of the Taoteching through a Confucian perspective. The former reminds us of the status of heresy that Taoism held in the Joseon dynasty while the latter reminds us of the underestimated academic evaluation of Taoism.

Neo-Confucians understood and considered Taoism as black magic that abandoned ethical awareness and only pursued longevity. Despite the biased understanding of Taoism, five annotations of the Taoteching were published from the sixteenth to nineteenth century and many Confucian scholars wrote essays about the Taotechjing. Furthermore, this book was mentioned more than 100 times in the Joseon wangjo sillok -Annals of the Joseon Dynasty- and more than 1,500 times in literary works written during that period. This aspect cannot be explained by byeokdobul and iyu seongno. Thus, This research will provide an important tool for identifying the characteristics of Korean Taoteching, as well as other characteristics of Korean thought. Finally, I examine the inclusion of Korean Taoism in Joseon Dynasty.

Paper 5

Medicine across the Sea: Japan and the Sino-Korean Continent

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As Japan's earliest extant medical work, Tanba no Yasuyori's tenth-century medical compilation *Ishinpō* is symbolic of the phenomenon of localization in early Japan. The medical tradition seen in Yasuyori's text had a complicated geographical and civilizational history as the Korean subcontinent played a crucial role in Japan's initial interaction with continental medicine before the start of Japan's dispatching of envoys to the Sui and Tang courts of medieval China. Various topical studies of *Ishinpō*, a comprehensive work spanning thirty volumes, have identified its use and indebtedness to continental works from medieval China and Korea. In particular, with over ninety-nine percent of the text composed of excerpts from continental texts, it is easy to dismiss *Ishinpō*'s independent nature or functionality as a standalone text. Indeed, most studies have paid most attention to *Ishinpō*'s act of preservation or the preserved texts themselves, that is, the ability they provide to study now lost continental texts even if in excerpted form only. For this reason, the nature of Yasuyori's use of continental sources and the transcultural history discernible in his collation remain only partially studied. This paper disentangles the complicated collection of sources in *Ishinpō* as the transcultural nature of the text extends beyond national boundaries and includes information from other traditions such as Daoism. Therefore, moving beyond how *Ishinpō* preserves knowledge or appropriates continental medical knowledge, this paper brings the transcultural tradition represented in *Ishinpō* to the forefront in this discussion to demonstrate not only the complex nature of its sources but also the multifaceted nature of medicine at the time of its compilation in mid-Heian Japan. Moreover, this paper takes this complex nature of sources to address identity in *Ishinpō*, identifying the importance of locality as seen in how Yasuyori compiled and collated his medical work. In this way, this paper moves from a larger discussion of transcultural flow visible in *Ishinpō* to an examination of the place of locality constructed by Yasuyori in its compilation.

Panel 11

Literature, film, music and digital art in contemporary PRC and Taiwan

Paper 1

The "Alienated" Scholar: Xu Zhiyuan, Travel Writing, and Masculinity

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This paper considers how masculinity is tied to, and constructed by, narratives of travel in Greater China. New possibilities of movement have proven to be one of the most momentous changes that have occurred since market reform. Travel and travel writing have become a means of assessing change on a national and global scale, as well as a way of establishing one's subject position within a new, postsocialist modernity. If as a number of theorists have observed, mobility both constitutes and is constituted by gender, then I argue in this paper that narratives of travel can provide a crucial insight into constructions of masculinity in postsocialist China.

I take as an example Xu Zhiyuan (许致远, born 1976), one of China's well-known public intellectuals, whose work is yet to be discussed in Anglophone studies. *Alienated from the Motherland* (2011) follows his journey across Greater China as he seeks to discover for himself the immense economic and social shifts that the region has undergone since the opening up reforms. I show how Xu's critical consideration of Chinese society, history, nationalism and globalization insistently intertwines with masculinity, particularly the image of the talented scholar (caizi). Ironically, the travelogue becomes a means of constructing a form of masculinity that retains a cultural centrality despite Xu's rhetoric of "alienation".

This paper draws on the concept of Hegemonic Masculinity as well as theories on travel and travel writing from the new mobilities paradigm. I show how movement, and the literary product that emerges from it, leads Xu to construct a particular mode of masculinity, one that appears marginal and hegemonic at the same time. Contributing to the growing scholarly interest in travelling Asian masculinities, this paper argues that there is a vital connection between mobility, literary production and gender. It also highlights the blurred lines that can appear between marginality and dominance as masculinity is constructed and performed.

Paper 2

Overcoming the Orphan Complex: Taiwanese Cinema and its Japanese Lover in the Post-Millennium

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The presence of the Japanese lover in some recent Taiwanese films, such as *Cape No.7* (dir. Te-Sheng Wei, 2008), *Somewhere I Have Never Traveled* (dir. Tien-Yu Fu, 2009), *Spider Lilies* (dir. Zero Chou, 2007) and *Sumimasen Love* (dir. Yu-hsien Lin, 2009), presents an intriguing phenomenon that connects different generations of Taiwanese: For the grandparents' generation, who has a direct colonial experience, Japan may have represented a nostalgic object in contrast with the later Mainlander KMT government. For the current generation, today's Japan merely serves as a distinct modern Asian country. Both Japan's historical connectivity and its current independence have contributed to its being an object of emulation and desire, as in these films, the symbolic presence of the Japanese lover seems to have something to say to the grandparents' generation and the current young generation. However, what about the middle generation who are mostly depicted as absent? Moreover, despite the absence of the disassociating middle generation, does the presence of the Japanese lover imply that the current Taiwanese society has not gotten over the lingering effect of Japan's colonial legacy? Most importantly, what is the social significance of the Japanese lover to the protagonists' transnational imagination about life beyond Taiwan? Interestingly, these movies often end with a reconfirmation of a local Taiwanese identity along the line of a contextualized ideal of cosmopolitanism. Through resolving the protagonists' romantic troubles and concerns, feelings of desertedness are shown to be healed. Rather than holding onto a nostalgic and narcissistic wound, I argue that the implementation of a Japanese lover fulfills the purpose that helps mediate a shared Taiwanese consensus. The transnational status of the Japanese lover is used symbolically to point at a fractured Taiwan identification that gets to be reintegrated through a revised discourse of cosmopolitanism.

Paper 3

Asianizing the West? The Cultural Flow of Western Classical Music in Taiwan

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Due to its association with the hegemonic cultural and imperial domination of the West, classical music has usually been identified with the ideology of progress and civilization in Asian societies. Taiwan is no exception. This "high-class" cultural business, nevertheless, has actually been a gendered profession in Taiwanese society. In music departments, there are far more women than men. It is even not a rare condition for the whole class to be female.

Based on this phenomenon, some critical issues of trans-cultural flows have been arisen: What accounts for the wide gap between the number of female and male musicians? How does this Western art form become a cultural symbol of the high social standing when it flows to Taiwan?

This paper responds these questions by interviewing 17 Taiwanese women musicians, including university professors and students, composers, orchestral performers and musicologists. The reason why they were pushed onto the path towards becoming a musician as a small child will be revealed. According to their observations, the social capital and the potential benefits in marriage market is primarily why Taiwanese parents decide to invest the huge expenditure on their musical education. In this aspect, the meaning of studying Western classical music was narrowed and deposed to the level of an accessory in this Asian country. Moreover, this paper intends to examine the condition when this Western art form meets traditional Asian values. The meaning and problems of the trans-cultural flows between the West and Taiwan will be fully demonstrated.

Paper 4

Sacrifice zones: An aesthetic response to digital materiality

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Rare earth industry has contributed to China's strategic dominant position in global economy. Rare earth minerals are essential in the manufacturing of hi-technology products such as mobile phones, and laptops as well as for the developing of defence systems and green energy technologies. The increased availability of these devices in our contemporary technologically mediated societies have created the dystopian area of pollution and human exploitation of Bayan Obo Mining District. Bayan Obo mining region in Inner Mongolia is the largest Rare Earth metal deposit in the world holding 75% of the known global reserves accounting for more than half of China's current rare earth minerals production. In 2014, Unknown Fields a group of architects and artists based in London visited Bayan Obo and created the film 'Behind The Scenes of Technology: Inner Mongolia Rare Earth Mineral Mines' revealing a terrifying natural and social landscape. Recently, Thyssen-Bornemisza Art Contemporary in Vienna staged the exhibition Rear Earth featuring the works of 17 artists each one representing one of the 17 rare earth elements. Focusing on these two works this paper aspires to explore intersections between nature and technology through the lens of cultural production and argue that digital technology is not simply a medium that separates humans from "true" materiality but is itself a new materiality consisting of raw matter, energy and social relationships. The paper will explore the impact of these practices on the distribution of the sensible in the era of the Anthropocene.

Panel 12 Shinto and Buddhism in Japan

Paper 1

Shinto Shrines and the Formation of Community Identity: The case of Kashihara Jingu

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Newly established Shinto shrines often served as the center of local communities from the Meiji period onward. These modern shrines, conceived as public institutions, became not only a focus for local identity, but also connected their local community to the larger imagined community of the Japanese center. Of particular importance to this role was the conception of Shinto as a secular system of universal values, rather than as a private set of religious beliefs.

In this paper, I take as a case study Kashihara Jingu, established in 1890 in rural Nara. The movement to establish Kashihara Jingu began within the local community around the area, but came to include support from the Imperial House and everyman Imperial subjects from across Japan. By 1940, it had become a focus of reverence from shrines as far away as Hokkaido and Hawaii. Like many Shinto shrines established in the modern period, Kashihara Jingu not only provided a space where residents could enact a local identity, but also set this local identity within the the framework of a broader national imagined community, connecting the local community to the Japanese center.

Furthermore, Kashihara Jingu became a Japanese center itself. Members of communities in the Japanese periphery donated labor for the construction of Kashihara Jingu and performed reverence towards Kashihara Jingu at their own local shrine, which allowed them and their communities to take part in the national imagined community as represented by Kashihara Jingu as well as justified their own local narratives as a small but integral part embraced by the national narrative. This provided an opportunity for communities and their members across Japan to enact an identity that was simultaneously local and national through Shinto.

Finally, looking at Kashihara Jingu as a Shinto institution supporting secular values gives a concrete example of the role a non-Western secularism can have in building an imagined community both locally and nationally. This should suggest a new way in which we might consider the role of religion, identity, and imagined communities in other non-Western locations.

Paper 2

Which Identity? Shinto Shrines, Nationalism and Apocalyptic Visions

James Grayson (British Association for Korean Studies), j.h.grayson@sheffield.ac.uk

The Shinto Shrine controversy of the 1930s and 40s has been seen as a crucial event in the history of twentieth century Korean Christianity. Many Christians, whether or not they were strongly involved in the independence movement, rejected attendance at Shinto Shrines. In North Kyongsang Province a millenarian movement emerged in the late 1930s called 'Sion-san cheguk', the Empire of Mount Sion. This group had an apocalyptic and millenarian vision of the defeat of Japan and the end of the current world order. Following Japan's defeat, this group quickly became a separatist denomination which rejected any association with the Republic of Korea, claiming that they were 'Citizens of Heaven'. In this paper, I will explore why and how the millenarian theology of this group led them to reject both the Japanese colonial order, and the re-established Korean state. Comparison will be made with nationalists who rejected attendance at Shinto Shrines, but differed in their vision of a post-colonial future.

Paper 3

Interwar Japanese Buddhism and Racial Prejudice

John Lobreglio (Oxford Brookes University) jlobreglio@brookes.ac.uk

Many Japanese Buddhist leaders during the interwar period (1918-1941) were highly critical of what they perceived as a longstanding racial prejudice on the part of western nations toward not only Japanese, but also all 'coloured' peoples of the world. They often countered such racist discourse and policies with an alternative vision of racial equality and human rights founded upon the Buddhist doctrine of shitsu-u busshō – that all beings are innately endowed with Buddha-nature. This alternative discourse accorded well with Pan-Asianist principles. The continued presence of racial discrimination within Japan towards its own 'burakumin' citizens, as well as toward the peoples of its colonies (especially in Korea and Taiwan), however, presented Buddhist leaders with a quandary concerning its own putative racial egalitarianism. This paper examines a broad range of Japanese Buddhist opinion and activity – of priests and laity, intellectuals, educators and activists – concerning racial prejudice practiced both by western powers as well as by Japanese and how Buddhists sought to resolve the above quandary. A discourse of western racial prejudice toward 'yellow' and other 'coloured' peoples was, of course, central to the Japanese justification for going to war against the western powers in 1941. By examining this discourse within one segment of traditional Japanese society over a two-decade span, this paper also attempts to evaluate the validity and power of such a discourse.

Paper 4

The Trans-Cultural Dimension of Hideyoshi's 'Great Buddha' - During the Early Modern Period

Radu Leca (Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures) lecaradu@gmail.com

This presentation addresses the visual history of the Buddha statue initially commissioned by Toyotomi Hideyoshi as part of the temple complex of Hokoji on the slope of mount Higashiyama in the capital of early modern Japan (present day

Kyoto). Throughout the early modern period, the 'Great Buddha' was a complex cultural site, encompassing religious significance, political associations with Hideyoshi's rule and the status of a 'famous site' visited by a range of Japanese travellers and both Dutch and Korean embassies.

Research on visual representations of this site has been undertaken by Beatrice Bodart-Bailey in connection to the descriptions of Engelbert Kaempfer. But the trans-cultural dimension of this visual site has not been fully explored. I propose a re-evaluation of contemporary perceptions of this site within local culture. This takes into account a wider range of visual sources, including a fan in the collection of the Chester Beatty Library, a recently published folding screen with views of the capital which shows Korean ambassadors visiting the Great Buddha, and illustrations from printed guides to the capital, again showing foreign visitors.

What emerges is a richer profile of this site as the object of intersecting gazes and a participant in the early modern East Asian diplomatic network. This presentation thus shows that, besides the usually discussed Nagasaki, the capital of early modern Japan was also a site of the trans-cultural activity of politically-charged sightseeing.

Panel 13

Remembrance, Trauma, Memory – Negotiating Collective Memory in Modern Japanese Literature and Theatre

Panel abstract:

In recent decades, concepts of interdisciplinary trauma and memory studies have increasingly been applied and made productive for cultural and literary studies. To be perceived as trauma, events have to be expressed and constructed as such by a group of people, as Alexander and Breese (2011) have shown. Literature and theatre have the potential to play a crucial role in this process of framing and transforming trauma into collective memory. Our panel will explore the ways contemporary Japanese novelists and playwrights have responded to various calamities ranging from the nuclear horrors of Hiroshima and Fukushima to the catastrophe of war, in particular the Battle of Okinawa, and natural disasters such as the 3.11 tsunami. Although different in nature, all of these events provoked a crisis of representation that forced writers to reconsider the relationship between art, representation, and lived experience. Furthermore, they motivated artists to engage in re-negotiating national trauma narratives to take into account conflicting local views. The panel seeks to identify a number of narrative strategies that are frequently used to make trauma accessible. We will ask how memory is re-shaped in cultural production, and what role literature and theatre play as media of mourning and trauma processing. What language is used to tell the untellable, what literary strategies are employed? Who has the right to speak as victim, and would we be prepared to listen if the dead could speak? Scrutinizing a wide range of literary and theatrical representations of catastrophe, the panel aims to analyse patterns of trauma processing and commemoration in natural and man-made disasters in modern Japanese culture.

Paper 1

Narrating the Battle of Okinawa: Strategies of Expressing Traumatic War Experiences

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The Battle of Okinawa, which raged from April until June 1945 and in which about a quarter of the Okinawan population died, is a prominent topic in literary texts by authors from Okinawa. Towards the end of the Pacific War, Okinawa was used as a “protective shield” by the Japanese government in Tokyo to ward off the U.S. forces from the mainland. In the Okinawan collective memory, it proved especially traumatic that many Okinawan civilians did actually not die at the hands of the “American enemy” but were either killed by members of the Japanese Imperial Army, or were ordered to kill themselves in so-called *shūdan jiketsu* (coerced group suicides).

Drawing on a sample of some well-known texts (among them short stories by Ōshiro Tatsuhiro and Medoruma Shun, two Akutagawa Prize laureates from Okinawa), this paper will be structured in two parts: in a first step, I will point out how certain aspects of the Battle (such as, for example, responsibility and guilt) and the question of remembering and forgetting are treated thematically. In the second part I will take a closer look at the narrative strategies the authors employ in order to approach the traumatic experiences they are writing about. What writing modes are chosen, how are the protagonists’ traumatic experiences actually expressed? And finally: Is the act of storytelling itself as a means of coping with trauma being reflected upon?

Paper 2

A Multifaceted Fukushima—Conflicting Images of the Loved Homeland in Ōnobe Pelican’s *Kiruannya to Uko-san*

Barbara Geilhorn (Waseda University) barbara.geilhorn@fu-berlin.de

It is often stated that theatre is capable of telling people’s stories and creating a public sphere that evokes temporary communities. In so doing, performing arts are highly effective in helping people to come to terms with individual and collective trauma, and at the same time participate in the shaping of collective memory. In the immediate aftermath of disaster, the documentary approach, in which the negotiation between fiction and real life events is a central issue, is often perceived as being particularly useful. Focusing on *Ōnobe Pelican’s Kiruannya to Uko-san* (2011), my paper will analyze documentary theater from the area afflicted by the March 11 triple disaster. The play, which is a collage of newspaper article readings and quotes from literary texts bound together by a fictive narrative of three people searching for a missing person, gained national and international attention in the aftermath of the calamity. I will scrutinize the potentialities of documentary theatre as a medium for processing trauma in post-disaster Tōhoku and analyze how the play engages in the cultural work of transforming individual suffering into collective memory. My paper will argue that the playwright has constructed a narrative that goes against images of ‘Fukushima’ as a mere disaster zone without neglecting contentious issues of the nuclear catastrophe or uncritically supporting slogans of quick recovery.

Paper 3

Witnessing the Impossible – Writing Trauma, Writing Memory

Daniela Tan (University of Zurich) daniela.tan@aoi.uzh.ch

Literature dealing with catastrophic occurrences exhibits a number of similarities. While verbalization through literature appears as way to understand the true dimension of and gain access to trauma, certain writing practices seem to be closely linked to the deeply rooted human need to tell the untellable. The fact that writers of trauma literature do not usually have a common agenda supports this hypothesis. The narrative patterns of telling trauma are highly ritualized: The first shock and the realization that one has survived is followed by an urge to tell. Narrative fragments told from various origins and points of view are combined into a documentary patchwork of descriptions. This kind of literature is highly immediate

and has been criticized as amateurish and not worth being considered as fiction.

My paper will scrutinize analogies between the narrative strategies used in A-bomb literature and post-Fukushima texts. Both have in common descriptions of the impact as well as the aftermath of disaster, manifesting in documentations of the devastated landscape and re-telling stories of other people's first-hand experiences. In a second phase following the initial shock and confusion, fear of the long time consequences of nuclear exposure and protest against technology arise. I will compare *Haikyo kara* (1947) by Hara Tamiki and *Kaitei no yō na hikari* (1945) by Ōta Yōko with contemporary texts by Murakami Ryū and Yū Miri dealing with the 3/11 disaster. I will argue that catastrophic literature narrates the untellable by using the means of literature, which is the inclusion of various perspectives, stream of consciousness and the arranging of various textual elements in order to create an access to trauma: literary fiction as a way to write memory.

Paper 4

Broadcasting Disaster: Trauma, Memory, and Music in Itō Seikō's Imagination Radio

Kristina Iwata-Weickgenannt (Nagoya University) kristina.iwata@lit.nagoya-u.ac.jp

If measured by the number of casualties or in terms of economic and environmental damage, the tsunami that hit northern Japan in March 2011 was by far the most destructive in Japanese history. However, different from the nuclear disaster that it triggered, and which continues to be girded by numerous political taboos, broadcasting on the presumably natural disaster faced few restrictions. Yet, one remarkable blank has often been pointed out—there were virtually no images of dead bodies in the media. Mass death was made invisible and easily disappeared behind the focus on abstract numbers.

Itō Seikō's hugely successful novel *Sōzō Rajio* (*Imagination Radio*, 2013) may be read as an attempt to bring back repressed trauma, and to bring back the dead into the survivors' consciousness. If the dead could speak, what would they tell us? And would we be prepared to listen? Following an unusual plot, Itō takes this question literally, and interestingly he does so using a broadcasting metaphor. His protagonist is a drowned tsunami victim who is not properly laid to rest and is thus caught in between the world of the dead and that of the living; transmitted via "imagination waves", his peculiar program is aired in his listeners' (readers') imagination. In my presentation, I will explore the many implications of Itō's radio metaphor; discuss the function and effects of the catchy music played in the program; and connect the various layers of literary and reader imagination with the issue of commemoration.

Panel 14

The Voice in Modern Japan: Identity, Expressivity, Transculturation

Panel abstract:

This year, the British Association for Japanese Studies (BAJS) generously funded a translation workshop on the theme of the history of the senses at Wadham College, University of Oxford. Bringing together research students and scholars from the United Kingdom and Japan, America and Europe, it was a productive and convivial event in which we found, to our surprise, that several of our texts had a strong focus on the voice (koe). From this, we have concluded that the voice has emerged as a key locus in the discourse on the history of the senses in Japan and that this is due to its ambiguous, pluripotent status: part body, part spirit. The “capitalism of the voice” (to borrow Yoshimi’s formulation) is a process that not only mechanizes the physical production of sound but also puts at risk the sovereignty of the self. As such, the voice opens up an unusual and oblique perspective on the Japanese experience of modernity.

Our panel focuses on the koe in historical perspective, dwelling in particular on the intimate relationship between language and song, the looping effects of transcultural influence, and the impact of pedagogical innovation on identity. Arranged in chronological order, our first paper deals with the oldest extant recordings of the Japanese voice. The second paper turns to the transformation in Japanese vocal techniques in the early twentieth century. The third paper will look at the issue of Japanese pitch accent in the composition of art song. The fourth paper moves to the expression of identity in the “foreign” medium of tango.

Jonathan Service (chair); Margaret Mehl; Frances Watson; Yuiko Asaba

Paper 1

The Japanese Voice at the Dawn of Comparative Musicology

Jonathan Service (University of Oxford), jonathan.service@wadh.ox.ac.uk

On two consecutive tours in 1900 and 1901, the Kawakami Troupe – led by the actor and agitator Kawakami Otojirō and his wife Sadayacco – took Europe by storm. According to the journalist Louis Fournier, whereas the Eiffel Tower had been the “*clou*”, the star attraction, of the exposition of 1899, Sadayacco, the former geisha turned Japanese Bernhardt, was the constellation around which everything revolved in 1900.

While in Berlin on their second tour, they sat down to make recordings on cylinders for the ethnomusicologists *avant la lettre* Erich Moritz von Hornbostel and Otto Abraham. These recordings formed part of Stumpf’s renowned Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv and ultimately served as the source material for Hornbostel and Abraham’s epochal *Tonsystem und Musik der Japaner (Studies on the Tone System and Music of the Japanese, 1903)*. This monograph was one of the earliest and most thorough studies of Japanese music in any language. It represents not only the application of a historically contingent theoretical paradigm (the very idea that music should be in some sense dyed by nationality; that there should be such a thing as *Japanese* music) but also demonstrates the curious and compelling role “Japan” played in the emergent field of comparative musicology and the writing of a “universal” history of music.

But Hornbostel and Abraham’s *Tonsystem* also speaks to something still more fundamental: the manner in which a theoretical approach can help to create the data upon which it is constructed. The recordings of Kawakami and Sadayacco are taken as “Japanese”; their voice is the voice of “Japan”. And yet, if we recall that Kubota Beisai, writing for the *Yomiuri* newspaper, had observed of the Kawakami Troupe’s performance that it was “a preposterous hodgepodge” and that their acting was neither Western nor purely Japanese, and perceived to be not authentic but *avant-garde*, who is to say that their singing, in this inaugural moment, was not of the same kind? In other words, what if the voice at the origin is compromised – ambiguously present in both the inner self and the outer ear, the domestic and foreign? What impact does this have on how we theorize and categorize, think and define “Japanese music”?

Paper 2

Teaching Singing to Japanese Girls: Kate Ingeborg Hansen in Sendai, 1907–1941

Margaret Mehl (University of Copenhagen), mehl@hum.ku.dk

The speed and thoroughness with which the Japanese appropriated and mastered Western music (and European art music in particular) has often been remarked upon. Even more astonishing is the extent to which Western music came to be the dominant music in Japan, marginalizing indigenous traditions and resulting in a profound change in the musical sensibilities of the Japanese. One of the most important reasons for this change was the introduction of Western music, particularly singing, into the Japanese education system from the 1880s onwards.

How, though, did the Japanese learn to sing with a new voice, as it were? Foreign teachers obviously played a decisive role in the process, starting with the Tokyo Academy of Music. For example, August Junker, who taught there for 13 years, managed to develop, in the words of Basil Hall Chamberlain, “a pleasing chorus of some eighty singers out of a chaos of disagreeable nasal voices.” Few foreign teachers, however, worked in Japan for as long as Kate I. Hansen (1879-1968), a missionary from Kansas. Hansen came to Sendai in 1907 to teach at Miyagi Jogakkō, now Miyagi Gakuin (Miyagi College), a missionary school for girls founded in 1886.

Not only did Hansen teach there for almost 40 years (she returned after the Pacific War and worked there from 1947 to 1951), but she also documented her efforts and methods in her Master’s thesis, “Experiences in Teaching Western Music in a Girls’ Music School in Japan,” submitted to Chicago Musical College in 1927 and updated in 1933. The document is remarkable in that Hansen describes in detail the challenges faced by her pupils in mastering Western-style singing and by

herself in teaching them. The challenges related both to voice production and to internalizing the Western tonal system, particularly the major scale.

In this paper, I will analyze Hansen's description of her diagnosis of the problems faced by her pupils and her methods of teaching them in the broader context of Sendai's musical culture, based on Hansen's observations in her other writings, including letters and her essay, "My Impressions of the Musical Consciousness of the Japanese People."

Paper 3

Chasing a Japanese *Lied*: Yamada Kôzaku and Modern Japanese Art Song

Frances Watson (St Catherine's College, University of Oxford) frances.watson@stcatz.ox.ac.uk

The composer Yamada Kôzaku was a rising star in 1922: popular, prestigious, and prolific. Rising from his sickbed after a brief but serious illness, he began an intensely productive period of composition. Many of the pieces he then wrote were songs, setting to music the poems of his new muse, the notorious Kitahara Hakushû. These songs, which include some of Yamada's most famous works (such as *Rokkyu* and *Bitter-Orange Flowers*), have been described as the fulfilment of Yamada's long-held desire to create a distinct Japanese *lieder* tradition (Mori 1991). In this paper, I shall examine the aesthetics and politics of Yamada's dream.

At the heart of this investigation lies an article in *Poetry and Music*, the journal co-founded by Yamada and Kitahara to discuss these very issues. In 'Accent in Poetry from the Perspective of Song Composition', the composer described his perceived difficulties with setting the Japanese language to music, alongside his proposed solutions to those difficulties (Yamada 1923). Yamada's thesis revolved around an early exposition of Japanese pitch-accent: mapping the rise and fall of spoken pitch to the equivalent movement of musical pitch was, Yamada concluded, the only way that a composer could accurately capture Japanese poetry in music.

Reading this article against Yamada's contemporaneous songs, we can explore the composer's ideal of the Japanese *lied*. His criticism and ultimate rejection of the methods of several major composers in the Western canon forms a defiant declaration of independence from European models. Meanwhile, the primacy he grants language, to the extent of shaping songs strictly after its ebbs and flows, is a telling insistence. Yamada's linguistic musicality is modelled on a rational foundation (in the correlation of spoken and musical pitch space), predicated on comprehensibility, and nationalised according to a Tokyo-centric standardisation: the shaping of Yamada's art by these qualifiers makes the modernity of it clear. Such analyses represent another piece in the jigsaw which depicts conceptions of language, identity, and the voice in early twentieth-century Japan.

Paper 4

Tango in Japan: Emotions and the transcultural vocal expressivity

Yuiko Asaba (Royal Holloway, University of London) Yuiko.Asaba.2012@live.rhul.ac.uk

The roots of tango are closely associated with Argentina, especially the city of Buenos Aires. Yet in recent years, Japan has become the creative "hub" of tango, while many performers and new compositions are being "exported" from Japan. Within Japan, increasing numbers of musicians see tango as an expressive medium through which "I can stay true to my identity" (Aoki, interview in 2015), and it is widely performed in classical concert venues, tango *Milonga* parties, as well as expensive bars and restaurants that feature live tango bands every night. One of the unique characteristics of tango in Japan is that its *music* has been widely consumed separately from the dance ever since the late 1930s, only twenty years after its arrival. In particular, and from the mid-twentieth century on, the prominence of tango stars such as Ranko Fujisawa and Ikuo Abo have not only brought to light the singers' linguistic mastery of Argentine Spanish, but a vocal expressivity that evokes the "[tango] emotions...the nostalgia for the lost Buenos Aires *arrabal* neighborhoods"; the aesthetics of memory and longing that are considered crucial in a good performance (Abo, interview in 2014). Within this discourse, "Japanese" emotionality and narratives from the singers' life experiences involving hardship form a critical part in their self-construction and biographies. At the same time, Japanese translations of tango songs by poets such as Hiroo Sakata have provided unique interpretations in which "Japanese" emotionality has been superimposed on tango lyrics, adding another expressive layer to the genre.

Based on new ethnographic findings and drawing on the politics of vocal emotionality as a key theoretical focus, this paper examines how such a construction of Japanese tango *vocality* may relate to "transcultural intimacy" (Bigenho, 2012). At the same time, it questions how such innovations challenge and indeed embrace the concept of "recentering" globalisation (Iwabuchi, 2002). The study draws on analyses of tango lyrics and selected Japanese tango singers' vocal/linguistic techniques, while aiming to unpick the issues and tensions surrounding the transcultural aesthetics of emotions.

Panel 15 China's global influence and regional relations

Paper 1

China, Japan and the Geopolitics of Infrastructure Development

Hidetaka Yoshimatsu (Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University) yoshih@apu.ac.jp

In Asia, newly emerging economies represented by Indonesia and India have exhibited robust economic growth. The continuous economic growth has produced growing demand for the development of infrastructure. According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB), infrastructure investment in energy, telecommunications, transport, and water/sanitation in Asia is estimated to be \$8 trillion in 2010-20. Infrastructure development is conducive to producing substantial economic benefits by upgrading industrial clusters and the networking of industrial corridors.

China located commitments to infrastructure development as a crucial diplomatic means. During his visit to Southeast Asia in October 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping announced the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). This proposal collected international attention, and the AIIB was formally launched in December 2015 with 57 founding members. Furthermore, the Chinese National People's Congress formally announced the 'One Belt, One Road Initiative' in March 2015, which comprises of the Maritime Silk Road (MSR) and the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB).

On the other hand, the Japanese government located the export of infrastructure systems as a main pillar to achieve an economic objective to reinvigorate the Japanese economy. In May 2013, the government published an integrated grand strategy for infrastructure deployment – the Infrastructure Export Strategy– and implemented various policies including the use of ODA, public finance support, information diffusion and top-sales activities. Furthermore, Prime Minister Abe announced the 'Partnership for Quality Infrastructure: Investment for Asia's Future' at an international conference, 'The Future of Asia: Be Innovative' in May 2015.

The main objective of this research is to explore manners and motivations in China and Japan's commitments to infrastructure development in Asia. It will examine policies that the two states have adopted for infrastructure development and major features in the policies. Moreover, the study will explore why China and Japan intensified infrastructure development. While infrastructure development is primarily related to industrialization and social development, support for development can be used for geopolitical objectives. This research will pay special attention to this aspect, and explore how China and Japan have employed infrastructure development as a means to maintain and expand political influence in Asia.

Paper 2

The Assertive Dragon and Multilateralism in East Asia: China's strategy on C-J-K Trilateral Cooperation

Yongjae Kim (Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat) herbangel@naver.com

The purpose of this paper is to examine the development of the trilateral relations between China, Japan and Republic of Korea to analyze China's strategy on multilateral relations in East Asia. It has been common observation that China's attitude toward international organizations has been changed into more assertive ways as its economic and military presence rises. Same evaluation can be applied to the trilateral relations with Japan and Korea, however, this proactiveness needs to be clarified more in detail since the signals from bilateral relations often do not fit with above-mentioned transition.

Based on delicate analysis on the dynamics of the trilateral cooperation initiated from 1999, this paper will shed light on the China's grand strategy on the region which shall explain the perceived contradictions of China's diplomatic movements including bilateral and multilateral relations. Moreover, considering the geopolitical sensitivity of this key triangle relations of the region, this paper will reveal the noteworthy implication of which the neighbors have been experienced and recognized ways to compromise between the national interests and the liberal ideals on several entangled issues such as history, education and environment. My argument here is that China aims not only the consolidation of its position as an invariable in the regional diplomacy but also the establishment of unshakable channels for communication with the United States' cornerstones in the region.

Paper 3

The Economic Nexus between China and Emerging Economies

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This paper will discuss about structural changes in the world economy. It argues that China, as the largest industrial powerhouse in the world, currently stands in the position of "Global North," which was occupied by North America, Western Europe, and Japan until the 1990s. Since the 2000s, and in particular after the Lehman Shock, China has become the most important trading partner for many countries in "Global South." Rapid expansion of demand by China for resources has brought about economic boom among resource exporting countries. The recent decline of China's economic growth rate, however, has resulted in the decrease of demand for resources. Some resource exporters, including Brazil and South Africa, have experienced serious downturn in their economy. In the past (or even today), there was a saying that "when America sneezes the world catches a cold." In the future (or even today), we will see that when China sneezes many countries in the Global South catch cold. This paper will first offer a broad picture of trade relationship between China and

the emerging economies. It will show that, along with the development of trade relationship with China, the emerging economies' trade structure has increased its reliance on primary goods exports, while China almost exclusively exports manufactured goods. The pattern of trade between China and emerging economies resembles the pattern of trade between the Global North and Global South in the 1970s. The paper will then examine the impact of expansion and contraction of trade with China on emerging economies. It will show that in many countries fluctuations in trade with China has significantly influenced their GDP growth rate. The paper will also touches upon China's diplomatic initiatives to alleviate the negative impact of its relationship with emerging economies.

Panel 16 Migration and the aging East Asia

Paper 1

Moving from Assimilation toward Integration: Immigrant Service and Incorporation Policy in Nagoya, Japan

David Green (Nagoya University) david.green@law.nagoya-u.ac.jp

As the Japanese population begins to rapidly age and concerns grow over the country's continued economic viability, Japan's foreign population has been steadily growing. Seen as a means of at least partially mitigating the economic losses associated with societal aging, Japan's central government has been quietly working to expand the resident foreign population. However, little national guidance or oversight has been provided to the cities actually experiencing marked foreign growth. This is particularly true in the major hub cities, including Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka and Nagoya. Rather, while the national government may be working to bring in more foreign residents, cities and local governments have been left largely to their own devices when dealing with immigration populations and the variety issues that accompany them.

This paper consequently looks to examine the case of Nagoya city in detail, considering local-level policies, services, and activities aimed at addressing its foreign population. Nagoya provides an interesting case study, given its uniquely diverse foreign population, the varieties of industries and employers in the area, and its relatively progressive stance in addressing its immigrant population. I argue that although Japan has long maintained a strictly assimilationist position in regard to its immigrant populations, municipal-level efforts and increasing exposure to larger foreign populations in cities like Nagoya have moved local policies further toward an integrationist framework. The old patterns of immigrant incorporation in Japan appear to be slowly changing, with municipal governments being an apparent catalyst.

In the absence of over-arching national policy, many Japanese municipalities are forced to handle questions of immigrant and multicultural incorporation on their own. Given that other East Asian countries are experiencing similar social aging problems, although perhaps not quite as pronounced as Japan's currently, this pragmatic approach toward immigration and immigrant incorporation may serve as an interesting example for heretofore largely homogenous, closed societies gradually opening themselves to increased immigration. As the Nagoya case illustrates, local-level moves toward integration may occur regardless of national preferences for assimilation, even in highly centralized regimes.

Paper 2

Can Cittaslow (the Slow City approach) Enhance the Resilience of Japanese Shrinking Communities?

Heuishilja Chang (University of Oxford) heuishil@gmail.com

Behind a worldwide concentration of the population in urban areas, shrinkage – the demographic, economic, environmental and social decline – has become the norm of an increasing number of rural communities. Japan is much ahead in this process, having about 770 municipalities that are designated as 'depopulating areas' and facing acute deterioration of community functions. The 2015 Masuda report predicts that over five hundred local municipalities may disappear by 2040, and the current Abe cabinet has set chihōsōsei (regional revitalisation) as a primary policy goal. The accelerating rural shrinkage is a pressing issue that can make a profound impact on the Japanese urban system. The aim of this research is to delineate the ways in which Japanese rural communities can enhance their resilience to shrinkage for a better future. As the theoretical framework to analyse community resilience, I use the panarchy model of evolutionary resilience. Panarchy explains resilience as a circular self-metamorphic process to adapt to changing circumstances. In panarchy, local revitalisation activities in a shrinking community may be expressed as adaptive cycles engendered in the town to accommodate the shrinkage. The resilience of the entire community is the integral of these adaptive cycles and the interactions between them. Applying panarchy, I empirically investigate different types of adaptive cycles generated in two shrinking communities in Japan (Minami and Uchiko), and identify key institutional, political and socio-cultural factors that inactivate the adaptive cycles and undermine their impact on the community resilience. Subsequently, I pick up Cittaslow (the Slow City approach), a growing international rural development movement of small-sized towns, and assess whether and in what way it can provide positive impact on the identified negative factors. I examine the adaptive cycles in some depopulating Cittaslow member towns in Italy (Pollica and Altomonte) and Germany (Hersbruck and Wirsberg).

In the presentation, I introduce institutional inertia, poor job creation, indifference of local residents and the disconnection of adaptive cycles as key inhibitors observed in the Japanese shrinking towns. I then discuss the potential and limitations in the introduction of Cittaslow to Japanese shrinking towns to impact them and improve their community resilience.

Panel 17

Perspectives on pre-modern East Asian Coinage

Panel abstract:

The panel presents an overview of pre-modern and early-modern coinage used throughout East Asia from the Qin dynasty to the nineteenth century with reference to the rich collections held in the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Silver ingots in China and gold and silver coins in Japan are well known, but the most common form of currency was the humble copper coin, cast in a round shape with a square hole in the middle. These coins often carried political indicators and even mint marks, and because they were nearly never withdrawn, coins from the Tang dynasty still circulated in the nineteenth century when they were replaced by struck coins from imported European machinery. The first paper offers a complete overview of cast copper coinage in East Asia in terms of identity, organisation of production, and modernisation of coinage. The second paper examines a case of a pre-modern collector from Tokugawa-era Japan. The third paper examines the materiality of selected Korean coins from the eleventh to the nineteenth centuries in the Ashmolean Museum collection via a pilot study of the metal alloys.

Paper 1

East Asian coins - identity, organisation and modernisation

Dr. Helen Wang (British Museum) hwang@britishmuseum.org

When looking at East Asian coins, we tend to consider one country at a time, but if we look at the coins from different countries side by side, we can see similarities that otherwise are easily overlooked. In this presentation, I will look at coins from China, Japan, and Korea from three different periods, and highlight issues of *identity* (cash coins, 7th-12th centuries), *organisation* of the production of coinage (cash coins, 17th-18th centuries), and *modernisation* (machine-struck coinage, including silver dollars, 19th century). *Identity*: the first issues are based on the Chinese Kaiyuan tongbao (開元通寶), and the form of the coin says 'I'm a coin', while the inscription says 'I'm Korean' or 'I'm Japanese'. *Organisation*: the coins of the 17th-18th centuries are all very systematic and have identifying features of their internal systems in the inscriptions and marks on the reverse. Japanese coins have the fewest; Chinese coins have mint marks; and the Korean coin system is impressively endowed with mint marks. *Modernisation*: the change to machine-struck coinage and to silver dollars in China, Japan, and Korea in the 19th century happened within a few decades. A comparison will also be offered with European coins.

Paper 2

Kutsuki Masatsuna's collection of East Asian coins in the Ashmolean Museum

Dr. Lyce Jankowski (Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford) lyce.jankowski@ashmus.ox.ac.uk

Kutsuki Masatsuna 朽木昌綱(1750–1802), *daimyō* of Fukushima in Tanba province, was a polymath with a personal interest in numismatics. He published several books on East Asian coinage making him one of the most prominent numismatists in Japanese history. During his life, he built a substantial collection of coins, amongst which 5,000 are now part of the Ashmolean Museum collection. He not only collected coins that had circulated in Japan since the seventh century (both official or unofficial), he also selected foreign coins from China, Korea, and Vietnam, which made up the bulk of Japan's currencies from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries. Kutsuki Masatsuna's collection comprises rare examples of coin types, which challenge our numismatic understanding of East Asian currency.

Paper 3

Numismatic and metallurgical analysis of Korean coins in the Ashmolean Museum

Dr. James Lewis (University of Oxford) jay.lewis@orinst.ox.ac.uk

The Ashmolean Museum in Oxford possesses nearly 3,000 Korean coins and medals with the earliest dating to the eleventh century. The paper offers a numismatic overview of the collection and reports on a pilot project using X-ray fluorescence (XRF) on selected coins that was conducted in the late spring of 2016. The purpose of the XRF survey is to profile the metal content of a variety of Korean coins, primarily from various mints operating in the eighteenth century. With a metallic profile we can detect patterns in metal usage by mints and perhaps eventually trace the origins of the metals to mines both within Korea and abroad, that is, Japan.

Panel 18

East Asian Soundscape: traditional music

Paper 1

Interpretations at Home and Abroad: Iconographical Depictions of the Soundworld of a Korean Martial Processional

Keith Howard (SOAS University of London) kh@soas.ac.uk

The martial processional, Taech'wit'a, is preserved in South Korea through the maintenance of a limited and formulaic repertoire as Intangible Cultural Property 46. The revival of recent decades masks a break in performance at the beginning of the 20th century and a troubled initial redevelopment under Japanese colonial control. To do so, the identity enshrined in the Property designation, and the musical soundworld, has been reliant on iconography. But, the earliest iconographic representation Koreans have identified is in a 1600-year-old tomb on territory then home to a Chinese commandery, while some of the most elaborate depictions of martial music come down to us from Japanese sources. How are these sources interpreted to create something iconically Korean? This paper explores, for the first time, the procession of instruments in a previously little known Japanese 12m-long hand scroll that has been attributed to Kanō Tōun Masunobu (1625-1694), the Chōsen shisetsu gyōretsu zukan, that is held in the archives of SOAS, University of London, and the disguised musical activity in one of Hokusai's (1760-1849) '100 Views of Mount Fuji' woodblock prints. Neither depiction has to date been referenced by Korean musicologists. Both celebrate the extraordinary rather than the everyday: they date from a period when Korea's relations with Japan were tightly controlled—over a 200-year period, Korea despatched just 10 envoys to Japan, each following a regular, seasonal path. The hand scroll juxtaposes Japanese samurai and Korean musicians, while the second, where, a decidedly secular party replaces any martial overtones, dispenses with formality. To the Japanese artists, difference was tempered by their knowledge of Japanese musical practice, while Korean scholars examining the existing iconography (including ancient tomb paintings), bring difference into alignment with a Korea-centred history. Using these two representations as my focus, I explore how a specific martial music has travelled and transmigrated, and how it has been presented, re-presented, preserved and re-preserved.

Paper 2

The dissemination of min'yō shakuhachi in the 21st century - outside Japan

Kiku Day (Aarhus University) kikuday@gmail.com

According to the Japanese traditional music journal *Hōgaku Journal* (2002.5: 35-7), the largest group of shakuhachi players in Japan at the beginning of the 90s of the last century were players of the folk song genre min'yō, with an estimated 32,000 players in 1992. A decade later, the number of min'yō shakuhachi had been halved to about 16,000 players. Since then, however, min'yō shakuhachi has enjoyed increasing attention among non-Japanese shakuhachi players, many of whom have in the past few years released min'yō pieces on CDs or manuals in English on how to play min'yō on the shakuhachi. This paper deals with this interest for a shakuhachi genre that has arisen outside Japan, the backgrounds of the players, their interests and training, and the dissemination of a musical genre, which until quite recently was considered too difficult for non-Japanese to appreciate. We consider how a musical genre can be reinterpreted and appropriated across time and space in an age of global cultural dissemination. The specific question addressed is how min'yō shakuhachi is understood, performed, and transmitted by shakuhachi players in the West and the consequences this has had for the development of min'yō shakuhachi practice over time, thereby helping us gain an understanding of how music may migrate and change meaning.

Paper 3

Songs as the ritual structure: a case study of a traditional wedding ceremony in Chaozhou of South China

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This paper presents a case study of a traditional wedding ceremony in Chaozhou city, which is located in eastern Guangdong province in south China. It is based on fieldwork in Chaozhou in March and June 2014. It focuses on wedding songs which play an essential role in structuring the whole wedding ritual and assigning meaning and validity to the marriage. The whole ceremony is conducted by Qing Niang Mu, the role that is played by a female professional wedding presenter who is proficient in local wedding customs and singing wedding songs. The ritual traditionally spans one or two days from taking the bride in her family, to arriving at the bridegroom's family, to celebrating the wedding in bridegroom's clan hall. The process of traditional wedding ritual in Chaozhou is intricate and complex, including selecting relatives to play specific roles in the ritual, arranging the food on the tables serving gods, ancestors, the new couple and the guests, and preparing wedding supplies for use in the ritual procedures. It is difficult for local people to manage this important life-cycle ritual properly. By applying the wedding songs, however, Qing Niang Mu brilliantly manipulates the whole ritual. This paper asks: what are the expectations of having this kind of traditional wedding ceremony in Chaozhou city, and how is this wedding ritual structured by wedding songs to achieve these expectations? I suggest that by structuring this life-cycle ritual, the singing of Chaozhou wedding songs not only stands for the well-being of the new marriage, but also symbolises the core value of filial piety.

Panel 19 Scholarly Paradigms in and about China

Paper 1

The Use of Lenin in Chinese Sovietology after Tiananmen

Jie Li (University of Edinburgh) jjelican2009@hotmail.com

The abstract plans to examine how Chinese scholars had manipulated the symbol of Vladimir Lenin and his post-1917 foreign policy, to support Deng Xiaoping's post-June Fourth agenda of buying time, practicing a low profile, while finding a way out of isolation and re-connecting with the world. My study found that Chinese Soviet-watchers after 1989 had drawn parallels between the early Soviet state and China after Tiananmen, when both regimes were facing international sanctions. Scholars argued that China might learn from Lenin's teachings, which championed the continued engagement in formal relations with the West while concentrating on economic development. By upholding the banner of Lenin, Chinese academic community had successfully buttressed and legitimized the communist power after the crisis of Tiananmen.

The proposal attempts to study the historical event against the backdrop of political development of China after 1989. The investigator consults many academic articles and books, official newspaper and journals, as well as speeches of leaders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) published from the late 1980s to mid-1990s.

First, Chinese scholarship put Deng and Lenin on the same altar and stated that Deng had long followed Lenin's principle of building socialism. The symbol of Lenin and the interpretation of his writings were serviceable for advocating Deng's reformist policies and legitimizing his position at home after Tiananmen.

Second, the use of Lenin demonstrated that China has viewed the former Soviet Union as both guidance from the past as well as an imaginary of a Chinese state in the future. Lenin's foreign policy and his rule during the early Soviet Union were selected as they had gone well with the stance and interest of China after Tiananmen, since both regimes were bound by the common aspirations of rising to be global powers amidst international hostilities. Chinese scholars praised Lenin's policies that embraced open door and learning from the West, as the key to keep socialism vital.

To conclude, this historical episode in the early 1990s had functioned as learning lessons from Moscow, legitimizing the CCP rule, as well as envisioning the future direction of China in the post-communist world.

Paper 2

The Opium War and China Studies: Post-colonial Spectres

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This paper argues that there is a new, liberal form of Sinological-orientalism at work in recent Anglophone scholarship on Sino-Western history. To make this case, the paper offers an analysis of the global reception surrounding Robert Bickers's *The Scramble for China* and Julia Lovell's *The Opium War*, and shows how the real import of Bickers's and Lovell's historiographical interventions cannot be understood without taking into account both the context of their production and the context of their consumption.

The paper first re-situates both works within the contemporary discourse on "the rise of China" and looks at how the authors position themselves in relation to this discourse. Next, it traces the impact of their analysis in framing the Opium War through a putative Chinese historical consciousness, understood primarily as "national humiliation". The paper then presents an alternative reading of PRC historiography of the Opium War which is predicated on a densely and globally contextualised interpretation of Maoist and postcolonial historiography. The presentation ends by addressing the gulf between Western and mainland Chinese perspectives on the Opium War. It suggests that while recent scholarship is typically presented as in some sense overcoming older, polarizing ideologies, it actually echoes the older historiography in its erasure of the agency and complexity of the practices of historical narration in the PRC.

The overarching aim of this paper is to provoke a long-overdue conversation between post-colonialism and China Studies.

Paper 3

The Stone Drums of the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1735 – 1796): the Re-appropriation of Chinese Antiquity through objects of art

Alice Crowther (Ecole pratique des hautes études) catherine.crowther@ephe.sorbonne.fr

The great rounded inscribed boulders that stood in the entrance to the Temple of Confucius at Beijing until 1933 had been known as stone drums (shigu 石鼓) since at least the 6th Century A.D. They were widely believed to have been carved to commemorate a hunting expedition on Mount Qishan 岐山 (in Shaanxi). For the Qianlong Emperor, they were imperfect, both in the realism of their representation of drums, and because of the illegibility of many of the characters inscribed on them. He ordered the carving of three new sets of stone drums, smaller than the original but with smooth, rounded contours and closely resembling ritual drums. He also ordered the composition of new poems, using only the characters whose forms were still visible on the ancient stone drums, and replicating the rhythms of the poems of the ancient drums; the first of these virtuoso poetic exercises he composed himself. These poems were then carved, with great regularity, on the flat tops of Qianlong's drums, rather than around the sides as on the ancient stone drums. The largest of the new stone drum sets was placed on the opposite side of the same archway as the ancient stone drums; the two other sets, on a slightly smaller scale, were placed in the Temples of Confucius at Chengde and at Shengjing, both sites important for the

legitimacy of the Qing dynasty, and with hunting grounds attached.

These new stone drums can be interpreted as one of the Qianlong Emperor's attempts to reproduce, and at the same time 'improve' and regularise ancient objects. To try to further understand the significance of this re-appropriation of objects from Chinese antiquity by a Manchu emperor, this paper proposes to combine the study of the poems composed for the new drums, with that of the uses of the uses of drums in the shamanic imperial rituals codified by Qianlong in the *Manzhou jishen jitian dianli* (1781), and with an examination of the important role played by drums in the co-ordination of imperial hunts, and of their uses by the Qing armies.

Panel 20

Cultural branding and Glocalization in Japan and China

Paper 1

Developmentalism: Cool Japan

Nicolas Garvizu (University of Sheffield) intigarvizu@bluewin.ch

This presentation expands the analysis of the Japanese developmental state to a new industry, the cultural industries (anime, manga and video games). It shows that the developmental state is not limited to the industries such as coal, steel, textile and so on that Chalmers Johnson analyzed in his seminal book *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975* (1982). Neoliberal globalization and the implementation of neoliberal reforms in Japan since the 1980s have not led to the demise and obsolescence of the developmental state. It is thus much more illuminating to speak about its adaption and evolution in an evolving, new context (Wong, 2004). Developmentalism is still alive in Japan. The Japanese state continues to carry out industrial policy to support promising industries.

Among the promising industries are the cultural industries. The Japanese cultural industries have been under the spotlight since the publication of Douglas McGray's article *Japan's Gross National Cool* (2002) where this author details the vitality of Japanese pop culture (anime, music, manga and so on) and its global popularity. Such popularity surprised Japanese policy-makers who neglected the cultural industries until the end of the 1990s because they judged them to be an unprofitable sector that could not benefit the national economy. Nevertheless, against the background of an international success of Japanese popular culture, the Japanese government is actively promoting the dissemination of the cultural industries by the implementation of the Cool Japan policy.

This presentation claims that the Cool Japan policy represents an industrial policy because the main state actor in charge of implementing this policy is the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI). The METI considers Cool Japan as a way of stimulating the Japanese economy due to the ripple effects expected in terms of growth and jobs creation. Ultimately, the aim is to boost the number of foreign tourists visiting Japan, thereby developing the tourism industry. These elements symbolize the persistence of the Japanese developmental state.

Paper 2

Transcultural Flows in cross-cultural branding of 無印良品 (Mujirushi Ryohin) and the changing of unsustainable consumption patterns

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The concept of transcultural flows is helpful in explaining the unpredictability of branding in cross-cultural settings: a brand as a cultural form does 'move', 'change' and is 'reused to fashion new identities in different contexts' (Pennycook, 2008: 7). A brand's identity is understood to be mutable according to contexts in which it operates; however, there is little work conducted to understand this process in cross-cultural settings. This paper addresses this issue by examining how Japanese supermarket own label 'no-brand' brand, 無印良品 (Mujirushi Ryohin), introduced in 1980, became recognised as a 'stylish' brand as it launched in Britain in 1991.

The fact that Mujirushi Ryohin was originally created to protest against wasteful practices in consumption and production is not widely known. This was in the late 1970s. Japan had been suffering from severe recession since the 1973 oil crisis, just as most other advanced industrial economies had. Central to the creation of the brand identity was the notion of sustainable consumption. Interestingly, when the brand was launched in recession-hit Britain, its simple 'minimalist' design was viewed as a refreshing antidote to the excesses of the 1980s, but without a political edge. Why was the brand's original ecologically - minded message not communicated well in the foreign setting, while the economic conditions seemed favourable?

Utilising a relational approach by employing some aspects of Actor Network Theory and Bourdieu's field theory, the paper illuminates how various actors/elements have interacted with each other in the disparate socio-cultural contexts, shaping the identity of Mujirushi Ryohin/ MUJI differently. In doing so, it attempts to identify some of the main actors/elements that seem to have created an environment conducive to changing unsustainable consumption patterns in Japan, which in turn could not be reproduced in early 1990s Britain.

Paper 3

Cool, creative but not so equal: Women's technical careers in digital Sinosphere

Wing Fai Leung (University College Cork, Ireland) wf.leung@ucc.ie

This paper examines female entrepreneurs and workers in the high tech and digital media industries in the Sinosphere, who continue to be under-represented in a male-dominated sector. The cases in this study are high profile and successful female entrepreneurs from Taiwan who run global tech companies, and Chinese American professionals who have exited or forced to exit Silicon Valley careers due to what they saw as discrimination. Existing scholarship tends to explain the barriers facing women in the sector by way of individual traits, choices, careers and the masculinized culture, or as a result of structural and organizational factors. The cases in this paper show that there are overlapping systems of subordination (intersectionality) at work in the tech sector. The careers of the two female entrepreneurs, Cher Wang and Eva Chen, are reflective of the recent industrial history of Taiwan. Despite the fact that their companies were at the forefront of the digital revolution, the two women only participate in entrepreneurship with family and relatives whom they can trust, and take on gender-specific roles. In California, March 2015, former employee of Facebook Chia Hong alleged sex discrimination, sex harassment and racial discrimination after she was fired and replaced by a less qualified and less experienced male. Hong

is Taiwanese. In May 2015 software engineer Tina Huang alleged gender discrimination when she was employed by Twitter. Ellen Pao, a former partner of Kleiner Perkins announced in September 2015 that she would not pursue the appeal against the venture capital firm after she brought a lawsuit for sex discrimination. It becomes apparent that though gender is one of the repressive traditional social structures in creating the barriers to and shaping these women's professional life, ethnicity, family, age, work experience and the national contexts are intersectional factors that need to be taken into account when considering Chinese women's careers in the global tech sector.

Paper 4

Regionalization and Globalization in the Chinese TV Industry: The Case of Hunan Satellite TV

Arjen Nauta (University of Amsterdam) a.p.m.nauta@uva.nl

During the last decade, localized versions of Japanese and especially Korean TV shows have become highly popular in China. My research focuses on reality TV shows on Hunan Satellite TV, a very popular provincial TV station mainly offering entertainment. HSTV long used to disregard international copyright laws by illegally copying foreign shows. In recent years however, HSTV has started to buy formats and engage in transnational co-productions.

Based on extensive fieldwork in Changsha, I investigate how HSTV has been 'socialized' into the global television format industry, and how the strict limits of format adaptation (according to the 'format bible') have been stretched to serve the Chinese market. Subsequently, by turning to three reality shows, *Where are we going dad* (based on a Korean format), *Run for time* (based on a Japanese format), and *Supergirl 2016* (based on an American format) I explore how cultural adaptation works for reality TV. What kinds of subjectivities are directly transposed, adjusted, or negated in the process of localization? What is lost and what is added in the production of format-based programs? This research thus seeks to place the fast-growing Chinese television industry in a regional (East-Asian) and global context.

Panel 21

Border-Making in Kim Jong-un's North Korea: Strategic Practices for Growth and Control in the North Korean Borderlands

Panel abstract:

As has been argued in extant borderlands literature, territorial entities are created not in secure heartlands but in the geographical borders that—rather than being peripheral—are first delineated and then codified by the center in state practices of boundary-making. But the physical and political distance from the center makes borderlands, rather than being existing things, sites of potential change, where economic, political, and social facets of the state focus socio-spatial practices for control. In the case of North Korea in the Kim Jong-un era (2011 – present), the North Korean regime has strategically opened and closed its borders through a series of policies that serve to maintain national unity, cohesion, and seclusion while also promoting planned economic growth. This panel examines trade, social identities, and political authority across and along North Korea's borderlands. In so doing, the panelists offer explanations how, in an authoritarian state such as North Korea, borderlands have the potential to simultaneously serve as sites of transition, confrontation, and stasis in service of the state's goals for the nation while also promoting cross-border linkages with select partners, namely China, in the region. By examining the political, military, and economic strategies of the North Korean state under Kim Jong-un, the panelists also explore how the regime has sought to augment and consolidate the ideological foundations of Kimism and cement the young leader's legitimacy.

Paper 1

Failed Attempts at Border-Making: Special Economic Zones Proliferation on the China-DPRK Border

Théo Clément (Université Lyon) theo.clement@sciencespo-lyon.fr

Since 1991, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has opened 26 Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in different areas of the country, more than one-third of them located directly along the Chinese border. Whereas China still remains Pyongyang's sole ally and, by far, its most important economic partner, these zones have gathered limited success in terms of economic cooperation with China.

North Korea has been willing to engage into economic cooperation with foreign countries, since the 1950's at least. But Pyongyang has proven to be very concerned with the terms of any exchanges, and seeks to ensure near-complete control and benefit from all external economic relations. As a result, instead of indicating a "genuine" reform of the economy, the DPRK's SEZs (even if inspired by China's) have been designed to guarantee North Korea's independence, while expanding ties with neighbouring countries.

China has had a lukewarm attitude regarding the development of economic zones along the border, and has also tried to maximize the benefits/risks ratio from its own perspective. While the potential for cooperation definitely exists, this has led Beijing to sometimes put a halt to ambitious North Korean projects, and even develop a much stricter attitude regarding investments in the DPRK than elsewhere. Revealing of this cautious approach, China is increasingly trying to establish China-DPRK economic cooperation platforms on its own side of the border.

While Beijing is trying to shape a pattern of economic cooperation that does not contradict China's national interests (as evidenced by the latest batch of sanctions), local Chinese border towns, especially the ones in landlocked Jilin, try to make the best out of a bad situation. In the context of the Chinese economic slowdown, impoverished localities in Northeastern China eye the North Korean captive market (or, via the DPRK, South Korean or Southeast Asian markets) and increasingly see potential for cross-border cooperation with SEZs on the Chinese border.

Paper 2

Cognitive Borderlands: Assimilation and Identity Change among New Citizens in South Korea

Steven Denney (University of Toronto) stevenddenney@gmail.com

Like borders, national and ethnic identities are not static properties of our modern world. They are contingent and adjust to changes in the broader institutional and structural environment. Research on South Korea's ethno-national identity suggests broader structural changes, namely demographic, are redefining ethnic and national boundaries and, consequently, what it means to be South Korean.

Approaching the study of national identity as a cognitive space, this paper considers the role former residents of North Korea living permanently in South Korea play in (re)defining the form and content of South Korea's national identity. As such, this paper sees newcomers to South Korean society as constituting an "identity borderlands" and as agents who both change (i.e., assimilate) and actively shift the median identity. This paper will draw on extant research and data and present new findings from the field to consider the two kinds of effects taking place.

This research speaks to the literature on national identity and findings in the study of cognitive borderlands. It focuses on the mechanisms of identity change and reproduction and thus contributes to recent literature on changes and variations of national identity in South Korea.

Paper 3

North Korea's Victim/Victor Political Strategies for Managing the DMZ

Darcie Draudt (Johns Hopkins University) darciedraudt@gmail.com

The four-kilometer-wide demilitarized zone (DMZ) on the Korean Peninsula around the 38th parallel is a space both connecting and divisive: it ties together the "One Korean Nation" while also reifying the historically violent but currently static walling of two states. Far from being a peripheral frontier, the DMZ is central to the North Korean state's security practices. The securitized border in effect produces the naughtiness of each state's government. In managing and protecting this dangerous border, both Koreas have justified strong, pervasive, and sustained military and political strategies aimed at the Other Korea's government in order to legitimize rule to their own people and to the international community.

This paper examines the contemporary political strategies used by the North Korean government that reinforce the sense of impending threat. The paper analyzes North Korea's national government statements in state media regarding the DMZ security issue in comparison with its South Korea policy as a whole. Production of the division is measured by the North Korean media's anxieties over transgression of the border in the form of non-military threats such as anti-North propaganda like leaflet-carrying balloons, pop music loudspeakers, and even Christmas trees.

The paper finds that these practices serve three simultaneous goals. First, these strategies seek to justify the continued isolationist policies of the country to the North Korean people by situating itself as, paradoxically, both victim and victor in continued division of the Peninsula. Second, in creating its victim status, these strategies tie into Pyongyang's continued pursuit of nuclear weapons against international sanctions. Third, the strategies seek to establish the DMZ as temporary border and reestablish the "natural" border of Korea to reach from the Yalu River to Busan. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of risks of continued division and some alternatives to produce cooperative border management between the Koreas.

Paper 4

The Bridge: Narrating Troubled Waters

Christopher Green (Leiden University) christophergreen@gmail.com

In October 2011, construction began on a new bridge across the Amrok/Yalu River between China and North Korea. In the beginning, the new bridge was widely envisioned as the articulation of a new dawn in Sino-DPRK economic – and even political – relations. However, to date the bridge – while complete – remains closed. As such, it has now come to be posited as a symbol of a faltering bilateral relationship – the North Korean government as an itinerant junior partner, snubbing Chinese largesse and refusing to act in its own best interests. Travel in Dandong and Sinuiju reveals that neither interpretation is accurate. The former was far too optimistic; the latter's focus on the macro-level is too extreme, reifying central government policy as lived reality. In this presentation, Christopher Green interrogates and historicizes understandings of the bridge in the imaginary of writers in English and (South) Korean. He compares and contrasts these understandings with how local elites and ordinary people on both sides of the Yalu River forge malleable identities as borderlanders in the interstitial space between the lame leviathans of Beijing and Pyongyang.

Panel 22 Aging and Intergenerational Relationships in East Asia

Paper 1

Transnational Grandparenting: Intergenerational Ties and Informal Care among Chinese Migrant Families

Laura Lamas-Abraira (Autonomous University of Barcelona) abraura@gmail.com

This research deals with transnational care in Chinese families and it is specifically concerned with grandparenting and intergenerational relationships. The research is therefore organized around three theoretical axes: migration and transnationalism, the Chinese family and informal care. The project started in September 2014 and is expected to be completed by the end of 2017.

The main aims of our research is to describe the migratory paths, characteristics and specificities of the transnational informal care that is offered by these grandparents, whether in China or Europe, taking grandparenting as part of a whole family care chain. We inquire into the domestic and intergenerational dynamics through which informal care is exchanged and we focus on gender and generation roles and its changes, redefinitions and/or adjustments resulting from the transnational context.

Data for this research is collected from participant observation and in-depth interviews and we adopt a multi-situated ethnography approach and carry out fieldwork in different locations (Europe-China). The sample includes permanent and temporal grandparenting in Spain (grandparents who cohabit with their family in Spain) and grandparenting in China to "European" grandchildren, referring to the grandparents who live in China but who take care of their grandchildren even if they were born in Europe (summertime or long term). The unit of analysis is not limited to any particular geographical area and the scope is open to Europe and China, but most common cases are related to Chinese families in between Zhejiang (China) and Spain.

Provisional results show an intergenerational gap between parents and their children filled by grandparents who get emotionally closed to them. Once the children become adolescents the transnational informal care and interaction with elder generation serves to rethink and to reinforce their Chinese identity as "huaqiao" (Chinese in the diaspora). Finally, in the migratory context, informal care is given bilaterally and in most of the cases maternal side become capital which redefines relations within the family unit.

Paper 2

Elderly Care, Inheritance and Kinship Relationship: Housing Property Conflicts and Judicial Practice in Shanghai in the 2000s

Na Wang (EHESS) wangna867@gmail.com

According to the sixth national census in 2010, the aging population and life expectancy have increased steadily both nationally and in Shanghai since 2000. Old people aged more than 60 years old (including 60 years old) accounts for 9% in the total population nationwide and 15% in Shanghai in 2010. The dependence ratio of old people aged 60 years and older increases gradually compared to active population aged between 15-59 years old and arrives at 15% nationwide and 20% in Shanghai.

With the increasing aging population and dependence ratio of old people, elderly care becomes progressively a heavy burden, particularly for working class families. Inheritance also comes into play in family elderly care arrangements in these families. In this paper, based on fieldwork and judicial documentary study both in courts and law firms in Shanghai in 2013 and 2014, we focus on housing property inheritance conflicts and judicial practices and try to understand how family deals with elderly care and inheritance particularly real estate inheritance issues in Shanghai in the 2000s. Based upon case studies over a number of family inheritance stories, we will talk about family negotiations over elderly care and inheritance among siblings as well as conflicts over housing property in Shanghai. We would also like to examine how inheritance conflicts take place and are taken to court and how judicial practices deal with family inheritance litigations.

Following an interactive, relational and institutional perspective, we want to understand current urban family and kinship relationship as well by studying family elderly care and inheritance practices, and examine legal and judicial regulations over family property relations and kinship relationship. We present different inheritance conflicts types in judicial practices and explore various kinds of kinship practices under different contexts and examine the possible discrepancies and tensions among people's daily practices, moral practices and legal practices with regard to elderly care and inheritance.

Paper 3

South Korean senior citizens' needs and policy responses towards aging in communities

Yunjeong Yang (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies) yunyang@hufs.ac.kr

South Korea is the most rapidly aging society in the world while its older citizens are among the least happy members of the nation. Income insecurity and loneliness turn out to be the two biggest challenges faced by older persons. Facing the demographic challenges, the Korean government has implemented since 2005 the five-year Basic Plans for Aging Society and Population. The second Basic Plan claims that its approach to societal aging would be comprehensive, involving changes in overall socio-economic system, including labour market, income security, and health and long-term care. The government also sought to build a social environment that is more 'aging-friendly'. Concrete policy instruments, however,

remain obscure.

The main objective of this study is to examine how successfully the national grand plans have met the actual needs of senior citizens; more specifically, how the plans have envisaged supporting any tangible 'aging in community' activities. The paper, primarily based on policy strategy analysis, is composed of two parts: firstly, it reviews the current status of older population in Korea, calling for an imminent need for the paradigm change regarding aging and old age from the one based on the traditionally Confucian family support to the one where senior citizens are regarded as independent and active and also supported to remain as such in their local community. This said, the second part of the paper reviews the three Basic Plans over the 15 years (including the recently launched the Third Basic Plan 2016-2020) and examines their understanding of the concept of, as well as the extent of support for, if any, 'aging in community' – for instance, to nurture and enhance partnership among local governments, NGOs, and community groups in making their communities more 'aging-friendly'. The study is expected to contribute to advancing academic as well as policy discussions on an alternative paradigm and approach (to mostly state-provided institutions) of aging independently in the community. The concluding part of the paper includes some policy suggestions regarding central and local, as well as public and private, roles to play in supportive manners towards more active aging in communities.

Panel 23

Apologies, Hatred, Reconciliation? History and Memory in Sino-Japanese Interactions after World War Two

Panel Chair:

Caroline Rose (Professor of Sino-Japanese Relations School of Languages, Cultures and Societies Executive Director, White Rose East Asia Centre) c.rose@leeds.ac.uk

Panel Discussant:

Shogo Suzuki (Senior Lecturer, Politics, School of Social Sciences, University of Manchester) shogo.suzuki@manchester.ac.uk

Panel abstract:

This panel studies the role of history and memory in the relations and interactions between China and Japan after World War Two. In recent years, the so-called history problems in East Asia have further aggravated and turned into 'history wars' or 'memory wars'. After the recent rapprochement between Japan and Korea in 2015, China and Japan remain at the centre of the historical disputes; while at their core they focus on the significance of historical events and historical memory for today's societies, they are also used to define bilateral relations and civil-society interactions. As polls indicate, issues related to 'history' and 'memory' are the key factors in the continuous negative mutual perceptions between Chinese and Japanese.

The proposed panel will be chaired by Caroline Rose and consists of three papers which address different aspects of these 'history wars'. Yumi Dunbar's paper examines how World War Two is taught at junior high schools in Japan beyond textbooks. Hai Guo will analyze the ideological conditions of the history problems between Japan and China from a Freudo-Marxist perspective. Torsten Weber will study the use of history in the portrayal of China in the Japanese monthly *Sapio*. Finally, Shogo Suzuki will offer his insights as our discussant before the floor will be opened for audience comments.

Paper 1

World War Two in Japanese Junior High Schools Beyond Textbooks

Yumi Dunbar, (University of Manchester) yumi.dunbar@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

This presentation examines Social Studies teachers' teaching practices (Jugyō Jissen) regarding World War Two at junior high school level in Japan, using qualitative data collected from one-to-one interviews with teachers as well as class observations conducted in the capital area, Osaka, and Hiroshima.

Japanese modern history education regarding World War Two is a frequent source of conflict in East Asia, and the enduring issues of nationalistic history textbooks and the infamous textbook screening system- as well as gaffes made by conservative Japanese politicians- tends to portray both history education and ordinary Japanese peoples' historical understanding as monolithic and conservative, however what and how teachers actually teach about this controversial period in the classroom has not been well investigated, mainly due to the sensitivity of the topic which has hindered investigations into the matter.

Within the framework and aims provided by the Ministry of Education, teachers contrive ways to teach about the war with emphasis on what they believe important to teach. The data from this research indicates that teachers often employ not only main textbooks but also supplementary textbooks, videos, and extra hand-outs made by themselves, and they also give students background stories of historical events to facilitate their understanding about the war, all of which provides students with broader and more complex sources of history.

This presentation will provide a look into the teaching of Japanese modern history education in junior high schools, describing what teachers aim to achieve when teaching World War Two, their interpretations of the period, the choices of teaching materials and stories that they make, and how their teaching practices may be influenced including non-academic factors such as student disciplinary issues and the changing of staff in Japanese state schools.

Paper 2

Between Academics and Politics: A Critical Analysis of the Japan-China Joint History Research Project

Hai Guo (School of Languages, Cultures, and Societies University of Leeds) ml12hg@leeds.ac.uk

The Japan-China Joint History Research Project (JHRP henceforth) is an intergovernmental academic project initiated by the Japanese and Chinese government to improve the bilateral relations worsened by the then politicising 'history problem' in 2006. With the published report and interviews conducted with the committee members on both sides early this year, I examine the production process and the impact of the JHRP.

The JHRP can be seen as an extension of China and Japan's official understanding of the 'history problem', from which major differences and commonalities between the two nation-states can be reflected. Whereas the major commonality achieved is a definition of the Second Sino-Japanese War as a 'war of aggression' confirmed by historians, differences between the Chinese and Japanese understanding of the 'history problem', as shown in the production of the JHRP, had existed in three aspects: the political, the affective, and the ideological: 1) The political aspect matters to what had been favoured, censored, or removed from the research, including the selection of researchers, topics, and the negotiation of publication; such difference had been a result of each country's internal politics. 2) The affective aspect concerned the different perspectives that scholars had assumed in their writing, which had derived from scholars' national identification. 3)

The ideological dimension pertains to the epistemological difference in general, which was between a Marxist/Confucian approach held by the Chinese, and a positivist one by the Japanese. Despite a buffering effect the JHRP had on the further politicisation of the 'history problem', since the governments on both sides had not been active in propagating the research, its impact has remained sectional to the academia. In general, the JHRP shows national history in both countries, especially China, still retains a close proximity to politics.

Paper 3

Barbarian, Demonizer, Paper Tiger: History Politics and the Portrayal of China in the Japanese journal *Sapio*

Torsten Weber, German Institute for Japanese Studies (DIJ Tokyo) weber@dijtokyo.org

History politics, i.e. the instrumentalisation of history for political purposes, is on the rise in East Asia. Recently China has intensified its efforts at lobbying audiences at home and abroad to push for a global adoption of a China-centred, nationalistic understanding of Japan's imperial past (Nanking massacre, comfort women, territorial disputes etc). At the same time, the Japanese government and other people installed by Prime Minister Abe into important public offices have repeatedly revealed a historical consciousness that contradicts the basic consensus in historical research. This has created a wide gap in the official historical narratives in both countries which leads to frictions and occasionally triggers violent protests in China and Korea. However, the distortion of history by the Japanese government only rarely causes wider discussions within Japan. One reason for this domestic apathy seems to be the existence of well-established revisionist and anti-Asian historical narratives in Japanese public discourse. Against this background, my paper uses the widely-read Japanese monthly journal *Sapio* to examine how references to Chinese-Japanese history are instrumentalized to simultaneously whitewash Japan's imperialist past and to stigmatize China as a dangerous and "barbarian" country demonizing Japan. The goals of my presentation therefore are to analyse general patterns of history politics used by *Sapio* and to discuss the significance of history politics for the mutual perceptions of the Chinese and Japanese today.

Panel 24

Trade in the late 19th and 20 century China

Paper 1

Global Business and Transnational Investment: China Trade in Early Nineteenth-Century Canton

John Wong (The University of Hong Kong) jdwong@hku.hk

This presentation examines the Canton trade networks that helped to shape the modern world through the lens of the prominent Chinese merchant Houqua, whose trading network and financial connections stretched from China to India, America and Britain. In contrast to interpretations that see Chinese merchants in this era as victims of rising Western mercantilism and oppressive Chinese traditions, Houqua maintained a complex balance between his commercial interests and those of his Western counterparts, all in an era of transnationalism before the imposition of the Western world order.

Focusing on the transactions of Houqua, this presentation enhances the resolution of our understanding that has hitherto been confined to macroeconomic investigations of trade balance and Western accounts of the galleon trade. Silver was not simply a form of payment; it was also a commodity the trading of which generated tremendous profits for merchants. Houqua's business dealings evince that different forms of silver provided arbitrage opportunities for transnational traders. In challenging simple assumptions of stocks and flows of silver, the analysis extends into the credit market. Compared to simple aggregations of data at a national level, Houqua's financial dealings across time and space provide the basis for a more nuanced understanding of global economic development before Western systems came to dictate the terms for the accounting and clearance of international trade and credit.

The success of Houqua and Co. in configuring its networks in the fluid context of the early nineteenth century remains instructive today, as the contemporary balance of political power renders the imposition of a West-centric world system increasingly problematic, and requires international traders to adapt to a new world order in which China, once again, occupies center stage.

Paper 2

Soybeans Journey from Manchuria to Egypt in the Early Twentieth Century

Shuang Wen (National University of Singapore) meiwens@nus.edu.sg

Historians of commodities often focus on exotic items that have high economic and socio-cultural values generated by the processes of production, transaction and consumption. For example, tea, silk, and porcelain were well known in Chinese-Arab trade over land and maritime silk roads in the pre-modern and early modern periods. Few people, however, would imagine that the humble and cheap soybeans played an important role in connecting these two major non-western societies at the beginning of the twentieth century. The innate properties of soybean as a substitute commodity with its values split between industrial and nutritious usages demonstrate the multiple roles that the same commodity can play in different economic and cultural milieus.

By narrating the journey of soybeans from Manchuria to Egypt, this paper uncovers the global economic entanglements among China, Egypt, Great Britain, Japan, and the United States in the early twentieth century. Commercial activities at this crucial historical moment were not limited to the interdependence between the center and the peripheries, as the world-systems theory historiographies have construed it. The busy traffic among the peripheries was also an indispensable part. The collaboration and competition between empires created transnational trade networks that facilitated the multi-directional flow of commodities. This cross-cultural flow was also made possible by the Second Industrial Revolution, marked by the widespread steam-powered manufacturing machineries, the development of young scientific fields such as modern chemistry and nutritional science, the infrastructure building such as roads, railways, and the opening of the Suez Canal, faster means of transportation and communication such as steamships powered by turbine engine and the invention of electronic telegraph and telephone, and the development of finance (credit) banking and insurance industries.

The transfer of soybeans and its agricultural cultivation know-how from Manchuria to Egypt exemplifies a highly contingent and mediated process that involved disparate actors in a complex global economic chain of events. It integrated Manchuria and Egypt into the same world economic chain. However, this incorporation did not lead to cultural homogenization or economic equality. The impacts of the globalized world economy on different parts of the world were far from even.

Paper 3

The Pearl by the Bohai Sea: Qinhuangdao in the Long Eighteenth Century

Ronald C. Po (London School of Economics) chungyampo@gmail.com

This paper examines the history and function of a port city in Northeast China called Qinhuangdao in the early modern period. Compared to the more popular northeastern port cities of Tianjin and Dalian, Qinhuangdao is smaller in size and probably less known. Yet it is not inconsequential to sea trade and trans-cultural interactions. Over the long eighteenth century, it was one of the busiest seaports in Zhili prefecture (now Hebei province), connecting the Bohai market to the wider maritime world. The port received and dispatched a constant flow of people and information as well as commodities and ships that circulated around the Bohai Sea and other maritime markets. The merchants from Zhili, and particularly Qinhuangdao, forged commercial ties throughout the Northeast, as well as the East and South China Seas. Unlike southeastern port cities such as Canton and Macau that fostered a "East-West global transshipment" across East and Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Europe, Qinhuangdao served as a supporting, regional port city that consolidated the "North-South maritime bond" linking Northeast Asia to Southeast China. This north-south bond was in fact an integral part of the process of proto-globalization with multiple and overlapping economic and cultural spheres in East Asia and beyond.

Paper 4

Overlaps and Interstices of Empires: Qing and British Rule over Chinese Merchantmen and Waterborne Trade during the Opium War

Gary Luk (University of Oxford) chi.luk@sant.ox.ac.uk

Conquering and ruling huge sections of China's littoral regions and imposing an extensive blockade of its waters during the Opium War (1840–1842), the British Expedition established a wartime frontier regime in China, a great section of which overlapped with the southern part of the “sea frontier” of the Qing Empire. In wartime, while Qing civil, military, and customs control over Chinese maritime and river trade loosened, the British Expedition established the “prize agent system,” the passport system, taxation, and a free trade policy in regions under blockade and occupation. While some war-affected territories fell to both Qing and British control, not all Chinese merchantmen were subject to British and Qing rule, or even either of them. Chinese clandestine trade on water remained rampant during the war and in the decades that followed. The overlaps and interstices of the British and Qing empires, therefore, characterized the maritime and river regions in China during and after the Opium War.

In contrast to the scholarly emphasis on diplomatic and military aspects of the Opium War, this paper reveals three of its less discernible layers: the Qing efforts to “tame” the empire's “sea frontier,” British rule in the conquered regions, and the clashes between the Qing and British empires over governing the Chinese littoral population. Moreover, this paper responds to the recent trend of comparing different empires in the early modern and modern periods by challenging the “tradition-modernity binary” between the Qing and British empires. It argues that the British wartime policy on Chinese merchant craft and waterborne trade was similar to the Qing counterpart in many ways. The framework of “water borders” constructed in the paper, furthermore, serves to facilitate comparison between frontiers in China and beyond where Western imperialists, “indigenous” authorities, and native people interacted in early modern and modern times.

Panel 25 Governance and politics

Paper 1

Nuclear Debates in Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea: The Perspective of Intergenerational Justice and Democratic Participation

Gillan Chi-Lun Huang (Tamkang University) gillanhuang76@gmail.com

The policy options of the present generation on nuclear energy bring significant effect to future generation. This paper focuses on intergenerational justice and democratic participation in the nuclear debate prior and after the Fukushima Nuclear Incident in Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea.

Similarly, Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea are highly dependent on importation of energy sources. Nuclear industries in these three countries are strongly influenced by the USA. Hence, the issues of nuclear energy are always embedded in the energy security and international relations.

However, the Fukushima nuclear incident had brought different impact to these three countries. For Taiwan, Fukushima Nuclear Incident is seen as the re-birth of anti-nuclear activism nation-wide. Subsequently it forced the government to halt the construction of the Forth Nuclear Power Plant in 2014. For Japan, civil anti-nuclear activism has expanded after Fukushima Incident. However, there is no firm commitment from Japanese government to reduce/eliminate the reliance on nuclear energy. For South Korea, anti-nuclear movement has always been limited at the local level. After the Fukushima, nuclear energy remains a strategic priority and perceived as national defense and national security issue.

By conducting field study, this paper critically assesses the public perception on nuclear power in Taiwan, Japan and South Korea. This paper compares the changes of public opinions prior and post the Fukushima Nuclear Incident. In the meantime, this paper also examines how the ideas of intergenerational justice and public participation developed in the nuclear debate in these three countries prior and post the Fukushima Incident.

The overall purpose of this project is to determine how far the ideas and principles of intergenerational justice and democratic participation have informed the nuclear management policies of Taiwan, Japan and South Korea. This paper will also contribute to debates on policy issue of nuclear energy, and helps members of local communities, government officials and politicians in Taiwan, Japan and South Korea to develop a greater awareness of the problems and issues of nuclear energy.

Paper 2

A Class Act: Showcasing for China's Stratified Family Politics

Alison Lamont (University of Duisburg-Essen) alison.lamont@uni-due.de

This paper explores the state's imaginary of the ideal contemporary Chinese family. It looks at the political narratives generated by the annual "Looking for the Most Beautiful Family" competition, first launched by the All China Women's Federation (ACWF) in 2013. The campaign has a dedicated websites in Chinese and English on the ACWF, as well as pages hosted by CCTV, Sina News and dedicated WeChat channels. Using these digital channels to invite popular participation from Internet users, the campaign promotes "traditional" family values by crowdsourcing examples from netizens. The campaign thus uses new media to promote "old" values. It also continues "old" methods of dictating the public discourse on morality, for example by promoting model families, on this new platform.

A critical discourse analysis of the campaign and its online presence is presented to situate the campaign as a soft power tool which aims to shape contemporary Chinese concepts of, and hopes for family life. It highlights key themes of romance, conjugality and welfare as the cornerstones of the state's dream of the modern Chinese family. By exploring devices such as curated online photo galleries of user-nominated "beautiful" families, this competition discursively creates an ideal family suitable for China's 21st century "xiaokang" society. Finally, the paper emphasises the unstated role of class – or "social stratification" in the contemporary Chinese terminology – in the representation of China's most beautiful families, and questions what the discursive impact of these family representations have on notions of social mobility, identity, and normality.

Panel 26

Local, National and Ethnic Identities in the PRC and Taiwan

Paper 1

Understanding Separatism in the construction of Chinese national identity

Chi Zhang (University of Leeds) ptcz@leeds.ac.uk

This paper articulates the underpinning framework embedded within Chinese political culture wherein separatism is viewed as a national taboo. The discourse of separatism evokes a sense of humiliation at the hand of imperialist invasion in the nineteenth century, a sense of trauma and incapability to save the nation, and thus a sense of anxiety to realise the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Separatism, in Chinese eyes, is thus not merely attempts and actions to demand more political autonomy. The discourse of separatism is highly emotional in Chinese politics. The mixed feelings are linked to the survival of the Chinese state, making it a sensitive issue, in other words, a “taboo” in Chinese politics. In 2001, Shanghai Cooperation Organisation signed the Shanghai Convention on Combating Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism, officially named separatism as one of the “three evils” (Organisation, 2001) – a term that is frequently used in Chinese policy documents, regular press conference of the Foreign Ministry, news reports, scholarly works regarding China’s counter-terrorism policy. It can be seen that the Chinese government has conflated these concepts and replaced it with one another for the convenience of political communication. Due to the plasticity of Chinese political language, separatism cannot be taken by its literal sense, but requires a further enquiry into the political culture wherein the discourse of separatism is framed to suit the political interests of the central authority.

Paper 2

Topographies of memory and ethnic belonging prior to the 1950’s China’s ethnic classification project

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Academics have contributed considerably to the understanding of China’s ethnic classification (minzu shibie) project of the 1950’s, particularly its impact on ethnic, cultural, religious, linguistic, social and economic differences amongst the nation’s ethnic population. Detailed ethnographic research carried out by anthropologists, such as Ralph Litzinger and Nicholas Tapp, portray how in response to the classification scheme, dominant representations have framed and modelled minority identities, histories and social realities. Whilst scholarly research on the intricate workings of the minority classification project is insightful and crucial, less is written about the representations that already existed, not only in response to state discourse, but through historical relations and concealed tensions amongst neighbouring ethnic minority populations. This paper sheds light to such representations by studying a Dong village in rural Guizhou province that used to be occupied by Miao residents who were eliminated after the arrival of, what is now labeled, a Dong population. Combining my ethnographic encounters alongside local myths and oral histories collected in the Dong village over a ten month period, I analyse how a shared identity is constructed through narratives told by Dong newcomers that reveal historical tensions with the original Miao settlers. Furthermore, in studying local resident’s topographies of memory and belonging, I look at how village artifactual remnants, such as grave markers left from previous Miao inhabitants, continue to cohabit memories of the Dong newcomers. In dissecting the roots of a locality, my paper then shifts to draw on how the history of a Dong village is represented as it becomes a living heritage site and tourist destination. As the village transforms, I uncover how nationally recognised Dong attributes are strengthened. Studying these processes in China’s most impoverished regions where heritage revival is at the core of development, my paper concludes by drawing comparisons on how belonging has been historically experienced by the residents of a Dong village in contrast to how the Dong ethnic agency is represented through heritage discourse and the new forms of identities that emerge.

Paper 3

The PRC’s Tibet Policy in 1959-1979: An Analysis from the Perspective of China’s Nation-building Politics

Tsung-han Wu (Lau China Institute, King’s College London) tsung-han.wu@kcl.ac.uk

What were the strategies by the People’s Republic of China (PRC) to cope with the evolution of the Tibetan issue from 1959 to 1979, a period that was relatively neglected in the literature? How did the international and the domestic factors account for the interactions between the PRC and the Tibet Government in Exile (TGIE) in this period? This paper aims to explore these questions in the context of the Chinese government’s effort for nation-building project towards Tibet since the Dalai Lama’s exile in 1959. Referring to the relevant approaches that examine nation-building politics through international relations and ethnopolitics, and drawing on available archives and literature through English and Chinese language sources, it argues that the PRC’s interstate relations and its domestic political vicissitudes influence China’s Tibet policies. Specifically, this paper analyzes the PRC’s rifts with India and the USSR, the UN Resolutions on Tibet, and its radical leftist politics in the 1960s, and considers them to play roles in Beijing’s adoption of suppression towards Tibet. Meanwhile the international pressure did not damage China’s sovereignty over Tibet. However, with the PRC’s restoring its rights in the United Nations and the decline of the Cultural Revolution in the 1970s, it gradually adopted an accommodated attitude towards the interaction with the TGIE, regarding the Dalai Lama’s duty visit overseas. In his response the Dalai Lama also adjusted to a more moderate stand. The potentially informal interactions finally turned into an official meeting when Deng Xiaoping invited Gyalo Thondup, the Dalai Lama’s brother to visit Beijing that paved the way for a positive development of the early-1980s. This paper contributes to a literature on the Tibetan issue, and offers a Chinese case study in further understanding the conflict and peace of nation-building politics.

Panel 27

Transnational North Korea

Paper 1

From 'Enemy Nation' to 'Socialist Internationalist Agent': Soviet Koreans Dispatched to North Korea and their Roles in the Soviet Occupational Period, 1945-1948

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This article examines the 'Soviet Koreans' and their roles in the nation-building of North Korea during the Soviet occupational period from 1945 to 1948. Looking from the perspective of this 'marginal people', this article argues that the 'North Korean revolution' did not correlate with 'Sovietization' and did not derive from self-reliant project under the absolute command of Kim Il Sung. There were multiple forces that caused the revolution to unfold in its own way. But the Soviet Koreans have been omitted from the official histories of the 'Two Koreas'. Following the defeat of the Japanese Empire in WWII, the United States Army Military Government in Korea ruled the southern part of the 38th parallel, whereas the Soviet Civil Administration of the 25th Soviet Army established a political milieu favorable to the Korean communists in the North. Before their forcible relocations from the Far East to Central Asia in 1937, Soviet Koreans were regarded as one of the 'enemy nation'. Most Soviet Koreans had to endure discriminatory situations in the republics of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. As WWII came to an end, however, some Soviet Koreans were selected as 'internationalist agents' and dispatched by the authorities of the USSR to help reconstruct Korea. Drawing on the memoirs of the Soviet Koreans and other sources, this article aims to shed light on the rationale behind the Soviet Koreans' dispatch to North Korea and its implications, as well as the role and historical character of the Soviet Koreans in the early stages of the nation-building of North Korea.

Paper 2

In the Shadow of Sanctions: The Rise of the Sino-North Korean Border Economy

Kevin Gray (University of Sussex) k.gray@sussex.ac.uk

The aim of this paper is to examine the unintended consequences of international sanctions through an analysis of the impact of sanctions on North Korea's external economic relations, and in particular, on the changing nature of the Sino-North Korean cross-border economy. The tightening of international sanctions against North Korea in recent years has led to a marked reorientation in the country's external trade towards China. The expansion of Sino-North Korean border trade in particular has led to a sharp rise in informal and often illicit forms of trade, including smuggling, barter trade, and the increased use of cash in transactions. Furthermore, the tightening of financial sanctions against North Korean financial institutions and international banks that have dealings with North Korea has led to illicit forms of financial relations between the two countries. Through engaging with the broader literature on international sanctions, we argue that the emergence of this informal cross-border economy questions not only the effectiveness of sanctions against North Korea but also the degree to which international sanctions can provoke counter-responses which actively undermine the explicit objectives of sanctions as well as their broader domestic and international goals.

Paper 3

Chaos or Complexity: The Cultural identity of North Koreans in Britain

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The history of the Korean diaspora in Britain can be traced back at least to the 1980s. According to 2013 statistics from MOFA, there are an estimated 45,000 South Korean residents. However, the influx of people from the Korean peninsula is not limited to South Koreans – there are also a number of North Korean refugees. Their own migration history began when the British government started to admit them as refugees in 2004. Around 700 North Koreans today live in Britain, the majority in the Kingston, which area is known as "Korea town" (Lee Soo-jung and Lee Woo-young 2014). Even though this number is in itself not large, it is significant when compared to the respective population of North Koreans in other countries; indeed, it is considered the largest population of North Koreans in any European state. The refugees have organised their own official community in Britain, which facilitates the sharing of information on the basics of living and is also intended to help each other more generally. Although more than ten years have passed since their initial settlement in Britain, little has been studied about their cultural activities. My research since 2015 among the community has revealed that many learned music when in North Korea, but have subsequently been exposed to Western and South Korean culture since they left their home country. In this paper, I use a bifurcated methodology, utilizing literature on diasporic music and on Korean music North and South to ask how North Korean refugees consider their own identity through cultural aspects in their new land: do they still enjoy the music of North Korea, or, if not, what types of music do they listen to and participate in? I present stories of people from three different generations of North Korean refugees – youth, parents of young families and grandparents – as case studies, noting that generational distinctions are important markers of the identification with music as cultural production. My paper also explores how refugees experience with cultural change as a result of their settlement in Britain, and how they construct distinct cultural identities through music.

Panel 28

Resilience and Fragmentation at work in 21st century Japanese employment

Panel abstract:

This panel presents ongoing findings of a wider project on the evolution of the Japanese employment system in response to the changed environment in light of the nation's transition from a post-war to a post-bubble era. Since the 1990s, the stagnation of the Japanese economy and the ageing of Japanese society have led to a re-evaluation of many key domestic institutions, including Japanese management practices. As a result key changes in employment have been observed (e.g. relative growth in unemployment, rise of atypical employment, declined prospects for youth employment, weakened unions, and performance-based rewards) and there has been an abundance of articles proclaiming the imminent demise of the Japanese lifetime employment system. At the same time, the core practice of lifetime employment has proven resilient and continues to define developments among Japanese employment practices. We argue that this resilience both depends upon and is the cause of the continuing fragmentation of employment stability and opportunity at the system's periphery, with important implications for the access to and quality of employment among all groups in the Japanese labour market.

This panel focuses on and applies the main theoretical contributions that inform these arguments. Together they enable us to explain the continuities in Japanese employment practices and their implications.

Paper 1

Rethinking Lifetime Employment for 21st Century Japan: A Theory of Resilient Fragmentation

Peter Matanle (University of Sheffield) p.matanle@sheffield.ac.uk

Ever since Japan's famous lifetime employment system was first described, scholars and analysts have been saying that it was weakening and would eventually disappear. But this hasn't happened. Yet. In this presentation I will use dual labour market and labour market segmentation theory to argue that, on the one hand, lifetime employment in Japan has not declined and remains resilient and, on the other, Japan's labour force structure has been continuously fragmenting since at least as far back as the mid-1970s. This seemingly self-contradictory process of 'resilient fragmentation' echoes developments that took place in Anglophone countries in earlier decades. However, there are some crucial differences between Japan and the Anglophone world which continue to justify the assertion that the Japanese experience remains a robust counterweight to market fundamentalist assumptions about the foundations of economic stability and prosperity in the 21st century.

Paper 2

Institutional theory and changes in Japanese (lifetime) employment

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This paper draws on institutional theory to explain the main continuities and changes in Japanese employment practices, and in particular the position of the core practice of lifetime employment. In accordance with the duality of institutional structure (Giddens, 1984), existing practices have not only constrained changes that were widely expected and/or promoted since the 1990s, but also shaped other developments such as the rise in atypical employment, the adjustment of the psychological contract through the introduction of performance-related pay, and the relative inability of Japanese unions to organize atypical workers. These developments will be analysed by institutional contributions that stress how, among others, the political character of institutions, issues of legitimacy, institutional complementarities and institutional contradictions all contribute to processes of change that are dependent on existing institutional structures. The changes are therefore highly endogenous to the existing practices and this suggests the continued uniqueness of Japanese employment practices. At the same time, 'continuity of institutions' does not guarantee 'continuity of outcomes' (Coates 2000) and the changes have had major implications for those at work that have become a real area of concern.

Paper 3

The culture of corporate citizenship within lifetime employment

Jun Imai (Hokkaido University) jimai@let.hokudai.ac.jp

The literatures on 'lifetime employment' in Japan estimated that just about 20% to 30% of the workers at the top of the labour market hierarchy typically benefited from the practices. The estimate is drawn from the focus on variables such as the level of wages, firm size, union density, job tenure, smooth and standardized transition from school to work, scheduled and mandatory retirement and company specific training. This paper argues that such an estimation captures just half the story, looking only at the 'benefits' to workers of Japanese employment relations, and that it is necessary to focus also on the 'duty' side of the relations in order to estimate the coverage since employment relations should be understood to have the aspects of rights and duties. Focusing particularly on the side of duties, especially the reasons why Japanese regular workers are so submissive to corporate decisions on their mobilities, this paper argues that the coverage far exceeds the percentages of existing estimations. This indicates the strong influence of the power relations behind Japanese employment practices.

Paper 4

The Resilience of a Gender Dividend – Women and Lifetime Employment

Helen Macnaughtan (SOAS, University of London) hm39@soas.ac.uk

This paper offers a theoretical framework for analysing employment in Japan, the concept of 'gender dividend'. Japan has created a post-war employment system that is based on gender difference and gender segregation. This has served Japan very well in the post-war decades, but increasingly there is the need and desire for a system that incorporates principles of universal social justice, and within this a call for gender equality. The current Japanese employment system at its core harnesses a gender dividend of difference that promotes a division of labour by sex. But the focus on issues relating to women's employment in recent years is promoting a universal ideal that seeks to harness a dividend from gender equality. This paper therefore investigates whether employment in Japan is fragmenting into a new construct of gender or whether the resilience of the old gender system will hold strong. The article first outlines a theoretical framework within which gender and employment in Japan can be placed. It then analyses to what degree there has been change and advancement for working women over time, particularly the last thirty years since the enactment of equal employment legislation. It concludes with an insight into the potential of Japanese leaders and institutions to re-evaluate and redefine gendered employment practices.

Panel 29

War-related Contents Tourism in East Asia: From Dark to Light/Lite Tourism?

Panel abstract:

In recent times the term “dark tourism” has gained much attention within tourism studies. There are various definitions, but they have in common visitation to sites related to death, suffering or disaster. Warfare is a key theme within dark tourism, and tourism more generally given the many forts, battlefields, monuments and war museums that are tourist sites today.

However, is it all “dark” tourism? This panel challenges the concept of dark tourism by examining examples of war-related contents tourism in East Asia. Contents tourism is travel behaviour induced wholly or partially by works of popular culture. There are many films, novels, manga and anime that treat war history as entertainment. Visitation to war-related sites based on an interest developed through engagement with such popular culture seems to be more appropriately categorized “light/lite” tourism.

The first paper (Philip Seaton) sets the theoretical context using the example of contents tourism induced by kamikaze films; the second paper (Kyungjae Jang) analyses how a recent Korean drama depicts the Korean military and how it is consumed overseas, including by tourists; the third paper (Akiko Sugawa-Shimada) looks at women as both tourists and protagonists of war-related popular culture; and the fourth paper (Takayoshi Yamamura) considers the links between popular culture and the Japan Self Defense Forces.

Paper 1

Kamikaze Films and Contents Tourism

Philip Seaton (Hokkaido University) seaton@imc.hokudai.ac.jp

The kamikaze have assumed a central role in Japanese memories of the Second World War quite disproportionate to the number of people who died and were killed in such attacks. There have been numerous films and dramas produced about the kamikaze and on multiple occasions these have triggered noticeable increases in visitation to the primary commemorative site: the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots in Kyushu. As tourism induced by works of popular culture such as *Hotaru* (film 2001) and *Eien no Zero* (novel 2006, manga 2010-12, film 2013, TV drama), this additional visitation may be called contents tourism.

War-related tourism is often referred to as “dark tourism”, namely visitation to sites associated with death, suffering or disaster. This paper challenges the term “dark tourism”. The primary problem is that while most tourism collocations (heritage tourism, adventure tourism, contents tourism) indicate the type of destination/activity or the motivations for travel, the term “dark tourism” reflects a value judgement on that tourism by the observer which may or may not reflect accurately the tourism experience. Kamikaze movies typify how so-called “dark tourism” may actually be “light/lite tourism”. Kamikaze movies (and more generally war movies) that have induced tourism are often uplifting stories of heroism, moving stories of love/friendship, inspirational stories of overcoming hardship, or simply high-octane action entertainment.

This paper examines the links between works of popular culture and visitation to kamikaze-related sites, particularly Chiran. Through analysis of the narrative qualities of kamikaze films/dramas and cross-referencing the narrative qualities of such films to the additional levels of tourism they have induced, the paper considers one of the enduring questions within studies of media and tourism: what precisely is it within a particular work of culture that turns it from simply a work of entertainment into a powerful inducer of tourism?

Paper 2

When the Sun Turned to Darkness: the Korean military drama *Descendants of the Sun* and contents tourism

Kyungjae Jang (Hokkaido University) dolamoussecou@yahoo.co.jp

Recently, the so-called *Hallyu* (Korean Wave) has expanded its market, particularly in Asia. It started from TV dramas and pop songs, but now includes related commodities such as cosmetics, fashion, and tourism. Korean military films or dramas used to be produced for domestic consumption, although some movies, such as *Red Muffler* (1964), became popular abroad (in this case, in Taiwan). One of the reasons for producing military contents is as anticommunist propaganda, with the support of Ministry of National Defense (MND).

The TV drama *Descendants of the Sun* (2016) is a new development that combines the Korean Wave, a military drama, and tourism. Although it is a romance (similar to other hit Korean dramas), *Descendants of the Sun* is also military drama supported by the MND and depicts Korean Special Forces operations abroad as part of a Peacekeeping Force. The drama has been exported to 32 countries and has even been broadcast simultaneously in China.

In some Asian countries concerns have been raised about the drama. Although the Chinese government permits the broadcast amidst warmer Chinese-South Korean relations, the government has warned the drama is becoming too popular. In Vietnam, where the Korean Wave is very popular, journalists have debated whether the drama recalls painful memories of Korean atrocities committed during the Vietnam War. Conversely, the Prime Minister of Thailand has commented that Thais should watch and make such patriotic dramas, even though the drama has not yet aired in Thailand.

Overseas fans tend to consume the drama as fiction or fantasy. Some fans in Vietnam even had their wedding photos taken while reproducing a scene from the drama dressed up Korean Special Forces. Seeing the drama's popularity, the Korean government has developed locations and sets of the drama (such as a former coalmine in Gangwon Province) to boost inbound and outbound (mainly Chinese) tourism. Using textual analysis and fan surveys, this presentation analyses how this recent Korean drama depicts the Korean military and how it is consumed overseas, including by tourists, both as a political text and as a fantasy.

Paper 3

Embracing or Invalidating Militarism? *Shōjo* Images and Cosplay in War-related Contents Tourism in Japan

Akiko Sugawa-Shimada (Yokohama National University) akikosugawa@ynu.ac.jp

Around the seventieth anniversary of the end of World War II, there were diverse representations of the war in the mass media in Japan. Films and anime, in particular, are major driving forces connecting those who never experienced the war with war memories. War memories are, however, often romanticized and/or popularized through representations of *shōjo* (girls). In *Arpeggio of Blue Steel: Ars Nova* (manga 2009-ongoing; TV anime 2013; anime film 2015) and *Kantai Collection (Kan-kore)* (online game 2013-ongoing; TV anime 2015; anime film 2016), submarines and battleships are personified as girls in World War II scenarios. The Maritime SDF and *Arpeggio* have collaborated in mutual promotions, for example, when voice actors/actresses introduced MSDF submarines, escort ships, training sites, and even an Aegis-equipped ship as bonus footage on the Blu Ray Discs of *Arpeggio* (2013-14) and MSDF (2015).

Fans visit venues related to these anime works. In particular, the naval base at Yokosuka, Kanagawa Prefecture, and other WWII-related sites in Japan related to *Arpeggio* and *Kan-kore* have become popular destinations for their young fans. The Memorial Ship Mikasa in Yokosuka held a Halloween festival in 2015 during which *Kan-kore* cosplayers were allowed to photograph themselves on the battleship Mikasa. The annual visitors to the museum in financial year 2015 were over 250,000, the highest number in 51 years, and the number of female visitors increased.

This presentation analyses two connections between *shōjo* and contents tourism: textual analysis of representations of *shōjo* in *Arpeggio* and *Kan-kore*, and analysis of tourism by women (including female cosplayers) induced by *Arpeggio* and *Kan-kore*. War-related contents tourism serves to rewrite war memories, to popularize Japanese militarization, and/or to "invalidate values" (*kachi no mukōka*) regarding it among young women. Young women treat contents related to the war as fashionable, the SDF is historicized as part of past Japanese militarism, and women relate to the SDF through its popularization and familiarization.

Paper 4

Propaganda or Fantasy? History and background of cooperation between pop-culture contents production and the Japan Self-Defense Forces

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In recent years, the Japanese Self-Defense Force has become involved in the creation of a wide variety of motion pictures, including films, dramas, and anime. In particular, the Self-Defense Force is now cooperating in the production of and events related to anime such as *Girls und Panzer* and *GATE* that emphasize fantasy elements or elements of "otaku" culture. Because either the settings of the stories or the related events that the Self-Defense Force participates in appeal to tourists, travel to these places by tourists from both Japan and overseas have become opportunities for the travelers and members of the Self-Defense Force to have contact, which in turn increases familiarity.

In this presentation, I will trace the history and forms of Self-Defense Force cooperation in the production of motion pictures in the post-World War II era, starting with *Godzilla*, through reference to the changes that occurred in both social circumstances and the Self-Defense Force's PR strategy. In this process, the Great East Japan Earthquake (2011) was the major turning point that marked an enormous change in the public's view of the Self-Defense Force.

I also investigate why the Self-Defense Force has in recent years become actively involved in the production of forms of popular culture that have a strong element of fantasy and otaku culture. Using concrete examples, I will discuss whether the use of these creative works in PR activities has been effective, what the Self-Defense Force's own perception and assessment of the effectiveness of these works has been, and whether the tourism that results from these works is, while creating familiarity with the Self-Defense Force, at the same time possibly stimulating criticism of and antipathy toward war and the military.

Panel 30

Recycling Cultural Memory and Historical Objects: The Contemporisation of Pre-Modern Chinese Traditions and Practices

Panel abstract:

This panel explores the shifts in the understanding and use of pre-modern texts, practices, and objects in contemporary China. The question of negotiating between tradition and contemporaneity, continuity and rupture of cultural identity is an urgent one for China today, as evidenced by various new waves of enthusiasm for traditional 'wisdom', traditional 'virtues' and practices.

We propose four papers that cover the topics of: the uses of classical Chinese texts in folk belief and popular culture, the transformation of traditional calligraphy in contemporary art and leisure practices and the market, the reinvention of ancient Chinese thought in the new discipline of comparative philosophy, and the worship of Buddhist relics in Chinese Buddhist temples. The papers in this panel therefore explore how the re-connection with Chinese tradition is articulated today, and what problems and questions arise from this attempt to contemporise cultural memory and history. From these different perspectives, we shall demonstrate that modern China does not straightforwardly inherit tradition, and contemporary Chinese people are very much outsiders to pre-modern Chinese culture. Chinese tradition is therefore in the process of being misunderstood and re-understood, refashioned and adapted in many different ways to respond to contemporary concerns.

Paper 1

Comparative Philosophy and the Question of Asian Philosophy: The Case of the Contemporisation of Ancient Chinese Thought

Dr Xiaofan Amy Li (Cantab. MML; St Anne's College, Oxford) xiaofan.li@st-annes.ox.ac.uk

This paper examines the contemporary study of ancient Chinese thought within the context of the recent discipline of comparative philosophy. As is well noted, the rise of comparative philosophy since the 1980s emerged from the increasing attention paid to Asian thought traditions, and the postcolonial critique of Eurocentrism in established academic disciplines such as philosophy, history, and literary criticism. In this way, comparative philosophy uses Asian philosophy as a means to challenge and expand the very notion of 'philosophy', which is firmly rooted in the classical and Western tradition. Taking ancient Chinese thought as a case study, I examine how studies of Chinese philosophy relate to this critical project of comparative philosophy. Specific examples relevant to my discussion are the current trends of relating Daoist thought to ecology and ecocriticism, and the reinvention of Confucianism and its application to discussions of virtue ethics, as evidenced in the works of comparative philosophers such as Roger Ames, Bo Mou, and Graham Parkes. Through this examination, I argue that current philosophical studies of ancient Chinese thought stem from an attempt to not only understand it better but also re-invent it in contemporary contexts, so that its relevance to us can be justified. Nevertheless, this contemporisation of ancient Chinese thought and anti-Eurocentric project of comparative philosophy also raise problematic issues we should be careful about, namely, what to appreciate and what to criticise in this endeavour of contemporisation? How to avoid the danger of decontextualising Chinese thought and making it the kind of abstract, universal, and atemporal philosophy characteristic of Western philosophy? How is this reinvention of ancient Chinese thought involved with contemporary cultural politics and questions of negotiating between tradition, cultural memory, and identity in China? And how effective is comparative and Asian philosophy in breaking down the divisions of 'analytic' and 'continental' philosophy, 'Western philosophy' and 'Eastern wisdom'?

Paper 2

"Raising the Status of Calligraphy": Power, Prestige and Privilege in Contemporary China

Dr Edward Luper (Chinese Art Specialist, Bonhams Auctioneers) edwardluper@hotmail.co.uk

Calligraphy is traditionally considered to be one of the highest art forms in China. It is also an art form which has flirted with social power continuously throughout history, and even to the present day. Once firmly belonging within the small rarefied circles of the highly educated and cultured men of the elite, calligraphy now belongs to the masses with twenty to thirty thousand members claiming "calligrapher" status in the Chinese Calligraphers association.

In recent years, there has been a concern voiced by calligraphers, critics and journalists about the perceived decline of calligraphy's status. The calligrapher and Chairman of the International Calligraphers Association Liu Zhengcheng wrote that "calligraphy is in danger of degenerating from an elite art to a folk art". Vice Chairman of the Chinese Calligraphers Association Chen Zhenlian said that "calligraphy needs to be a more scholarly subject again". Glances at these men's titles confirms their commitment to pyramidal, hierarchical calligraphy societies and indicates that modern calligraphers are as busy establishing their place in competitive cut-throat committees as they are in producing works of art. The perceived decline of calligraphy into a "folk art" concretely affects their incomes, cultural capital, social status and influence. A hierarchy of prestige exists and people devote much time, money and effort collecting prizes and qualifications proving their status as calligraphers. I argue that the perception of a reduced status of calligraphy reflects certain issues that are to do with power networks: Who has social and cultural cachet? It is not just about the merits and practice of calligraphy, there is an implied dissatisfaction with how it affects access to status, cultural capital and money today.

My findings are based on my numerous engagements with calligraphers and members of calligraphy associations in Shaoxing, Hangzhou, Nanjing and Beijing; attending calligraphy conferences and exhibitions; as well as translating Liu Zhengcheng's book *Shufa yishu gailun* into English. Calligraphy is a marker of social status and its perceived decline into "folk art" highlights not only status anxiety but sheds light on the cut-throat world of calligraphy societies. These societies are vehicles to privileges and benefits which require the preservation of exclusivity. This parallels similar social trends in how access to privilege in China is being policed in a time of social flux and change.

Paper 3

Title: Buddha's Bones: Buddhist Relics in Contemporary China

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This paper investigates the culture of Buddha's bone relic worship in northern China, its history and modern development. Particularly, my ethnographic investigation of modern Buddhist relic culture highlights the way in which the relationship between the state, belief, economy, and the sacred relic is understood by relevant social communities in modern China. The paper focuses on the historicity of the Buddha's bone relic in the cosmology of efficacy, fortune, and the modern state in China. The central issue I shall discuss is people's understanding of the history and power of the sacred bone relic and how such an understanding is woven into their political imagination of the Chinese state and the state's economic and political interests in the bone relics. The common ground for Buddhist believers' and non-believers' view on such an issue is, I shall argue, a cosmology of inheritance. Material objects is not only seen as the carrier and recorder of history; effective power and the vitality of the society also reside in their historicity. Therefore the process of inheriting, collecting, enshrining, displaying, and worshipping sacred objects with particular historical and cultural significance like the Buddha's bone relic is not only perceived as a symbolic process, but a process of collecting the society's actual vitality. From this point of view, the state control of the Buddha's bone relic and the Buddhist idea of merit are united in the bone relic. The worship of the bone relic by common believers is seen as the last step of inheriting such a vitality by which the vitality is disseminated into the society.

Paper 4

'Wisdom', 'Knowledge', and the 'Yi Jing Thought Model': Two Perspectives on the Proper Uses of the Classics in Contemporary Hangzhou

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This paper uses ethnographic data from fieldwork in Hangzhou to illuminate the contrasting attitudes to the Chinese classics, and particularly the *Yi Jing*, found among fortune-tellers on the one hand and National Studies (*guoxue*) activists on the other. Whilst both groups hold the *Yi Jing* in high esteem as containing the timeless and universal wisdom of the ancestors, their opinions on how this wisdom is best learned and put to use differ markedly. I argue that this difference stems not only from the specific uses to which classic texts are put, but also from different attitudes to an idealised Chinese past as a source of knowledge. National Studies activists emphasise the moral and epistemological authority of the classics as a form of 'wisdom' (*zhihui*), which they contrast an epistemologically and morally inferior 'knowledge' (*zhishi*) embodied in 'Western' science and mathematics. Seeking a corrective to this, National Studies activists encourage the rote-memorisation of texts such as the *Yi Jing* as a means of cultivating 'wisdom', focusing especially on child education. In contrast, fortune-tellers emphasise an understanding of the principles contained in classical texts, particularly the *Yi Jing*, and the ability to apply these in practice to the challenges of modern life. I argue that whilst they similarly consider the *Yi Jing* infallible owing to its age and provenance, they do not oppose it directly to 'Western' knowledge, but rather see it as capable of accommodating science as epistemologically valid, at the same time demonstrating a more flexible attitude to the contrast between tradition and modernity. I illustrate these points with particular reference to a minor dispute between two of my informants, a National Studies activist and a professional fortune-teller and *fengshui* master, concerning the best way to study the *Yi Jing*, and situate this in relation to the broader worldviews and practices in which they engage.

Panel 31

Narrative Approaches to Geopolitics in Sino-Japanese Relations

Panel Abstract:

Security related issues currently play a dominant role in the academic debate on Sino-Japanese relations. While providing some key insights, the narrow focus of such research prevents it from fully appreciating the wide array of symbolic issues that continue to plague the bilateral relationship to this day. By focusing precisely on these issues this panel sheds light on the links between non-material factors and East Asian geopolitics. Two of the papers consider the role of history in the contemporary relationship: the first analyses how historical narratives influence bilateral behavior; the second presents an in-depth study of the long-standing Yasukuni shrine issue, challenging the dominant narrative that China uses the issue in a solely instrumental fashion. The third paper assesses the spill-over of Sino-Japanese competition beyond East Asia, focusing on Japan's pursuit of political prestige and recognition as the leader of the East Asian region in the Middle East. The final paper brings the United States into the picture, examining how Japanese narratives of the 'China threat' and the need for deterrence provide a rationale for a highly controversial United States Marine base.

Paper 1

Paper title: Narratives about the Past in International Politics: The Case of Sino- Japanese Relations

Karl Gustafsson, Senior Research Fellow, Swedish Institute of International Affairs & Associate Professor, Stockholm University

Do the ways in which states remember their pasts influence interstate relations in the present? A growing literature in International Relations (IR) suggests that the ways in which states represent the past, particularly wars and disputes, matter in international politics. This research refers to various types of narratives, for example victor, victim or perpetrator narratives. Such studies explicitly or implicitly suggest that the kinds of narratives that dominate in a particular state have consequences for how that state will act (or how other states will expect it to act). For example, if Japanese narratives depict Japan's past invasion of parts of Asia as heroic, Japan is expected to act in a different way in the present and the future than if it were to narrate this history by stressing Japan's role as a victimizer. Similarly, a China that tells tales about having been a humiliated victim is expected to behave differently than if it portrays its wartime efforts as primarily heroic. Yet, despite these assumed implications for international politics, a clear methodology for how analysts can recognize particular narratives when we see them has yet to be developed. The present paper develops such a methodology and uses it to analyze Japanese and Chinese narratives about the past. The paper then draws out the implications of the results of the analysis for Sino-Japanese geopolitics.

Paper 2

Paper title: Explaining the Post-2006 Yasukuni Shrine Moratorium in Sino-Japanese Relations

Ed Griffith (University of Central Lancashire)

During his five years as prime minister of Japan, Koizumi Junichiro visited Yasukuni Shrine on six occasions, apparently causing significant damage to the political relationship between China and Japan. Despite being widely considered to be even more 'hawkish' on the history issue, his successor, Abe Shinzo, managed to significantly improve the bilateral relationship in a short space of time seemingly through simply not continuing the practice of visiting the shrine whilst in office. This paper seeks to shed some light on how such an arrangement could come about, despite the competing domestic and geopolitical pressures for both sides. It argues that the Abe administration achieved a significant foreign policy success in terms of the concessions extracted from China in return for his abstinence from mourning at Yasukuni, including in key strategic areas such as the dispute in the East China Sea. Japan managed to negotiate pressure from the United States to reconcile with China over the issue to achieve such a success. Furthermore, the paper argues that this challenges the dominant narrative of the Yasukuni Shrine issue in analysis of China's foreign policy, which frequently characterises the issue as one that is convenient leverage in the relationship with Japan. While this characterisation is not incorrect, it is incomplete; China's willingness to not only engage with a Japanese leader of Abe's position, but also to concede as much ground as it did, demonstrates that preventing future Japanese prime ministers from visiting the shrine whilst in office was a policy goal of some significance in itself. Thus, the importance of the issue in China's foreign policy making has been underestimated and this has implications for wider geopolitical issues.

Paper 3

Proactive Peace in Non-Peaceful Times: Japan's CEAPAD Initiative and China's Rise

Kai Schulze (FU Berlin)

The mounting rivalry between Japan and China has been a dominant aspect of Japan's foreign relations since the early 1990s. A vast body of literature has analyzed this issue predominantly within the East Asian region. However; if, why and how this Sino-Japanese power struggle also affects Japan's foreign policy approach beyond East Asia's regional boundaries defies theoretical and empirical analysis. To improve explanations of the effects of China's emergence to great power on Japan's interregional foreign policy approach, this paper explores the changes in Japan's relations to the Middle East in the light of China's rising power. The paper will elucidate the effects of Japan's rivalry with China on the construction and formulation of interests and strategy development, as well as the generation and implementation of foreign policy measures towards the Middle Eastern region, and particularly the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Of particular interest is the Conference on Cooperation among East Asian Countries for Palestinian Development (CEAPAD). These are conferences on an all-East-Asian development assistance towards Palestine under Japanese leadership. This case particularly points out the political dimension of Sino-Japanese rivalry and Japan's pursuit of political prestige and recognition as the political leader of the East Asian region in the Middle East.

Paper 4

Deterrence and Discursive Power: How the 'China Threat' Makes the US Marines in Okinawa 'Indispensable'

Paul O'Shea (Aarhus University)

Governed directly by the US from the Battle of Okinawa in 1945 until its reversion to Japan in 1972, the island of Okinawa hosts the majority of US military bases in Japan despite comprising only a fraction of a percent of the total land area of the state. The central government in Tokyo has refused to countenance revision of the status quo in the face of increasing local opposition, including mass protests and the election of anti-base politicians at the local, prefectural, and national level. The relocation of the controversial US Marine base at Futenma to Henoko in the north of the island, has become the locus of opposition in recent years. Activists, local media, and local politicians call for it to be relocated outside of Okinawa to reduce the burden on the prefecture, while the central government, national media, and the US maintain that the current relocation plan must be implemented. Although critics argue that the base plays little or no role in deterrence (*yokushiryoku*), pro-Henoko actors insist that the Henoko relocation is 'indispensable' (*fukaketsu*), linking the US Marines to the 'China threat' and the nearby Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute. The latter has become the 'common sense' understanding of the issue.

This paper investigates these discursive linkages, analysing the strategic role of the US Marines in Okinawa in the context of the deterrence narrative. The paper begins with an outline of the concept of discursive power, before examining how pro-Henoko actors construct a logic of deterrence in which the US Marines are depicted as 'indispensable'. Next, the paper considers the deterrent role of the US Marines in terms of the other regional US deployments such as the US Airforce bases at Kadena and Yokota, the Japan-US Security Treaty (and Guidelines), Japan's own military forces, and China's regional strategy. Finally, the paper considers what purpose the linkages between the US Marine base and deterrence serves and for whom.

Panel 32 Discourses of the Body

Paper 1

Dying to Memorialize: Corpse Admonition in Late Qing China

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Male suicide for fallen dynasties and female suicide for chastity preservation pervaded China in the Ming and Qing dynasties. The act of suicide for morally just causes, replete with feelings and meanings of despair, frustration, and melancholy, had filled the imagination of both people at the time and later generations of scholars and writers. In contrast, corpse admonition (shijian), performed by male officials to petition the court they were serving with their own death, has been less explored by historians. I present the case of Wu Kedu (1812-1879), who remonstrated against Empress Dowager Cixi's (1835-1908) decision to adopt the Guangxu emperor (r. 1875-1908) as an heir for the Xianfeng emperor (r. 1850-1861) and not for the Tongzhi emperor (r. 1861-1875); Wu had regarded Cixi's action as an affront to the rules of imperial succession. I explore Wu Kedu's interpretation of his own suicide, the memorials that emerged in support of Cixi's decision, and the Chinese and foreign observers' perceptions of the court drama. In doing so, I discuss the unintended consequences of Wu Kedu's suicide in the context of female regency in late Qing China.

Paper 2

The Naked Truth: Stripping Layers of Otherness in Chinese Modern Art

Runan Zhang (Christie's Education) runan.zhang13@gmail.com

In the West there has been a long and standing art history for the appreciation of sculptures and paintings that feature the nude human body. Artworks of nudity are not only highly valued but also seen as something completely natural. In China, however, there seems to be a void of the depiction of nudes until the twentieth century. There is visual evidence of the semi-naked bodies since ancient China but complete nakedness is practically of none existence. Why?

Looking back the first exhibition to solely exhibit nude art in China was as late as 1988 – *The Works of the Chinese Nude Oils Exhibition* – was held at the National Art Museum of China in Beijing. Why so late and how was its reception? This exhibition was not only groundbreaking in its contents but also the use of 'foreign' technique, namely oil painting, practiced by all participating artists. Can the depiction of nude figures only exist in the realm of oil painting?

Nudity is flourishing in Chinese contemporary art but the main focus of this thesis will be on art produced in the 'Modern' period. The author thinks it is important to concentrate on the first appearance of nudity in China and its reception at the time in order to analyse how the identity and otherness of the artists and audience changed from before and was revealed.

What is also intriguing is the lack of past and current scholarship on nudity in Chinese art. This exhibition attempts to address the above questions and hopes to ignite new studies in this area as the author believes it has become an important part of Chinese visual history.

Paper 3

Transcultural Hygiene: Medical Discourse on Breasts in Republican China

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This paper explores medical and hygienic understandings of the female breast in Republican China. In the early Republican Era, women were reported to have bound their breasts due to traditional aesthetics and changing clothes styles. Breast-binding became a target for nationalist criticism and an "anti-breast-binding movement" was initiated in 1927. Existing studies on breast-binding either focus on the nationalist and emancipative discourse, or the aesthetic constructions in popular culture without questioning the medical rationales behind the accusations of breast-binding. However, this paper stresses the importance of the medical knowledge of the breast, which justified political and aesthetic disciplines on the female body. In early Republic period, contributors to popular medical journals claimed that breast-binding was devastating to women's health, exaggerating that it was more harmful than foot-binding. This paper asks: Why did medical professionals believe breast-binding more harmful than foot-binding? What were the medical and hygienic bases of this belief?

I shall trace the genealogies of two interlinked hygienic beliefs. Firstly, I explore why medical journals claimed that women's breathing method was fundamentally different from men's, and therefore breast-binding is fatal to women. Secondly, I investigate how medical texts linked breast-binding with tuberculosis – one of the most pervasive and dangerous diseases in Republican China. This paper argues that the Republican medical and hygienic understandings of the female breasts were based on selective and gendered reading of traditional and transnational texts, which eventually turned into hybrids of pre-modern Chinese medicine, Daoist and Buddhist practices and modern Zen meditation in Japan.

Panel 33

Transnational Agents of Change in the DPRK: Disillusioned repatriates, overseas workers and human rights activists

Panel abstract:

The endurance of the North Korean state has long baffled observers predicting an end to the current regime. Its resilience has, in significant part, been due to its ability to control the flow of information into the country, and erase markers and sources of difference which may undermine the narrative of national unity on which state legitimisation rests. In this context, this panel considers various ways in which challenges to this form of control have emerged through the agency of North Korea's own people, from both within and outside North Korea. The papers engage with the themes of transcultural flows and identity and explore the impact of these forces on the nation-building practices of the state, as well as on external efforts to pressure the regime. From the flow of information and remittances sent by North Korean workers abroad, to the engagement of North Korean migrants in human rights advocacy, to North Korean repatriates returning to Japan in defiance of state-led homogenisation, the papers on this panel expose crucial sites of fracture in the North Korean state's on-going efforts to retain power through a monopoly on information and the commitment of its citizens to maintaining the regime.

Paper 1

Being Japanese in North Korea: Ethnic Identity as Resistance in Cold War DPRK

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From 1959 to the early 1980s approximately 90,000 Koreans migrated from Japan to North Korea as part of the Red Cross organized 'repatriation movement'. Often enduring severe deprivation in the DPRK, in the last decade some 250-300 of these individuals have returned to Japan, commonly resettling in Osaka or Tokyo.

The DPRK state looked to transform 'repatriates' from Japan into North Korean citizens using political education, ubiquitous surveillance, and the threat of state sanctioned violence. Faced with hitherto unknown and all-encompassing socio-political state control, new arrivals experienced a heightened sense of difference to the 'native' North Koreans. Subsequently, many were moved to re-examine their relationship with Japan in a more positive light. This paper discusses how 'repatriates' negotiated the technologies of state power and the social stigma of close association with Japan. I argue that the DPRK's efforts to create a homogenous society by erasing markers of Japanese identity amongst immigrants from Japan were undermined by the state elites' reliance on goods and capital from Japan. The products of the transnational exchange, developed and maintained primarily by women on both sides of the East Sea, acted as a continued reminder to 'repatriated' Koreans of life in Japan and their outsider status in North Korea.

Based on a year of ethnographic fieldwork with returnees from North Korea in Osaka and Tokyo, and research in the Red Cross archives, this paper examines transnational acts of dissent at the grassroots level in North Korea, and contemporary cultural flows between the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago.

Paper 2

North Korean workers abroad: Sustaining the regime or transforming the society?

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This paper explores the role of North Korean overseas workers in the flow of information into North Korea and considers the economic and social impact of this process. Each year North Korea sends 50-80 thousand of its citizens to work overseas. Currently 16 countries are known to host North Korean laborers in a wide variety of industries. North Korea's outsourcing of labour is estimated to bring 1.2 to 2.3 billion USD to the North Korean economy per year, and after the closure of the Kaesong Industrial Complex, it remains one of the few ways the North Korean regime is able to obtain foreign currency.

Drawing on surveys of North Korean workers abroad and on the testimonies of North Korean defectors in South Korea, this paper reviews the micro-economic effects of the inflow of remittances and outside information on North Korean society, and examines the potential macro-economic and political effects of this process. In a country where outside information is highly restricted, North Korean overseas workers constitute a steady stream of information that empowers North Koreans, which in the future will likely contribute to social change.

The findings of recent surveys of North Korean workers exposed the labour rights abuses that commonly take place in the host countries, charging those countries with not only violating International Labor Organization (ILO) labour standards, but also implying that they are in breach of the UN Security Council resolution no. 2094. In light of this, some countries, such as the Czech Republic, have ceased the intake of North Korean labourers and others, such as Poland, are considering doing so. Viewing North Korean overseas labourers as agents of barely visible, but incremental change in North Korean society, this paper argues that maintaining this channel of information inflow is an effective way of facilitating socio-political change in North Korea.

Paper 3

Dissent from the outside: North Korean defector engagement in human rights advocacy

Dr. Sarah A. Son (SOAS, University of London) sarah.a.son@gmail.com

It is almost twenty years since the movement of North Korean defectors began to increase on a scale that captured the attention of the international community and initiated a range of academic inquiry into the impact and experiences of these people outside their country of origin. Defector testimonies have provided insight into the daily life and inner workings of the North Korean state in

a way previously impossible. Human rights NGOs and foreign governments have been active in engaging with defectors to gather data on the nature and scale of human rights abuses continuing in North Korea, with a view to using this data to pressure for regime change. However, there has been little research into the agency and interests of North Korean defectors in such work; rather, they have tended to be regarded as passive agents where the assumption is that they share a general motivation to see the regime overthrown and unification of the peninsula achieved.

In light of this, the research on which this paper is based explores the motivations of North Korean defectors engaged to varying degrees in human rights advocacy, through inquiry into their self-perceptions and sense of empowerment as “South” Korean citizens, “North” Koreans in exile, and/or as members of a larger “Korean” citizenry, covering the entire Peninsula and attached to the important symbolism of an imagined, united Korea of the future. Drawing on the findings of a survey of defectors in South Korea, in addition to a number of in-depth interviews with defector activists, this paper investigates the North Korean defector practice of their citizenship via engagement in human rights advocacy, illuminating the ways in which individuals either knowingly or unknowingly feel empowered to challenge historical and contemporary modes of nation-building and state legitimisation in both North and South Korea. Grounded in constructivist theories of socialisation, citizenship and the creation of “national biographies”, the paper presents evidence of the degree of variation in personal perceptions of citizenship, as well as of the manifestation of dissenting views within this community of people, often against the clear-cut, strict historical narrative of citizenship and state legitimisation promoted in government discourse in both Koreas today.

Paper 4

My story, your cause: Subjectivity and co-optation of North Korean migrants in the North Korean human rights discourse

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Over the last decade North Korean Human Rights (NKHR) has expanded considerably as a discourse. This expansion is remarkable not only for its growth in scale, but also for its increasing heterogeneity in modes of discourse. A parallel phenomenon is the merging of South Korean and US streams of discourse. This paper finds that NK migrants play a significant role in facilitating transnational linkages, but not in diversifying modes of discourse. These mixed findings raise questions about the subjectivity of NK migrant activities in NKHR. To what extent has migrant participation been co-opted as a legitimating resource by pre-existing organizational interests? Under what conditions have migrants attempted and succeed at inserting novelty into the NKHR discourse?

To address these questions, this paper draws on research which compiles a large corpus of US and South Korean media articles, from 1995 to 2015, sampling two decades of NKHR discourse in those countries. Latent topics are extracted from the corpus and linked to form a longitudinal semantic network. Structural analysis of this semantic network examines interactions between densely linked topic streams over the two decades of interest. Notable events found through the analysis include widespread splitting of streams topically, and considerable merging of streams transnationally, in the late-2000s. In order to assess the roles of NK migrants in these discourse dynamics, a database of prominent NKHR persons is linked to the semantic network. Analysis demonstrates that while NK migrants facilitate structural linkages between discourses in the US and South Korea, they contribute little to the diversification of topical content. Strategies are derived from the limited attempts, and even fewer successes, of NK migrants to influence NKHR discourse. It is hoped that these strategies can be applied more generally to enhance the subjective participation of vulnerable populations in those discourses which objectify them.

Panel 34

Employment, Gender and an aging society: Part 2

Paper 1

Tackling a Conundrum: how can gender equality be achieved in an ageing and shrinking Japan?

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With the Japanese government's recent loud calls for realising a One Hundred Million Total Active Society, the issues of the gendered division of labour at home and the expansion of women's labour participation have been elevated to the top of national agenda. Despite this, little progress was made in the areas of family support and women's employment, as demonstrated by the rise of nation-wide protest movements joined by young mothers. The civic action was triggered by an anonymous internet posting over the long-term problem of nursery shortage which has hampered many women from going back to the labour market. Furthermore, the current demographic condition in Japan often causes the need for families to engage in the elderly and child care concurrently, exacerbating the burden of care responsibilities individuals have to bear. Thus, it is today an imminent task to figure out and implement effective measures to support care work at home while enabling both men and women to engage in paid employment and balancing between work and the family life.

The overarching purpose of the proposed paper is to envision the ways in which political measures to support both care work at home and the promotion of women's employment and career advancement are designed and implemented. In order to achieve this, the paper first examines the current state of care work at home where individuals are often required to carry out doubled burdens of the elderly and child care. The second section outlines the development of government policies in the areas of family support and women's labour in the last 30 years and identifies factors that have been impeding policy progress. Then, the Japanese case is juxtaposed against the cases of Scandinavian countries where care work at home was defamiliarised and women have achieved substantial career advancement. The comparison with the Scandinavian cases helps us to contemplate the ways in which the conundrum of reconciling care work and paid work and improving the quality of life, a problem that many Japanese people are now facing, would be tackled.

Paper 2

Demographic shift: psychological contracts and the career expectations of younger and older employees in Japan

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Demographic shift in the form of 'ageing societies' is recognized as a growing economic challenge to organizations (cf. Taylor, 2013; Jackson & Debroux, 2016a). In Japan, current demographic trends converge to describe a society experiencing a rapidly ageing population, a falling birthrate and – unlike, for example, Germany or the UK – an apparent lack of social and political will to engage in targeted immigration of skilled employees (cf. Kohsaka, 2013). The emerging demographic context for the research and practice of human resource management (HRM) in Japan is unprecedented and consequently offers 'unique opportunities for theory advancement' (Sekiguchi, et. al. 2011).

Unprecedented demographic shift is likely to impact on social expressions of 'self-identity': e.g. as an employee with career expectations suddenly challenged by social and economic uncertainty (Giddens, 1991). In terms specific to HRM, current demographic trends in Japan are likely to challenge 'subjective' career expectations of individual employees (cf. Poon & Rowley, 2011). Working within established theorizations of 'psychological contracts', where 'expectations' are assumed to form an 'input' factor to an employee's negotiation of a career (cf. Conway & Briner, 2007), this paper draws on current research designed to elicit and compare the career expectations of younger and older employees in Japan (cf. Jackson & Debroux, 2016b). Using data generated by an ongoing survey, an attempt is made first to identify and examine perceptions and self-perceptions of what constitutes 'older' and 'younger' employees in Japan. Further survey data are analyzed in the context of psychological contracts in order to identify the career expectations expressed by members of these two segments of Japanese society: e.g. to what extent is there a social need for a 'new deal' between younger and older workers in Japan and, consequently, a 'new approach' on the part of the universities and colleges who educate them and the companies who recruit, retain and / or release them (cf. Debroux, 2016; Jackson, 2016; Vantilborgh, et. al., 2015). The conclusions drawn from these analyses and presented to the BAJIS Conference should serve to inform HRM policy, practice and research in Japan and in other societies experiencing demographic shift.

Paper 3

Tackling the Declining Birth Rate in Japan?: A Rhetorical Analysis of Contemporary Japan's Governmental Campaign 'A Country in which Women Shine'

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A declining birth rate has been considered a serious issue in Japan for decades, in combination with the country's aging population. Since 2012, the Japanese government started the campaign called 'A Country in which Women Shine' to tackle this social concern. This paper will examine the political rhetoric of this movement, especially closely analysing the discourse of the significance of economic reformation, "Womenomics". The term "Womenomics" first appeared in 1999, coined by Kathy Matsui and others in Goldman Sachs, claiming that the Japanese economy 'could increase its gross domestic product by as much as 15% simply by tapping further its most underutilized resource — Japanese women'. In current Japanese society, women only occupy a shocking 1% of executive corporate positions, one of the lowest proportions globally for a developed country. Prime Minister Abe Shinzo claims that expanding women's employment ultimately increases the birth rate, and that Womenomics is the key to developing Japan: 'a country that hires and promotes more women grows economically, and no less important,

demographically as well.’ As we can see here, Abe believes the role of women in the workplace is closely related to issues of demographics.

In the same speech, Abe proposes his intention to ‘create a Japan in which women shine’ and acknowledges the difficulties for families to balance work and child-nurturing. Abe’s speech sheds light on the significance of domestic labour such as nurturing children and nursing the elderly, considering those works as fundamental to the ‘vitality’ of the nation, which indeed seem a significant social improvement. However, we cannot dismiss the close connection that his rhetoric creates between domestic labour and the right-wing notion of ‘a Strong Japan’, and as such, the “feminism” that Japan offers needs more careful investigation for its structure and value system.

Panel 35

Mapping and Photographing Memory: the Asia Pacific War

Paper 1

Gendering Fascist Modernity: Japanese Overseas Propaganda during WW II

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This paper examines the gendered aesthetics of propaganda in Japanese illustrated propaganda magazines that targeted overseas audiences during the 1930s until the end of the Asia Pacific War. Tracing the trajectories of the foremost overseas propaganda magazines NIPPON (1934-1944) and FRONT (1942-1945), it situates Japanese propaganda within transcultural flows of visual technologies and trends, namely New Vision, Russian constructivism, Bauhaus aesthetics and modern photojournalism.

What we see in NIPPON and FRONT is a way of structuring vision and textual information, i.e. photographs, graphic design and text that is rigidly gendered. While providing the magazines with either a 'female' face (NIPPON) or a 'male' face (FRONT) for overseas audiences, depictions of 'femininity' serve to ameliorate male militarist politics and to claim the coexistence of modernity and tradition (NIPPON), whereas celebrations of 'masculinity' (FRONT) serve to present Japan as a modern leader with military might. NIPPON and FRONT are prime examples of how in wartime print journalism the eternalization and naturalization of a hegemonic gender order are forcefully instituted through an array of stylized repetitions that at once reify the fascist order and at the same time refer to and act as global markers of modernity, consumption, and tradition. By exploring the gendered aesthetics of modernist overseas propaganda, this paper interrogates the multifaceted constructions and relations of modernity and Japanese fascism.

Paper 2

Mapping Memories of the Tokushima Air Raids

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In this paper I aim to look beyond the chaos, destruction and loss of life that characterised the firebombing of Japan's cities in the closing stages of the Asia-Pacific War through an exploration of eyewitness testimonies of bombing in Tokushima, a prefectural capital on the rural island of Shikoku. Images from the Tokushima Air Raid Exhibition and details from over seventy retrospective accounts will be presented and mapped in order to visualise the extent of the air raids and to show how individual experiences and responses varied by place. There will be a particular focus on the movement of people, the spread of rumour and exchanges of knowledge that took place as bombing raids extended outwards from major metropolises to second cities and beyond. By placing these individual perspectives in wider context I hope to broaden understanding of war commemoration Shikoku and demonstrate how experiences in Japan's second cities fit into the broader context of the Japanese Empire.

Paper 3

Picturing "Half the Surface of the World": Imagery, Memory, and History of U.S. Military Camp Towns in East Asia

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August 15, 2015 marked the 70th anniversary of the end of the Pacific War. The ways in which the event was commemorated varied: Japan is memorializing the end of World War II, while Korea celebrates the 70th anniversary of independence. Many of these commemorative efforts shared their use of visual media, even as they reproduced the disjunction between what is being remembered. In this way, institutions have attempted to read, re/interpret, and re/instate their perspectives on the events of 1945 through the semiotics of the visual. Just as critical, however, is what is excluded in this visualization of the past. For much of the region, the end of the Pacific War also ushered in the "self-sanctioning" of U.S. military presence and activities immediately following the war; not coincidentally, this particular context has consistently been rendered invisible in creating the memory of "the end of the war".

By focusing on the imagery of U.S. military bases in Korea and Japan which have become a major part of everyday life, particularly the camp towns that "host" the military bases, this paper examines what remains invisible in visual commemorations of the Pacific War: women's labor, sexual and affective, in camp towns; and the Korean and Japanese governments' position(ing) in light of expanding U.S. militarism. These deliberately shrouded products of the war are rendered visible in Kang Yongsök's photographs of Tongduchön Commemorative Portraits (1984) and Greg Girard's ongoing photography series, Half the Surface of the World. Their photographs envision the specter of postwar U.S. militarism, which has largely driven out local residents and delayed economic development, via the visual metonymy of old GI bars, dilapidated former military housing, and fighter jets roaming above uncannily anachronistic camp towns in Tongduchön, Okinawa, and Maehyangri.

Paper 4

Between Friends and Foes: Japanese Photographic Society in Republican Shanghai

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With a growing population of amateur photographers, photographic societies sprouted across major cities in Republican China (1912-1949), bringing together camera artists to promote the study, practice, and the new art of photography. In Shanghai, it was not the Chinese who formed the first photography clubs there. Japanese photography enthusiasts at this cosmopolitan treaty port—home to a large Japanese expatriate settlement—established the Shanghai Amateur Photography Society in 1915, before

the Chinese founded the Photographic Society of China and the Black and White Photographic Society that would become the leading photographic art organizations in China at the end of the 1920s. Alongside their Chinese counterparts, Japanese amateur photographers thrived as a significant force within the photographic community in Shanghai, the center of art photography during this period. But this fellowship forged by a shared love for photography rapidly faltered when anti-Japanese sentiments reached a boiling point with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the attack on Shanghai the following year.

Focused on the Shanghai International Photographic Art Exhibition organized by the Japanese beginning in 1934, this study traces the volatile relationship between Chinese and Japanese amateur photographers in Shanghai against escalating Sino-Japanese geopolitical tensions that led to full-scale war in 1937. By examining this controversial display of photography as a calculated exhibition of national identity politics, this paper reveals how art photography was transformed into a contested terrain where Chinese and Japanese artists invariably found themselves on opposite sides of a battlefield defined along national lines. In addition to highlighting the diverse networks that constituted photographic art practices in Republican Shanghai, this paper also demonstrates that during this tumultuous era, photography as a new form of artistic expression demanded not simply individual creativity, but also a pledge of allegiance to one's nation.

Panel 36

Visual culture, ideology and identity in 19th-20th Century China

Paper 1

The Travels of Jack Chen: Left-wing art in Shanghai, 1936-1938

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An important but little known figure in the Shanghai art world between the years 1936 and 1938 was the journalist and cartoonist Jack Chen. Although Chen produced many cartoons and articles for the Shanghai press at this time, the main significance of his achievements in the field of Chinese art lies in the part he played in the dissemination of cartoons and woodcuts to parts of China and the international art stage that would otherwise have remained ignorant of their existence.

After an extended period in China during the years 1936 and 1937, Chen took exhibitions around Europe and the USA until late in 1938. These exhibitions included a large number of woodcuts, a selection of his own works and the work of major Chinese cartoon artists such as Ye Qianyu, Zhang Guangyu and Ding Cong. At the same time, Chen was introducing these artists to the English-speaking public through articles in periodicals such as *T'ien Hsia Monthly* and the *American China Today*. After showing Chinese art in the UK in 1937 and in the USA in early 1938 Chen took a large number of works by British and American artists back to China and Hong Kong. Following this, a third and final exhibition was taken to Europe, but was called off due to the outbreak of WWII. Chen's contribution to our understanding of modern left-wing art in China is particularly valuable as he was one of only a handful of Westerners to focus their attention first-hand on area of art during the Republican period.

Chen is best known today for his autobiographical writings about the period following the founding of the PRC and the time of the Cultural Revolution. This paper will introduce his earlier work as a left-wing activist, explore his stated aim to fight fascism through art, and demonstrate that Chen's now largely forgotten exhibitions played a central role in the worldwide dissemination of Chinese modern art during the 1930s.

Paper 2

The Power of Punch: Stereotypes in Punch Magazine, 1841-1901

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This research project analyses the satirical caricatures of the Chinese that *Punch* magazine created between 1841 and 1901. Situating the images within the visual and textual frameworks of understanding prevalent at the time, I consider why *Punch*, a magazine that wielded considerable influence, chose to maintain the status quo instead of going against social prejudices. Their observations were made through humorous depictions, poetry, and witty story-telling making *Punch's* comic caricatures deceptively harmless. I argue that contrary to the magazine's seemingly jocular satirical representations, the images maintained and normalized Chinese stereotypes and therefore, I approach *Punch* as a site where opinions and attitudes were both formed and reflected. My objective is twofold: firstly, to situate the magazine's satirical cartoons within the wider visual discourse that was prevalent at the time in order to demonstrate how *Punch* reflected important issues and attitudes that coincided with socio-political events. Secondly, I aim to propel visual representations to the centre of critical enquiry and investigate the significant role satirical cartoons played in the dynamics of power as well as in the dissemination and maintenance of Chinese stereotypes.

Paper 3

Fu Baoshi's Pursuit of a New Ideal: Selecting Models from the Past

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This paper investigates Chinese modern artist Fu Baoshi's use of models from the past in his pursuit of a new ideal of artistic expression in his painting in response to the Sino-Japanese war while living in Chongqing from 1939 to 1946. With his increased sense of social responsibility as an artist, which was built during his stay in Japan and his subsequent participation in the Chongqing artistic community, he made a continuous effort to find out how he could apply his artistic talent to achieve the salvation of his country. He enthusiastically engaged in promoting what he referred to as the 'national spirit of Chinese painting' to fight the war, and discussed these ideas in articles published in the newspaper *Shishi Xinbao* in Chongqing. Thus this paper first examines the way in which Fu Baoshi searched for the national spirit in Chinese painting, responding to the article 'The Spirit of Japanese Art' (1938) by the Japanese artist Yokoyama Taikan. From the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, 'culture' came to preoccupy most Chinese intellectuals as a fundamental bearer of difference between countries and people. The idea that each country's art reflects its unique national identity had been prevalent in art circles in China and Japan. In this context, Fu Baoshi promoted the national spirit of Chinese painting to reinforce the national identity of China in the context of the survival of the nation in the time of war. In promoting the national spirit in this way, Fu Baoshi carried out a study of Chinese painting history and produced paintings that reasserted Chinese artistic traditions by selecting models from the past. Through a textual examination and visual analysis, this paper examines the way in which Fu Baoshi took inspiration from the past to establish his new artistic ideal through two lines of enquiry: Gu Kaizhi as an icon of Chinese painting tradition, and the promotion of patriotic symbols.

Paper 4

Archiving Mao's China as Visualised in Propaganda Posters

Emily Williams (Birkbeck College) emilyrwilliams@hotmail.com

In recent years, increased academic attention has been paid to Chinese collections of Mao-era (and particularly Cultural Revolution) material culture. Much of this attention has focused on the financial motivations behind many collectors' acquisitions, but there are also other motivations, including the desire to preserve these objects in order to contest the public memory of this still controversial period in China's recent history.

This paper will look at how collecting serves to create the history it seeks to preserve, by focusing on the collecting practices of one Beijing-based collector, Dong Zhongchao. Dong originally primarily collected propaganda posters (xuanchuan hua), and has formed a collection of many thousand, but has in recent years switched his focus to instead collecting the specific objects pictured in posters. For Dong, this is a way of preserving the memories of the common people, by preserving the objects that would have constituted their visual and material environment. In other words, he has adopted a strategy of archiving history, but archiving a history as visualised through the propaganda of the time. This type of collecting practice seeks to legitimise the reality presented in the posters by demonstrating that the materiality of the life depicted in the posters can be re-collected. It fails, however, to acknowledge the gap between the life depicted in the posters and the lived experience of it, and thus serves to perpetuate a certain vision of the Mao era. It is, therefore, an original archival strategy, but also one that raises a number of issues about the construction of archives and their ability to impact broader memories of the period.

This paper will therefore explore the role played by private collectors in preserving Mao-era material culture, and the ways these collections are used to fight against the perceived neglect or denigration of the Mao era, and particularly the Cultural Revolution, in the contemporary Chinese public sphere.

Panel 37

From Beijing to Chongqing: Reassessing Nationalism in Republican China

Panel Discussant: Julia Strauss, SOAS University of London (Professor in Chinese politics)

Panel Chair: Adam Cathcart, University of Leeds (Lecturer in Chinese history)

Panel abstract:

From the downfall of the Qing dynasty to the founding of the People's Republic of China, nationalistic and anti-imperialist movements played an important role in the history of the Republic of China. This panel will use case studies which cumulatively cause us to question the relationship between the local, the regional and the national. In doing so, the papers embrace the fields of economics, education, the media, and urbanization. They cover a wide geographical and temporal range. For example, they discuss Beijing and Chongqing during the warlord period, and cities in Manchuria during and after the war with Japan. They show how local warlords and officials, university students and intellectuals saw their identity shaped by interactions between the local and the national. This illustrates how national identity in China between the fall of the Qing and the Communist revolution was shaped as much by processes emanating from society as it was by top-down state mobilization. Such interaction between the locality and the center has a long history in China, but the Republican period is important in understanding how the ideas that continue to shape Chinese nationalism today were formed and spread throughout the country.

Paper 1

Oil and Power: Wanxian Incidents and Anti-British Movements in 1920s Chongqing

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Conflict and commerce in greater Chongqing preceded the War of Resistance by over a decade. This paper uses the Wanxian Incidents of 1920s as a pivot point to reveal the evolving struggle between local warlords with British companies, using local archives to illustrate the development of a particularly economic nationalism. From June to August 1926, a series of clashes occurred in the Yangtze between British ships and Chinese wooden ships, resulting in the death by drowning of soldiers of warlord General Yang Sen's army. Yang's retaliation led to an open conflict in which about a thousand Chinese civilians and soldiers were killed. The incident stimulated not only a new wave of anti-British movements in Chongqing area, but also became a sign of national anti-British movements in Republican China. What has been lacking heretofore in its investigation by historians is the focus of this paper: Economic advantage and the Tung Oil trade.

Wanxian (萬縣), a part of present-day Chongqing, was the Republic of China's key port for exporting tung oil (桐油). From 1917 to 1930, the volume of exports of this lucrative product, used for waterproofing and painting, increased tenfold. The increased trade brought new pressures; along with increased profits came struggle between the local warlords and foreign companies.

This article will combine the newly founded Wanxian Custom documents at Wanzhou District Archive, Chongqing, with the Foreign Offices Files for China at the National Archives, UK, to explain the connections of tung oil trade, Wanxian Incidents, the following national anti-British movements and the local authorities' tariff autonomy. Through analyzing the benefit struggle between local warlords and British companies, the power struggle between local authorities and central government, this article will reveal how did the tung oil trade as a resultant of nationalistic push interacted local and national politics.

Paper 2

Education and National Identity: Yang Yinyu and the Student Movement, 1913—1926

Yiyun Ding (University of York) yd564@york.ac.uk

In early republican era, anti-government movements were led by university students to guard the independence of education from political control. This paper uses local archives and newspapers to investigate Yang Yinyu (杨荫榆), a conservative female educator in the Republican era, as a prism for the 1925 student movement in Beijing, revealing new aspects behind the shifting notions of education and nation under the stresses of warlord rule.

As the daughter of a gentry family in the late Qing dynasty who then studied overseas in Japan and the US, Yang Yinyu was nominated as the president of Beijing Women's Normal University in March 1924. However, Yang did not achieve renown as the first female university president in Chinese history; on the contrary, she was protested against by revolutionary students in 1925 and expelled by the Ministry of Education a mere eighteen months later. From the perspective of the students, Yang was, simply, a conservative, without empathy for the revolutionary trends which had been aroused since the late 1910s. Among her most famous critics was the writer Lu Xun, who was then a professor of Chinese at the university, as 'a tyrannical mother-in-law to women students.' Lu's later fame meant that his view of Yang was taken as a verdict and she is regarded by Chinese people and historians today as having been guilty of 'clinging to traditional ethics'.

The time is ripe for a reassessment of Yang Yinyu, and the student movement at Beijing Women's Normal University. The conflict between Yang and her students reflected not only the opposition between revolutionaries and conservatives, but also the transformation of identity and ideological conflicts between two generations in their interpretation of Chinese education, morality, and national identity. I argue that college students, who shared power with educators and the government, had agency in shaping the modern concept of education in 1920s. However, the revolutions they led failed to realise their original aspiration - to protect education from the control of politics.

Paper 3

Cities, Capital Cities and Special Cities: Postwar Reconstruction and the Chinese Nation

Toby Lincoln (University of Leicester) t199@leicester.ac.uk

War with Japan from 1931 until 1937 brought great destruction to Chinese cities. There was only a brief period of peace after Japanese surrender in 1945 before the civil war between the Communists and Nationalists, which had been bubbling away since 1927, boiled over. The Communist Revolution in 1949 ushered in a period of relative stability and unprecedented urban development as the party sought to turn what it saw as capitalist consumerist cities into socialist production centres.

This paper explores what discussions about the reconstruction of cities during and immediately after China's War with Japan tell us about how Chinese intellectuals and government officials envisaged the future of their nation. The discussion in Chinese media and governmental circles about whether to move the capital city back to Nanjing after the war provided a platform for debate about postwar development. Meanwhile, China's urban planning law and city organization law gave the central government a regulatory mechanism to manage urban development and postwar reconstruction, while enabling officials across China to advocate for their own city's importance within the nation as a whole.

Discussions about urban reconstruction and development during and after the war have several common themes. National defence in a world in which China continued to face threats to its existence was of primary importance. The state project to create a modern industrial nation involved planning at an urban level, and the government adopted international innovations such as zoning to realise its vision. However, the way in which such a vision was to be implemented differed across China. In some cities, destruction and resistance to the Japanese formed the basis for a postwar narrative that sought to return the city to its pre-war prosperous status. Elsewhere, and particularly in the former Manchukuo, Japanese occupation and urban growth meant that some cities were now in a position to assert their importance within regional and national networks. Finally, those advocating for their cities across the country often compared them to others around the world, illustrating how China saw its postwar experience in international terms.

Paper 4

From Chongqing to Tokyo: Wang Yunsheng and Student Nationalism in late 1940s China

Adam Cathcart (University of Leeds) A.Cathcart@leeds.ac.uk

In August 1945, the veteran "Japan hand" and Chinese journalist Wang Yunsheng (王芸生) was in Chongqing, preparing for victory and the long-awaited return of the Northeast to Chinese sovereignty. When in February 1946 it became clear that the Soviets would stay on in military bases in southern Manchuria, Wang argued that the Western betrayal at Yalta that allowed for Stalin to so unapologetically grip the Northeast should inspire not only anger, but action. The student demonstrations that followed in Chongqing on 22 February 1946 shook the city's foreign community as well as the national CCP, which was then engaged in very sensitive negotiations in that city, and whose press headquarters were attacked by the students.

Wang's relocation to Shanghai and foreign travels brought him into contemplation of the US revival of occupied Japan in 1947 and 1948, when he wrote a series of important first-hand articles in Shanghai *Dagongbao* describing how MacArthur's rule had disappointingly turned toward the conservation of Japanese military power. These articles, ultimately collected in short book format that inspired many imitators, embodied the emotional and the rational foundations of the urban educated postwar anti-Japanese consensus. Chinese students again picked up on Wang's themes, which led into the June 1948 Fan Mei Fu Ri Yundong, or "Oppose American Revival of Japan Movement."

Using Wang Yunsheng's writings as a focal point, this paper is balanced at the interplay point between press freedom and student activism. It also looks at unique aspects of postwar Chongqing, and reflects upon the role played by moderate Chinese journalists in shaping images of Japan. It deploys unpublished documents from Washington, D.C., archives and rare newspapers at Qinghua and Beijing Universities, and one fascinating document about "the Chongqing Incident" of 1946 by Hu Qiaomu which was vigorously edited by Mao Zedong. Today, as Xi Jinping's China demands respect and continuously shapes national identity in ways that are bound up with the "victory" over Japan, this paper provides a more nuanced viewpoint on the societal process of the construction of anti-Japanese nationalism and reflects on the CCP's own tangled history with the Republican Era.

Panel 38 Identity and China Imagined

Paper 1 The Nationalists' relocation to Taiwan: staying, going and diaspora Chun-Yu Liu clareliu.uk@gmail.com

In 1949 the Nationalists relocated to Taiwan as a result of the defeat to the Communist Party in the Chinese Civil War. This historical event engendered the moving of about two million individuals. Many of them left their families and loved ones behind, believing they would return to the mainland in a short period of time. The separation however persisted almost for four decades due to the change in political climate and the ensued travel ban between the strait.

In this paper I investigate the retreat based on my artist moving image work 'A complete story: between the strait', asking: What did the diaspora comprise? Only departing and settling in a host environment, or both going away and staying on? And how was the diaspora characterized by the absence of information before the end of travel ban, reunion after travel was possible, and imagination throughout the time?

Drawing on ethnographic interviews, the video juxtaposes the lived experiences in the form of oral history of a Taiwanese individual whose grandparents having relocated from Chongqing to Taiwan and a Chinese counterpart whose relatives having moved to Taiwan from Chongqing – as if one single story were told from two sides. The investigation takes an interdisciplinary approach to examining how the imagined community between China and Taiwan has negotiated the political, diplomatic and geographical separation, as well as their diasporic experiences, alone and together, and across generations.

Paper 2 How the Goldfish Became Chinese: Breeders' Craft, French Natural History, and Transcultural Connoisseurship in Late Qing China Lijing Jiangm (Yale University) jiang.lijing@gmail.com

By the 1920s, the goldfish had become a popular object for scientific study and artistic rendering in Republican China. The nationalistic way scientists and artists framed the goldfish as a particularly Chinese animal, however, needs to be understood through the transcultural material, textual, and visual circulations about the fish in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which were often bridged by Jesuit missionaries working closely with the Qing court. Through a comparative analysis of Sino-French representations of the goldfish and their breeding craft in texts and drawings, this paper shows how Qing breeders' practice was often misunderstood and distorted in Jesuit translations and portrayals, which nevertheless strengthened a fanciful and mysterious image of the fish as an oriental pet. The construction of the goldfish as a Chinese pet by the early twentieth century thus involved intricate interplays between remaking identities and histories of an animal, its people, and trans-cultural material flows.

Particularly, as the goldfish became ubiquitous household pets in Qing dynasty, literati writings about the fish shifted from focusing on the pet's role in scholar's life during the Ming period to a mixed genre that combined connoisseurship with goldfish taxonomy and breeding methods. Major texts that showed such transition includes Wen Zhenheng (1585–1645)'s *Treatise on Superfluous Things* and Yao Yuanzhi (1783–1852)'s *Miscellaneous Records of the Bamboo Leaf Pavillion*, and much later, *The Atlas of Goldfish* (1848). In comparison, when Jesuit missionary published anecdotes and observations about the goldfish in the book *Histoire Naturelle des Dorades de la Chine* in 1780, along with paintings of various goldfish traits prepared by Louis XVI's own engraver, opinions expressed in the book were polarized between high praises for Chinese breeders' craft and suspicions toward the mysterious and grotesque aspects of this craft. After the French Revolution (1789–1799), such an orientalist view continued to dominate the anatomical study of the goldfish by French naturalists such as Georges Pouchet (1833–1894). It also found ways to percolate into American breeders and Chinese scholars' conception of the "oriental beauty" of the goldfish in the early twentieth century.

Paper 3 China's Identity and Norms Compliance: Social Learning and Persuasion Zhouchen Mao (University of Kent) zm94@kent.ac.uk

Why do states comply with norms embedded in international regimes and institutions? This paper seeks to contribute to this conference by exploring the extent to which China's identity and culture influence its selective compliance with norms embedded in international regimes and institutions.

A substantial body of literature has been built in the past two decades, shedding considerable light on key dimensions of the question regarding China's compliance. Nevertheless, there is an apparent need to fine-tune the approach thus far by seeking greater methodological robustness and better theoretical elucidation.

This paper therefore advances an alternative paradigm to make judgements about China's selective conformity with international norms. First, by focusing on the constellation and interconnection between identity, social learning, and persuasion, this paper offers a more nuanced understanding of China's motives, behaviour, and preferences when engaging with international institutions. Second, it argues that China's strategy can be explained by its dualistic national identity, the dominance of hard power politics, social culture, and historical experiences. This analysis will be predominately based on literature study and field work in China conducted in 2016.

This paper concludes that although China learns and complies with some Western international norms and values, it rejects others that it considers to be in conflict with its own national interests and worldview. It is important to note that China's perception

of international policies is still strongly influenced by a Confucian worldview, traditional values, culture, and the self-image of its position in global politics.

Paper 4

The Hong merchant gardens in 19th century Canton

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Gardens in Lingnan, particularly those located in and around Canton (Guangzhou), were among the first Chinese gardens to be visited by Westerners as until the Opium Wars movements by foreigners were restricted to the city of Canton, with the exception of a few missionaries who were able to enter Beijing. Thus Cantonese gardens, and more specifically the Hong (or merchant) gardens of the nineteenth century, have largely informed Western understanding of Chinese gardens at a time when Suzhou gardens were inaccessible to foreigners. However, despite its historical importance, the Lingnan region has been little explored by Western scholars, and research in China has mostly seen local exposure. This paper will present an overview of the most important Hong merchant gardens, in the first half of the nineteenth century in the suburbs of Canton. I will briefly analyse their function and appearance, then develop the hypothesis that these gardens provided the basis of the 21st century concept of "Lingnan gardens". My findings are based on Western diaries, records and photographs, as well as Chinese sources such as gazetteers and export paintings.

Panel 39 War Memory, Politics, Comfort Women

Paper 1

Transnational Justice to Chinese “Comfort Women”

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This paper explores the way in which Chinese “comfort women” came to be incorporated in the transnational group of comfort women. In particular, the paper focuses on the way Chinese comfort women and activist groups made their way to the Women’s International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan’s Military Sexual Slavery (hereafter, the Women’s Court) conducted in 2000. Despite the existence of large numbers of Chinese comfort women, it was the Korean comfort women who “dominated” the female victim groups. Chinese comfort women are underrepresented for being regarded as collaborators of the Japanese military. Although they filed lawsuits against the Japanese government in the 1990s, all cases were dismissed. Against this background, the Women’s Court stands as a watershed in the history of the Chinese comfort women, as it brought transnational justice to all of the female victims. This paper will review the context under which the Women’s Court took place. I will conduct interviews with the activists, scholars, lawyers, and female victims (if possible) who were involved in the preparation and proceedings of the court, and will provide an answer to the questions of how the Chinese comfort women and activist groups contributed to the discourse on comfort women and the pursuit of justice, how Chinese women were connected with the other transnational comfort women groups, and what particular demands the Chinese group made.

Paper 2

From Murayama Statement to Abe Statement? Prime Minister Abe Shinzo and the 70th Anniversary of the Asia-Pacific War

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The last year marked the 70th anniversary of the Asia-Pacific War and one of the most (anxiously) awaited events was a statement that was to be delivered on this occasion by Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo. The aim of this paper is to discuss the statement in the light of its contribution (or a lack of thereof) to pursuing reconciliation in East Asia. A framework developed by Jane Yamazaki (2006) in her study of Japanese apologies will be deployed to discuss official expression of contrition provided by PM Abe.

The paper addresses three main issue areas. First, it analyses the events leading to the drafting of the statement, including mixed and contradictory signals concerning the potential revision of the Murayama and the Kono Statements. Second, the paper reviews briefly the content of the statement and tackles a question of how the latter compares with previous declarations presented by PM Abe’s predecessors, such as Murayama Tomiichi or Koizumi Junichiro. Third, the paper presents international reactions to the statement. How did Japan’s immediate neighbours receive it? To what extent the latter can be said to have contributed to furthering reconciliation in East Asia?

In sum, the paper argues that the statement has done little to alleviate the ‘history problem’ and to promote reconciliation in East Asia. Content-wise, it constitutes departure from the Murayama Statement that since 1995 was a model for Japanese leaders when officially addressing the matter of the country’s wartime past. Despite its many shortcomings, though, PM Abe’s statement contains moderate expressions of contrition and responsibility, which makes it hard for domestic and international critics to dismiss it in its entirety. Whereas South Korea and the mainland China cautiously, and with reservations, welcomed the statement, the latter’s value may be greater in terms of alleviating discomfort of the US government concerning PM Abe’s willingness to revise the thin consensus on the wartime past in East Asia that would lead to the increase of tensions in the region.

Paper 3

How the Comfort Women Issue Became a Korean American Issue

Linda Hasunuma (Franklin and Marshall College) lhasunum@fandm.edu
and Mary McCarthy (Drake University) mary.mccarthy@drake.edu

As the Korean-American electorate has grown and become a major political force, one of the issues that it has chosen to prioritize is the historical one of the “comfort women,” or Korean sexual slaves during Japanese colonization. In the United States there is a long tradition of “grievance politics” among hyphenated Americans (including Jewish-Americans and Armenian-Americans). Choosing to air a particular grievance is a contested process as interests are diverse. In the case of Korean-Americans, many members of the community criticized the initial introduction of the issue by a group of Korean-American women in the 1990s. Yet by 2010, the “comfort women” issue became a priority for Korean-Americans. In addition, the community was able to successfully lobby local elected officials to support their cause in neighborhoods across the United States. We investigate how Korean-American voters came to be recognized by American politicians, how they have been mobilized behind this particular cause, and what their impact has been on local and even international politics and policy. Our analysis includes three case studies of “comfort women” memorials on public land: the memorial at the courthouse in Bergen County, New Jersey, the statue at the public library in Glendale, California, and the peace garden at the government center in Fairfax County, Virginia. In so doing, we uncover how a new politically powerful electorate has been formed and how local politics has changed in response.

Panel 40

Employment, Gender, and An aging society: Part 1

Paper 1

“I am a disposal talking battery” : Female workers’ lives and health in the modern sweatshop, call centre in Korea

Kwanwook Kim (Durham University) kwanwook.kim@durham.ac.uk

This paper is based on research into the lived experience of female call centre workers in South Korea, the so-called Information Technology powerhouse of Northeast Asia. As Neoliberalism has extended its reach ever since 1997 when the International Monetary Fund bailed South Korea out of the Asian financial crisis, so has the call centre industry been developing rapidly. The call centre can be seen as a modern sweatshop with ‘low wage and intensive labours’ and temporary workers. Throughout one and a half years’ fieldwork, I found that female call handlers suffered from humiliation by their managers, customers, and even colleagues. Their salaries, determined monthly, correlated with their individual abilities to control their emotional responses to these humiliations quicker than others. Some relieved themselves 1) by consuming cosmetics, etc. and recharging their emotions with chemicals like sweets, alcohol, and cigarettes (figuratively ‘inbound’ self-healing), 2) by humiliating or swearing at others like other call handlers, shop assistants, friends, and family members (‘outbound’ self-healing). Ironically, both strategies were likely to destroy their bodies and minds. In contrast, I found that in one call centre the female call handlers’ self-help form of exercise, called ‘MOM-PYO-GI’ (meaning ‘Body Stretching’ in Korean), by stretching the body and laughing ‘together’, was a very effective mode of healing. Its initial purpose was to relieve muscle and joint pain by simple stretching exercises, but it subsequently reduced psychological stress too. Furthermore, the exercise club helped to sustain the call centre’s labour union, the first union amongst Korean call centres.

Paper 2

Women’s Empowerment in Japanese and Korean Civil Society

Linda Hasunuma (Franklin and Marshall College) lhasunum@fandm.edu

Japan and South Korea consistently rank near the bottom of the World Economic Forum’s Gender Equality Report’s and the Inter-Parliamentary Union’s rankings for the representation of women in the world’s legislatures. Women also leave the labor force once they become mothers, so in politics and economics, women’s contributions and influence seem limited if we only look at their levels of representation in elected office and labor force participation. This paper attempts to go beyond the national level and examines the dynamics of women’s political participation at the local levels, especially among women activists and volunteers in civil society; many of whom are members of transnational networks of women’s rights and human rights groups. The paper shows how these transnational networks educate and empower women at the grassroots level in East Asia. Though women are not visible in national institutions, elected offices, and the labor force, they are very actively engaged in their local communities, especially through volunteer, neighborhood, and religious organizations in providing social welfare services to children, the elderly, and disabled; and protecting women’s rights (domestic violence, for example) and the environment. This paper shows how local, national, and international networks among women in Japan and South Korea are contributing to a revitalization of civil society and empowering women as they identify more with these transnational movements and norms about women’s equality and roles in their political communities. Furthermore, with structural reforms and a shift to the right in South Korea and Japan, more and more women are providing care services as volunteers and advocating for policy changes at the local level, but many do not wish to characterize their work as “political.” The paper concludes by assessing the implications of these dynamics for women as citizens of Japan’s and Korea’s democracies. How do women in Japan and South Korea conceive of their roles as citizens? The paper shows how the identity of motherhood can provide leverage for women’s involvement in their communities, while also limiting and constraining the nature of their political participation and activism.

Paper 3

Labour revitalisation in Japan: Challenges to community unions

Hiroaki Richard Watanabe (University of Sheffield) ricardohiro@yahoo.com

Since the collapse of the bubble economy in the early 1990s, Japanese employers have faced intensified economic competition from neighbouring Asian countries. They requested the government to implement regulatory reforms aimed at increasing labour-market flexibility and the government has implemented a number of labour-market reforms. Against this background, the working conditions of not only non-regular workers but also regular workers have deteriorated and the number of working poor has increased. This paper addresses the question of how so-called ‘community’ unions have coped with this situation by conducting case studies of three unions specialised in organising young, female and immigrant workers (‘Shutoken Seinen (Metropolitan Youth) Union’, ‘Women’s Union Tokyo’ and ‘Zentouitsu (All Unification) Union’, respectively). Japanese community unions are different from enterprise unions in that they help and organise individual workers irrespective of company affiliation and their power resources in terms of human and financial resources are much smaller. With respect to the three types of union activities identified in the literature on labour revitalisation: provision of useful services to union members, which is typical of business-oriented unions such as enterprise unions in large companies; organising union members aimed at increasing the power resources of unions; and social movement unionism aimed at empowering unions through coalition formation with social movement NGOs and other political actors, Japanese community unions are weak in the first and second aspects and differ among themselves in the third aspect. These three types of activities also correspond to unions’ ‘identity’ as the representatives of narrow interests of regular workers based on labour market dualism (first aspect), those of ‘class’ interests based on labour solidarity (second aspect), and those of the interests of politically under-represented (third aspect). The paper claims that, based on the above-mentioned case studies, the influence of Japanese community unions in the labour movement and industrial relations are different depending on their affiliation with national centres and the effectiveness of their political engagement despite their similarity in small human and financial resources. The paper emphasises the importance of political agency and coalition formation with social movement actors in the revitalisation of the Japanese labour movement.

Panel 41 Ceremony & Culture in Pre-war Japan

Paper 1

Diplomatic Ceremonial in the last decade of Tokugawa shogunate (1857-1867): Japan's first step into the international society

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When Townsend Harris, the first American Consul-General and the first resident representative of a Western nation arrived in Japan in 1856, the Tokugawa shogunate had to prepare a ceremonial order for a Western diplomat's audience with the shogun for the first time. However, shogunal retainers did not treat it as an unprecedented occasion.

They referred to the records of past ceremonies in which the prior shoguns had received Korean envoys and, based on that existing framework, prepared a ceremony for Harris. This reference to previous ceremonies was not only for convenience in preparing the ceremony, but also reflected their understanding of the new relationship with the United States as an extension to the official, friendly relationship with Korea, which had been maintained throughout the reign of Tokugawa (1603-1867).

Simultaneously, the retainers discussed the ceremonial order with Harris and accepted some of his input, as Harris also made concessions. In the end, Harris reported to his government that the ceremony on 7 December 1857, which he attended in order to present the American President's letter to the shogun, was satisfactorily conducted 'after our Western fashion'.

By the end of the Tokugawa regime in 1867, seventeen such ceremonies took place to receive American, Dutch, Russian, British, and French representatives at the shogun's castle. The protocol was improved with each ceremony and its final format was in accordance with the bakufu's ceremonial tradition on the one hand, and with Western international customs on the other hand. The diplomats who were received in the last ceremonies of 1867 spoke particularly well of them.

Though it is not possible to explain all of the details of the ceremonial elements and the debates surrounding them, this presentation sheds light on the important fact that these efforts by the Tokugawa bakufu prepared a foundation for modern diplomacy and successfully placed Japan within the international society, contrary to the general understanding that such a foundation was brought about only after the Meiji Restoration (1868) under the pressures of westernisation. The prospects for developing this research into an inter-Asiatic comparative study will also be explored briefly.

Paper 2

Consuming Tea at the World's Columbian Exposition (1893) and the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition (1910)

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This presentation examines the Japanese tea exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893) and the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition in London (1910). The presentation of Japanese tea culture was prominent at both exhibitions even though the export of Japanese tea was declining. First, this was because Japanese tea culture, especially the tea ceremony, became known in the West thanks to Basil Hall Chamberlain and other authors who referred to the tea ceremony in their books on Japan. I argue that the Imperial Commission saw the Japanese tea culture as a convenient way to showcase the Empire of Japan's long-standing history and 'rich' cultural tradition. Secondly, since the Chicago World Fair in 1893, private tea traders had begun to run a commercial teahouse serving Japanese tea to the visitors to the exposition site. The image of Japanese tea culture was a good instrument to boost the exoticism of their products because it was understood as an emblem of Japanese tradition and a source of Japanese aesthetics.

By exploring tea-related exhibits at two international expositions, this presentation investigates the extent to which international expositions helped to shape the way in which the Japanese government understood the world in which they were engaged. I also argue that the construction of Japan's modern cultural identity was—to some extent—a collaborative work of the nation, the private commercial sector, and the audience of international expositions.

Panel 42

Christian encounters and politics in East Asia

Paper 1

Sinologist Ernst Johannes Eitel's Hakka Studies: A Perspective of Missionary Ethnography

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German missionary Ernst Johannes Eitel (1838-1908) is an important scholar in the history of Hakka studies. His "Ethnographical Sketches of the Hakka Chinese" (1867-1869) and "An Outline History of the Hakkas" (1873) laid the foundation to develop Hakka identity in the early twentieth century, and Eitel's methodology was also adopted by later scholars in their Hakka studies. In this paper, I start with reviewing his educational and evangelical backgrounds from archive materials kept in SOAS and Tübingen University to find what influenced him in writing history and ethnography. Then I analyze the etymological clarification of Eitel's terminology, "ethnographic sketches", and trace its scholarly root to the mid-eighteenth century Germany. I further make a comparison among Eitel's works, the German Ethnographie/Völkerkunde tradition, and the British questionnaire of ethnological inquiry. The result reveals Eitel was strongly influenced by his native German tradition. Finally, I find the historical criticism of the Tübingen School, from which Eitel was nourished, was unable to help Eitel critically read the fictitious parts in Hakka genealogies and made him ironically constructed the myth of Hakka migration.

Paper 2

Historical Memory and the Catholic martyrs in Japan

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The Japanese government banned Christianity in 1614 and persecuted foreign missionaries and Japanese Christians. Several hundred of the many thousands who were executed have been recognized as martyrs through a long process that is still ongoing, as shown by the recent approval by Pope Francis of Takayama Ukon's beatification in January 2016. A diachronic analysis of the historiography on the martyrs in Japan raises questions of the importance of historical memory for the Catholic community in Japan and worldwide. It also shows certain trends in the profile of the martyrs and the tone of the historiographical sources. Initially, foreign religious men were predominant, but gradually more and more Japanese laymen and laywomen were also beatified. Moreover, in the seventeenth century, the missionary orders active in Japan claimed some of their members as the first martyrs of Japan, appropriating the discourse on martyrdom and integrating it into the rivalry between Mendicants and Jesuits to preach in Asia, but no further claims were made after the 1627 beatifications of 26 martyrs. However, underground Christian communities were disclosed in 1865 and many of them returned to the Catholic Church, reactivating the claims of seventeenth-century martyrs in Japan. The 26 martyrs were canonized in 1867, and further beatifications followed in 1981, 1989, 2008 and 2011. The profile of the martyrs became gradually inclusive in terms of age, gender, class, and region, and therefore more representative of the local Catholic communities. While the historiography on the Catholic martyrs in Japan has recently been dominated less by hagiographical works by the Catholic orders involved in the historical missions, there is not yet a comparative, non-confessional and diachronic study available, which is the aim of the ongoing research project summarised in this presentation.

Paper 3

Crafting Aboriginal Nations: The Presbyterian Church and the Imagination of the Aboriginal National Subject

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This study examines how the aboriginal nations in Taiwan were imagined in the form of multi-layered interlocking-cum-autonomous political Subjects by interrelating the emergence of this imagination with the context of aboriginal incorporation into the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan (PCT). After criticizing two previously-proposed theses on the formation of aboriginal national identity and examining the negative impacts of statization and capitalist transformation on the emergence of tribe-based and inter-tribe pan-aboriginal identities, this study argues that the imagination of the multi-layered aboriginal national Subject was an unintended consequence of the PCT's practical institutionalized arrangements for evangelization. The PCT's impact can be understood on three important dimensions. First of all, aboriginal members' daily practices within the three-level federalist church polity formed an acquired "schema" in the minds of the members, a ready-made cognitive structure which could be easily appropriated by members to imagine their own nations in a certain way. Second, the Church promoted the translation of the Bible and hymns into aboriginal vernaculars for practical evangelizing reasons, which unintentionally created tribe-based cultural-linguistic mediums as national languages upon which the contents of aboriginal nations could be elaborated and reproduced, and thus further consolidated the tribe-based ethnic categorization and facilitated the reification of aboriginal nations. Third, aboriginal pastors and elders, who were institutionally endowed with many strengths by comparison with other aboriginal elites, served as human activators in formulating and spreading the imagination of the multi-layered aboriginal national Subject.

Paper 4

Jesus in Japanese: Latin Kundoku and the Birth of "Translation" in a Vatican Manuscript from 1591

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The Barreto Manuscript (1591) in the Vatican Library contains gospel readings for the Catholic church year in Japanese, including the story of Jesus' disciples miraculously speaking in tongues. However, an even more miraculous collision and coexistence between two regimes of language—one spoken, one written—can be seen in the textual surface of this collection. In sixteenth-

century Europe, whether scholars gathered for disputations at universities or exchanged written missives, they did so in a single Latin language which was recorded phonetically. Meanwhile, in East Asia, a vast web of codings, in languages as diverse as Japanese and Vietnamese, for one set of graphs of Chinese origin, generated a cultural sphere bound together by texts which could be read in any grammar and lexicon for which conventions of translingual reading (訓読 kundoku) existed. Recent scholarship has begun to appreciate the importance, persistence, and possibilities of this system in Japan, where as late as the nineteenth century, European languages were first studied by means of a similar system of ordinal markers and word-by-word glosses (Morioka Kenji 1999). Moreover, for all the Jesuits' efforts to write and publish vernacular literature in Japanese phonetic script, it was only with the clandestine circulation of Mateo Ricci's True Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven in the 1640s that Christianity entered the mainstream conversation in Japan (Kiri Paramore 2013): Japanese scholars like Hayashi Razan were primed to absorb religious and philosophical ideas by reading Han graphs as Japanese. Back in 1591, the Japanese gospels which Barreto transcribed sometimes use particles like -yori for the Latin ablative case in a formulaic way reminiscent of such translingual readings of Han graphs. At the same time, Jesuit dictionaries of Japanese revive the word 翻譯 hon'yaku "translation" a word heretofore reserved for the conversion of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit into Han graphs, in the modern sense of conversion between two spoken languages conceived of as separate but equal entities. In this presentation, I identify the precise Latin Bible from which Barreto's gospels were most likely translated and explore this beginning of the globalisation of interlingual relations.

Panel 43 Schools, Education and national identity

Paper 1

China's Protestant Colleges: Colonial Outposts of Global Modernity

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After overcoming a Calvinist-inspired disinterest in using “means” to effect the conversion of the Chinese, Anglophone Protestant missionaries, by the late nineteenth century were, by and large, enthusiastic proponents of bringing modern education to China. The early twentieth century saw mission boards from Britain, Canada and the United States work together to establish thirteen Protestant Colleges, whose stated goals typically called for uplift of the Chinese in both spiritual and civilizational terms. Historians writing from the end of WWII through the 1970s, influenced by worldwide anti-imperialist sentiment, generally determined that these schools were a part of the Western colonial project, meant to destabilize China. Starting in the 1980s, commensurate with China's “Reform and Opening Up”, these same schools were radically reassessed by historians and re-labeled as centers for the very positive sounding “cross-cultural exchange”. This paper asks if both appellations are wrong, and that rather, China's Protestant colleges should be thought of as types of colonial outposts, but not ones beholden to any specific Western imperial project, but rather to a capitalist global modernity in general, which was changing all corners of the globe (including West and East) in similar ways. This paper will examine this proposition in light of both the extant literature on these colleges, and by means of a case study of the situation at West China Union University (WCUU) in Chengdu. By examining documents from WCUU, such as the school paper and department publications, we can see how the University's education initiatives, urban reform work, medical practice, and activities on the Sino-Tibetan borderlands might be understood as products of a global modernity, which did indeed disrupt cultural, political and economic patterns (i.e. was not simply “cultural-exchange”), but not in ways automatically beneficial to Western imperialism.

Paper 2

The Reifeprüfung (high school exit examination) of the *German School Shanghai* before 1945

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The *German School Shanghai* (Kaiser-Wilhelm-Schule, 1895-1945) was the oldest German school in East Asia. It aimed to offer elementary and secondary education to children of German residents in Shanghai. Due to its good reputation, it also attracted children from other nationalities. During its fifty years of existence, the KWS has witnessed several historical events such as the foundation of the Republic of China, two World Wars, and the collapse of the Third Reich in 1945. The history of KWS reflected the wax and wane of German relations with other countries in Shanghai.

This paper attempts to investigate transformation of German educational policy and national identity through the example of the Reifeprüfung (high school exit examination) in the KWS. After passing the Reifeprüfung, school children could study in Germany without limitation. As an authorized German school located in the International Settlement Shanghai, the KWS on the one hand should follow the German educational guidelines, while on the other hand, it needed to be adaptable to Shanghai's social context. Some questions will be discussed in this paper: how was the Reifeprüfung designed and organised? What were the contents of examination in different times? How were examination answers annotated and evaluated? In what way did it mirror the change of the German policy? Based on German and Chinese archives as well as oral interviews, this contribution tries to explore the history of *German School Shanghai* before 1945.

Panel 44

Pivotal Peripheries – elusive identities in the pre-modern China - Inner Asia frontier zone

Panel Moderator: Geoffrey Humble, University of Birmingham gfh299@bham.ac.uk

The historiography of the temporal and spatial entity we commonly refer to as China is dominated by the paradigm of the 'middle kingdom'. Much of what we know of premodern East and Inner Asia comes to us through the activities of a literate culture that perpetuated a view of the world arranged around the imperial centre. This is particularly pertinent when we observe the treatment of lands and peoples on the northern borders of this world.

Did those on the borders see themselves as peripheral to the Middle Kingdom? Or was the self-styled Middle Kingdom just one of many options for loyalty, the tracing of mythical or cultural heritage and the claiming of identity?

Through critical reading of the official histories, or through the integration of material culture such as architecture and epigraphy, this panel questions the relevance of 'China – other' cultural binaries in the lived identities and choices of people on the northern frontier.

Paper 1

Sharing the ancient treasure: The many mythical origins of the 'Kitan'

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Traditional scholarship tends to believe that the 'Kitan' were either a nomadic ethnic group very different from the 'Chinese', or one that was attracted to 'Chinese' culture and actively became 'Chinese'. The reason for these opposite ideas is mainly because scholars take ethnic categories as an important analytical tool to understand identity and always give historical and mythical figures an ethnic label. The investigation of the 'Kitan' tomb inscriptions, genealogies and contemporary histories, however, provides us opportunity to interrogate 'ethnicity' as an effective concept of analysing the Liao identities.

The 'Kitan' did borrow many ancient things that now are labelled 'Chinese', which demonstrates intensive cultural interaction rather than absolute cultural antagonism between different groups. For example, the Xiao clan, consorts to the Liao imperial house, claimed descent from the ruling house of the Xiao state, which existed in central China in the 7th century BCE. However, on close examination this borrowing may have been more a means of extending the 'Kitan' past to something ancient than an expression of actively becoming 'Chinese'. The 'Kitan' had distinct cultural practices, which mean that when they borrowed things from the south these borrowings did not necessarily bring about changes to their native cultural practices. The new 'Kitan' myths of origin borrowed from outside did not replace the 'Kitan' original myths of origin, and they co-existed and were chronologically compatible with each other.

This paper will not label the 'Kitan' mythical ancestors as 'Chinese' or 'Kitan' but just treat them as ancient figures, the myths of whom were shareable and everyone could lay a claim to without ethnic implication. It will see the history of the 'Kitan' as a process of their embellishing their past by picking up elements from various sources, and intends to call attention to the possible disparity between our modern understanding of the 'Kitan' or 'Chinese' and conceptions of identity in the Liao period.

Paper 2

"Who is Xi?" - The hidden other in the Liao Dynasty (907-1125)

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The presence of individuals and people identified as 'Xi' 奚 in texts spanning almost a thousand years has understandably led to the compiling and narrating of a discrete, ethnic group or nation under this name. This strategy, while laudably contributing a clearer picture of the presence of the Xi in such sources, presumes that this identity was fixed, consistent and unproblematic, even essential. If the methodological tools of trade for the humanities are historically constituted, then concepts of 'ethnicity' and 'nation' are no exception. While they function as illuminating, heuristic and explanatory frameworks they also imply coherence where they may have been none.

A closer look at sources such as the dynastic histories, Song envoy accounts and tomb inscriptions reveals that the Xi appear to historians almost exclusively as the object of others' descriptions, while past persons labelled as Xi rarely speak for themselves. This is the case not only in the histories of Northern Wei (386-535) and Tang (618-907) where they are described as northern peoples at the border, but in texts dealing with the Liao, a dynasty led by the Kitan, a people consistently associated with the Xi. If the Kitan Liao are othered in Chinese history from the Northern Song (960-1127) onwards, then the Xi are another within an other – a hidden other. Without abundant examples of Xi self-identification, it is important to ask: does the word Xi refer to a tangible, coherent people or in fact to a label ascribed to people? Historically what constitutes the Xi?

This paper uses the seven examples of extant epigraphy that have been associated with the Xi as a point of departure. By combining historical and archaeological approaches to the theoretical issues regarding the recognition or delimiting of human groups in the past, particularly along the lines of ethnicity, I will explore the historical constitution of the Xi identity at the time of the Liao.

Paper 3

What is a 'Liao' Pagoda? Defining the religious architecture of the Liao Dynasty (907-1125) from a regional perspective

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The extent of the 'Sinicisation' of the Liao Dynasty and its Kitan rulers has long been debated among historians and archaeologists. However, the 'Perspectives on the Liao' conference (2010) and the subsequent publication of a special edition on the Liao for the *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* (Vol.43: 2013) have demonstrated that the field is beginning to move away from considering the Liao purely in terms of this binary, 'China and the other' narrative. With papers exploring trade networks and diplomatic gifts, as well as specific Liao connections with the Islamic world, the Xixia and Heian-era Japan, we have been provided a glimpse of a world comprised of complex political, cultural and religious interaction across the East-Asia region and beyond. Unfortunately, the Liao's position within this expanded regional framework remains unclear. Outside of their relationship with the Song (and concepts of 'China' more generally), the Liao have still only been considered in juxtaposition to other single dynasties or regional powers, once again forcing them into limiting dichotomous relationships.

Rather than exploring the Liao as a peripheral subject in the history of other dynasties or nations then, this paper instead uses material evidence to observe the dynasty from a cross-regional perspective. By creating a database of extant pagodas (both those of the Liao as well as their contemporaries and predecessors), Liao examples and their development can be situated within a wider regional and chronological context. In so doing, I hope to not only demonstrate Liao agency as a key political player and religious centre of the period, but also question whether ideas of 'Sinicisation' and other forms of binary interaction remain appropriate as the primary means of discussing the Liao Dynasty.

Paper 4

The "unified other" in Tang China

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From the outbreak of the An Lushan Rebellion in 755 CE onward the Tang dynasty began to fall into chaos. The turning point for the Tang court was the loss of Tongguan 潼關 (the main pass to the capital of the Tang). Historians tend to believe that the main cause for the loss of Tongguan was the intense relationship between the then Chief Minister Yang Guozhong 楊國忠 and the leading general Geshu Han 哥舒翰. In a hasty advance urged by the court, the Tang forces were trapped and many were killed or deserted in a battle occurred over seventy kilometres west of Tongguan. The Song history, the *Zizhi tongjian*, says the Tang lost again at Tongguan, which led to the flight of the emperor and the deterioration of the Tang's prospects. With a close study of other historical records,

however, I find the main reason for the loss of Tongguan was the surrender of a *fan* 蕃 general before any battles occurred, which was then followed by mutinies in the Tang army itself. That is to say, an incident caused by groups labelled as *fan* in the Tang army led to the failure of the defensive war.

From this case study, we can see how important *fan* soldiers were in the Tang army. Soldiers and generals labelled as *fan* joined the Tang's military system from the reign of Emperor Taizong onwards, and gained favour during Emperor Xuanzong's reign. Different groups had different experiences. Tribes such as the Tongluo 同羅 escaped from An Lushan's army and tried to establish their own regime in the chaos. However, in the eye of the Tang government, all such groups were labelled as *fan*—a unified "other" opposed to the *han*. After An Lushan's rebellion, non-Han people were treated with greater suspicion by the court, and this conversely contributed to other rebellions whose leaders were labelled as "*fan*".

Paper 5

Southern Discomfort? Siting the Jia 賈 Lineage between Memory, Identity and Historiography in Mongol China and *Yuanshi* Biography

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Despite working in some haste, the compilers of the *Yuanshi*, or *History of the Yuan Dynasty*, devoted considerable effort to defining 'Chinese' frames of reference and behavioural models for the post-Mongol populace of Ming dynasty East Asia. Close reading of the *Yuanshi* biography portraying Jia Shira 賈昔刺 and his descendants seems to disrupt this, however, employing selective references to both 'Chinese' and steppe cultural elements. The Jia family record was transmitted via commemoration in two Chinese-language inscriptions – a distinctly 'Chinese' genre – that nonetheless chose to highlight differing elements of their subjects' lives. These portrayals of the family, intimately involved with the Mongol court for a century, open multiple questions over memory, identity and cross-cultural negotiation. Overtly referred to as a *Hanren* and recorded in a biography classified as 'Chinese' by the *Yuanshi* compilers, we read that Shira was allowed to leave the Chinggisid capital Karakorum due to 'Han' discomfort in its northern climate. Contrasting strongly with this is the subject's exclusive identification by the Mongolian name Shira ('golden/yellow', due to the colour of his facial hair), the use of Turco-Mongol names by Shira's descendants, and a rare occurrence in which tropes of generosity to commoners focus on poverty among northern people in the steppe, rather than the usual 'Chinese' populations to the south. Interrogating these linked biographical narratives to expose their divergent priorities, the paper assesses the place of the Jia lineage among both the pan-Eurasian *milieu* of their times and the narrower East Asian cultural area defined by the *Yuanshi*, granting insights into the range and shifting value of narrative identifiers and tropes over this influential period.

Panel 45

Private Slaves and Public Servants: Law and Reform in China and Korea

Paper 1

Debating Chinese Child ‘Slavery’: Child Protection in 1930s Shanghai

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In 1936 the Shanghai City Government Police Bureau called for the registration of all ‘female slaves’ in the city. The government was responding to international and local pressure to take action against the practice of Chinese families adopting ‘younger sisters’ (妹子 mei zai, universally called mui tsai by contemporary foreign commentators, so this name is used here.) These girls were sold by parents who could not afford to keep them to provide unpaid domestic work. The system was open to abuse and many girls suffered cruelty and discrimination.

There were periodic public outcries over the mui tsai system in Hong Kong and London in the 1870s and 1920s, resulting in legislation but little impact on the practice. These episodes have received some scholarly attention (notably by John Carroll and Susan Pedersen), yet the spread of the issue beyond Hong Kong has been neglected, with the exception of Rachel Leow’s work on Malaya. Historians’ focus has been solely on measures taken by colonial governments, and no work has been undertaken on the significance of the issue for an emergent Chinese civil society. This paper, based on recent research funded by the Royal Irish Academy, shifts the focus to Shanghai, where mui tsai were less common but by no means rare, and where the issue was extended to encompass child protection more broadly. Shanghai affords the opportunity to examine the interaction between colonial and Chinese authorities, Chinese elites and members of the public, and transnational organisations like the League of Nations. It therefore throws new light on the pressure exercised by the public on Chinese and colonial authorities alike to protect girls from slavery.

With debates about the existence of a public sphere in contemporary China, notably in Hong Kong’s Umbrella movement but also the myriad popular protests in mainland China, the memory of this historical instance of contentious debate in the public sphere is highly pertinent. The paper thus addresses the conference theme of Memory and History.

Paper 2

Building the “Country’s Official Discipline” for Times of Need: Awards for Public Officials under the Yusin System

Agnieszka Smiatacz (The Academy of Korean Studies) idunavi@naver.com

Under the Yusin system, no less than 30% of public officials received a variety of awards for their high performance in public service (Lee Cheong-Sik, 1968). Along with Saemaeul awards for well-performing village communities and so called “export towers” for successful businesses, the awards for public servants were a meaningful element in the preparations for Park Chung Hee’s third Five-Year Plan (1972-1976). The times were rough. The economic world was rocked by the oil shock and import-export slump. The Republic of Korea was deep in debt due to previous high-scale economic plans. Throwing performance awards at public officialdom might seem, at first, a move that could be an unnecessary burden for the public administration, if not for the fact that it came firmly as a part of clean-up campaign in public bureaucracy. The recipients of awards were openly contrasted with public servants who showed “negative attitude” and neglect of their duties. Within the bigger picture of Park Chung Hee’s government push for heavy and chemical industry development, the complex system enforcing official discipline made a perfect sense.

This presentation traces the logic behind the campaign to encourage public servants’ performance by placing it within the broader image of Park Chung Hee government’s national revival plans in the 1970’s. Moreover, it shows that it was a crucial part of “interrelated collective liability system” (계열 연대 책임제) which in a truly Confucian way enhanced presidential prerogatives to “guide” the public administration, to the extent of rewarding or purging it according to a set of top-down directed ethics of performance. Finally, it indicates that the broad campaign to discipline public servants ultimately aimed at creating the sense of common identity with the state and its goals among the Korean public servants.

Paper 3

The Abolition of Slavery and Constitutional Reforms of Late-Qing China

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Beset by widespread internal discontent, the late-Qing imperial government embarked on constitutional reforms at the beginning of the twentieth century as a political priority. Within these discussions of constitutionalism in late-Qing China, the abolition of slavery was raised by some high-level officials as it pertained to certain customary practices of bondage and exploitation in Qing society. Their appeals to abolish slavery in China referenced the wider international abolition movement, including the Proclamation Emancipation in the United States and the British experience of abolition. Imperial commissions established to oversee constitutional reforms and revisions of the law considered and later jointly agreed that practices of slavery in China would undermine the goals of constitutionalism for the country and threaten its legitimacy in the eyes of other nations. In January 1910, this led to the promulgation of an imperial edict on the abolition of slavery. This edict, therefore, illustrated the early influences of international law and the idea of a wider community of nations on the thinking of late-Qing constitutionalists. Further, it also presents a concrete example to analyse transcultural flows and influences in the area of law and society in early-twentieth-century China. This paper argues that the significance of this imperial edict lie not in its substantive content, at times ambiguous and contradictory, but in the transcultural influence of international law that underpinned the text. By referencing the comparative experiences of other countries in their abolition efforts, discussions on the eradication of exploitative practices became a component of the constitutionalists’ projection of China as a modern country amongst the society of nations. These references to

international law are significant in the history of modern China, for this turn-of-the-century examination of practices of slavery would become a notable antecedent to subsequent diplomatic development. These include China's engagement with the League of Nations on the issue of the trafficking of women and children during the Republican era and later its participation under the aegis of the United Nations in the drafting of the landmark 1956 Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery.

Panel 46

Marked by Geography: Shifting Meanings in a Global Economy

Panel abstract:

This panel considers how the global biography of an object or discourse, the transcultural heritage of an artist, inform the history and agency of material culture. Through case studies of ways in which the local reception, appropriation and mediation of materials either acknowledge or negate transcultural movements, it addresses questions such as why a Qing art manual was relevant to an eighteenth century Japanese audience, how the foreign is colonized in the construction of early modern artistic identity, and ways in which the Australian landscape morphs under the Asian lens. It further considers how the acknowledgement of transcultural flows can help to reconfigure the terms of purely local or synchronic forms of appropriation: why a kimono used as a prop in an American museum, for example, can unsettle notions of national identity and cultural ownership, and why it shouldn't. The panel thus seeks to interrogate the transcultural testimony of material culture in order to capture something of the complex dynamic between the local and the global.

Paper 1

Kosode, Japansche rock and Banyan: Japan and Early Modern Global Fashion

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Many of the prints created by Utamaro, Toyokuni and other artists in the late eighteenth century promote the swiftly changing fashions in textiles. Notable among these are striped and checked *shima* patterns inspired by cottons imported from India's Coromandel Coast. These woven and dyed cottons testify to the way that South and South-east Asia contributed to the material culture of Edo Japan. During the same period, silk *kosode*, adapted to wear over trousers and shirts, were taken up by Dutch merchants, who called these gowns *Japansche rock*. The Dutch also commissioned similar T-shaped garments as well as more fitted ones known as banyan (a term derived from the Gujarati word for trader) to be made of chintz in India. Variations on these comfortable garments, which arose from the confluence of Japanese, Persian, and Indian styles of dress, were also fashionable among men in England and America.

This paper traces the global circulation of *kosode*, *Japansche rock*, and banyan to address the debates surrounding the ethnic and cultural ownership of the kimono that accompanied a recent exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It proposes that rather than seeing this garment from the perspective of a hegemonic relationship between Japan and the West, its history be mapped more broadly as part of a global fashion system in which forms, styles, and meanings are constantly made and remade by producers and consumers alike.

Paper 2

Utamaro's Picture Books: A New Perspective

Leah Daniel (University of Cincinnati) lecdanie@gmail.com

In the postscript to Utamaro's (1753-1868) first woodblock album, *Picture Book of Crawling Creatures* (*Ehon mushi erami*, 1788), Toriyama Sekien (1712-1788) penned a tribute to the artist's "painting from the heart". Julie Nelson Davis hypothesizes that the language and expressions of Sekien's postface allude to Utamaro's painterly legacy, since this type of encomium would typically be reserved for painters and not woodblock print artists. Yasuko Betchaku and Joan B. Mirviss, meanwhile, have understood Sekien's tribute as an acknowledgement of Utamaro's "keen powers of observation".

In this paper, I suggest that Utamaro used not only traditional techniques in his picture book illustrations, but also Western techniques such as hatching and vanishing point perspective. Utamaro's illustrations in *Picture Book of Crawling Creatures*, *Gifts of the Ebb Tide* (*Shiohi no tsuto*, 1789), and *Myriad Birds* (*Momo chidori*, 1790) are highly naturalistic – a naturalism that precedes similar portrayals in the *ukiyo-e* genre by years if not decades. Introducing some of Utamaro's possible *rangaku* (Western) sources, I hope to show how these influences were incorporated in his work and how they complicate our previous understanding of the artist.

Paper 3

Asia and the aesthetics of the Australian landscape

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Visual representations of the Australian landscape are as diverse as the continent is broad. From impressionistic to the abstracted, artists have responded to the dense rainforest and bleached shorelines to create images that have contributed to a national sense of belonging. Since colonization, depictions of the Australian landscape have been filtered through the psychological state of melancholia that has been promoted by an ongoing critical art discourse. In the 21st century, Australia's engagement with Asia has offered artists opportunities to present broader, more complex visions of nation. More specifically the cross media works of Hiraki Sawa and William Yang have made subtle connections between country, national identity and Asia-Australia transcultural flows.

Paper 4

So Shiseki, Li Yu and the reception of the Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting

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In 1771 Sō Shiseki produced an art manual entitled *Kokon gasō* 古今画藪. The final two volumes of the work reproduced sections of Li Yu's Mustard Seed Garden Manual of painting, with short narratives explaining the significance of Li Yu's philosophy of the studio. These were the work of a student of Shiseki. In one of many prefaces to populate the album, Shiseki revealed that the student had asked him to include the Li Yu sections because Shiseki was above suspicion: the student's work had already received 'the axe and the chisel'. Shiseki had readily agreed, 'for why would anyone look for the minister in the kitchen?' This talk will attempt to address what it was that rendered the *Kokon gasō* mediation of Li Yu's thoughts on art so important, so relevant, and, in this case, so political, that it needed to be concealed at the back of an art manual in order to avoid the eye of the censor; and what this apparently political gesture suggests about the role of art theory in eighteenth century Japan.

Panel 47

War, Empire and Identity in East Asia

Paper 1

Interrogating “Population Problem”: Japanese Colonialism, the Korean Peninsula, and the Global Geopolitics of Race

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In recent years, historians have shown a keen interest in the imperial and colonial formations of governmentality and biopolitics. In her recent book *Global Population* (2014), Alison Bashford asserts that global debates regarding population in the early and mid-twentieth century have centered not only on the history of birth and death, the fertility of women, and crises of overpopulation and depopulation but also spatial dimensions: geopolitics, territorial expansion, war, colonization, land, arability, settlement, the distribution of human population, etc. In this paper, I seek to engage with Bashford's insights in the context of colonial Korea (1910-1945) and the Japanese Empire. My perusal of the colonial archives from the early twentieth century (many of which have yet to be seen by scholars) reveals that these archives are saturated with the Japanese term *jinkō* (人口), or population. Urgent state agendas concerning the future of the empire intersected with population discourses. I analyze Japanese colonial population discourses articulated by key government officials, medical scientists, and scholars in late colonial Korea and imperial Japan. In the 1930s and early 1940s, their debates, for instance, were centered on the indispensable fight on behalf of entire Colored Races (*yūshoku jinshu*) against the territorial imbalance in favor of the white Races (*hakujin jinshu*). Despite accounting for only 10% of the world's total population, the White Races occupied 90% of global territory; imperial Japan planned to right this disparity in part through increasing the population of the Colored Races in Korea and East Asia. I also explore the Korean scholarly and journalistic debates on population problem. Such analysis of both Korean and Japanese colonial discourses of population holds central importance, as it will help scrutinize how they feed into the discourses and governance of “population problem” in the post-liberation period and in the Cold War era of the Family Planning Program.

Paper 2

War memory and the politics of identity in contemporary East Asia: taking Taiwanese aborigines as an example

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The aim of the paper is to explore the relationship between Taiwanese aborigines, war memory, and cultural trauma in terms of novel and documentary to argue the connection between ethnical awareness and national identity after the war. The development of post-war politics have been examining in East Asian countries over the past decades. These concerns could be highlighted and converged on a wide range of the representation of war memory. Therefore, two main approaches to war memory will be emphasized in this research, namely the politics of identity and the transformation of cultural trauma. First, being a Japanese colony and then a base of counterattacking the Communist party of China (cpc), many Taiwanese aborigines called Takasago Volunteer (1942-1945) and soldiers of Chinese nationalist party (1945-1949) went to the battlefield. The representation of war memory stresses the uncertainty of Taiwanese ethnical politics, involving the transformation of identity of these aborigines before and after the war, but also the historical role of Taiwan in the post-war political context, such as the forming of Geo-politics and the reconstruction of identity in East Asia. Second, this study will re-examine the theories of cultural trauma to demonstrate the linkage of trauma narratives and cultural memory. The system of mercenary made Taiwanese aborigines move from tribal villages to East Asian context, yet their trauma narratives emphasize the subjectivity of tribes or indigenous peoples; this refers to that the transformation of cultural trauma maybe play an imperative role in the making of collective memory and ethnical identity.

Paper 3

An Identity to Die For? The Kamikazes' "self" in the making

Luli van der Does-Ishikawa (University of Cambridge) LULIVdDOES@cantab.net

How do ordinary adolescents become suicide bombers? This question not only reverberates around the contemporary world, but also remains quintessential to our understanding of war-time Japan.

Studies into the motivation for the self-sacrifice of the Tokkō-tai, known as the Kamikazes, has given birth to collective and individual memories over the last seven decades, ascribing them myriads identities. Both popular and academic debates over these memories have extended to observations about their political use. Various political aspirations were projected back to the Tokkō-tai youth as their own ambitions, blurring the boundary between identities given and identities held by the first-person. Over the course of the post-war era, the dominant collective memories of the Kamikazes began to be established and, concomitantly, a link between their suicidal deeds and their self-identities became an accepted, though un-tested, fact. Yet, systematic investigation into the Kamikaze's own account of the 'self' remains scarce, especially one adopting a mixed-method approach. How was the Tokkō-tai identity formed? What were the factors contributed to the identity formation? Was there a particular driving force and how did it propel the youths to a final sortie?

The study addresses these questions with an empirical interdisciplinary approach using a novel analytical framework that combines statistical methods with Critical Discourse Analysis. Over 2,000 authentic missives written by the hand of Tokkō-tai youths are analysed to investigate the Kamikaze's self-ascribed identity. Their economic, educational, and social backgrounds are considered and different groups within the community of Tokkō-tai members are identified. Relevant education systems and their link to the construction of a particular identity are explored focusing on how these adolescents came to join the Tokkō-tai, trained, and made the ultimate sacrifice, death in service to the state.

Most significantly, the study reveals that hatred for Japan's war-time enemies was never an effective mobilisation factor. Rather, attainment of a specific identity was one significant driving force. The process by which a particular version of the 'self' was formed, gradually being transformed into a shared mass identity with a shared goal, is discussed.

Paper 4

"Nihon" as classical imperial realm and as modern imperial nation: Relational Identity in the Eighth Century versus Categorical Identity in the Twentieth

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Fukuzawa Yukichi famously wrote in *Outline of a Theory of Civilization* (1875) that "from ancient times Japan has never been a unified country...in Japan there is a government but there is no nation." This may have been true in the sense that Fukuzawa meant it, but the vision of "Nihon" as a unified state had existed since at least the seventh century. In this presentation I discuss the radical difference between the classical conception of "Nihon" as an imperial realm unified in relational terms around the figure of a universal sovereign, and the modern ideal of the state as a community of people who are defined in categorical terms as national subjects. My objective is on the one hand to show how modern Japan portrayed itself as "imperial" in ways that were both very modern and highly anachronistic, and on the other to illustrate how modern conceptions of "Japan" continue to shape and distort scholarly approaches to the premodern period even today.

Paper 5

Colonial Korea – the Mother, the Beautiful Maiden: Gender, Nostalgia, and Imperial Memory in the Work of Morisaki Kazue and Kang Shinchae

Nadeschda Bachem (SOAS University of London) nadeschda_bachem@soas.ac.uk

The experience of imperialism and war shaped the postcolonial literary landscapes of South Korea and Japan in some remarkably similar ways, and gave rise to narratives of memory often marked by a pervasive feeling of nostalgia. Building on Svetlana Boym's research, which highlights the transformative and creative potential of nostalgia, this paper explores representations of the Korean colonial landscape in the work of the Japanese writer Morisaki Kazue (b. 1927) and her South Korean contemporary Kang Shinchae (1924-2001). Both were born in colonial Korea and belong to the generation that appeared on the literary stage after the Korean War.

On both sides of the national divide, the texts deplore the injustice of Japanese imperialism and use their nostalgic depiction to narratively reconstruct a seemingly originary ethno-national Korean identity that was destroyed or disrupted by the intrusion of a mostly faceless Japanese imperial power. Both authors define this perceived Korean essence as female, personified as either a nurturing mother or an innocent youthful girl. However, while on one hand, the pieces thus feed into an often politically utilised narrative that understands the Korean ethno-nation as female, at the same time, they also complicate the simple dichotomy of a Japanese colonising power defined as male versus an effeminate Korean colony. Instead, they underscore the instability of colonial and postcolonial discourse by revealing a prevalent feeling of impotence on both sides of the power divide. By exploring the commonalities and rifts between the two collective memories, this paper highlights how nostalgic representations of colonial Korea mirror discursive postcolonial East Asian trajectories within the Cold War world order.

On a broader scale, the paper finds itself in the tradition of an East Asian comparative literature as advocated by scholars such as Karen Laura Thornber and Margaret Hillenbrand and attempts to locate the specific Japanese-Korean case within the overall frame of postcolonial and cultural memory studies.

Panel 48

Regional Perspectives on Contemporary China and its Global Influence: Comparing Japanese and European Scholarship

Jane Duckett (University of Glasgow) jane.duckett@glasgow.ac.uk
Daniel Large (Central European University) LargeD@spp.ceu.edu
Tomoo Marukawa (University of Tokyo) marukawa@iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp
Shigeto Sonoda (University of Tokyo) shigetosonoda@yahoo.co.jp

Roundtable abstract:

We propose a Roundtable at the JEAS Conference in 2016 that compares Japanese and European contemporary perspectives on China and its growing global influence. This Roundtable, organised by the BACS President in cooperation with the Japanese Association for Asian Studies, would initiate a cooperation between the two organisations that aims to foster greater interaction among Japanese and UK scholars researching contemporary China. The Roundtable will involve each of the speakers briefly summarising current perspectives on China. We have paired Duckett and Sonoda, who will discuss UK/European and Japanese research (respectively) on contemporary Chinese domestic state-society relations, and Large and Marukawa, who will discuss UK/European and Japanese research on China's relations with Africa and emerging economies. Following brief presentations, each participant will briefly reflect on the other panellists' comments before discussion will be opened up to questions from the audience. The aim is to draw out differences and similarities in perspectives on China and its global influence and what they tell us about the nature of social science research, China, and perceptions of it by its neighbours and more distant observers.

Panel 49

Planning the Future through Education: Global Educational Migration

Panel Organizer: Sophia Woodman (University of Edinburgh)

Panel Chair: Yasemin Soysal

Panel Discussant: Elena Barabantseva

Panel Abstract:

The aspirations of today's young people are bounded by global horizons, but often mainly shaped by the contexts and relations of home. State policies seek to channel migrants in specific ways, but the orientations of individuals, families and networks may conflict with these priorities, and draw on varied ideas of how to face the future. Both quantitative and qualitative measures point to Chinese students' motivations for moving for higher education to the UK being more heterogeneous than the conventional view of such migrants as instrumental would assume. These students' life plans incorporate expectations beyond material benefits, with educational experience seen as connecting young people to globally prestigious locations, while also enhancing employment prospects at home. While they may be settled in Beijing, mothers in South Korean migrant families navigate educational opportunities for their children to reproduce social mobility in their country of origin. This panel seeks comparative insights on forms of migration connected to educational mobility by initiating a conversation between researchers on two Europe-China collaborative projects that look at migration into and out of China, 'Bright Futures': A Comparative Study of Internally and Internationally Mobile Chinese Higher Education Students' and 'Immigrants in China'. The discussant will comment on the individual papers, while also leaving plenty of time for discussion.

Paper 1

Motivations for Chinese students' International Study: Trends and Explanations

Hu Yang (University of Essex) yhun@essex.ac.uk

Human capital perspectives on international student migrations emphasize aggregate level incentives such as the differentials in educational offerings (both in terms of availability and quality) between origin and receiving countries and low returns to education in origin countries, often articulated as push and pull factors. Outmigration and destination choices are seen as "rational" options for individuals to maximize labour market and career prospects. More sociological perspectives consider that educational migrations may be motivated by non-pecuniary considerations, such as seeking new experiences or prestige/distinction, and accumulating cultural capital that may or may not be translatable to market or other material advantages. From this perspective, educational migration decisions are not simply outcomes of individual calculations indexed to push and pull factors. They are often tied up with broader life-course aspirations, and mediated by family strategies and friendship networks, as well as by organizational actors such as recruitment agencies and educational institutions. This paper investigates the explanatory prowess of these alternative perspectives by analysing data from the 2013-14 UK Higher Expectations Survey, supplemented by qualitative interviews with Chinese international students and their parents. Our analysis of the Higher Expectations Survey shows that overall undergraduate students' perception of the "prestige" of the university, campus facilities, and social life are the best predictors of Chinese (international) student enrolments.

Paper 2

Quest for a Top Korean University: Education and Mobility among South Korean Middle Class Families in Beijing

Ma Xiao (Leiden University) maxiao8784@gmail.com

This paper explores how middle class migrants from South Korea in China manage education for their pre-college children and plan their migration tactically, aiming to pursue their hope for their descendants: a better domestic higher education that represents social status and upward mobility in the globalizing and transforming Korean society. These families usually migrate due to professional relocation of a South Korean husband accompanied by his wife and child(ren), encompassing three types: expatriate employees, businessmen and employees of Chinese companies. Such families are relatively affluent and have high flexibility to return to their place of origin. The majority of Korean families in my study expect their children to receive higher education and seek employment in Korea, as they consider it is better to develop a career in Korea in terms of income, quality of education and job market prospects. More importantly, returning to attend college is carefully planned by parents, who make decisions about remaining in China until "a good time" to return, in order to equip their children for the Korean university admission system, especially for children of "overseas Koreans" (*Chaeoekukmin*). The system provides special quotas for university applicants who have returned from abroad due to parental relocation for employment. In this process, it is Korean mothers who nimbly strike a balance between family mobility and children's education, weighing costs and benefits. This paper is based on a one-year's ethnographic research in both Beijing and Seoul, and data was primarily collected in methods of semi-structured interviews and participation observation.

Paper 3

Connecting Home and Abroad: the Motivations, Aspirations and Experiences of Chinese International Students at UK and German Universities

Sophia Woodman (University of Edinburgh)

International students from mainland China are now the largest group of non-EU domiciled students studying in the UK and Germany from any one country. Their experience is thus central in the internationalisation of higher education in the two countries. Based on data from focus groups and individual interviews with upper level UG and PGT students in diverse disciplines at two UK universities and one German one, this paper explores three intertwined areas: factors influencing

students' decision to study in the UK or Germany, and their choice of university and subject; their experience in UK and German HEIs, including issues of "integration" and "academic adaptation"; and how international education relates to their long-term goals and life-plans. Previous research on Chinese international students in the UK and Germany has generally concentrated on pedagogical issues, cultural adaptation and overall statistics, mostly focused on students studying business related subjects. By contrast, this paper connects students' decision-making processes and experiences of adaptation with their overall goals and long-term motivation. As well as challenging the assumption that these students are all instrumentally motivated, the paper aims to present a rounded picture of Chinese students as a heterogeneous group that may require more than "one size fits all" strategies for recruitment and integration in universities in the two countries. It also seeks to go beyond the "problem student" approach that has often characterized research on this student group to understand the experience of international education as part of a set of life choices for differently-situated students.

Paper 4

Being an African Student in China: University Experiences of Cameroonian Students in Jinhua

Séverin Kaji (University of Cologne) kajikaji105@yahoo.fr

The focus of this paper is on Cameroonians studying in China, especially in the city of Jinhua (Zhejiang province) which hosts Zhejiang Normal University. The aim is to explore the learning challenges they face and how they respond to them on the one hand, and the way in which these difficulties shape their appreciation on their training programs, on the other hand. Zhejiang Normal University has established a Confucius Institute in Cameroon, at the University of Yaoundé II. It has signed a partnership agreement with the University of Yaoundé I in the framework of China-Africa "20+20" university cooperation. As a result of this close collaboration, coupled with the launching of the FOCAC in 2000, the number of Cameroon university students in Jinhua, as well as in other Chinese cities, has expanded considerably.

From the Chinese perspective, (at least officially shared by African leaders) recruiting African students in general is a mean of transferring Chinese recognized and appreciated "savoir-faire" to African states. In other words, student mobility falls under the umbrella of what China refers to as "Capacity Building Cooperation" in the framework of which it has stated the commitment to assist Africa in "Human Resources Development", in order to enhance development on the African continent. However, ethnographic data reveal that due to various challenges, there is a growing feeling of frustration and dissatisfaction among Cameroonian students with regard to the quality of their training within Chinese Universities. Therefore, I argue that the "knowledge sharing" intention claimed by China to justify its educational cooperation with Africa is ineffective on the ground and remains nothing but a propaganda discourse. The paper mainly draws on my ongoing ethnographic fieldwork in Jinhua but also includes data from a two-month's research stay in Guangzhou and Hangzhou.

Panel 50

Girlhood, temporality and nostalgia

Panel abstract:

As Gonick, Renold, Ringrose, and Weems note, there is a “current proliferation of images and narratives of girls and girlhood in popular culture.” Girlhood has become a serious point of discussion in academic circles but still the focus often remains primarily on the USA and Europe as the key cinematic presentations of this complex figure. This panel will bring together scholars who are all working on aspects of girlhood across East Asian cinema. We will explore how girls and girlhood are situated as a site of temporality and/or nostalgia.

All three papers explore in very different cinematic frames how girls are situated inside dialogues of time and space. Choi’s paper will examine how time-travel narratives engage with shojo culture to visualize girls as the site of nostalgia. Shin’s paper will focus on adult women reminiscing their girlhood in a pre-digital media era as illuminating historical modes of girlhood. The final paper (Taylor-Jones) will explore how in the post-socialist moment the girl has come to represent both nostalgia for a lost tradition and a critical examination of the present. All the papers will explore how the spectral materialities of girlhood disrupt commonly held boundaries between past, present and future in the East Asian sphere.

Paper 1

Girls Who Can Leap Through Time: Shojo and Time Travel

Dr. Jinhee Choi (King’s College London) jinhee.choi@kcl.ac.uk

In an article entitled “Why Can’t Women Time Travel?” (The Guardian, July 31, 2013) Anna Smith makes an observation on the asymmetry of gender in terms of the capability to time travel. In Hollywood science fiction and/or romance films, it is the male character who can travel to either the future or the past, while the female character is ‘confined to the here and now’ (Smith, 2013).

In this presentation, I will examine shojo (girls) characters in East Asian media, who can leap through time, especially in the following three works: Japanese anime, *The Girl Who Leapt Through Time* (2006), Taiwanese romance film *Secret* (2007), and South Korean television series, *Splash Splash Love* (aired Dec 13-20, 2015), all of which earned regional popularities. In the case of both *The Girl Who Leapt Through Time* and *Secret*, female characters predominantly travel back and forth between the present and the past, although the male character is already given such a power or eventually learns how to do so; in contrast, in *Splash Splash Love*, a Korean girl is transported back to the Joseon dynasty in the thirteenth century, developing a romantic relationship with the then ruler, King Sejong.

David Martin-Jones examines the time travel narratives in contemporary South Korean cinema, such as *Ditto* (2000), as a possible device to reflect on the compressed modernity that the country as a whole underwent from the 1970s until the economic crisis in the late 1990s. Instead of linking the time travel device to the nation’s development trajectory, I will examine how time travel narrative in these representative works, underscore through *shojo* character its sensibilities of ephemerality and sentimentality in particular; that is, girlhood becomes the object of nostalgia that could soon vanish. Fran Martin claims that the perspective of backward-looking manifest in contemporary Taiwanese films and television signals the unsustainability of homo-social relationship. In a similar manner, I will further examine how the temporal logic manifest in the media that incorporates time travel is closely tied to the cultural logic on *shojo* and its sensibility.

Paper 2

Girlhood and Mediated Nostalgia in *Sunny* (2011) and *Our Times* (2015)

Dr. Chi-Yun Shin (Sheffield Hallam University) C.Y.Shin@shu.ac.uk

“But he also talked about a deeper bond with the products: nostalgia. It’s delicate, but potent. Teddy told me that in Greek, nostalgia literally means ‘the pain from an old wound.’ It’s a twinge in your heart, far more powerful than memory alone. This device isn’t a spaceship; it’s a time machine. It goes backwards, forwards. It takes us to a place where we ache to go again.”

– Don Draper, pitching an ad campaign for the Kodak Carousel slide projector (Mad Men, Season One, Episode 13)

As the device above, potent nostalgia shapes the narrative structures of the South Korean film *Sunny* (2011) and Taiwanese film *Our Times* (2015), featuring the now grown-up female protagonists who reminiscence about their bittersweet high-school years. Both films ‘take us’ to the past times – in the 1980s and 1990s respectively, which are littered with pop culture references of the pre-digital media era, yet the films do not just display the past but overlay it with the present. Looking back indeed provides opportunities for the protagonists to depart/deviate from their daily routines and to reassess their present, looking to the future. In *Sunny*, a ‘perfect’ housewife and mother Na-mi ‘relives’ her younger years as she searches for the members of her high school clique at the request of her dying friend, while in *Our Times*, Truly is able to pluck up the courage to stand up to her demanding boss and boyfriend, remembering how she was like at school. Huge box-office hits in their domestic and regional markets, both films successfully draw upon ‘cultural memory’ of the 1980s and 1990s as an aesthetic and commercial strategy. While it is easy and at times just to dismiss the nostalgic evocations of the past as sentimental, dehistoricised, and idealised reconstruction, this paper aims to extend beyond simple judgements as to whether they are reactionary or progressive, and examine specific modes of

nostalgic expression in these films. It will also consider social context and cultural climate of South Korea and Taiwan, then and now, to illuminate how they communicate particular meanings of girlhoods at different moments in time.

Paper 3

Girlhood, bride-kidnap and the post-socialist moment in *Blind Mountain*/Mángshān (Li, 2007) and *Pure Coolness/Boz Salkyn* (Abdyjaparov, 2007)

Dr. Kate Taylor-Jones (University of Sheffield) k.e.taylor-jones@sheffield.ac.uk

Sharing a border and with substantive trade and immigration links, both China and Kyrgyzstan are at the point of national development where the interplay between a national past and a globalized future are still hotly debated. Both nations are in the crux of the global question related to “the universal dilemmas posed by the collapse of the revolutionary socialist challenge to the hegemony of capitalism” (Sakwa 1999). Girlhood has come to function as a container for narratives of both anxiety and progress (Harris, 2004). This paper will examine the interplay between girlhood and a vision of a post-socialist modernity that can be found in two films that both engage with the act of bride kidnapping. *Blind Mountain* (China) and *Pure Coolness* (Kyrgyzstan) both present the respective stories of teenage girls forced into marriage as part of a ‘cultural tradition’ that is supported by the wider local community (as opposed to been the act of an individual male kidnapper). The continuing instance of the desirability of marriage for the modern woman presents a ‘double entanglement’ (Butler 2000, McRobbie 2009) of a ‘neo-conservative return to ‘traditional values’ being places in direct conflict with a dominant narrative of liberalization and freedom’ (McRobbie 2009:12). In the case of bride kidnap we see the conflict between an often-nostalgic vision of a cultural tradition that is marked by traditional gender dynamics, and the neo-liberal “enterprise of oneself” (Gordan, 1991: 44) that marks gender constructs in the current globalized field.

It is this ‘double entanglement’ that this paper will explore with reference to the cinematic envisioning of the bride kidnap narrative. I will explore how the girl simultaneously represents a vision of a localised space whilst operating as an indicative sign of cultural difference. In short, she is the site of the transmission of ideals of gender and modernity between moments in national development. We therefore see the girl caught in the crosshair of modernity, sexuality, tradition, nostalgia and capitalism in communities that, as will be explored, are struggling to find a sense of self in the Asian post-socialist moment.

Panel 51

International Relations, War and Post-war Domestic Politics and Policy

Paper 1

Total War and the Techno-politics of Food in East Asia, 1930s-1950s

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Nothing was more important than fuel energy in twentieth-century warfare. When the time came to face a total war with Japan on an unprecedented scale, however, food calories arguably remained as the prime source of energy in China's national economy, predominantly agricultural. Nascent China's industrial economy was concentrated only in a few coastal cities and still consisted of labor-intensive and light industries, rather than energy-intensive and heavy industries. In order to maximize industrial output for wartime economy, in other words, the Chinese working population should eat better and more food than at any other time. And yet the industrialists and workers alike had to face wartime food scarcity. Against this backdrop, the wartime authorities made unsparing efforts to promote food technologies to optimize the working population's food consumption, or at the very least to minimize food waste, while improving nutritional intake for the potential workforce in various wartime institutions and organizations, ranging from military barracks and factories, to schools and hospitals, to refugee camps and other welfare institutes. Asymmetric advantages in industrial might, notwithstanding, the Japanese Empire too had to face same challenges, because its fuel energy and food supplies were heavily reliant on overseas.

The second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) facilitated the experiment and innovation of food technologies. The wartime food processing industry, in turn, profoundly shaped both the people's understanding and government practice regarding what to eat and how to eat. In fact, the War turned into a learning experience for government leaders to realize that food was important as much as fuel energy for national security. The political urgency given for the first time to food as an object of wartime mobilization, I argue, continued to legitimize respectively the postwar food policies in East Asia during the early Cold War era.

Paper 2

China's Transnational Politics and Disputes among the Overseas Chinese in Port of Spain, Trinidad 1930-1970

Setsuko Sonoda (University of Hyogo and University of Oxford) setsukosonoda@hotmail.com

Recent research on overseas Chinese communities in Canada, the US and Japan demonstrate that political confrontations in East Asia during the Cold War led to conflicts within those communities. The geopolitical aspects of the residential country and its Cold War alignments as well as the Chinese government's transnational politics influenced those Chinese communities; antagonisms between People's Republic of China sympathizers and pro-Kuomintang government (KMT) members resulted in institutional and interpersonal disruptions.

This also took place in Chinese communities in the British West Indies. This study discusses the formation of the community structure in the Port of Spain Chinatown in Trinidad from 1930 to 1970 and its disputes. Chinese newspapers and the public papers and private writings of KMT officers in Port of Spain have not been thoroughly analyzed despite their highlighting of how the KMT's overseas Chinese policies were implemented. Officials dispatched by Chiang Kai-shek established infrastructure facilities in the Chinatown while carrying out propaganda activities during WWII. A highly politicized pro-KMT Chinese community emerged which was at odds with PRC activists. Using this example, this study looks at relationships between trans-border communities and the nation state in the twentieth century.

Panel 52 Urban/Rural Mobility Past and Present

Paper 1

Effects of hallyu on transnational mobility between Japan and Korea

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With the expanded scale of global mobility, contemporary mobility reflects the more complex and intertwined flow of people across borders. This, however, also challenges the prevailing explanation for global mobility which depicts that people are rational, therefore move for the sake of economic benefits ranging from career opportunities to social benefits that are identified in the flows from the global South to the global North. Nonetheless, what we are observing is a new global mobility, which is not necessarily explained by rational choice. Put differently, one's decision to move is interplayed with advantages other than economic as life style migrants or cultural migrants exemplifies. The focus of this paper is a new type of mobility that is induced by media, namely, media-induced mobility—mobility led by the consumption of media—taking a case of global popularity of Korean culture, viz, hallyu. Since hallyu, Japanese fans began traveling to Korea to visit shooting locations of Korean films and television dramas. Furthermore, the trend also increased interest in learning Korean language among Japanese fans; Korea becomes one of popular studying abroad destinations. Based on narratives of Japanese fans, this paper highlights the way hallyu induced transnational mobility between Japan and Korea as a form of traveling and studying abroad. It also points to how such mobility is sustained and what lies individual's decision for transnational mobility.

Paper 2

The “Neolithisation” of Southern China?

Lena Wesemann (Freie Universität Berlin) lenawesemann1@gmail.com

My PhD project in the field of archaeology deals with the transition from the Pleistocene to the Holocene in the Southern provinces of China (approx. 12.000 BP). It ventures a systematic approach to provide clarity into a broad discussion which often stagnates due to insufficient definitions and inarticulated as well as differing concepts and opinions. A comparison with the Neolithisation processes in the Near East and Europe serves as the project's consistent point of reference – the developments in China shall be raised into a more global context in order to be able to differentiate them properly. For this purpose I am conducting a debate on the definition of various terms that are almost exclusively shaped by Western archaeology and analysing the changes in climate towards the end of the Pleistocene. These methodical approaches shall form the basis on which I intend to analyse and evaluate actual changes in the way of life of the population groups that inhabited the territory that is now called South China. My PhD project raises the following questions: What exactly are the cultural characteristics of the transition period in Southern China? What changes take place in this period (e.g. regarding pottery, ground organic and stone tools, perforated ground stones, shell middens etc.) and what are likely reasons for these changes? Are they linked to the emergence of agriculture or a sedentary lifestyle? The following main question is paramount: Are the developments and changes which took place in Southern China at the end of the Pleistocene in any way or form comparable to the Neolithisation processes in the Near East and Europe? In a short digression the project will also focus on how archaeological research in China – especially regarding the investigated period of transition – is politically and ideologically utilised to help forming a national identity and provide a sense of historic unity.

Paper 3

Deglobalising the ‘Smart-Eco’ Urban Ideal

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The last three decades have seen a global shift in the way that the ‘city’ is imagined. In the popular media and within policy discourses at different levels, cities are no longer constructed as problematic sites of social and environmental problems, but also as holding the key to resolving these problems. The primarily cultural, rather than demographic, constitution of the associated discourse of the ‘urban age’ is suggested by the various attempts made by academic commentators to debunk its celebratory rhetoric. This cultural shift has its origins in Northern Europe and North America, catalysed both by the spread of the ideal of sustainable development (within which cities have taken centre stage since the 1990s), and by the imperative for cities to brand themselves aspirationally and competitively on the world stage. In this context, the ideal of the ‘sustainable city’ or ‘eco-city’, increasingly inflected by the discourse of ‘smart’ urbanism, has taken a firm foothold in several East Asian countries, with planners and policy-makers actively seeking to import ‘best practice’ from western firms of consultants, engineers, urban designers, architects, hi-tech and ‘green tech’ experts. This paper examines newly built Sejong City, in South Korea, as an apparently paradigmatic case of what might be called ‘smart-eco’ urban development, aligned with a series of globally circulating contemporary notions of what the ‘good city’ should consist of. Drawing on an ongoing three-year research project, the paper outlines the characteristics of the smart-eco city, understood as an experimental niche where both environmental and economic reforms can be tested and potentially enable transformative change across a wider setting. Nevertheless, the case also suggests certain limits to the explanatory force of grand narratives in which ideas are or can be straightforwardly ‘transferred’ across global regions. Beyond the outward-facing rhetoric which surrounds it, Sejong can only be satisfactorily understood as enabled by its own contingent context, and any lessons it may yield need to be heavily qualified by these contextual considerations.

Panel 53

Achieving Sustainability in Contemporary Urban East Asia: case studies of Japan and China

Panel abstract:

This panel addresses the value shift in urban Asia from a focus on economic growth, material consumption and social status toward societies with members who are interested in the pursuit of alternative lifestyles, ethical consumption, sustainability and maintaining work-life-balance. This value shift coincides with an increase of precarious life conditions, social stratification and uncertainty in personal and professional lives. Cosmopolitan cities face particular challenges such as the need for waste reduction and alternative energies, the preservation of food safety and food security in areas with limited agriculture, and the development of architecture adjusted to limited spaces. Based on ethnographic research and qualitative content analysis, presenters examine how sustainability can be achieved in cosmopolitan cities in Japan and China through a case-study approach. For the definition of sustainability, we draw upon the Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), which states that sustainability 1) acknowledges the needs of the poor, 2) recognizes the fact that technology and social organizations limit the environment's ability to meet these needs, and 3) acknowledges activities that meet the needs of the current generation without compromising the needs of future generations.

Presenters investigate innovative practices of ethical consumption through examining boycotting campaigns, national food education campaigns and new forms of architecture. The first panellist investigates the activities of the youth climate movement Power Shift, which advocates for a transition from nuclear energy to alternative energies, and the initiators of the "Fair Finance Guide Japan" who disseminate information on the sustainability of major banks. The second presenter focuses on the activities of Chinese civil society organisations to increase awareness of agricultural and food sustainability issues, as well as encourage consumption of local and "green" food products. Also addressing food sustainability, the third presenter focuses on a national food education campaign in Japan, which links a balanced and healthy nutrition with the need to reduce food waste in households and restaurants. The fourth presenter examines how new social businesses not only regenerate an ageing Tokyo neighbourhood by re-using dilapidated, historical buildings, but also enable young people to lead self-directed lifestyles.

Paper 1

Boycotting Campaigns – Innovative Practices of Ethical Consumption in Japan?

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Politically and ethically motivated consumption is a hot topic in Europe and the USA; for more than 20 years, consumer citizens have been considering political, ethical or social objectives in their daily shopping, increasing pressure for more corporate social responsibility. In Japan, this form of "voting in the supermarket" has not yet become a mainstream issue, and while consumer citizenship exists in Japan, it mainly focuses on consumer protectionism.

However, in particular since 3/11, when environmentally conscious and sustainable behaviour has gained in importance, Japanese consumer citizenship also showed signs of change. Not only do we see rising numbers of individuals seeking more sustainable lifestyles, for example by relocating to rural areas, but also did ethical consumption become a part of the agenda of social movements and civic organizations in Japan, who actively use it as tool to counter environmental or social injustice.

In this paper I will give an overview of arguments and approaches of civic organizations, who employ innovative practices of ethical consumption in Japan. I will specifically focus on boycotting campaigns and show how such approaches provide innovative tools to organize a more sustainable consumption in Japan, including for example the Fair Finance Guide Japan and Power Shift Japan.

Paper 2

Bringing Green Food to the Table: The Influence of Beijing's Environmental Civil Society Organisations on Consumer Behaviour around Sustainable Food

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Devastating environmental and health effects of rapid urbanisation and rampant commercial industrialisation in Beijing since the 1980s, as well as more recent counter initiatives by government and civil society, epitomise the challenges faced by East Asian metropolises in reconciling population and economic growth with sustainable lifestyles. In the wake of a series of scandals, green and safe food has become a tangible and increasingly important issue for Chinese citizens, symbolically culminating in the January 2015 establishment of Slow Food China in Beijing, which is linked to a network of over 150 countries. While this represents formal institutionalisation and global network embeddedness, Chinese Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) have incrementally promoted Slow Food concepts, especially through online channels. This paper explores how CSOs have used social media to influence sustainable food attitudes and practices. I draw on consumer behaviour literature, but address its tendency to over-emphasise individuals' rational choice by simultaneously considering institutional conditions and collectivist perspectives, with environment as a relatively apolitical sphere where Chinese CSOs exert influence. Within the framework of Ajzen's (1991) Theory of Planned Behaviour – considering attitudes, norms and control – I undertook qualitative content analysis of Sina Weibo blogs for four Beijing based Chinese environmental CSOs between January and September 2013. Findings indicate conflation of safe and sustainable for Chinese consumers, and that CSOs work to bridge the gap between

environmental and health concerns, and actual consumption practices. Weibo communications challenge normative and practical barriers to sustainable living, and empower consumers through calls to action, such as purchasing local, choosing green labeling and boycotting irresponsible brands.

Paper 3

Shaping the Responsible Citizen: Food Education and the No-Foodloss Campaign in Japan

Stephanie Assmann (Hokkaido University) assmann@imc.hokudai.ac.jp

In response to the rise of lifestyle-related conditions and a high dependency on food imports, the government of Japan enacted the *Basic Fundamental Law of Food Education (Shokuiku Kihon-hō)* in 2005. The main objectives of this law are to improve the nation's dietary health and to help to raise Japan's low food self-sufficiency rate of only 39 per cent. More recently and as part of the *shokuiku* campaign, in 2013, the Japanese government initiated the No-Foodloss-Project, which is jointly administered across six ministries and aims to reduce food waste at all stages of the food supply chain. An estimated 3 to 4 million tonnes of food, which can still be considered edible, are annually discarded by food producers, wholesalers, and food distributors such as food retail stores, and restaurants. In private households, 2 to 4 million tonnes of food are wasted yearly due to excessive grocery shopping, limited consciousness of consume-by-dates, and food not being eaten. In accordance with the *shokuiku* campaign, the No-Foodloss-Project encourages the sensible planning of grocery shopping, the purchase of smaller portions of food, and the prevention of food waste during food preparation and eating. This paper discusses how the stakeholders involved in the No-Foodloss-Project link efforts to reduce food waste to very specific national concerns such as raising the food self-sufficiency rate, and seek to transform consumers into self-reliant citizens who manage their dietary health and food purchases and preparation in a responsible manner.

Paper 4

Constructing Alternative Life-styles: Social Entrepreneurs and Local Innovators in Post-Growth Tokyo

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After two successive decades of economic stagnation, skyrocketing government deficits and accelerating negative demographic trends, Japan is at a critical turning point. Despite shrinking birthrates, hyper-aging, and continued low immigration the number of positions available for high school and university graduates has dramatically declined. As the great majority of young job seekers are no longer able to become permanent corporate employees, the number of those engaged in unstable forms of temporary or part-time employment has greatly increased. On the other hand, more and more young people who had filled promising positions in corporate Japan have chosen to opt out and start instead social businesses that generate income with small-scale responsible businesses and seek to regenerate the wider community. Thus, a growing number of young people can no longer, or doesn't want to aspire to TVs, cars, or suburban homes, challenging Japan's traditional growth-obsessed socio-economic model.

Large amounts of social capital and disposable time have allowed these young people to create a new domain beyond state and market that is helping to respond to societal and environmental challenges to which the sclerotic welfare can no longer cater. While much recent research has discussed the alternative spaces of Japan's social movements and the countercultures, few have examined the new commons of community-minded social businesses that are quickly becoming part of the everyday urban experience. This paper discusses two cases of adaptive re-use in the historical Yanaka neighbourhood of Tokyo and examines the reasons why some of the people involved here opted to experiment with new alternative social business models in an aging neighbourhood instead of following more prestigious corporate careers, and it explores the motivations behind this transformation.

Panel 54

Deconstructing Boundaries of Modern East Asian Art History: The Perception of Nihonga by Modern East Asian Artists

Panel abstract:

This panel aims to gain insight into the changing boundaries and concepts of 'art' in East Asia, focussing specifically on the exchanges and dialogues that took place between modern artists of East Asian nations.

It is to shed light on the perception of nihonga (Japanese style painting) among East Asian painters and its influence and relationship with Chinese national painting (guohua) and Korean East Asian-style painting (dongyanghai) in the early 20th century.

The panel will discuss the possible reasons as to why painters ventured to study nihonga -- a term coined around 1880 during a surge of nationalist sentiment in Japan to describe a neo-traditional painting medium and encompassed sensitive political and historical attributes. While nihonga was considered as the distinctive national style in Japan, paradoxically, it also gained popularity among Chinese and Korean artists, who learned and reinterpreted the concept as well as techniques of nihonga for their own political and aesthetic purposes in the early twentieth century. Therefore, the significance of nihonga went beyond Japan and became a transcultural artistic style in modern East Asia.

Paper 1

The Perception of *nihonga* (Japanese style painting) by East Asian female students in early twentieth century

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This presentation focuses on the foreign students from East Asian countries who studied at the Private Women's School of Arts during the early twentieth century, and the later development of their works in their home nations.

The Private Women's School of Arts was founded in 1900, and was the first higher art educational institute for women in East Asia, opening its doors to students in 1901. Since then, a wide range of art subjects, such as western style painting (*yōga*), Japanese style painting (*nihonga*), and embroidery have been studied there by both Japanese women and those from overseas, primarily from China, Korea, and Taiwan, where there are no specialist educational institutions. I would like to discuss the possible reasons as to why these women ventured to study *nihonga*; a term coined around 1880 during a surge of nationalist sentiment in Japan, and enveloped with sensitive political and historical attributes. *Nihonga* arose in an attempt to distinguish native painting styles from Western style painting, which had been growing in popularity since the 1860s. I shall elucidate the significant meaning of the perception of *nihonga* by East Asian students at the school, and their production of art upon returning to their home. Furthermore, I will regard the background of female art education, the artists' awareness of self-reliance, and their contribution to society, with examples such as social activists and national leaders, and in addition I shall discuss the celebrated Chinese painter He Xiangning (1879–1972), who studied under Tanaka Raishō (1866 – 1940) and Hashidate Shisen (1855 – 1921), and Korean and Taiwanese artists of the early twentieth century. It is indispensable to study how modern female artists identify within East Asian Art History considering the relationship between the tradition and resuscitation of East Asian Art. Re-evaluating female artists beyond the conventional categorization of Art History will be also a significant step for the deconstructing boundaries of art history.

Paper 2

Alternative Canons of *Nihonga*: The Invention of *Guohua* and Chinese Artists' Perception of Japanese Painting in the 1920s

Stephanie Su (Bard Graduate Center) suwenhui@gmail.com

In 1928, the Chinese artist Chen Shuren (陳樹人), who studied in Kyoto from 1906-1912, exhibited his work *Jumping Carp* (躍鯉). Alluding to the famous myth of a carp leaping over a dragon gate, this work depicts an airborne carp with an elegantly twisted body and fins fully opened to suggest the height of its jump out of the pond. This beautifully executed ink painting is nearly identical in composition to an earlier Japanese painting (*nihonga*), also titled *Jumping Carp* (1912) by Imao Keinen (今尾景年, 1854-1924). Except for some small details, Chen's work can be seen as a copy of Imao's. Comparing the two raises important questions: how did Chinese artists choose which artist and which work to study? How did their decision of selecting models shape their visions of Chinese painting? The current scholarship on the formation of national painting (*guohua*) has focused on the issue of terminology and techniques and the influence from prominent *nihonga* painters, such as Yokoyama Taikan (1868-1958) and Takeuchi Seiho (1864-1942). However, as Chen's work demonstrates, Chinese artists were actually interested in a wider range of artists and genres, even though those Japanese artists and works are not considered as representative and are even forgotten in the narratives of modern Japanese art history today. Centering on Chen's *Jumping Carp*, this paper investigates the formation of *guohua* in China from the 1910s to 1920s, analyzes the features of *nihonga* paintings that Chinese artists copied and appropriated, explores the position of those Japanese paintings in the contemporary art world at that time, and proposes artists' potential reasons for learning from certain types of works, all of which aim to offer interconnected histories of modern Japanese and Chinese art.

Paper 3

The Figure of the Peasant in Japanese and Korean Neo-Traditional Painting in the Early 20th Century

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This paper will examine the appropriation of the figure of the Korean peasant in the neotraditional painting mediums of *nihonga* (Japanese-style painting) and Korean *dongyanghwa* (East Asian-style painting) in the early 20th century. As emblems of Korea's rural past, the peasant came to embody Koreanness through the transcultural discourse on the concept and aesthetic of "local color" (郷土色, J. *kyōdoshoku*, K. *hyangto-saek*) for both Japanese and Korean neo-traditional painters. For Japanese painters such as Omura Taiun (大岡 大, 1883-1938) and Oka Buntō (岡 潤, 1876-1943), the peasant offered an expedient way to signal colonial control for the Japanese; as laborers, craftsmen, and poverty-stricken children, the Korean peasant justified the need for modernization and development via the colonial apparatus while simultaneously exemplifying a shared history and lineage with Japan. For Korean painters such as Yi Yōng-il (李 永一, 1904-1984) and Kim Ki-ch'ang (金基昶, 1913-2001), the peasant was viable alternative to the eroticized Korean courtesan (妓生, K. *kisaeng*) and would come to offer the means towards a future Korea that was separate and distinct from the colonial present tied to Japan.

Through the figure of the peasant, the debate on local color thus illustrates how the image of rural Korean life was linked back to the untainted "Koreanness" of the peninsula before the incursion of Japan but then was meant to portend the possibility of a strictly Korean mode of modern self-expression.

Panel 55

Food safety governance in China and Japan: Science, Privatization and Participation

Panel Abstract:

Over the last decade, consumers in China and Japan have been repeatedly faced with food safety issues that received global attention, most prominently the Melamine poisoned milk scandal in China and radioactively contaminated foods in the wake of Japan's Fukushima nuclear disaster. Food risks, although often global in scale like BSE, have different local impacts on food consumption and safety due to different national legislations and hygiene systems. This interdisciplinary panel focuses on institutions, actors and practices of food safety governance in China and Japan. The panel will address three related trends we observed in both countries despite of the differences of their food systems: Firstly, a trend towards more participatory governance structures. Secondly, responsibilities for food safety governance are increasingly transferred from states to food producers and the food industry, and thirdly, the importance of scientists and scientific expertise in these new structures has grown. Thus, the panel will address the question of how these dynamics change power relations between actors involved in food safety governance and the food safety governance systems in China and Japan as a whole. Beyond a comparison of China and Japan, the panel will emphasize entanglements between the two countries and link institutional change in their food safety governance to international developments and debates.

Paper 1

Food Safety Governance and Science in Post-Fukushima Japan: The Case of Radioactively Contaminated Food

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The contamination of food with radionuclides has posed serious problems to consumers, producers and policy makers in Japan since the Fukushima nuclear disaster of March 2011. Many Japanese consumers were and still are worried about the safety of domestic food products. How did the nuclear catastrophe in Fukushima affect consumer trust in food safety regulation, and how did the Japanese government, civil society organizations and the food industry try to provide safe food and to (re)establish consumer trust? Drawing on empirical data from a consumer survey, expert interviews and documents issued by the Japanese government and public authorities, this paper argues that existing institutions had difficulty handling the situation and rebuilding consumer trust. In this situation, new actors emerged who took over some of the functions of public authorities. After introducing legislation and institutions related to establishing and enacting standards for radionuclides in food, I will discuss food producers, retailers and Citizen Radioactivity Monitoring Stations' (CRMS) approaches to rebuilding consumers' trust by establishing private standards and monitoring food. The paper thus addresses the complex relationship between these actors, with a focus on conflicts and chances for cooperation. While the Japanese government based their top-down risk communication on the "deficit model of public understanding of science" and legitimized the lack of public participation in food safety governance by emphasizing the exclusive expertise of scientists, CRMS offered citizens the chance to participate in the production of knowledge on radionuclides in food. Food producers and retailers also introduced independent monitoring of food. However, while CRMS have the potential to build trust by fostering the participation of lay people and encouraging a more democratic discourse on food safety, private standards and monitoring are hardly a strategy to achieve a democratization of Japan's food safety governance system. This paper contributes to the discussion on public participation in food safety governance in Science and Technology Studies and the debate about the privatization of food safety standards in Food Studies.

Paper 2

Supply Chain Integration in China: Panacea for Food Safety or Pandora for Participation?

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With one incident following the next, food safety has become one of the top concerns for Chinese citizens. As a result, the Chinese food consumption and production system has been subject to multiple reforms. Since 2015, a new food safety law stipulates not only more top down regulation but also promotes innovative forms of social governance where multiple social actors, including national and local government, businesses, consumers and the media, share responsibility for the creation of safer food systems. Building upon long standing trends towards more market-orientation and a shift away from dispersed small-scale towards integrated, large-scale production, businesses are supposed to carry core responsibility in this task. This presentation will shed light on the implications of current trends using the example of Chinese dairy production. Since the 2008 Melamine scandal, China's dairy production and consumption system has been at the forefront of reforms. Situated within a new institutional framing the presentation will show how a new powerful alliance of highly integrated national dairy processors, government and multi-national enterprises has driven institutional change towards new practices emphasizing food safety. This includes the standardization of cow raising, milking and production practices within new consolidated production sites, greater monitoring and inspection of those practices as well as implementation of various certification schemes.

We also find several changes to governmental organisation, such as the immediate creation of a 'State Council Food Safety, Food Safety Risk Assessment and Food Safety Standards Examination Commission' or, later, the establishment of the 'China National Center for Food Safety Risk Assessment'. The findings are based on secondary review, documentary analysis, personal observations and over 50 semi-structured interviews with experts from across the Chinese dairy consumption and production system. They illustrate several benefits from a food safety perspective but also raise questions regarding rising power (im)balances and the ability of wider social actors to follow the call for greater participation. As such, the presentation not only helps to better understand current transformations in China's food systems but also makes contributions towards the new institutional and governance literature.

Paper 3

Food Safety and Regulatory Change since the Mad Cow in Japan

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The discovery of the first BSE case in Japan in 2001 triggered far-reaching changes in the regulatory framework ensuring food safety. This paper focuses on institutional change since that first mad cow, namely the enactment of the Food Safety Basic Law and the foundation of the Food Safety Commission in 2003. Through a focus on the concept of *anzen-anshin* (food safety-peace of mind), this paper analyses the reforms' efforts in reinstalling consumer trust. The regulatory changes gradually introduced a risk analysis approach into Japan's food safety governance, compounded by risk communication. However, rather than reinstalling trust in society or actively addressing food-related problems, in practice, the reform failed to reinsure the public of the government's capability in dealing with the BSE crisis and also partially shifted the responsibility for food risk to the consumers and the farmers. Although now based on a scientific risk analysis, thus strengthening the aspect of *anzen* and the role of scientific experts, food safety governance continued to rely on the ambiguous concept of *anzen-anshin*. Especially in the BSE case, policy- decisions were ignoring scientific advice by experts, thus contradicting the self-proclaimed goals of the newly founded Food Safety Commission. In this paper, I will analyze how the rhetoric of *anzen-anshin* obscures a lack of independence of decision- making processes, shortcomings in the accountability of bureaucrats and scientists involved in the Food Safety Commission's expert committees and the fragmentation in food safety monitoring. The paper argues that despite the reforms, concrete action towards the improvement of food safety in Japan remained limited, mainly because of the personal continuities among the staff of the Ministry of Agricultural, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF) and the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW) and the new government agencies, and the continuing marginalization of consumer interests. In this context, *anzen-anshin* becomes an efficient marketing and policy tool: on the one hand, it is a useful political construct justifying institutional decisions, and on the other, it is an anxiety-reducing device promoting and convincing the public of the safety of (domestic) foods while leaving the actual risk open for interpretation.

Panel 57 Cinema and Stage in Japan

Paper 1

Back-to-basics: U-Turn Cinema and the revaluation of societal values in contemporary Japan

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Urban-rural migration movements have been extensively documented in the USA and Europe since the 1960s. However, this circumstance is acquiring a new dimension in contemporary Japan. The so-called U-Turn phenomenon—and also its multiple variations such as the J-turn or the I-turn—is bringing back people from Japanese metropolises to rural and peripheral areas, in many cases promoted by prefectural and local governments. Furthermore, fears about food safety and nuclear threat are creating a new interest in the idea of “back to the nature” or “back to the roots” among urbanites. The U-turn movement is re-evaluating societal values and breaking down traditional assumptions about social expectations.

This paper explores the filmic representation of the U-Turn movement in Japanese cinema since the 2000s. It examines how U-Turn cinema encourages society to return to its traditional origins, framing nature in a positive light as opposed to the congested urban living. In particular, this paper focuses on film-texts about young women moving out of cities and returning to their family's villages —topic that is addressed by a growing number of recent films, expressly after the Great East Japan Earthquake. Films like *Umi no futa* (Lid of the sea, Toyoshima Keisuke, 2015) based on a Banana Yoshimoto's novel about a young woman who starts her own kakigori business in a small town, or *Riteru Foresuto* (Little forest, Mori Junichi, 2014-2015) based on a manga story about a girl who decides to start her new rural life as a farmer represent this “back to basics” trend. Through the analysis of these and other films, we argue that U-Turn Cinema illustrates a revaluation of contemporary life, hypothesising that this revaluation pretends to recover lost national values or claims for a more sustainable life.

Paper 2

The Rise of Japanese Actresses and Their Transcultural Flows

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The modernisation of Japanese theatre was largely influenced by Western theatre. The first appearance of women on stage coincides with the acceptance of Western theatre in Japan. Besides well-known actresses, such as Sadayakko and Sumako Matsui, there were young women who were eager to become actresses. The Imperial Theatre, which was at the forefront of the modernisation movement established a drama school for young women. Ritsuko Mori, who was one of the first female graduates of this school and later became a star actress in the Imperial Theatre, visited the United Kingdom in 1913. This presentation will explore the implications of this transcultural flow experienced by the actress in the context of Japanese modern theatre. During her stay, she attended numerous theatrical performances, learned acting methods in RADA, and met British actresses such as Mrs. Tree, Gertrude Eliot, and Mrs. Patrick Campbell. Her sojourn in London exerted a great influence on her career, and led her to write, *A View of West; My Journey* (1913). Her writing shows that she was eager to absorb Western techniques to modernise Japanese theatre, similar to her male colleagues. However, Ritsuko, as a Japanese actress, must also be considered from the gender viewpoint. British actresses at that time were influenced by the suffrage movement, which had provoked self/political awakening. Her stay in London influenced her later career as well as the founding process of actresses in Japan. Although she avoided referring to the self/political awakening of an actress, she sought to strengthen the position of actresses on and off the stage. If the emergence of the actress is indispensable in Japanese modern theatre, the transcultural flow experienced by Ritsuko shows one of the most important context.

Paper 3

Reverse Cultural Flows and Muted Eddies

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Michael Raine has written of ‘Transcultural Mimesis’ in Japanese cinema of the thirties, often involving quotation of Hollywood film in local product. Naruse Mikio's *Kagiri naki hodō / Street Without End*, 1934 is a silent film that has a scene portraying a Tokyo couple going to see – and hear – the 1931 Hollywood musical, *The Smiling Lieutenant*.

Besides amplifying the international cultural imports described by Yamamoto Kikuo and others, the scene also illustrates another cultural flow which has received less attention in the literature, that of flow from town to country. Although fashionable picture-goers in Tokyo in 1934 would have eschewed the passé silents, most cinemas in the country would have been yet unwired for sound. *Shōchiku* had a demand to fulfil. But there was also strong and timely cultural flow from the mass media of the time – radio. A popular format of radio programme of the time was a *benshi* performance of a current or forthcoming silent film. This ubiquitous flow of soundscape into a ‘silent’ medium needs to be considered – all the more so by writers, such as this author, who do not have the means to directly research the material. ‘Star’ radio *benshi* performances had the power to influence the reception of silent film beyond the footfall of city theatres, both to country viewers, and to their local *benshi* who would also be listening.

Furthermore, *benshi* were the mediators and translators of international cultural flow in the silent era. This has implications both for the reconstructed reading of *Kagiri naki hodō*, and for silent film in general in Japan. A useful comparison could be made into recent revivals of *benshi* performance at film festivals which seem to have revelled in the translation of media from a received tongue into the ineffable.

Roger Macy is an independent scholar. He has delivered papers on the history of film translation and of the reception of

silent Japanese film in the Soviet Union. He chaired a Naruse-centred panel at Harvard, where he delivered a paper that considered the reception of French film in early 1940s Japan.

Paper 4

The Limits of Fiction: Politics in the Absent Scenes of Susumu Hani's Bad Boys (Furyō shōnen, 1960). A Film Re-reading through its Script.

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This presentation proposes an updated analysis of Susumu Hani's *Bad Boys* through a re-reading of its script, published by Kinema Junpō. This film is not only a turning point in Hani's filmography but also in the history of postwar Japanese cinema. It marks the beginning of Hani's career in fiction but is also a qualitative leap of the filmmaking method in Japan. *Bad Boys* is a kind of semi-documentary that sought for an aesthetic and thematic renewal resorting to the theoretical idea of "art of synthesis" (*sōgō geijutsu*) and adapting journalistic forms while incorporated a higher degree of improvisation and a new sense of immediacy. In addition, the comparative analysis of the film and the script reveals significant "absent scenes", both in the visual and written text.

On one hand, *Bad Boys* begins with takes that are not found in the script: the princess Suga, daughter of Emperor Hirohito, shopping around the boutiques of Ginza district. The scenes connect with the discourse on the humanization of the Imperial Household, which had been necessary to justify their perpetuation in power after the surrender. However, the combination of images of the princess shopping with those of Asai, the young protagonist, getting out the police van, raises interesting issues that question the official political discourse in the post-war.

On the other hand, the script contains a fragment that is absent in the film: a scene of a student demonstration. The same year, Oshima in *Cruel Story of Youth* and Yoshida in *Good for Nothing* captured similar images of protests against the US-Japan Security Treaty (ANPO) shot on location. Like in Ōshima and Yoshida's cases, Hani's written sequence places the story historically and served to show the post-war democracy as having failed rather than succeeded. Nevertheless, why was not this scene included in the final montage? What did prompt Hani to cast this part aside? I will explore how the keys to understand this mysterious absence may be traced back on the political environment of that time conditioned by the murder of the leader of the socialist party Inejirō Asanuma in November of 1960.

Panel 58

Contemporary Mix: Kempo, Tea, Magazines & Peace in Japan

Paper 1

The Post-War Spread of Nippon Kempō

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Compared to jūdō and kendō, the number of modern-day practitioners of nippon kempō, or nikken, as it is commonly referred to, is relatively low. However, examination of the spread of this martial art after World War II promises to offer insights not only into the modern evolution of Japan's martial arts community but also into the struggle within Japanese society to re-establish and express a cultural identity during and after the Allied occupation, a period which saw the dissolution of the Dainippon Butokukai, or "Greater Japan Martial Virtue Association", arguably the most influential martial arts organisation in Japan before the war.

The first nikken dōjō was opened in 1932 by Kansai University graduate Sawayama Muneomi. Although subsequent attempts to spread the art were interrupted by Sawayama's conscription into the army in 1940, he resumed instruction shortly after his demobilisation in 1946, and by the end of 1951, the final year of occupation, nine universities in the Kansai area had established nikken clubs. I will examine the significance and mechanisms of this spread in the context of the measures taken by occupation authorities to eliminate militarist ideology.

My presentation, which should be of interest not only to martial artists but also to scholars of Japanese history and society, will include a comparative overview of the impact of the occupation on the practice and organisation of other martial arts. It will also include consideration of the long-term impact of the occupation on the relationship between martial arts and mainstream education, focussing particularly on the policy, implemented in 2012, of making martial arts compulsory at junior high schools.

Paper 2

Harmonica Alley, Yokohama: a visual ethnography

Deljana Iossifova (University of Manchester) deljana.iossifova@manchester.ac.uk

This paper builds on six weeks of extensive fieldwork in Miyakobashi, Yokohama. It uses unique photography, drawing, maps and text to expose the social and spatial transformation of Yokohama's Miyakobashi Yokocho (Harmonica Alley) from a modernist shopping centre in 1964 into a vibrant entertainment block today.

The Yokocho was constructed to transform a formerly cluttered black market area into an orderly urban marketplace in time for Tokyo's Summer Olympics 1964. Similar transformations are beginning to take shape in preparation for Tokyo 2020. Therefore, the insights emerging from this project hold important lessons for current and future urban interventions at a variety of scales.

Today, Miyakobashi contains 61 elevator-sized bars and small restaurants (10m² each). Miyakobashi's spatial characteristics will be presented across the scales of the neighbourhood, the building and individual unit. Detailed maps will explore relationships and patterns of the everyday, of social activities and interaction across these different spatial scales.

The narratives of long-term tenants will provide an intimate account of small-scale urban transitions and synchronous cultural change. Many have owned their respective establishments since 1964 and their account of the construction of the building; their experience of local development and cultural change over time; and their current everyday practices will offer important insights into the history and present of the area, including current pressures to demolish the building and redevelop the area.

The paper will provide valuable insights into the short- and long-term social implications of small-scale urban interventions, particularly in view of mega-events. It will create a better understanding of shifts in everyday culture and the importance of small urban spaces for the collective memory of urban residents and users. This is timely and important in view of the forthcoming Tokyo Olympics 2020.

Paper 3

Transnational Cultural Flow and the Making of the 'Global Revolt' in the Japanese New Left Magazines

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This paper discusses the ways in which the image of 'Global Revolt' was engendered during the late 1960s in the Japanese New Left magazines. The thriving Japanese social movements starting in 1965 and the enhanced global awareness among Japanese citizens caused by the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 led to an increase in news reports related to social movements overseas, such as anti-Vietnam War movements in the U.S. and Europe, the American Civil Rights Movement, Chinese Cultural Revolution, revolutionary movements in the Third World as well as students movements in various parts of the world. As a consequence, the amount of information published in political magazines (Sekai, Tenbō, Chuōkōron, Asahi Jānaru, Gendai no Me) reached its peak in 1968. Meanwhile, the discourse of 'Global Revolt' that connected social movements in Japan and abroad was constructed within those magazines in the same year by scholars and activists who were the gatekeepers of information on overseas social movements. The ongoing social movements in Japan were discursively incorporated as part of 'Global Revolt' with other foreign movements that emerged simultaneously across the world and transnational connection with the overseas movement was encouraged as

a method for achieving “revolution.” While transnational activism started to thrive among the Japanese movements from the early 1970s, including radical activism by the Japanese Red Army, it was this image of ‘Global Revolt’ that was created in the late 1960s, which has directly and indirectly motivated activists to conduct actions across national border. The paper shows that transnational diffusion and consumption of information and symbols was not limited to contemporary popular culture but can also be found in the social movement arena with strong anti-capitalist spirit in the 1960s.

Panel 59

Public Opinion and Official Narratives in Contemporary China

Paper 1

Does unit non-response bias influence the measurement of Chinese political trust?

Neil Munro (University of Glasgow) neil.munro@glasgow.ac.uk

There is an ongoing debate in Chinese political studies about the extent to which ostensibly high levels of trust in the central government and support for the regime more generally, are “real,” in the sense that existing measures are free from bias. “Unit non-response bias,” referring to bias resulting from refusals to take part in surveys, is one of the most problematic sources of bias because, aside from the fact of refusal to take part in the survey, social scientists have little information about the non-respondents. Nevertheless, relying on the notion of a “continuum of resistance” which runs from good cooperation by respondents through poor cooperation to non-response, techniques have been developed which allow us to make informed guesses about the attitudes of non-respondents. In this paper, we deploy some of these techniques using data from a nationwide survey conducted in China in the winter of 2012/13. We present data on the correlations between respondent cooperation and the three measures of trust/support, and we present estimates of the level of political trust/support which would have been observed if the non-respondents had taken part. Finally, we speculate on whether observed levels of political trust support reported in this and other surveys represent a “floor” or a “ceiling” for the true level of trust and support.

Paper 2

Why are Chinese Citizens so Positive toward the Party and Government?: Chronological Analysis of Four-city Survey, 1998-2014

Shigeto Sonoda (University of Tokyo) jane.duckett@glasgow.ac.uk

Many “China watchers” in Japan have been discussing the possibility of democratization due to the rise of middle class, spread of higher education and marketization, or some even discuss “Collapse of CCP’s governance” due to the increase of serious social problems including worsening environmental issues and increasing income inequalities. These too much simplistic arguments have been in fashion in Japan for more than two decades.

Many experts on China study, however, are facing a lot of “difficulties” since we could get empirical data how people in China have been perceiving politics. For example, China experts in Japan have been struggling with the puzzle how to interpret why Chinese citizens are so positively evaluating the Party and the Government while they are always complaining about worsening social problems.

In this presentation, the speaker will start from the explanation of the outline of Chinese Four-city Survey conducted in Tianjin, Shanghai, Chongqing, and Guangzhou three times from 1998 to 2014 (sample size is roughly 1,000 from each city), followed by brief introduction of reactions and comments the speaker obtained from Japanese experts on China regarding how to interpret research findings of the first wave of Four-city Survey conducted in 1998, prior to a lot of national-level surveys conducted by Chinese scholars as well as non-Chinese scholars in 2000s. The results of chronological analysis will be explained so that we will be able to find a better solution to the puzzle above mentioned. Other interesting findings of the Four-city Survey, which challenge our understanding of how to understand changing state-society relations in contemporary China, will also be presented.

Paper 3

China’s national image and the problem of governance

Benjamin Ho (London School of Economics) t.e.ho@lse.ac.uk

This paper looks at the topic of national image and seeks to explicate how China’s national image is being conceived and constructed by the Communist party through the act of governing China. Through studies in public branding, countries need substance, strategy and symbolic action in their activity to persuade foreign publics to part with existing prejudices and perceptions. Through a content analysis of the book *The Governance of China* by Xi Jinping, this paper hopes to shed light on the governing priorities of the Communist Party and to highlight how China’s national image is being understood by Chinese leaders. It would also analyse the extent of success of China’s national image promotion efforts and whether such an image is sufficiently attractive to the outside world.

Panel 60

Migration and identity in China, South Korea, and Japan

Migration is one of the central aspects of globalisation and late capitalism. In the last decade, international migration has accelerated, bringing about issues involving multinational cooperate culture institutional culture, racism, and multiculturalism. Meanwhile, inner migration within a nation and a cultural block has also increased as has manifested in various forms of lifestyle migration or cultural migration under the influence of the “slow life” or the migration of the intelligent youth within the European Union due to the freedom of mobility. Migration affects not only the socioeconomic structure but also transforms migrants’ lives and their meanings from social mobility to everyday life practice to the transformation of their identities.

Our panel will examine the inter- and inner-migrations and its sociocultural significance in three East-Asian regions: Japan, China, and South Korea. The first presentation will examine how the infrastructural construction between the rural and the urban in China affects “lifestyle migration” from the city to the countryside. The second paper will explore the “educational migration” of young South Korean women to London, a global city, according to gender and class in. The last article will scrutinize the transformation of the national identity of Japanese migrants in Thailand evolves, from “hyper-Japaneseness” to a conscious *Nihonjin-banare* (“dejapanisation”). Our panel discussion ultimately aims to explore the transformation of identities through contemporary migrants in three countries.

Paper 1

Japanese Transnational Migrants in Bangkok

Artour Mitski (SOAS, University of London) artour.mitski@soas.ac.uk

Ever since their first documented emergence in the 16th century, Japanese migrants have been a powerful economic and cultural presence in Siam/Thailand. Last three decades their migration pattern has been increasingly tilting towards transnationalism: living short- and mid-term in Thailand while staying culturally and emotionally connected with Japan, thus establishing social fields that cross geographic, political and cultural borders.

How does living in between two countries affect the way migrants relate to their culture and country of origin? Based on ethnographic observations, this paper looks at the range of cultural hybridity that transnationalism produces in relation to the national identity of Japanese transnational migrants in Central Bangkok: from “hyper-Japaneseness” to a conscious *Nihonjin-banare* (“dejapanisation”).

Paper 2

Educational migration of South Korean young women to London

Changeun Apple Cho (Goldsmiths, University of London) dj.appletango@gmail.com

In the “feminization of migration” (Castells, 2009), many young women across class in South Korea go abroad for education and career to overcome gendered discriminative social structure. This trend has been actively accelerated after the economic crisis in the 1990s. Gendered migration for social mobility entangled with “fear of falling behind” became normalized, across class, under the social norm of “global class” and the “global person”, when a neo-liberal global infinitive competition was regularized since 2000s. This study will examine two research questions in the field of South Korean young women’s educational migration to London as a global city. Firstly, through the lens of gender, in the context of “new femininities” (McRobbie, 2009) that young women are normatively expected to do the economic activity with the social attention and family expectation, it will explore how gender affects and constrains their educational migration to London, as a global city. Secondly, through the lens of class, in the context of economic “precariousness” (Beck, 1992), it will explore how class affects and constrains the educational migration among young women. This study will examine university background, family income/father’s job, and hometown (the rural/urban) as new elements in considering class factor, as the framework to explain class is narrow in South Korean contemporary society. This study will show the difference among the global mobility and even among young women in South Korea.

Paper 3

Infrastructure Politics and the Urban-rural Migration in China

Jiechen Liu (Goldsmiths, University of London) liujiechen@gmail.com

Through the exploration of the infrastructure contest in a Chinese ancient town, this research unfolds the social and political negotiation between urban and rural culture in China. Along with the expanding of nostalgic culture and tourism industry, there emerge the tensions and conflicts among local residents, government, and urban-rural migrants who are running business in the countryside. The negotiation is more significant in remote and undeveloped area. The construction of infrastructure becomes a terrain for the negotiation between different groups of people.

The infrastructure politics reflects is the cultural and political relation between different groups of people. This research tracks the contest of electricity infrastructure construction in an ancient town in Guangxi Province, southwest China, with an ethnographically grounded research approach. The discussion builds on insights gathered from participate observation and interviews with business owners, casual labourers, local residents, neighbourhood leaders, local public servants and political aspirants.

Great theoretical and practical significance are conveyed in this research. Theoretically, it provides a significant approach of cultural, political relationship from the perspective of vast and unimaginably complex material circuits of infrastructure. Whilst sometimes taken for granted, through their endless technological agency, infrastructural systems help transform the natural into the social and cultural. Infrastructure itself, in this way, becomes part of the social and cultural regime, and plays an important role in constructing individual’s lifestyle and shaping one’s cultural and political attitude. Practically, by taking the important role that materials and histories of the local regimes plays into consideration, it sheds lights on how people conceive their life in the town and how their identity formed in this process of negotiation.

Panel 61

Colonial memory and Contesting identities in East Asian textbooks

Paper 1

From Colonial to International: A study of knowledge construction on Korean History 1937-1950s

Sangmee Oh (UCLA) sangmeeoh@ucla.edu

The establishment of Korean Studies in the United States has been generally understood as the product of Cold War politics, without properly addressing the influence of knowledge accumulated prior to World War II. However, without examining the influence of knowledge from the past, we may miss the significant perspective that it was built on previous knowledges where colonialist and Orientalist views were embedded. In other words, a new method in approaching the Korean Studies is necessary, one that analyzes a longer process of knowledge production from the prewar period.

This paper focuses on how Korean Studies in the United States in the 1950s used knowledge from the 1930s, which was dominated by Japanese colonial scholarship and American missionary/military intellectuals' accounts. Specifically, it analyzes the narratives and themes on Korean history that were produced during the 1930s-40s, tracing how these themes and narratives reappear in postwar scholarship in the United States, where they were reshaped within the Cold War politics to serve a new function. Through examination of books written by Japanese scholars such as Ikeuchi Hiroshi, Tabohashi Kiyoshi, and Yoshi Kuno, American intellectuals such as George M. McCune, and Harold J. Noble, as well as postwar scholars such as Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbank, I argue that historical narratives on Korea -- such as how Korea failed to modernize, how Korea has been historically static, or other themes imbued with imperialist ideology -- were transmitted to the postwar scholarship, and became the major themes on Korean history writing, in which they were used to support the modernization theory. Taking Foucault's idea of discontinuity, I focus on how the themes on Korean history continued to influence postwar scholarship, but at the same time, served a different function within the different set of power politics. Also, using Hayden White's notion of narrativity, I demonstrate how seemingly objective and scientific knowledges of Korean history were in fact imbued with subjective political motivations.

Paper 2

The Wild, the unproductive, and the past: The aboriginal representation in Taiwan's elementary textbooks

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The marginality of Taiwanese aboriginal peoples has been greatly improved since the democratization. The increasing visibility of aborigines in Taiwan's elementary education seems to verify this welcome change. This research looks at the ways in which, and how often, the aborigines are presented in elementary textbooks since 1945 and argues the enhancement is not as great as generally believed.

I will first examine the representation of the aborigines in elementary textbooks -- from a total absence and muted existence in the early textbooks, to the gradual and vague appearance in the 1970s, and eventually to an explosion of appearance of aboriginal topics and images since the 1990s. By examining the ways in which the aborigines have been represented throughout the postwar period, I find the frequency and visibility of the aborigines have risen sharply, but this does not always translate to an enhancement of status or understanding. It is true that more aboriginal images and related topics have been included in contemporary elementary textbooks. I will argue, however, the representation of the aborigines in textbooks has somehow created another layer of opacity, demarcating a clear boundary between the 'ordinary' Taiwanese and the exotic 'other.' The high visibility of the aborigines becomes part of Taiwanese modern landscape, a kind of visual decoration, an ethnic 'background' and historical roots serving as the foil to the Han Chinese and their historical progress in the foreground. Taiwanese aborigines are thus frozen in time and keep fast in the distant past.

Paper 3

Forging a Joint Historical Memory? Comparing Two Editions of China-Japan-Korea Joint History Textbook Project

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History education is an integral part of national curriculums, which objectives are to form a national culture and strengthen a national core. Coming into the 21st century, following the impacts of both globalization and regionalization, joint history textbooks became common projects for states as a form of confidence building mechanism that aims to improve relations. Shifting the attention to East Asia, the baggage of history, especially that of interpretations over war history, continues to plague the relations between China, Japan and (South) Korea. To breach the gaps in historical consensus, a group of academics from the three states edited and published a set of joint history textbooks. The first edition, titled *Modern History of East Asian States*, was published in 2005, while the second edition, revised and retitled *A Modern History of East-Asia beyond the Boundaries*, was published in 2013.

This article compares the two editions of textbooks to uncover the shifts in pedagogical approaches amongst history academics towards a common history via content and discourse analyses. The 2013 edition abandoned the central themes of "invasion" and "counter-invasion" in the 2005 edition, and applies a wider lens to review trilateral relations between China, Japan and Korea since the mid-19th century. A few remarkable changes were noted in the 2013 edition: the new text is more concerned with examining socio-political developments in the three states within the context of a rapidly changing international power structure; it is more thematically inclined than chronological; more focus on the

human aspects of social changes; and an attempt to explain current relations between the three states as well as those of the external powers rather than one centered on anti-history revisionism. However, despite these momentous didactic shifts, the future of these joint textbooks remains bleak. They are unlikely going to progress beyond their current status as supplementary and popular readings to national curriculum owing to uncertainties in the political climate, continuing centrality of national education in nation-building projects, and the resulting nationalism.

Panel 62

Tans-cultural flows in Korean Art, from nineteenth century to present

Panel abstract:

This panel presents three papers that examine trans-cultural flows in Korean art during the nineteenth century to the present. Soyoung Lee explores the influence and reception of Japanese design and aesthetics on late-Joseon blue-and-white porcelain, a topic that also raises the broader question of cross-cultural relationship in the arts of Korea and Japan. Eleanor Hyun focuses on the representation of the “foreign”—here both Qing China and Edo Japan—in Korean paintings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and reveals the negotiations of Joseon identity politics during this period. Charlotte Horlyck takes a non-standard definition of trans-cultural flow: she examines modern and contemporary Korean artists’ appropriation of Joseon culture and how new local identities have been shaped by re-interpreting traditional cultural signifiers.

Paper 1

Transference: Japanese designs and aesthetics in late-Joseon porcelain

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The common assumption about trans-cultural flow, when it comes to the ceramics of Korea and Japan, is that the former influenced the latter. Material evidence supports such an assumption at various points through history. However, the nature and degree of influence and reception is often more complicated and multi-layered than directly correlative—as in the case of ceramic industries started in Kyushu, Japan, by transplanted Korean potters following Hideyoshi’s invasion of Korea between 1592-98, or the Imjin Wars. Looking beyond the Korea-to-Japan cultural flow, or rather at the reverse flow, we find intriguing connections in nineteenth century blue-and-white ceramics, or porcelain painted with cobalt blue. This paper will explore the influence of Japanese blue-and-white ceramic design on late-Joseon Korean counterparts and the broader context of Japanese culture in Korea during this period.

Among the examples this paper will highlight is a type of ceramic produced at court-managed kilns in nineteenth-century Korea whose distinctive, abstracted floral design clearly echoes that on Chinese export porcelain known as —Kraak warell from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Yet given the two-century span in time, the more direct source of influence seems to have been later Kraak styles from Japan. Moreover, many striking designs on nineteenth-century Joseon blue-and-white vessels are based on similar designs on cobalt-painted porcelain produced in northern Kyushu (the former province of Hizen). To what extent was Japanese aesthetics and culture present, imitated, coveted and/or absorbed in nineteenth-century Korea?

Paper 2

Curiously Foreign: 19th-20th-century Korean Paintings

Eleanor Soo-Ah Hyun (The British Museum) eleanor.hyun@gmail.com

This presentation will focus on paintings in the British Museum’s collection that highlight Joseon Korea’s relationship with its neighboring polities. Joseon increasingly came into contact with various types of people through the diplomatic missions to Qing China and Edo Japan. Additionally, there was an increase in inter-Asia trade which also resulted in the introduction and consumption of new wares in Joseon. These interactions are reflected, both Tans-cultural flows in Korean Art, from nineteenth century to present in subject matter and style, in late Joseon-dynasty paintings. In closely examining the British Museum’s paintings and placing them within the socio-cultural context, I will discuss them as savvy negotiations of Joseon identity politics.

Paper 3

Merging the past and the present in contemporary Korean art

Charlotte Horlyck (SOAS, University of London) ch10@soas.ac.uk

Taking as my starting point Alastair Pennycook’s definition of transcultural flows as “ways in which cultural forms move, change, and are re-used to fashion new identities in diverse contexts,” this paper examines contemporary Korean artists’ appropriations of Joseon culture, in particular their visual treatments of specific and well-established cultural signifiers from Korea’s past. Of particular interest are artists’ conscious references to local history and what that suggests in terms of them forming part of a collective with a clear idea of a shared history, shared memories, and shared experiences from the distant and not so distant past. This includes popularised understandings of ‘Korean’ culture and history as manifested in works by prominent Korean artists from the 1950s onwards. Early examples are Kim Whan-ki’s (1913-1974) well-known paintings from the 1950s of Joseon ‘moon jars’ – a spherical porcelain jar that was made in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Since the Korean War, the moon jar has become a ubiquitous symbol of Korea and a source of much local pride, and it features prominently in contemporary art. This includes works by Kang Ik-joong (1960-) for whom the two halves symbolise the two Koreas and the possibility of reunification.

More recently paintings of women in *hanbok* (traditional Korean dress) have gained much interest from the Korean public. Among them are works by the painter Kim Hyun-jung (1988-) most of which are portraits of the artist dressed in *hanbok*. What makes Kim’s works provocative is her choice of contemporary settings, such as a noodle shop, a billiard hall or even an amusement park that serve as unusual backdrops for the traditional outfits. Kim’s popularity coincides with the recent trend among young people to wear contemporary adaptations of Chosŏn-style *hanbok* when out with friends. It is arguable whether the current interest in *hanbok* among young people is driving by nationalism. Rather, it seems to manifests the rise of new local identities that draw on fresh interpretations of traditional cultural signifiers.

Panel 63

Long-term human impacts of the Fukushima nuclear disaster

Panel abstract:

Five years after the disastrous meltdowns at the Fukushima No.1 nuclear power plant, about 100,000 people are still displaced, some 56,000 within Fukushima prefecture and 44,000 further afield. What are the human consequences of this? Tom Gill reports on his ongoing micro-study of Nagadoro, a hamlet in the compulsory evacuation zone which may never be repopulated. The community has been destroyed, but compensation has been substantial. Ayaka Loeschke discusses the lives of married women who voluntarily evacuated to the Kyoto area from communities located further from the nuclear power plant to protect their children; they have been trying to build new lives with little compensation and sometimes separated from their husbands. Aleksandr Sklyar looks at voluntary evacuees to urban areas of Yamagata prefecture, analysing the factors that have made some of them return to Fukushima while others have sold their houses and resigned themselves to permanent relocation. With a common theme, but four different field sites, we hope to give a rich account of the lives of the Fukushima victims.

Paper 1

On the Loneliness of the Nuclear Aristocracy

Tom Gill (Meiji Gakuin University) tpgill@yahoo.com

Though located directly in the path of the radioactive plume, the village of Iitate lay just outside the 30km evacuation zone, and so was not evacuated until some 80 days after the disaster, when the government reluctantly recognized that radiation levels there were higher than in many districts much closer to the stricken nuclear power plant. This has left lasting questions about the long-term health of the villagers.

Since 2012 the twenty hamlets that constitute Iitate have been divided into three zones – four northerly hamlets have been designated as low-level radiation areas (0-20 mSv/year), fifteen hamlets as mid-level radiation areas (20-50 mSv/year), and just one hamlet, the southernmost hamlet of Nagadoro, as a high-level radiation area (over 50 mSv/year). The whole village is likely to be declared open for repatriation in spring of next year, except for Nagadoro.

The people of Iitate were compulsorily evacuated and so have received substantial compensation from Tokyo Electric Power. Those in Nagadoro, in particular, have received roughly twice as much compensation as those elsewhere in Iitate, and some households have received total compensation in excess of 100 million yen, or \$1 million.

Ironically, the large compensation payments have helped to seal the fate of Nagadoro. Most of the 73 households in the hamlet have purchased new houses within Fukushima prefecture – most of them, ironically, in parts of Fukushima from which other people discussed in this panel evacuated. They have started new lives and there is virtually no prospect of more than a handful ever returning to Nagadoro.

The people of Nagadoro still have to face up to the loss of their community and ancestral lands. Meanwhile, their status as well-compensated nuclear aristocrats provokes envy, and many Nagadoro people feel it necessary to conceal their background in the communities where they are now living. Discrimination based on fear that they may have been “infected” with radiation now seems a less powerful cause of discrimination than that based on resentment at high compensation payments.

Paper 2

“Abandoned people”: The controversial government policy on housing for “voluntary evacuees”

Ayaka Löschke (University of Zurich) ayaka.loeschke@uzh.ch

During the month following the meltdown at the Fukushima nuclear power plant, the Japanese government raised the radiation exposure limit from 1 to 20 millisieverts per year. The new standard of 20 mSv has been applied to determining evacuation zones and compensation. While most residents in areas where the annual radiation exposure was estimated (even slightly) less than 20 mSv are still living at home, about 50,000 so-called “voluntary evacuees” were concerned enough to move from irradiated areas without sufficient compensation.

This paper focuses on the very limited government support for “voluntary evacuees”. Public housing offered by the government free of charge has been available only for some of the “voluntary evacuees”, namely residents who left Fukushima prefecture before the end of 2012. Life in such public housing is far from comfortable because in general, the assigned housing is very old and cramped. However, this measure has been a lifeline for “voluntary evacuees” with low income. In particular, single mothers and mothers with small children who moved from rural areas to urban areas and whose “bread winners” remain in Fukushima prefecture, have been dependent on this measure, because they cannot easily pay high rents. Therefore, “voluntary evacuees”, in particular mothers with children, have conducted lobbying towards local and national governments to extend this policy.

However, the policy is expected to end next spring, because the LDP intends to make more and more residents return to Fukushima prefecture. To appeal to public sentiment, the government has successfully emphasized the “self-responsibility” for voluntary evacuation, and has asserted that “voluntary evacuees” should be independent without expecting the government to support them. This paper analyses how “voluntary evacuees” have been living in such public housing and have struggled with local and national governments, based on interviews with “voluntary evacuees” living in Kyoto, as well as politicians and bureaucrats.

Paper 3

Fukushima Voluntary Evacuation and Return: Family Compromises and Everyday Contamination

Aleksandr Sklyar (University of Michigan) sklyar.anthro@gmail.com

In 2011, nearly 13,000 evacuees from Fukushima Prefecture evacuated voluntarily to adjacent Yamagata Prefecture. Five years later, only slightly over 3,000 remain on the official evacuee lists. In this paper, I discuss the various compromises that evacuee mothers to Yamagata make as they decide whether to remain in evacuation or return to Fukushima.

It takes slightly over one hour to go from central Fukushima Prefecture to southeastern Yamagata Prefecture. Though the mountain ranges between the two prefectures stopped most of the radioactive plume, there has been a constant non-regulated movement of cars, trucks, buses, trains, food, gifts, merchandise, clothing, shoes, and people between and within the prefectures and the rest of Japan. Even in evacuation, mothers have thus had to negotiate and decide for themselves what is and is not polluted—what is and is not safe—on a daily basis and develop strategies to actualize protection from these dangers for their children.

Such negotiations of pollution and safety in being a responsible mother intersect with kinship and societal pressures about how to be a good daughter-in-law and wife. As one mother put it, protecting her child's health (taking her child into evacuation, away from radioactively contaminated areas) has resulted in her sabotaging the happiness of the family (everyone living happily patrilocally with her husband's extended family in Fukushima). Yet, she is not ready to go back indefinitely to the air, food, and piles of large black bags full of decontamination waste materials, which are piled up next to the playground in her neighbourhood in Fukushima. These decisions are at the crosshairs of the temporal, physical, and material liminality allowed for by low-level radiation debates and contested national and prefectural policies, which produce grey zones of safety and danger.

This discussion is based on interviews with current, returning, and returned voluntary evacuees and thirteen months of ethnographic fieldwork in rural and urban areas of Fukushima Prefecture and adjacent Yamagata Prefecture.

Panel 64

Contemporary Mix: Technology, Politics and Food in Japan

Paper 1

(Mis)Reporting Japan: Technology and Japan in the British Press

Christopher Hayes (Cardiff University) hayescj@cardiff.ac.uk

Is Japan addicted to faxing? While stereotypes abound with the image of Japan as a technological powerhouse on the forefront of AI, robotics and technological development, a new stereotype has emerged of a 'low-tech' Japan. One story that has repeatedly cropped up in the last few years is the supposed "love affair" (BBC) between Japan and fax machines. Articles on the BBC website, in *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and in many international English-language sources claim that Japan still considers the fax machine to be an indispensable business tool. But can that be true?

This study originally sought to explore possible reasons for the continued high-use of fax in Japan, but after carrying out research in Japan, a problem was found with the very premise of the project: the Japanese simply are not using fax machines as much as the media would claim. Indeed, interviewees asked if this observation was based on research carried out a decade ago, as it could not be representative of Japan today. And yet, another article about Japan's obsession with faxing was published online by the BBC in November 2015, days after the fieldtrip ended.

If the Japanese are not using fax machines as often as claimed, how then is this notion perpetuated? What research, if any, are the journalists carrying out, and are they distorting their data to produce a more interesting story? Moreover, how does this image of Japan fit within the common narrative of high-tech Japan? Advanced technologies such as robots and AI regularly feature in news articles about Japan. Is the reporting of fax machines just a quirk, or is it indicative of a changing perception of Japan?

Paper 2

Back to Basics: The Power Politics behind Sino-Japanese Identity Politics

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This paper argues that the assertive Chinese and Japanese foreign and security stances of the Xi Jinping and Abe Shinzō administrations have resulted in a government-led renaissance of their respective identity politics, qualified by top-down adversarial nationalism. Aided by the nation-states' communication firepower, the two governments have instrumentally insisted upon antagonistic discourses with domestic rather than foreign audiences in mind. This article does not deny the many bottom-up sources of Chinese and Japanese nationalism found by Constructivist scholars, but introduces a different perspective on identity construction in Japan and China. On the basis of an array of primary sources, this paper argues that the logic of Sino-Japanese identity politics has been increasingly rooted in the Neo-Classical Realism of Sino-Japanese confrontation. Within the broader structural picture of great power competition, the Chinese and Japanese elite engaged into a more assertive foreign policy aimed at territorial defense. Central governments enjoy leverage in defining the perimeters of discourse-making and the nationalistic Abe and Xi administrations have mobilized public opinion following the 2012 crisis scenario following Japan's nationalization of the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands.

Paper 3

Food Allergies & the Production of Personhood in Japan

Emma Cook (Hokkaido University) cook@oia.hokudai.ac.jp

Food allergies in Japan have doubled over the previous ten years. This has gone hand-in-hand with a growing awareness of such allergies within the wider public realm and in the service industries, especially since the death of an elementary school child in 2012 after ingesting an allergen in their school lunch. Individuals who have such allergies, and their families, must consequently navigate the risks of reactions and spend considerable time and energy avoiding consuming what they are allergic to, as well as explaining to those around them why certain foods cannot be eaten. Given that sharing and consuming the same food together is an important social practice in Japan (as elsewhere) which contributes to the production of ideal personhood, there can consequently be social repercussions to avoiding particular foods. This paper asks, when food is potentially dangerous, how do people navigate the risks of accidental ingestion? What strategies do they use? How do they negotiate the disclosure of such information to those around them? And how are these experiences implicated in the production of personhood?

Panel 65 Literature and theatre in Korea and China

Paper 1

History Interrupted: Bodily Acts of Memory in Pak Wansō's "In the Realm of the Buddha"

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In South Korea, literature has always had a close relationship with history. This was never more evident than in the 1970s when (hi)stories unbecoming of the nation's hegemonic historical narrative were brutally excised and forcefully silenced; and, writers rose fiercely to rescue and re-present untold pasts. Alongside more overtly renowned "political" writers, such as Kim Chi-ha and Hwang Sōk-yōng, stands Pak Wansō. Yet, as a former-housewife whose works often explore the trivialities and vanities of middle-class women, the subversive politics of her works tend to be overlooked. In this paper, I analyze Pak Wansō's short story, "In the Realm of the Buddha" (1973) to investigate how Pak Wansō utilizes the trope of memory to confront a historical past—at once so traumatic and so perplexing as to resist intelligible representation—that runs counter to the neatly bifurcated anti-communist and developmentalist history of the Park Chung Hee regime. Pak Wansō figures a narrator maniacally attempting to voice how her "reactionary" brother and father died during the Korean War. As her attempts to bring their "shameful deaths" to the fore fall on deaf ears amid the din of development, the narrator and her mother perform a belated memorial ritual (*chesa*) for the unmourned dead. I argue that the traditional ritual of mourning and commemoration, replete with bodily acts, from bowing to genuflecting to praying, dares to speak what is unspeakable—that is, made unspeakable due to the enormity of the event and the logic of Yusin's totalitarian state. In ritual, the mourning body performs, almost in spite of itself, all that cannot be said. The act of commemorative ritual, itself a codification, not of words but of bodily movements, aims to assuage the spirits of the grievous dead and the soul of the haunted living. Pak Wansō shows, in "In the Realm of the Buddha," how ritual practice provides a process of disembodied traumatic memory so that the narrator may re-member herself back into the social. And, in doing so, interrupt history so as to recuperate a place for the unmourned.

Paper 2

"Beyond Being Individuals": The Remaking of Self and Personhood in a South Korean Theater Troupe

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This paper examines the remaking of self and personhood among actors in both their everyday life and performance activities, in a South Korean theater troupe named Georipae (TTG). The TTG is one of the most successful theater troupes, best known to the public for its repertoire that combines a Korean shamanistic ritual with a Western dramatic tradition. Most remarkably, under the charismatic leadership of its founding director, the TTG maintains a commune that houses both living quarters and theaters in an outskirts of a small city in Southeastern Korea. Identifying itself as an "idealist theater troupe" (*isangjūi yōngūk kongdongch'e*), the TTG emphasizes communalism and denounces "individualism," the latter being a "disquieting trend" in the Korean society at large. In this context, the life in this commune is tightly regimented and minutely organized, centering on rehearsals and preparations for drama productions. Based on ethnographic field research in this commune, I examine how the perceived contrast between their idealism for communal life and "individualism" is played out in each realm and affects their reconstruction of self and personhood. In performance activities, they ought to have their own inner motivation and perseverance, not to be easily swayed by external influences; meanwhile, in everyday communal life, they must focus on "living together" by understanding others' or the group's situation and sacrificing oneself. Thereby, the actors internalize that there are shifting priorities of selfhood depending on the situation they encounter although the latter is valorized to be an absolute precondition for actors. As a result, they aim at the condition of "beyond being individuals", which refer to the state of cooperation. I view that this case compressively reveals the ideal and characteristics of self and personhood of South Korea.

Paper 3

Identifiers of Korean Dialect Areas: A Dialectometric Approach

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The Linguistic Atlas of Korea (*hankwukencito*) (2008) surveys various linguistic differences between 153 items over 138 surveyed sites which cover the territory of the Republic of Korea (ROK), and presents their distribution in a series of maps. The relationship of the distribution of the various items surveyed with the traditional division of the contiguous Korean speaking area into six dialect zones (and, thus, the ROK into four dialect zones) is not made explicit in the Atlas. In this paper, we draw upon Atlas data and use the quantitative techniques of dialectometry to determine which of the items in the Atlas may be identified as so-called 'shibboleths' of the traditional dialect areas of the ROK. In other words, which items in the Atlas are most characteristic of those areas? The paper is structured as follows. First, we briefly review traditional Korean dialectology before detailing the precise geographical areas examined in this paper, which correspond to the traditional Central, South Western and South Eastern dialect zones. We then give a description of the data and the procedure followed for identifying shibboleths (c.f. Prokić, Çöltekin and Nerbonne 2012) before going on to examine the five most representative items of each dialect zone in more detail for linguistically significant patterns, e.g. distribution of items derived from different lexemes, variation caused by regular sound change etc. We further test the validity of the identified shibboleths by presenting multi-dimensional scaling maps, which visualise within-group similarity of each individual item with respect to the area for which it is identified as characteristic as well as the heterogeneity of the item over the whole surveyed area. Our central finding is that there is no single set of isoglosses which supports the conventional dialectological division of the ROK, rather each dialect zone exhibits the greatest internal homogeneity with regard to different sets of linguistic features. Finally, we discuss opportunities for expanding the scope of this research to

gain new insights into the relationship between language and local identity in the ROK, for example, by contrasting the statistical shibboleths identified by this study with shibboleths determined through a perceptual study.

Paper 4

“To Come to Terms with an Alien Poetic Idiom”: John Francis Davis (1795-1890) and his *On the Poetry of the Chinese* (1829)

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Sir John Francis Davis (1795-1890) was one of the most eminent British sinologists in the nineteenth century. He started his career in China in the British East India Company since 1813, and was finally appointed as the second governor of Hong Kong in 1844. Besides his clerical and civil service work, Davis was prolific in his translation and study of Chinese literature. While his role as a translator has been well studied, his research writings on Chinese literature are somewhat neglected. This paper is a case study of Davis's *Poeseos Sinensis commentarii. On the Poetry of the Chinese* 漢文詩解 (1829), one of his most important studies of Chinese literature. His long semi-academic article was first read at the Royal Asiatic Society meetings in London in 1829, then published in book-form and also on the *Transaction of Royal Asiatic Society* the same year. It was reprinted in 1834, 1864, and 1870, indicating its popularity and value in the nineteenth century. *On the Poetry of the Chinese* is the first detailed and original introductory study of Chinese poetry in the English language. It is notably comparative in nature, as Davis constantly assessed the equivalence between Chinese and European poetic genres, forms, and ideas, and applied European or other non-Chinese literary frameworks to explaining features of Chinese poetry. This paper examines how the knowledge of, as well as the discourse on, Chinese poetry in Davis's book was constructed and represented, and explores how his comparative narrative reveals the sinologist's perception of the nature of Chinese poetry, of the compatibility between Chinese and European poetic traditions, and of Sino-British relative cultural relation in early nineteenth century. With an analytical examination of this pioneering transcultural literary study, this paper hopes to enhance our understanding of the history of literary flow and knowledge production in early nineteenth-century British sinology.

Panel 66 Reflecting on Identity & Memory in Literature and Film

Paper 1

Floating Travelers to and from Japan in "Cape No. Seven" and "If You Are the One"

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In 2008, two movies became record-breaking box office successes across the Taiwan Strait: the Taiwanese film, *Cape No. Seven* (director: Wei Tesheng), and the Chinese one, *If You Are the One* (director: Feng Xiaogang). While in different contexts, both utilized Japan to punctuate their themes, either as a resonant cause for postcolonial conditions, or as a destination for nostalgic journeys for well-off Chinese tourists. First, the paper examines the common features shared of the two: the commodification of culture (pop music and tourism) in alignment with the formation of the nation (the multicultural integration and objectification of the ethnic other, and the coexistence of multiple linguistic practices). Then it focuses on protagonists crossing borders to and from Japan, who appear in different ways each, to shed light on a new juncture of travel, encounter, and settling generated by such movement. One of my main concerns is where to locate a new East Asian travel imagination prompted by such traffic. To this end, I look to the site of the hotel, the main setting where both stories take place, as a space both public and private, characterized by the different configuration of class, race, ethnicity, gender, nationality, and cultural and historical backgrounds among guests, visitors, and employees, as James Clifford describes it. I discuss how this locus of peculiar openness and privilege intersects with the signification of Japan, a historical and political point of reference for Taiwan and China today, as well as a contested site of creating ethnic, national, racial, and gendered identities.

Paper 2

Exercise in Narration and Imagination of History: The Diary of a Young Girl by Anne Frank in Ogawa Yōko's Works

Laura Imai Messina (Tōkyō University of Foreign Studies, PhD candidate) lauraimaimessina@gmail.com

Memory is not a once and for all issue. It needs to be renewed by a continuous exercise in narration and practice of imagination. This also applies to history which, in being bequeathed from generation to generation, risks being perceived as more and more impersonal.

Ogawa Yōko, one of the most representative and influential writers of contemporary Japanese literature, is very sensitive to the theme of memory, especially its relationship with material culture, and her works are closely linked to *The Diary of a Young Girl* by Anne Frank, the symbol of Nazi persecution of Jews.

Besides non-fiction works (*Anne wo tazunete* [Visiting Anne Frank] and *Anne Frank no kioku* [A Memory of Anne Frank]), newspaper articles, radio and television programmes, there are several direct or indirect mentions of the Diary also in Ogawa's novels. This is especially significant considering how detached from time and space Ogawa's writing style is, with its absolute absence of references to the real world.

What Ogawa values the most is the private dimension of history and how material things can meaningfully convey it. She is aware that historical facts and tragedies from the past risk losing their emotive impact because of the distance time creates between history and people.

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate, by analyzing the relevance of the Diary in Ogawa's novels and examining how she uses a discourse on materiality to bring the reader closer to Anne Frank and the Jewish story, how powerful a writer's point of view can be in renewing the past and making it present, thus being able to sensitise the reader to history in general and, in Ogawa's specific case, about the Nazi horror. Nothing can be more effective than the active imagination of history and a narration that stimulates what Maurice Halbwachs called "la mémoire collective".

Paper 3

Ima deshō: Immediacy, Identity and Memory in the Works of Takahashi Genichirō

Filippo Cervelli (University of Oxford) filippo.cervelli@pmb.ox.ac.uk

Critics such as Karatani Kōjin and Suzuki Sadami have described the weakening of "pure" literature after the 1980s. However, their comments may be read as a suggestion to reconsider the value of literature in the contemporary age. This study addresses such issue by investigating forms of literature produced in Japan between 1995 and 2015. As art voices the suffering of the age, an analysis of the current artistic panorama in Japan becomes crucial to complement the investigation of an age often not considered for humanistic academic research. This paper argues that contemporary Japan is characterised by an emphasis on immediacy, summarised by the slogan *ima deshō*, originally introduced in 2009 by prep teacher turned TV celebrity Hayashi Osamu. The phrase captures an age where individuals only concentrate on what is immediately before them, and react to it through rushed actions aiming to fill an ideological vacuum lying in the background. To explore immediacy and the contemporary vacuum, where old models of success (i.e. the competition to enter a prestigious university guaranteeing a high-profile job that would ensure prosperity) have weakened, the paper proposes a study of the works of contemporary writer and academic Takahashi Genichirō. Takahashi is a prolific author, his production ranging from postmodern novels to short stories, from essays to political writing, as shown by his recent public involvement with the SEALDs (Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy) student movement. Since Takahashi is an author attentive to current issues, an analysis of his vast oeuvre will also shed light on, among others, the contemporary citizens', especially the youth, perception of the abandonment of the countryside, the problem of finding one's identity in a society that sees workers merely as disposable pawns, the

relationship with (literary) history and tradition in light of the contemporary emphasis on immediacy, and on overcoming the trauma of 3.11 and the mourning of its victims. By analysing his works, the paper investigates how immediacy and reactions to the vacuum are portrayed, while at the same time providing an overview of the contemporary literary scene in Japan.

Panel 67

The Politics of National Identity and Press Freedom in Contemporary Japan

Panel abstract:

Press freedom in contemporary Japan faces many threats. The most dangerous of these threats is the recrudescence of reactionary nationalism led by Prime Minister Abe Shinzo. This panel elucidates the state encroachment on the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of expression and how this is driven by ongoing identity politics. We argue that curtailment of press freedom undermines Japan's identity as a democracy based on accountability and transparency. Self-censorship, state intimidation, an inhospitable legal context and a deferential press beholden to the government weaken democracy. PM Abe's government assertively manages the news through press clubs, spin-doctors, limiting access and brazen threats, and over the past year a number of Abe's prominent critics including television news anchors and pundits have been ousted from their posts. The Abe administration is committed to "overturning the postwar era", fundamentally a project that seeks to recalibrate national identity that includes revising the Constitution, dragging a pacifist nation to support a more robust military alliance with the US, while promoting revisionist history and patriotic education. Clipping the wings of the press deprives the nation of the vigorous debate and scrutiny essential to democracy and is facilitating the imposition of a rightwing agenda at odds with the entrenched post-WWII norms and values that define Japan's identity.

Paper 1

Press Freedom, Democracy and Identity in Japan

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This paper examines the curtailment of press freedom in 21st century Japan, especially on PM Abe's watch (2012-) and how this media muzzling is driven by ongoing culture wars and identity politics. Abe is the most ideological leader in post-WWII Japan and intent on remaking Japan by revising the constitution and shedding the burdens of history so that it can overcome pacifism and instill pride in Japan's youth. Historical revisionists advocate a national identity based on an exculpatory narrative of Japanese imperial aggression 1895-1945 they are aggressively promoting in the media, and targeting those who disagree.

Controlling the message is essential to promoting Abe's neo-nationalist agenda and thus curtailing freedom of expression aims to limit scrutiny and debate over his project. Ensuring that a political crony took the helm of NHK, and packing the board with like-minded conservatives, are part of this taming of the media. So too are stark warnings that stations deemed biased in their news coverage risk having their broadcasting license suspended by the LDP's Minister of Internal Affairs.

Politicians everywhere get testy about negative coverage, but the Abe administration's tactics of intimidation as prominent television news anchors and pundits have been ousted in the past year. The orchestrated campaign in 2014 to discredit the liberal Asahi newspaper enjoyed Abe's vocal support. The Asahi's mea culpa in August 2014 over its coverage of sexual slavery back in the 1980s and 1990s when a handful of stories relied on a discredited source sparked a rabid campaign of denunciation. The rightwing nuclear village then pounced on the Asahi's critical reporting about the Fukushima accident, managing to get a retraction and setting the stage for more capitulations in the media industry. Foreign journalists have also been feeling the heat as officials lodge complaints with their editors, discredit them and warn them away from 'unreliable' sources that are reliably critical of Abe.

Whither Japan? This paper examines how conservatives' efforts to reshape Japan have undermined freedom of expression, press freedom and democracy, thereby tarnishing Japan's image while igniting culture wars fought on the battlefields of identity.

Paper 2

Japan's Designated Secrets Law

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In December 2013, a year after the Abe Government came to power, the National Diet passed a 'Designated Secrets Law' that became a subject of widespread controversy. It was, however, integral to the Government's strategy of enhancing State power and expanding military relations with the United States.

Criticism of the law focused on four main issues. Critics argued that:

- 'Designated State secret' was not adequately defined, allowing government officials too much flexibility to determine what should be kept secret.
- There was no adequate mechanism to oversee administration of the law.
- Punishments for government officials and journalists convicted of breaking this law were too severe, thus press freedom was threatened.
- Government secrets need not be revealed, provided permission is given, for up to 60 years (the UK limit is 30 years).
- There appears to be little to prevent officials destroying sensitive information.

More generally, critics saw the law as part of the Abe Government's intention to weaken human rights and freedoms. A more favourable view was expressed by the constitutional specialist Kimura Sōta, He argued that:

- 'Designated dangerous activities' were defined in some detail in the law.
- Administration of the law is conducted by highly competent officials.
- Severe punishments are limited to extreme cases.

- The scope of the 60 year release rule is narrow.
- Destruction of sensitive material is dealt with in other legislation.
- Democratic accountability is adequately provided for in the Law.

Kimura also argues that the origins of the Designated Secrets Law predated the Abe Government.

Despite the arguments of Kimura (who is no friend of the Abe Government), it seems that the law seriously restricts media freedoms. Reporting of the Fukushima disaster would have been hampered had the law been then in operation, and there are fears about its application both to US military base issues in Okinawa, and to the recent collective defence legislation. This fits into a broader debate about authoritarian government, and the dangers inherent in a far right government unchecked by effective political opposition.

Paper 3 **Free Speech in Japan and International Human Rights Law**

Akiko Ejima (Meiji University) ejima@meiji.ac.jp

In April 2016, the United Nations Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Expression visited Japan on a fact-finding trip. He is expected to deliver a report to the UN Human Rights Council this year summarizing his findings and recommendations.

His visit came at a time when members of the foreign press and of Japan's civil society, including members of this panel, have alleged that Japan's government exerts pressure on the news media and have made various other criticisms of the manner in which freedom of expression and of the press are viewed under Japanese custom and law.

Japan is a party to several major international human rights treaties. It is likely that the UN Special Rapporteur will review his findings in light of the standards set by these treaties and other international standards.

This presentation will review the role of UN institutions, including the Human Rights Council, the Special Rapporteur, and Human Rights treaty bodies in the protection of fundamental rights. It will also describe various recommendations that have already been made to the government of Japan on relevant issues, including the recommendation to establish an independent national human right body (according to the Paris Principles), the recommendation that Japan join Optional Protocols to relevant treaties that would enable Japanese individuals to bring cases directly before UN treaty bodies, and other issues.

Paper 4 **Chilling Effects on News Reporting in Japan's "Anonymous Society"**

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Although the Constitution guarantees freedom of "speech, the press and all other forms of expression," Japan's national Diet, courts, and government agencies have adopted laws and practices that seriously hamper Japanese reporters as they seek to monitor the exercise of government power and report on important social developments. Because ordinary Japanese people rely heavily on news organizations for information concerning matters of broad public interest, these restrictions significantly limit the people's right to know. Japanese law and custom are weighted heavily toward protecting privacy and confidentiality. The term "anonymous society" (*tokumei shakai*) is sometimes applied to describe the result. For example, a so-called "right to be forgotten" has recently attracted attention in many countries, but this concept was actually endorsed by the Supreme Court of Japan more than two decades ago.

The conflict between privacy and news reporting appears most directly when individuals sue news organizations for disclosing their identities. Such suits are commonplace and courts often rule in favor of plaintiffs, so reporters and news executives must consider the risk of litigation as one significant factor that limits the range of their work.

This conflict also arises in other contexts, such as criminal trials. Article 82 of Japan's Constitution recognizes the immense public interest in criminal prosecutions and other trials by declaring that "Trials be conducted and judgment declared openly." Despite this unambiguous statement, Japan's legal community has conspired to spin a web of secrecy around criminal trials. For example, there is a complete ban on access to criminal trial records that applies to news reporters along with other members of the public.

This presentation examines court decisions, laws, and administrative rules that have the effect of limiting news reporting in Japan, curtail the freedom of expression essential to press freedom and thereby undermine Japan's identity as a constitutional democracy.

Panel 68

Migration Scapes: the Infrastructure of Migration to and from China

(NB: This is one of two panels, the other is titled Panel 1: Planning the Future through Education: Global Educational Migration)

Panel Chair: Elena Barabantseva (University of Manchester)

Panel Discussant: Yasemin Soysal (University of Essex)

Panel abstract:

Global migratory flows depend on a complex kaleidoscope of intertwined institutions, formal and informal, that are often insufficiently understood or studied. Concentrating on mapping this landscape as it relates to specific forms of migration to and from China, this panel will explore comparative insights by initiating a conversation between researchers on two Europe-China collaborative projects that look at migration in both directions in terms of the formal and informal “infrastructures” of migration. Presenters are involved in two collaborative China-Europe projects—‘Immigrants in China’ and ‘Bright Futures’: A Comparative Study of Internally and Internationally Mobile Chinese Higher Education Students’. The discussant will comment on the papers, while also leaving plenty of time for discussion on the common and divergent features of these migration scapes. The papers focus respectively on labour migration, marriage migration and educational migration, sketching out features of the migration infrastructure related to these discrete areas of internal and transnational mobility.

Paper 1

Producing Brokerage: Infrastructure, Ethnic Brokerage and Agency of Labour Migrants in China

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By focusing on ethnic Yi labour migrants and the brokerage system embedded in their ethnic ties, this paper examines how the migration infrastructure facilitates ethnic migration brokerage, and reshapes the ethnic and kinship relationship between workers and brokers in ethnic minority communities. Based on seven-months of ethnographic fieldwork in both the hometown of the ethnic Yi migrants and the factories in the Pearl River delta area of China in which they work, I find that an “illegal but tolerated” migrant brokerage forms in the temporary labour market in China. Drawing on the notion of migration infrastructure from Xiang and Lindquist, this paper illustrates three components of the migration infrastructure: state apparatus, ethnic Han labour agencies and ethnic Yi brokers. I point out that governments of both migrant-sending and migrant-receiving areas regulate labour mobility, which, however, promotes the illegal activities of the brokerage system. In addition, the collusion between Han labour agencies and ethnic Yi brokers in the labour market functions to disrupt the moral economy embedded in ethnic ties. This results in the commercialization of the kinship relationship between Yi brokers and workers. As a consequence, Yi migrant workers are put into a vulnerable status.

Paper 2

Marriage Migration Infrastructure on the Sino-Vietnamese and Sino-Russian Borders

Elena Barabantseva (University of Manchester) e.v.barabantseva@manchester.ac.uk

Caroline Grillot (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology) carolinegrillot@hotmail.com

This paper discusses the main routes, legal regulations, bureaucratic procedures, and actors conditioning marriage migration to China in two opposite parts of the country (on the borders with Russia and with Vietnam). Since the 1990s there has been a steady increase of marriage migration and a growing number of mixed couples in China due to the liberalisation of the economy, the stabilisation of border disputes, and the deinstitutionalisation of domestic marriage practices. This was paralleled by the skewed demographic trends in China resulting from one-child policy, which led to a significant number of bachelors struggling to find a bride. In this paper we will contrast the governance of marriage migration in China’s core and border areas, tracing how the proximity to the international border constitutes a distinct space of marriage migration governance. We will examine how regularisation of marriage migration intersects with state’s concerns about population control, national identity and stability of borders, and, in turn, highlight what the infrastructure of marriage migration in two distinct parts of the border reflects about China’s sovereignty concerns, and its bilateral relations with neighbouring states. In addition, we will introduce the main entry points through which people navigating this marriage infrastructure negotiate spaces opened by the liberalisation of the market and society, and restricted by the state’s security and population control concerns.

Paper 3

International tracks have different gauges: varying approaches to attracting and integrating Chinese students in the UK and Germany

Basak Bilecen (Sociology, Bielefeld University) basak.bilecen@uni-bielefeld.de

By examining how universities in the UK and Germany attract Chinese students and facilitate their adaptation on arrival, this paper contributes an institutional perspective on higher education internationalization. Data is from interviews with key informants in student recruitment, international student advising and academic staff in units with concentrations of students from mainland China, as well as ethnographic observation of recruitment events in

China and university induction activities. UK universities demonstrate divergent approaches to international students, with some adopting a “multicultural” approach that seeks to integrate students regardless of national origin, while others develop “international track” services directly targeting these students. By contrast, in Germany academic considerations dominate under the rubric of “excellence”, as universities seek to attract “the best” students, with free tuition seen as putting education outside the market nexus, and Chinese students expected to “fit in.” UK recruiters identify their “problem” as attracting top students in a competitive international education market, requiring much “relational work.” Advice providers in the UK raise questions about ethnic segmentation, complaining that Chinese students consult co-ethnics rather than seeking help from them, while their German counterparts attribute ethnic segmentation to student preferences and say they “respect” this choice. Academics identify “problems” of perceived divergences in academic cultures between Europe and China. In responding to uncertainties in the internationalization of universities, informants draw on sets of stereotypes of what Chinese students are like, and what they need to prosper in European university settings. These different versions of what internationalization means highlight conflicts over how to respond to these trends.

Panel 69

Japan Heritage' and untangling present engagements with the past

Panel abstract:

An offshoot of the Tokyo 2020 Olympic project is a renewed interest in heritage in Japan, including the Agency for Cultural Affairs' 'Japan Heritage' initiative, attempting to create new narratives to weave together landscapes and heritage assets, in part to attract visitors to the 'shrinking regions'. In conjunction with Japan's enthusiasm for UNESCO World Heritage, now encompassing both 'washoku' and Mount Fuji, and the emergence of newly defined fields of study including 'public' and 'disaster archaeology', this fresh interest is generating innovative approaches that have implications for heritage studies around the world. Speaking in particular to the conference themes of 'Memory and History' and 'Identity', this panel will include case studies, from castles and stone mines to gardens and archaeological parks, that demonstrate the significance of these new approaches to heritage narratives, and how they are entangled in twenty-first century identities in Japan.

Paper 1

Citadels of Modernity: The Contested Heritage of Japan's Castles

Dr Oleg Benesch (University of York) oleg.benesch@york.ac.uk

From Tokyo to distant regions, castles have given shape to the majority of Japanese cities. Whether they have become UNESCO World Heritage sites, religious centers, or public parks, Japan's castles are among the most important landmarks and important components of local, regional, and even national identity. Often located on raised land in the heart of cities and towns, castles represent some of the most important and valuable space in the country. The great importance of Japan's castles, in political, economic, and symbolic terms, has made them the sites of fierce contention from the medieval period to the present day.

While there is ample scholarship on Japanese castles' early history, their fate in the modern period remains largely unexamined. This paper will use Nagoya Castle as a case study to explore the complex and eventful modern history of castles. It will examine how these 'feudal relics' were disposed of in the late nineteenth century following the Meiji Restoration, before interest in them as heritage sites grew in the early twentieth century. Following the devastation of 1945 and the occupation of important castles by the US military, many destroyed castle keeps were reconstructed out of concrete in the early postwar. As these structures age, many cities are forced to plan for the future of these popular tourist destinations. In Nagoya, ambitious plans seek to dismantle the concrete keep and replace it with an 'authentic' wooden reconstruction in time for the 2020 Olympics. This paper will consider how castles have become some of the most important symbols of regional and national heritage and identity, while examining the many intense real and figurative battles that have shaped their modern history.

Paper 2

Mines of inspiration: the 'twinning' of heritage assets between Japan and UK

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The concept of 'twinning' is well established in much civic thinking around the world, but is not commonplace in archaeology. This paper considers the epistemological challenges raised by the twinning of archaeological sites, and the possible framework such an approach offers for the broader dissemination of best practice in comparative archaeology and heritage management. As a case study we will consider the developing relationship between the Grimes Graves Neolithic flint mines in the east of England and the Takayama obsidian mines in central Japan, and the ways in which these two important archaeological sites are being used as the focus for cultural and educational exchanges between the contemporary municipalities where they are located (Thetford in England and Nagawa-machi in Japan).

Building on this case study, the paper will consider the ways in which heritage assets such as these are being used in attempts to regenerate the regions in Japan, and will consider how individual communities in such regions are working with each other to create new narratives to tempt visitors back – attempts that invite a reconsideration of postmodern assessments of Japanese heritage, such as Marilyn Ivy's 'Discourses of the Vanishing'.

Paper 3

Transnational Identities of Three Public Parks in Tokyo: Koishikawa Kōrakuen, Shinjuku Gyoen and Chidorigafuchi National Cemetery

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Japanese gardens are one of the most established and popular forms of heritage site in Japan. For example, gardens are the main attraction of cities such as Kyoto or Kanazawa. They are also one of the most transferable heritage types of Japan within a global context. As *washoku* is adopted and adapted all over the world, so are Japanese gardens. UK has at least 150 Japanese gardens and North America has at least double that. This paper will break with some of the commonly held stereotypical ideas of what a Japanese garden is. It will argue first, that the garden types of Katsura Detached Palace and Ryōanji are not the only ones in Japan and second, that many of the Japanese gardens in Japan have rich and varied transnational identities. In order to elucidate these points three examples from Tokyo have been chosen. The first, Koishikawa Kōrakuen was created in Edo period and is often cited as a typical Daimyō (domain lords) garden representing one of the most ubiquitous types of intrinsically Japanese garden. It is one of the Metropolitan Parks

maintained by the City of Tokyo. The second is Shinjuku Gyoen, which originated in a Daimyō garden but during the Meiji period it became the property of the Imperial Household Agency, even supplying vegetables for the Emperor's table. This is one of the largest parks in Tokyo and within it there is an English Garden, a French Garden and two Japanese gardens. After the war it became a national park. The third example is the garden of Chidorigafuchi National Cemetery. This is also a national park run by the Ministry of the Environment and is a national Japanese cemetery and memorial for unidentified war dead of the Second World War. These are three very different examples with complex histories, but all of them are public parks and show each in different ways distinct transnational traits.

Paper 4

Prehistoric Jōmon site parks and environmentalism

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Archaeological heritage is one of the key elements of Japanese heritage, and Japanese heritage studies are examining how archaeology shapes present-day society in various ways. This paper specifically intends to look at how Japanese prehistoric Jōmon site parks have informed and inspired a social movement, particularly environmentalism in Japan, through two case studies. The first case study introduces the Japanese government-driven archaeological heritage management system, providing examples of how Jōmon site-utilization has occurred in parallel with social movements directed toward environmentalism. Jōmon site parks have engendered environmental movements as a form of Jōmon 'satoyama', and been utilized in movements that attempt to reframe contemporary Japan as regionally diverse and culturally plural at the same time. Furthermore, this paper illustrates how Jōmon site parks are incorporated into left wing political ideologies and activism. The second case study introduces the book *Jōmon Pilgrimages (Jōmon seichi junrei)* by musician Sakamoto Ryuichi and anthropologist Nakazawa Shin'ichi (2010), which follows their visits to several "sacred" Jōmon sites parks across Japan. This book is written as an extended conversation on the possibility of learning from the Jōmon to critique contemporary politics and as a guide for creating an alternative society that is aligned with their anti-nuclear and pro-environmental activism.

Panel 70

Dark Tourism in Japan, China, and Taiwan

Paper 1

In Memory of the Fallen: Martyrdom Tourism in Republican China

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Following the establishment of the republican regime in 1912, a network of sites devoted to the martyrs of the revolution, including the Huanghuagang memorial, gradually emerged. Similarly, in the aftermath of Nationalist unification in the late 1920s, a number of structures built in memory of those fallen during the Northern Expedition sprang up, amongst which the National Revolutionary Army Cemetery of Nanjing. Also, as Japan took on a growing aggressive stance towards China in the late 1920s and 1930s, various monuments were erected in reaction against Japan and in honour of China's victims from Japan's actions.

Touristic material sometimes incorporated references to these new sites, such as Qiu Jin's Memorial by the West Lake. In certain instances, these sites even acquired a prominent position next to and above many of the long-renowned touristic attractions. This was the case in several texts on the West Lake, the cover of a 1934 guidebook displaying an image of a statue of murdered revolutionary Chen Qimei and that of a 1947 book of sights focusing on the Memorial built in honour of the Soldiers Fallen in the 1932 Shanghai War. That a place of major traditional touristic appeal as the West Lake should have been represented by these kinds of monuments in such touristic literature is an indication of the diffusion and relevance of republican and nationalist ideals during this period.

There is evidence of touristic practice, sometimes highly politicized in character, to many of these places. It is clear, however, that these sites were often less of an attraction than some wanted them to be and their high profile in some of the touristic material would suggest. An analysis of the discourse and practice of tourism shows a coexistence of an interest in, and an indifference to, the memory of the fallen, which can be seen as confirmation of wider tensions that were present in Republican China.

It is the aim of this paper to examine the multiple realities of tourism related to such sites that took place, including the shifts in touristic sensitivity to them that occurred throughout the republican period.

Paper 2

Landmarks of memory and amnesiac void in post-disaster Tohoku

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The catastrophic chain of events occurred in North-East Japan on March 11 of 2011, left three Japanese prefectures (Fukushima, Miyagi and Iwate) dealing with different degrees of destruction. While many communities still suffer from displacement, reconstruction processes are going on along the coastal areas of North-East Japan. Rebuilding planning (machizukuri) includes discussions about the possibility of maintaining damaged building as memorials of the disaster. Far from being univocal, the decision process divided many communities involving psychological issues and politics. The Disaster Prevention Office Building in Minamisanriku (prefecture of Miyagi) is one example of this debate, culminated in the decision of keeping it for twenty years (at Miyagi prefecture's expenses) before rediscussing its future.

I make the case in this article that the lack of a definite decision about the conservation of damaged buildings, expresses the difficulties of establishing a collective memory which now appears to be still "provisional". The relation between individual and collective memories (tradition and history) are the pillars around which communities (re)build their identity, but while some choices for rebuilding point out at the disaster as a traumatic story of the community, the results can disguise a strong willing to forget about this recent past.

The importance of monuments and memorials is critical in communities' identity construction process and, as already discussed by different disciplines, what is chosen to be forgotten is as important as what is chosen to be remembered. In the case of a catastrophic event that hit different areas, each of which had previous social background and traditions, the lack of an established collective memory appears to be an interesting chance to observe the on-going process of place making and identity rebuilding.

The material is mostly drawn from ethnographic research including participant observation, interviews and the analysis of the narratives collected within the project "Voices from Tohoku" of Sophia University where I am currently affiliated as visiting researcher. As secondary sources I also look at newspapers' articles, pamphlets and other materials issued by city offices and private companies to promote tourism in these areas.

Paper 3

The Osutaka Pilgrimage Sites: Memorialisation Sites or Dark Tourism Sites?

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On 12 August 1985, Japan Air Lines flight JL123 took off from Haneda bound for Itami Airport. An explosion was heard 12 minutes into its flight. Some wrote final messages. The plane finally crashed 32 minutes after the initial explosion. 524 crew and passengers were on board the Boeing 747. When rescue teams finally reached the crash site, all but 4 people were dead. JL123 is Japan's and the aviation world's equivalent to the Titanic. It remains the world's largest single plane crash in terms of human fatalities.

Today Osutaka-no-one, as the crash site is now known, and Ueno-mura, the village in which the site is located, are the focal

point for a variety of events which take place to mark the anniversary of the tragedy. Although over 30 years have passed since the crash, significant numbers of izoku still go to the site for the anniversary, and at other times of the year. The various anniversary events are also widely covered by the media. The paper will set out what the components of this pilgrimage are and how the memorialisation has changed over the years.

However, it is not only izoku who visit the sites connected to the JL123 crash. Others, many not directly connected to the crash, also visit. Is this a sign that the sites are become sites of dark tourism? This paper will consider what is meant by dark tourism and what the implications may be for Ueno-mura, the JL123 izoku and others should the sites of the Osutaka Pilgrimage become dark tourism sites and see increased numbers of visitors.

Panel 71 Reflections on Contemporary Japan as a Global Player

Paper 1

Ghost in the Sell: Forgetting Iraq in Japan's Collective Self-Defense Drive

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"Soft" symbolism and the "hard" power of security often work together. In 2014, Japan's Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP) promoted sixteen hypothetical scenarios to help sell the idea of Constitutional reinterpretation. Reinterpretation led to new security laws officially passed in 2015, coming into effect in 2016. Given public fear of a future role of Japan in America's wars, the fact of Japan having already joined America's invasion of Iraq from 2004-6 might have generated more discussion. However, Japan's participation in the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq looms ghostlike in this new era of post-pacifism. After 9/11, when Japan made legal exceptions in order to provide support for the American-led war coalitions, the two words that usually accompanied the pacifist nation's minimal participation were "largely symbolic" – implying "largely insignificant," since Japan's troops could not participate in combat and likely made no difference to the bulk of coalition troops fighting the war. Nonetheless, symbols that interact with and influence public perception. Both symbolic performances—Japan in the "war on terror," Japan arguing for Constitutional revision—have similar themes. Of special interest in this paper are the visual props PM Abe used to support his drive to security revision.

Paper 2

Abe's pivot south – implications for Japan's current security policy in Asia

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While the much anticipated U.S. pivot to Asia has yet to rise to the expectations created when President Obama announced the new security strategy for East Asia, Japan's very own pivot south introduced by the Abe Administration is beginning to have a bigger impact on Japan's security policy agenda.

Current research on Japan's foreign policy has given little or no consideration to the importance of Japan's continuous strengthening of bilateral strategic and military cooperation with countries in the South-East Pacific, such as the Philippines, Vietnam or (predominantly) Australia. However, Japan's bilateral and multilateral security agreements with Asian countries have become crucial to Abe's vision of Japan as responsible agent for peace, regional stability and the implementation of democratic "western" values in East Asia.

The paper will debate the potential of these bilateral relations to complete Tokyo's agenda, as well as investigate what the chances are of disburdening the U.S.-Japan Alliance in East Asia without jeopardizing the long term interests of U.S.'s pivot to Asia? By employing an in-box analysis of domestic policy constraints within the Japanese political leadership environment using a neo-classical approach, as well as considering aspects of alliance theory (bandwagoning for profit, Schweller 1994) this paper seeks to demonstrate an alternative approach in explaining Japan's foreign policy under the Abe administration and the importance of regional partnership for Japan with its South East Asian neighbors in the 21st century.

Paper 3

Positions of pacifism are well and kicking in Japan today. But which one is the most persuasive?

Anne Mette Fisker-Nielsen (SOAS, University of London) af3@soas.ac.uk

Japan's discourses on what constitute peace intersect in complex ways with Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, an Article that has become Japan's symbol of pacifism. A number of positioning retorting to "pacifism" is consolidating in Japan against the recent Peace and Security Legislation *heiwa anpo hōsei* 平和安保法制. The loudest voices follow the well-trodden ideological paths of the left as opposed to the right, while the middle ground has been mostly obscured amidst the legislation being branded a "war legislation" (戦争法案). How do we assess the claim to realism versus idealism?

The question of how stake holders respond to geopolitical tensions building up in the wider world beyond the borders of Japan and amongst the various imagined political communities across Asia is an important and complex question. The issue brings out strongly emotional social imaginings on both the pro- and anti-security legislation groups in Japan. The nuances, overlaps, and contradictions in perception and positioning have so far not been well articulated or understood. Such polarization of positioning intensified with the 2016 July Upper House.

This presentation is based on first-hand research, mass media observations and Diet records and public documents. It includes interviews with politicians and advisors directly involved in the security negotiations and those politicians and scholars opposed to it, as well interviews with both pro supporters and participants in anti-security legislation demonstrations. This presentation is part of an article that will be published in *The Japan Focus* in August, and is part of a book project titled *Political Cultures and Publics in Japan Today: Utopianism or Radicalism of the Middle Way?* This book looks at active groups and political parties involved with furthering the objectives of peace in today's Japan, This includes how they engage (or do not engage) with China and with Constitutional debates. It explores how different political cultures and publics speak to today's politics and policies.

Panel 73

Constructing Identity: Nation, Gender and Ideology in the Films of Tanaka Kinuyo

Panel Abstract:

Tanaka Kinuyo (1909-1977) stands amongst the greatest actresses in the history of Japanese cinema and the only female director of the early postwar era. Her career overlaps with times of deep transformation of Japanese national identity, and with a period of immense sociopolitical importance for women. She was one of the most visible (and sometimes, controversial) symbols of the Japanese classical studio system, a vertically integrated and hierarchic system that functioned as a site of promoting, reproducing and at times defying ideological values and images of the nation, of gender, of subjectivity, and of the Other.

From diverse theoretical and methodological approaches this panel investigates Tanaka's role as actress and director in these complex dynamics of representation. It aims to explore ways in which gender identities and images of the nation, as well as of its past history, are imagined in narrative cinema and furthermore how they are enhanced and sometimes problematised by stardom. Through the analysis of several case studies we will argue that Tanaka's work offered up alternative, sociopolitically grounded feminine subjectivities and that it also challenged hegemonic images of national and male identities; all this, however, within the structures and idiosyncrasies of the Japanese studio system.

Paper 1

Dancer, doctor, *moga*, mum: Tanaka Kinuyo's early star image

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Long before becoming the film star with an international following and something of a celluloid embodiment of long-suffering mother in the postwar years, Tanaka Kinuyo had a prolific and celebrated career that went all the way back to the days of silent cinema. Tanaka arguably reached her first peak in the mid-1930s, both artistically and in terms of popularity, becoming the most acclaimed and prominent actress of her time, and as such has been commonly referred to as the first true female film star in Japan. During that period, Tanaka appeared in a wide array of roles ranging from traditional maidens to modern career women which allowed her to embody different feminine identities and to display versatile and idiosyncratic skills in acting.

This paper will be tracing the elements which made up Tanaka's early star image by examining the gestural characteristics of her acting style as well as various feminine types she played in a number of key films from the 1930s. These include *The Neighbour's Wife and Mine* (1931), *The Dancing Girl of Izu* (1933), *The New Road* (1936, all directed by Gosho Heinosuke), *Kinuyo the Lady Doctor* (1937), *A Man's Recompense* (1937), *The Love-Troth Tree* (1938-39) and *Kinuyo's First Love* (1940, all directed by Nomura Hiromasa).

Richard Dyer has pointed out that "[s]tars embody social types, but star images are always more complex and specific than types. Types are, as it were, the ground on which a particular star's image is constructed". It should be added that the notion of star image cannot be reduced to adhering to any particular type, but rather to the necessity of merging various ones in order to be produced in the first place. It is from this understanding of star image as site of negotiation that the present attempt to draw a composite picture of Tanaka's early career begins.

Paper 2

Meetings and Partings: How Tanaka's Films End

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Although a number of recent scholars (eg. Raine, Russell, Standish) have explored the Japanese cinema of the 1950s from the point of view of star persona, the canonical works of Japanese cinema in its acknowledged postwar Golden Age, by filmmakers such as Mizoguchi, Ozu, Naruse and Kinoshita, tend still to be approached primarily through an auteurist perspective. Without disputing the value of an auteurist approach, I would like to explore a number of renowned films from the period 1940-60 as star vehicles for the actress Tanaka Kinuyo, whose star persona is used in remarkably consistent ways to clarify the ideological assumptions of her films. I argue in particular that this function is enacted through the endings of the films in which Tanaka stars, where the resolution of a personal relationship with another character serves to make a broader ideological resolution explicit. Integrating scholarship on stardom and star persona with analysis of narrative structure and the significance of film endings, I shall focus in particular on the endings of selected films, ranging from Hiroshi Shimizu's *Ornamental Hairpin* (1941) to Mizoguchi's *Sansho Dayu* (1954) to Kinoshita's *The Ballad of Narayama* (1958), where the liberal ideological trajectory of the film is made explicit via the resolution of a narrative thread concerning Tanaka's relationship with a male friend, lover or relative. I shall also explore a number of films, such as Mizoguchi's *My Love Has Been Burning* (1949), in which the central relationship of the Tanaka character is not with a man but with another woman, and which the ideological implications of the resolutions are correspondingly more radical.

Paper 3

In a Man's World: Tanaka Kinuyo's Debut as Film Director

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In the 1950s the Japanese studio system was a man's world; managed and authored almost exclusively by masculine forces. Against the pressure by many, Tanaka Kinuyo became a director in 1953. She was the only Japanese woman making films during the post-Occupation era, a time of redefinition of the nation that affected women in very special ways as they were often

perceived in the social imaginary as symbolical repositories of the 'Japanese' identity.

Women had been recently enfranchised and were experiencing increased access to education and employment opportunities, after a modern history characterized by patriarchal and Confucian subjugation. However, the gender reforms sanctioned during the Allied Occupation (1945-1952) had a fragmentary application and moreover concealed Western patriarchal conceptions of femininity that perpetuated inequality. The gap between the publicised ideas and the everyday reality of women was apparent.

The aim of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it analyses the representation of gender and of the crisis of the Japanese identity— heavily underpinned by gender constructs—in Tanaka's directing debut film *Love Letter* (*Koibumi*, 1953). The film tackles topics such as prostitution, interracial relationships, and the overall position of women in relation to family and romance. I suggest that war, defeat and occupation are presented as gendered experiences and that the film enquires how female and male identities must adapt to overcome the past. I will argue that, without radically contradicting the hegemonic gender ideologies, Tanaka's film challenged the prescribed gender identities by confronting several taboos regarding female sexuality and agency.

Second, this paper examines how the production of *Love Letter* and Tanaka's directing was received and re-presented in contemporary film magazines. Tanaka's daring professional decision epitomises the radical legal, social and economic changes affecting women. Through the analysis of these texts I aim to illuminate other discourses of popular culture crafting the meaning of being Japanese, of being a woman, and of being a female professional through the figure of Tanaka Kinuyo.

Paper 4

Female Authorship and Colonial Memory in Tanaka Kinuyo's *The Wandering Princess* (1960)

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The Wandering Princess (*Ruten no ôhi*) is the fourth film directed by Tanaka Kinuyo. Released in January 1960, this large-scale production was her first work in colour and widescreen format and her only collaboration as director with the Daiei studio. Tanaka returned behind the camera five years after her previous film *The Eternal Breasts* (*Chibusa yo eien nare*, 1955) and, once again, directed a *josei eiga* (woman's film) made by women, about women and for women. In particular, in *The Wandering Princess*, Tanaka fictionalised the best-selling autobiography of Saga Hiro (1914-1987), a Japanese aristocrat who married the younger brother of Manchukuo's emperor in 1937, becoming directly involved in the colonial politics of the Japanese empire in Asia. In order to adapt Saga's memoirs, Tanaka collaborated with Wada Natto (1920-1983), one of the few women scriptwriters at the time, and with Kyô Machiko (1924-), Daiei's top star who played the challenging role of the heroine.

The purpose of this paper is to examine *The Wandering Princess* in terms of female authorship, subjectivity and representation taking into account the colonial setting of the narrative and the socio-historical context of 1960. In order to explore and connect these issues inside and outside the filmic text, I will discuss the production of *The Wandering Princess* as an 'all women' melodrama considering Tanaka's agency as a woman filmmaker within the studio system and the authorial subjectivity implicit in her choices. Then, I will analyse *The Wandering Princess* looking at the film representation of the female protagonist and her story of romance and tragedy across national borders and identities. Tanaka's film will emerge as a complex site of negotiations, challenges and contradictions regarding the memories of the colonial past and the construction of female images in post-war Japanese cinema.

Panel 74

Time to Revise Perceptions?: Europe and Southeast Asia's relationship with China

Panel Abstract:

China's international significance is beyond question. Driven by the twin goals of seeking wealth and power the process of reform and opening has launched China on the path to regional, global, and eventual superpower status. Critical to this development is how other states and the regional organisations they are members of respond to China's rise. This panel looks to two regions, Europe and Southeast Asia, which are characterised by distinct regional organisations and member states whose policy toward China can at times be appear to be in conflict. In particular it addresses changing perceptions of the rise of China and subsequent policy developments. The papers in this panel each address this issue using a range of methodological approaches and different case studies: recent British China policy, normative roles in Sino-EU relations, the state and media discourses on China in Indonesia, and China's representation in the Singaporean media. Broadly speaking each of the papers address the following questions. First, why do European and Southeast Asian perceptions of China matter? Second, what policy consequences might these perceptions have? Third, what are the long term implications for these different perspectives and their resulting policy outcomes when it comes to China's rise?

Paper 1

The Changing Normative Roles in China-EU Relations in the Official China-EU Discourse

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China-EU relationship is entering into a new stage where their normative positions are changing. Existing studies mostly discuss China-EU relations at a policy-making level. There is a lack of structural view which discusses the relationship in the world system. Despite the critiques on the gaps between dialogues and actions in China-EU relations, little efforts has been made to collect, organize and read the official discourse between China and the EU so that they are properly understood. This paper firstly offers a corpus of key China-EU official discourse from 1995-2015. It then highlights the discourse markers indicating the normative roles of China and the EU and observes the changes of normative identities of the two. After that it address the reasons behind by setting China and the EU in the world system framework put forward by Immanuel Wallerstein and Gramsci's theory on the double movement between society and economy. Essentially the paper argues that China's enhancing normative discourse is the cultural manifestation of its efforts to enter the core states in the world system economically. Key words: China-EU relations, Corpus Construction, Official Discourse, World System.

Paper 2

Indonesia's Perception of China's Leadership in Southeast Asia

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The discussion of regional leadership in South East Asia tends to be dominated by analysis of the relationship between the United States and China. Looking beyond great power competition this paper examines Indonesia's perception of China in Southeast Asia. This is worth studying because Indonesia is the largest country in Southeast Asia and has its own aspirations of regional leadership. This paper analyses how China's leadership is perceived by the Indonesian government and national media through a content analysis of government documents and media reports from 2008-2015. This paper argues that overall China had been portrayed positively by both the Indonesian government documents and media. However, despite this positive portrayal of China, concerns regarding Beijing's leadership aspirations in SEA continues to have an impact on Indonesian policy. Concerns include the impact of China's trade policies upon Indonesia's economy, the potential use of joint port infrastructure projects under China's 21st Century Maritime Silk Road program for military purposes, and Beijing's territorial claims which overlap with Indonesian territory. This concern has manifested in an Indonesian hedging strategy regarding China. This strategy includes the introduction of Indonesia's Maritime Axis initiative and the militarisation of Indonesian territory adjacent to the South China Sea. It is therefore apparent that while China is, on the surface, perceived positively there are areas of potential tension which continue to affect Indonesia's decisions and actions.

Paper 3

The Favourable Partner: An Analysis of Singaporean media perceptions of China in Southeast Asia

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Singapore has long been viewed as having a critical role regarding Southeast Asia's (SEA) interaction with China. The city-state has acted as both an enthusiastic promoter of closer ties with China and also as one of the prominent supporters of a general hedging strategy regarding the involvement of extra-regional powers in SEA. While there has been a great deal written which deals with SinoSingapore relations and the implications regarding SEA in terms of government thinking and policy there has not been any substantial analysis of how China is represented in the local media. Given the ongoing significance of news media as a means to communicate ideas and agendas to a wide audience this gap is notable. This paper seeks to fill this gap by providing some initial findings based on an analysis of articles related to China and SEA in the Lianhe Zaobao newspaper. The paper argues that contrary to expectations economic ties between the two countries and in a broader regional sense are not significant. Rather the key distinction is that Sino-Singaporean relations are presented in a positive sense; in contrast when discussing China and SEA as a region issues of insecurity and other negative aspects become more prominent. This suggests that while the Singaporean media is happy to report China in a positive light regarding bilateral relations there is a clear willingness to discuss and, therefore, raise awareness of the broader regional challenges China's rise is bringing to the fore.

Panel 75 Urban Spaces in China

Paper 1

Historical Memory, Local Identity and Globalization: An Ethnographic Study on Socio-Spatial Changes and Heritage Conservation of the Small Park Historic Urban Settlement Area in Shantou

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This paper is about the study of socio-spatial changes and heritage conservation of the Small Park historic urban settlement in Shantou, Chaoshan Area, North-East Guangdong Province. Many rich Shantou businessmen build multi-storey houses in the Small Park area embracing the Indo-British architectural style which became popular within the colonial or semi-colonial Elite of the late 19th Century/early 20th Century. Most of the original owners of traditional buildings in the Small Park area left China and went Overseas after 1949. Most of their descendants are to be found in places like Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, the US and Canada.

The Small Park area has been damaged severely over the years after 1949. Since the 1980s, in the process of urban development, modern buildings have been constructed whereas historic architecture has been bulldozed down and is gradually disappearing. Not only the physical space is being demolished and reconstructed, but also the social space is being undermined, having had a tremendous impact on traditional lifestyles and social structures. Finally, this paper discusses some recent examples of Cultural Heritage preservation, as the local Shantou Municipal Government and private entrepreneurs are becoming more and more aware of the fact that the protection of historic buildings and conservation of cultural heritage is an important aspect of urban renewal and supports the revitalization of the traditional urban social-cultural fabric.

Paper 2

Addressing the public(s) in a context of uncertainty : the communication on urban renewal in a Beijing neighbourhood

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Analysing the case of a Beijing neighbourhood rehabilitation program, this paper aims at understanding how public advertisement campaigns are a major tool in urban government for authorities in contemporary China. The neighbourhood of Guangyuanli in the Xicheng district in Beijing is undergoing a renovation process since June 2015 under the impulse of the Beijing Municipal Commission of Housing and Urban-Rural Development and Xicheng district's administration. Identified as a shantytown (penghuqu), it is supposed to make room for a new residential and commercial project. Uncertainty characterizes this context, both for the district and municipal authorities dealing with an enclave of poverty and the eventuality of social unrest and residents opposition, as well as for the inhabitants, uncertain of the compensations they will get and of the temporality of the rehabilitation. Advertisement campaigns promoting the project, documenting its legality and legitimacy, and calling for residents' support have covered the walls of the neighbourhood since June 2015. After having firstly analysed the specific social and urban context in which the rehabilitation process takes place, and relying on the analysis of the content of these campaigns which I have thoroughly documented during five months in 2015 and 2016, I will question the ways Chinese authorities address this specific public. How do these specific ways to address a very heterogeneous population shape a public? The analysis of a website launched in June 2015 to advertise the program and detail the steps of the project, as well as the official regulations set up to frame the ways that rehabilitation agents should or should not address the inhabitants while mediating for the project, will be the occasion to raise the question of the status of these communication campaigns for the authorities in the making of the city, both at the municipal level and on a more local scale for the agents in charge of the mediation with the residents.

Paper 3

When China "lives" the West: Residential habits and hybridization process in Thames Town, Shanghai

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In 2001, the Municipal authorities of Shanghai were launching the "One City, Nine Towns" planning program in order to establish and develop ten new cities in the suburbs of the city. The official aim of the project was to tackle the matter of congestion the city-centre was suffering from by relocating the people and activities in the peripheral districts. The particularity of the program included in each new city an area with "special" architectural features, which were, in most cases, Western-styled to attract the new residents. In 2006, the experimental area of the new town of Songjiang was open for sale. Thames Town, with British architectural styles, both traditional and modern, has known since its inauguration a great commercial success, and keep attracting more and more residents and visitors.

General views about the neighborhood categorized this space among the fanciful neo-liberal achievements made by and for a wealthy class that sought to westernize themselves and acquire Western middle-classes practices through the surrounding architecture.

Yet, far from being just an outcome of China's integration into the modern World system, a detailed study of the families living habits in the neighborhood of Thames Town in Shanghai, enable us to get an insight of the complex social transformations the Chinese individuals are currently facing. Though living in a neighborhood copying different British architectural styles, the residents are not experiencing a mere acculturation process, nor trying to imitate a Western way of life. On the contrary, the Chinese habits encountering new social and modern features generate new social logics of managing their homes and new social relations and hierarchies inside the family.

Thus, through a detailed ethnographic research of the spatialized private and residential practices in Thames Town, this study aims at analyzing two important dimensions in the field of contemporary urban life in China. The first goal is to get a better understanding of the peculiar hybridization process happening, and thus moving beyond the “Westernisation” explanations. The second objective is to understand the new social logics and aspirations of the Chinese middle and upper classes.

Panel 76

Cultural Memory and Resuscitated Histories: Four Studies in the History of Japanese Art

Panel abstract:

The four papers consider art histories, icons *in situ*, and art production in multiple conceptual frameworks, each impacted by different types of cultural memory—be they contemporary or historical. Wattles addresses the slipperiness of artifact memory by examining the history and politics surrounding the textiles now known as “Shuri no orimono.” Because of the constrictions of the Japanese national cultural heritage system, myriad patterns of the Ryūkyū Palace remembered and reconstructed after the Asia-Pacific War were reduced to just a few designs thirty years later. Leca examines a colossal bronze Buddha statue made in Kyoto at the behest of daimyō Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He offers a diverse cultural nexus, reimagining a history that is cumulative and expansive. Lost in a 1596 earthquake, reconstructed but again destroyed, the Buddha as depicted in images collected and drawn by Engelbert Kaempfer are juxtaposed with other contemporaneous representations that cast new light on the icon’s reception by different audiences.

In her study of an older and still extant Buddha from Yakushiji in Nara, Bogel posits a new viewpoint that teases out cultural memory between the seventh and eighth century to enliven our interpretation of seemingly contradictory historical and cultural remains. She understands the decoration on the pedestal of the bronze Buddha as the cosmology ascribed to by the earlier temple’s founding monarch, Tenmu, such that the Nara Yakushiji and its icons are a commemorative acknowledgement of him—if not a commemorative replica. Yang similarly scrutinizes historical framing, taking a much-needed long view of the history of “Japanese painting.” Through the study of *yamato-e*’s historiography, she exposes a refracted history for this alleged tenth-century phenomenon at the center of Japan’s cultural memory. Yang’s examination demonstrates the price of our uncritical reliance on established canons and indifference to historical change; in doing so she attempts to redirect the dominant historical and historiographical discourse.

Paper 1

Hideyoshi’s Great Buddha during the Early Modern Period: Cultural Memory and Trans-Cultural Networks in Castle-Town Kyoto

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Among the transformations effected by Toyotomi Hideyoshi on the capital Kyoto at the end of the sixteenth century was the temple complex of Hōkōji on the slope of Mount Higashiyama. Its colossal main icon, which rivaled the Great Buddha of Nara, gave religious significance and positive political analogies to Hideyoshi’s rule. It garnered the status of a ‘famous site’ (*meisho*), visited by a range of Japanese, Dutch, and Korean travelers.

In her 1999 book *Kaempfer’s Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*, Beatrice Bodart-Bailey discusses Engelbert Kaempfer’s description of the site in relationship to a limited set of Japanese views of Kyoto that Kaempfer himself had acquired. However, Kyoto’s Great Buddha was depicted in a much wider range of formats and iconographies in which memorialization and actualization mingled. These include a fan now in the collection of the Chester Beatty Library showing the statue’s face, a recently published folding screen showing Korean ambassadors visiting the Great Buddha, and illustrations from printed guides to the capital, again showing foreign visitors. The intersecting viewpoints revealed by these visual representations allow a reconsideration of this ‘site of remembrance’ as a participant in the early modern East Asian diplomatic network. They show that, besides the frequently cited foreign locus of Nagasaki, the capital of early modern Japan was also a site of trans-cultural sightseeing. Overall, images of Kyoto’s Great Buddha problematize the cultural memory of early modern ‘famous sites’ as not fixed but contested and changing in meaning.

Paper 2

Imagery and Cosmology on an Eighth-Century Buddha Pedestal

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Yakushiji temple in Nara houses a 2.5-meter seated bronze Buddha and two attendant bodhisattvas; the triad was completed ca. 718. Yakushiji was vowed by Emperor Tenmu (621-88) in 680 when his chief consort, later Empress Jitō (645-703), became ill. Visually and metaphorically, the pedestal of the icon supports the promise of the Medicine Master Buddha to heal and quell forces that sicken people and foster chaos. The elegant and powerful blend of foreign figures, Indic creatures, Chinese cosmology, and symbolic motifs on the pedestal have intrigued scholars for over a century as they seek to explain the sources and possible meanings for the assembly. Relying on a search for continental sources and falling back on the merely evident signification of elements such as representations of the four directional animals or strange beings imported to Japan from the “Silk Road,” art historians have overlooked clues offered by what we now understand as the construction of an ancient history and literature of “Japan” that privileges the realm of Tenmu “all under heaven.” Indeed, what emerges from a reexamination of Yakushiji and its icons, and a review of copious scholarship on the temple and its icons is the creation and maintenance of memory: the Empress’ memory of her Emperor carried forward in history to the new capital and Tenmu’s imprint on the cosmology represented by the pedestal of the Buddha.

Paper 3

Refracted History: The Origins of Yamato-e

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Yamato-e is a fundamental concept in Japanese art history that has become a byword for uniquely Japanese paintings. Literally meaning “Japanese pictures,” this term has been applied to colorful landscapes on temple doors of the eleventh century, monochromatic ink illustrations from the twelfth century, richly decorated historical tales of the fourteenth century, spectacular golden folding screens of the seventeenth century, and polychromatic woodblock prints from the nineteenth century; *yamato-e* is typically said to represent the artistic spirit of Japan. But the numerous definitions of *yamato-e* in art historical sources reveal that pictorial parameters of *yamato-e* do not exist; it is difficult to identify and categorize art as *yamato-e* because the many interpretations of this concept contradict each other. This paper traces the multiple characterizations of *yamato-e* in Japanese scholarship in order to show that the modern confusion regarding the precise meaning of the term results from a conflation of conclusions from several twentieth-century studies that are methodologically incompatible. By tracing the formation of the concept of *yamato-e*, the codification of this alleged tenth-century phenomenon in the early twentieth century is revealed. At the same time, the paper highlights the critical role that modern scholarship plays in our understanding of premodern art history and explores the ramifications of our uncritical reliance on early twentieth-century art historical studies that have perpetuated misunderstandings about the more distant past.

Paper 4

Living Memory, Filtered: Reconfiguring the Weaving of Shuri

Miriam Wattles (University of California, Santa Barbara / ICC, Sophia University) mwattles@arthistory.ucsb.edu

Memory is always selective, involving unconscious (and sometimes conscious) forgetting. As Halbwachs and others have reminded us, collective memory is necessarily problematical. At the beginning of the twentieth century, women in the castle town of Shuri (now a district of Naha, Okinawa), whose families had served at the Ryukyu Palace, still dyed and wove many dozens of elaborate textile designs that had come from elsewhere in Asia as a result of Ryukyu’s trading activities. Before the Japanese takeover of the islands in 1879, these designs had been exclusive to court households. Thanks mainly to the vigor and drive of Miyahira Hatsuko (born 1922), a “Living National Treasure,” some of these patterns are still woven today. Fortunate to have escaped the Battle of Okinawa, upon returning to postwar ashes, Miyahira unremittingly reconfigured from memory more than forty of the secret designs that she had learned as a youngster in Shuri. Yet when Miyahira was recognized as holder of “intangible cultural property” by Okinawa prefecture in 1974, just eight of these designs could be officially designated, under the newly coined term *Shuri no orimono* (weaving of Shuri). Without her early training at an industrial school, Yanagi Muneyoshi’s Mingei Movement, an early government job, newspaper prizes, public exhibitions, and national government recognition, Miyahira could not have made her heroic rescue of the past. The next question, raised in Huyssen’s *Present Pasts*, is how, under the current instability of new media and a culture of forgetfulness (even while memory is celebrated), this rescued past can remain present.

Panel 77

Beautiful Creatures: Animal Analogies in Classical Chinese Texts

Panel organizer: Dr. Lisa Indraccolo (University of Zurich) lisa.indraccolo@uzh.ch

Panel Chair: Prof. Dr. Dirk Meyer (University of Oxford) dirk.meyer@orinst.ox.ac.uk

Panel abstract:

The “method of analogy” (Lau 1963) has long been identified as a basic device used to gain argumentative force in pre-imperial and early imperial Classical Chinese literature. It is a well-attested rhetorical strategy that is classified as a proper technique already in the Mohist Canons (*Xiaoqu* 45.2). Organic imagery is preferentially employed to establish meaningful connections between the human condition and the natural world. The *Zhuangzi* is especially well-known for providing a rich and varied repository of such organic analogies in general, and of animal analogies in particular (Anderson & Raphals 2006, Murray 2014). Human feelings and attitudes are alluded to by means of an implicit connection established between an animal and its distinctive features on one side, and a specific individual or a generic human character trait on the other side. However, animal analogies are not exclusive to this text. Their use is pervasive in dialogical exchanges and narrative anecdotes preserved in Classical Chinese polemico-philosophical literature. The present panel aims to show the relevance and didactic meaning of this device by exploring the argumentative use of animal analogies in different kinds of early Chinese texts, approaching the topic from different disciplinary perspectives (philosophy, linguistics, conceptual history, and philology).

Paper 1

“The role of animals in the argumentative arsenal of the *Zhuangzi*”

Prof. Dr. Joachim Gentz (University of Edinburgh) joachim.gentz@ed.ac.uk

In the complex arsenal of argumentative techniques used in the *Zhuangzi* animals are used in quite specific ways to illustrate particular behaviours and conditions of human beings. The paper analyses which role animals exactly play in the argumentation, it will argue against a commonly held view that animals were held in high esteem in Daoism and served as ideal counterpart models that could teach humans, instead it will analyse which animals are used in the *Zhuangzi* as models for which kind of behaviour and whether there is a consistent association of particular positive or negative values with specific animals throughout the *Zhuangzi*. It will question the importance of the choice of animals by looking at their role in the overall argument (the argument in the story about the joy of the fish, for example, is not about the fish teaching humans how to be happy, as has been so often wrongly claimed, but about the basic epistemological question what humans can know about others, the fish do not play any role as fish and could be easily replaced by any other being). It will further demonstrate on which levels of argumentation and in which kind of arguments animals were used in the *Zhuangzi* and on which levels they are absent, what kind of dialogues animals are leading (mainly comments on the behaviour of other animals), how this differs from dialogues that mythical beings and humans are leading in the *Zhuangzi* and how both of them are communicating with humans in different ways. Special attention will be given to birds as these are referred to much more often in the *Zhuangzi* than any other class of animals. We also find a much greater variety of specific references to birds' species than we find it with regard to dogs or horses. Although in contrast to birds dogs and horses are differentiated into different qualities they are not differentiated in terms of species. An analysis of the classification of animals (and their transformations) in the *Zhuangzi* will therefore provide further basis for an argument on the different roles that animals play in the *Zhuangzi*.

Paper 2

“Be Smart, Be Like a Larva! Insects and Invertebrates in Classical Chinese Analogical Thinking”

Dr. Lisa Indraccolo (University of Zurich) lisa.indraccolo@uzh.ch

The use of animal analogies is a well-attested and widespread rhetorical phenomenon in both Classical Chinese poetry and literature (Ptak 2011; Bocci 2010). Animals in general, their behavior or characteristic features are anthropomorphized and projected back onto human beings. The analogical connections established thereby are used as poetic allegories or as exempla to elucidate the point of an argument by suggesting an implicit lesson to be drawn (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Martsa 1997). In particular, early Chinese philosophical literature abounds with animal analogies involving creatures belonging to the realm of *chóng* 蟲. *Chóng* is a somewhat ambiguous, complex taxonomical category that largely – but not only, and not necessarily consistently across the ages – includes what we would acknowledge today as both earth and aquatic insects and invertebrates, but also, for instance, snakes (Sterckx 2002; Fèvre 1993; Métaillé 1992). Some of the animals included in this subgroup seem to be more or less invariably seen in a negative light cross-culturally such as, for example, boastful, loquacious frogs or shallow and silly cicadas (Talebinejad & Dastjerdi 2005). However, the analogical value of and the mental association linked to other animals classified under this group is far less univocal and straightforward (Liu 2013; Wang & Dowker 2008 and 2010). Apart from the most famous and rather poetic “butterfly dream” anecdote preserved in the *Zhuangzi*, earth-worms, silkworms, maggots, larvae, cicadas, grasshoppers, mantises, frogs, snakes and several other more or less creepy creatures populate Classical Chinese argumentative literature. Rather unexpectedly, these apparently repulsive, disgusting or dangerous animals are not necessarily considered pests. They are at times evoked as positive examples and set off against other decidedly negative *chóng*, or praised for certain typical behavioral traits that ought to be emulated. The present paper explores the rhetorical use of insects and invertebrates as animal analogies in a meaningful selection of late pre-imperial and early imperial Classical Chinese argumentative texts from a contrastive perspective, with particular attention paid to culturally divergent cases.

Paper 3

“Whose Joy? Zhuangzi on the happy fish”

Dr. Rafael Suter (University of Zurich) rafael.suter@aoi.uzh.ch

Almost every child in China knows Zhuang Zhou's and Hui Shi's discussion on the joy of fish recorded in the *Zhuangzi*. It has inspired Chinese countless references in art and literature, but also an abundance of scholarly publications (e.g. Ames & Nakajima 2015; Yukawa 2010; Teng 2006, Moeller 2004; Hansen 2003). The impact of this dialogue contrasts with its shortness and apparent vapidness – and the rhetorically rather hobnailed excuse by which Zhuang Zhou eventually evades his adversary's trap by means of a clumsy pun. Punning, however, was a crucial and commonly accepted method of fabricating arguments in pre-imperial and Han China, unimpaired by the smack of “bad style” by which it had been tainted in Europe since the classical period. Subsequent written records in a script that led to partial disambiguation of equivocal words along with historical sound change have disguised the relation between original homophones. In my presentation I argue that the *Zhuangzi*'s fish story appeals to the homophony of the words for “fish” and the first person pronoun *wú* 吾 in classical Chinese. It construes a misunderstanding between the two interlocutors that is far more fundamental than the alleged ambiguity of the question word *ān* 安 already noticed by Graham (1982). If my hypothesis is correct, the fish dialogue is a highly artificial piece of literature exemplifying Zhuangzi's relativism. And it has the figure of Zhuangzi fare much better than other interpretations.

Paper 4

Bees and Humans in Pre-modern China

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Beekeeping and honey hunting were widely practiced in China throughout the imperial period, yet bees seem not to have received the degree of cultural attention that they did in some other cultures. Nor have they received much attention in modern scholarship. In texts from the pre- and early imperial periods, the few references there are to bees, or at least the broader category of *feng* which includes wasps and hornets, have them as stinging, swarming, venomous creatures most commonly compared to treacherous officials. In texts from the Six Dynasties period onwards, bees are often represented more positively, but the longer literary meditations on them observe bees and project human political structures and moral virtues upon them, but rarely depict direct human interaction with bees.

This paper will examine a range of literary texts and agricultural manuals from the imperial period which do describe human interaction with bees in some form, most commonly as beekeepers, but also as honey and larvae hunters. Through assessing the purpose and nature of these interactions, including the social contexts of those who are interacting with bees, it will demonstrate how bees were incorporated into human economic discourse, and how at the same time they could be used to exemplify moral virtue and to criticise human moral failings. It will also look at the relationship between beekeeping and the changes in the way humans regarded bees over time.

Panel 78

War, trauma and memory in East Asian cinema and literature

Paper 1

Hong Kong, Seoul, Taipei: Cold War Espionage Films in East Asia

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As the apparent progeny of the Cold War politics in the West, the 1960s witnessed the unprecedented popularity of espionage films around the globe. With the success of <Dr. No> (1962) and <Goldfinger> (1964), together with French and Italian copycats, in Asia, film industries in Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong recognized the market potentials, and embarked on producing espionage films in the mid-1960s. Since the regional political sphere has always been multifaceted, however, each country approached the genre conventions with their own interpretations. In the U.S. driven Cold War political, ideological, and economic sphere, developmental states in the terrain, particularly Korea and Taiwan, vigorously adopted anti-communist doctrine to guard and uphold their militant dictatorships. Under this political atmosphere in the regional sphere, cultural sectors in each nation-state, including cinema, were voluntarily or compulsorily served as an apparatus to strengthen the state's ideological principles. While the Cold War politics that drive the story in the American and European films is conspicuously absent in Hong Kong espionage films, Korea and Taiwan, on the other hand, explicitly promulgated the apparent enemies; North Korea and People's Republic of China (PRC) in their representative espionage films. This paper, thus, explores the ways in which the Cold War Asian espionage films reflected the regional political entity through coproduced films between Hong Kong, Korea, and Taiwan such as <Special Agent X-7>, <International Secret Agents>, and <SOS Hong Kong> by paying particular attention to the presence of Interpol and CIA under the red complex in 1960s Asian cinema.

Paper 2

South Korean Novels that 'Brush History against the Grain': Cho Kabsang's The Eye of the Night and Han Kang's The Boy Is Coming

Jung-A Hwang (Hallym University) jhwang612@hanmail.net

In his "On the Concept of History," Walter Benjamin instructed that historians should regard it as their task 'to brush history against the grain.' What he emphasized here seems the need to 'save' the past through investing failures of the defeated with new historical significance, rather than merely explicating successes of the victors. I believe that literature has long been performing this task, if not as its one and only mission. Cho Kabsang's *The Eye of the Night* (2012) and Han Kang's *The Boy Is Coming* (2014) are two recent examples of such literary works in South Korea. The former delves into the National Guidance League (Bodo Yeonmaeing) massacre during the Korean War, the mention of which had been a political taboo until after several decades. Fully committed to the possibility and responsibility of historical testimony, *The Eye of the Night* attempts to bear witness to the history of concealments and distortions regarding the event, as well as to the horrific details of the massacre itself. *The Boy Is Coming*, on the other hand, puts the possibility of testimony into question, addressing traumas experienced by those who involved in the Gwangju Democratization Movement of 1980. The novel seems to persist in denying any kind of historical sublimation or 'working through', but it is due to the fact that the historical 'grain' which it strives against is precisely the repression of historical trauma in the name of sublimation.

Paper 3

Who is the Enemy?: Korean 'Volunteer' Soldiers' Memory of the Asia-Pacific War in 1960s South Korean Popular Cinema

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This paper explores the popular cultural representations of Korean 'volunteer' soldiers' lives during the Asia-Pacific War in South Korean cinema produced from 1950 to the 60s. During the Asia-Pacific War, many Koreans have both direct and indirect experiences of this eight-year war. Despite the heavy involvement of Koreans in this war mobilized as 'volunteer soldiers' for the Japanese imperial army, the complex experiences of ordinary Koreans in the Asia-Pacific War has been most notably missing within post-colonial nationalist historiography. Until the 1980s nationalist historiography produced a simplistic view of Japanese colonialism as one involving the 'total oppressive power of Japan' versus 'Korean resistance against Japan.' Such nationalist myths have been deployed by the members of the former colonized in order to remake the nation in the pure image of resistant national heroes and martyrs. While understandable as a post-colonial response to the exigency of legitimizing the new nation, they have inevitably simplified the complex colonial experiences of Koreans.

Since the formal democratization of South Korea in the 1990s, however, the suppressed voices of ordinary Koreans in official history have grown stronger. Some scholars have begun to challenge the dominant nationalistic historiography, which renders silent and monotonous the complex and multilayered nature of people's experiences. Following this trend within Korean historiography, this paper focuses on the representations of Korean soldiers in the Asia-Pacific War within popular cinema. Around the year 1960, the country witnessed an insurgence of popular films that dealt with the theme of the memory of Asia-Pacific War. Among the Asia-Pacific War films, three films in particular will be examined: *Ch'ongch'un kûkjang* (A Youth Theater, 1959), *Toraon sanai* (Return of the Man, 1960), and *Hyönhaet'an ün algoitta* (The Sea Knows, 1961). Using close textual analysis and deep contextualization, this paper will discuss these films' representation of the Korean soldiers' experience in the Asia-Pacific War, the ways in which it renders the war memory as the wounded body and ruined youth along with the blurring vision of the 'enemy.'

Paper 4

Art as Counter-Memory: Contemporary Lens-Based Art in East Asia

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This paper aims to examine contemporary lens-based artworks in East Asia, solely in Korea, China, and Japan. It focuses on ways in which the artists portray marginal voices that struggle against the dominant memory of the traumatic events that stunned each country, such as the Korea War and Gwangju Democratisation Movement in South Korea; the Cultural Revolution and Tiananmen Square protests in China; and the defeat in the Second World War and American military occupation in Japan.

In any cultural contexts, 'public memory' privileges some memories over others in order to mediate competing constructions of reality. Public memory in this region has been formed in the direction of pursuing each nation's continuity, accompanying a collective amnesia. The artists featured in this paper are those who contest and challenge nationalistic public memory by shedding light on 'vernacular memories' that have been neglected in dominant narratives. It is thus 'counter-memory' that they create, a vigilance to the operation of hegemonic memory that opens up a space of contingency where alternative public memories can be created and history can be reimagined.

Since the end of the Cold War, there have been subsequent attempts in the region to develop a new Pan-Asian discourse, distinct from the obsolete Orientalist idea of East Asia or the Imperial Japan's concept of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere. However, imagining an integrated East Asia requires the rethinking of the pains and memories of its colonial past. On the premise that memory is a powerful agent of change that could transform the relationship of the present and the past, this paper will show ways in which the artists establish a renewed understanding of East Asian history by creating artworks as counter-memory.

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