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BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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Panel 53

Sourcing Korea in Korean History: Historical Sources and the Production of Knowledge of Korea's Pasts

This panel investigates one of the fundamental challenges facing historians: that of the limits and possibilities of historical sources. Korean history has flourished as an academic field in recent decades, alongside a dramatic growth in archives and databases of primary sources. This expansion of both primary and secondary sources on Korean history provides an opportune moment to reflect on how historical knowledge of Korea has developed in tandem with the availability of a wider variety of primary sources.

While appreciating the general trends in the production of Korean history, this panel poses questions over how newly available primary sources are changing historical narratives of Korea. In particular, we complicate pre-conceived notions of Korean history, as developments in both local and transnational history challenge existing understandings of "Korean" history. John S. Lee discusses differences between bureaucratic and local sources, to argue for a pluralist perspective on Chosŏn environmental knowledge that reflects the production of sources by different interest groups. Holly Stephens discusses conflicting accounts of the colonial period and the challenge posed by *hanmun* diaries to standard histories of Korea's colonization. In particular, she questions the politicization of everyday life that emerges from distinct sets of sources. Finally, Luis Botella examines alternative presentations of archaeological knowledge in postwar South Korea that highlight the influence of American, Soviet, colonial, and post-colonial frames of knowledge in defining formative narratives of Korean history. Together, these papers introduce diverse readings of Korean history that incorporate the multiple perspectives contained within primary sources.

Between Heaven and Earth: Situating Environmental Knowledge in Chosŏn Korea

John S. Lee

This paper interrogates how pre-industrial Koreans approached the "environment:" the totality of the spaces in which they dwelt, the objects that they shared, and the agents, human and non-human, through which daily life transpired. Previous scholarship has largely placed Chosŏn sources regarding nature or ecology in pre-conceived intellectual categories, notably within the "Practical Learning" (*Sirhak*) school of late Chosŏn philosophy. I attest that an examination of late Chosŏn sources regarding the environment can yield a more variegated tapestry of environmental knowledge not solely limited to intellectual trends. I focus on two spheres of environmental knowledge in particular: the bureaucratic and the local. I argue that bureaucratic sources regarding resource production and environmental regulation yield a nuanced, pragmatic approach to ecological processes shared by a wide segment of the Chosŏn ruling elite. Bureaucratic sources, in turn, are mirrored by what I call "local" productions of environmental knowledge, such as agricultural manuals and village-level organizational records, that reflected everyday approaches to the environment while remaining in dialogue with statist discourses. Altogether, I show how Chosŏn sources regarding flora, fauna, and space were not simply philosophical reflections nor mere geomantic handbooks. Knowledge regarding the environment was critical to the maintenance of high institutions and workaday economic life alike. In turn, a close examination of Chosŏn sources

regarding the environment unveils pragmatic, institutional, and materialist approaches to the "natural world" deeply relevant to understandings of Korean history and the broader world.

Between Empire and Everyday Life: Diaries as a Challenge to Histories of Colonial Korea

Holly Stephens

Personal diaries are valuable sources for historians, given their intimate content and unique perspective. This is all the more so for diaries written during the colonial period; while government-produced documents still provide much of our knowledge of colonial Korea, and questions of censorship and coercion inflect readings of the wider colonial publishing industry, personal diaries offer a glimpse into daily life that circumvents the colonial gaze of other major primary sources. Yet, despite the digitization and distribution of several colonial-era diaries through the National Institute of Korean History, such diaries are yet to be examined in detail as sources onto life in colonial Korea.

This paper discusses the practical and intellectual challenges posed by colonial-era diaries to our current understanding of colonial history. That the diaries discussed here were written in *hanmun*, rather than the mixed *han'gŭl* or Japanese most commonly associated with colonial-era sources, raises questions about the field of linguistic vision applied to colonial history. What have we not found that we haven't been looking for? More significantly, the content of the diaries requires historians to re-imagine colonial history from a perspective based in the everyday life of Koreans rather than the political agenda of colonial rule. How far removed was private life from colonial politics, though? And what is gained if we exchange the view from the colonial state for the mundane details of village life? This paper re-examines the state of knowledge onto colonial society while considering the limits and prospects of diaries as historical sources.

The Two Courses of Archaeological Reform in the Decolonization of Korea: From an Imperial to a Cold War Intellectual Geopolicy

Luis Botella

The decolonization process of the Peninsula of Korea only started after 1945, when the peninsula was occupied by Russian and American soldiers in the context of the Pacific War. Throughout 36 years of colonial domination, the archaeological knowledge produced depended completely upon Japanese archaeologists, who applied orientalist perspectives to their research. One of the first attempts of postcolonial intellectuals after the Liberation was to overcome those colonial historical perspectives (*Sikminji Sakwan*), opening a window for a creative reinterpretation. Traditional research on this topic has looked at those efforts as the continuity of colonial perspectives, assessing the incapability of Korean intellectuals to move away from that paradigm. This paper aims to compare efforts to overcome such perspective by two leading archaeologists in the early 1970s, Kim Wŏnyong and Kim Chŏnghak, in order to show the potential space of innovation in postcolonial South Korea.

Both authors published two survey books of Korean archaeology in the early 1970s, establishing the main periodization structure of Korean archaeology. This paper argues that such project presented innovative elements that question the ideas of simple continuity of ideas from the colonial period. Furthermore, these innovations were framed in a new space of intellectual references influenced by the reality of the Cold War, making some information more easily available than other. In summary,

this paper aims to locate Korean archaeology in a wider space of intellectual references than the postcolonial discourse usually presents.

The Female Gaze in Men's Grooming: Women as Scrutinisers of White-collar Masculinity in Contemporary Japan

Christopher Tso

Men's grooming standards in Japan have been rising since the post-war period with new practices and products appearing constantly. At the same time, gender relations are changing, for instance in white-collar spaces where women's presence and corporate status have been slowly rising. A narrative has therein emerged whereby women's supposedly higher, more discriminating sensitivity towards men's appearance has – in contrast to Mulvey's male gaze which objectifies women's bodies – given rise to a so-called female gaze which disrupts orthodox, male-dominated power relations.

In this paper, I scrutinise this narrative, first by exploring popular cultural representations of men's grooming in contemporary self-help and magazine media. A common narrative explains how men must conform to grooming standards to please or appease the growing numbers of women in white-collar spaces. Should they fail to measure up, women will conspire against them, making their jobs difficult and damaging their reputations.

Using these narratives as a reference point, I then attend to ethnographic data of white-collar men in Tokyo and their experiences in relation to grooming and, in particular, women's presence. Participants express anxieties of being disliked by their female colleagues or even being accused of sexual harassment due to poor grooming. However, complicating the facile narrative wherein gendered power relations are being simply reversed, I contend that the (imagined) female gaze simultaneously – in other respects – reproduces orthodox hierarchical structures still dominated by men. I seek to clarify the complexities of this tension with regard to changes in masculinity in contemporary Japan.

"The Third Colour": Transgender Image and Performance in the NHK Red and White Song Battle
Lun Jing

This preliminary historical study functions as a branch project of the research on the history of the NHK Red and White Song Battle (*NHK Kōhaku Utagassen*, known as *Kōhaku* in short), an annual TV music special held on New Year's Eve since 1951. The study focuses on the introduction process of transgender image and performance to national-scale visual media, and analyses its cultural and social significance in the post-war, especially 21st-century Japan context.

Owing to the comprehensiveness of the concept of "transgender," this study includes discussions regarding not only male-to-female (MTF) artists such as Nakamura Ataru, who had already transitioned to female when performing on the stage, but also male performers who adopt feminine expression – whether only on the stage or both on and off the stage – without questioning their own gender identity.

In this study, I argue that on the contrary to the stereotypical conservative image as a public broadcasting organization which is closely related to the long-time right-wing Japanese government, NHK has shown a considerably tolerant and flexible attitude towards the issue of transgender appearance on the public media space. Thanks to the gradual yet remarkable increase of transgender visibility in *Kōhaku*, the basic staging discourse of the domestically influential TV programme, namely the gender-binary rivalry between the "red" (female) team and the "white" (male) team, has been considerably challenged and even reconstructed. However, it shall be noticed that the female-to-male (FTM) transgender image and performance is remaining relatively invisible on the *Kōhaku* stage.

Homoeroticism, Female fans, and Prosumption: An Ethnography of the First "Boys' Love" Musical in Taiwan

Erika Ningxin Wang

'Boys' Love' (BL) originated in the 1970s as a genre of Japanese manga which featured 'love, sex and romance between boys and young men' and later transformed into different forms of cultural texts. As the popularity of the BL genre increased, a *fujoshi* (rotten girls, refers to *funü* in Chinese) community arose along with it. *Fujoshi* refers to females who proactively consume, circulate, reproduce, and associate with the BL culture as it is manifest in a wide range of cultural products.

There is much in the evolution of Taiwan's post-war cultural policies that is helpful in understanding the development of the domestic comic industries. Specifically, the comic censorship policy, promulgated by the Ministry of Education during the period of martial law from the 1960s to the 1980s drove the importation of pirated Japanese BL manga. Opened in 2014, *New Member* is the first BL musical in Taiwan to be affiliated with its own series of BL cultural products and activities. The musical has attracted to the theater a huge number of new audiences from among *funü*. In *New Member* phenomenon, the boundaries between the producers and consumers have blurred and the *funü* fans act as the 'prosumers'.

Based on my findings of *New Member*, I will clarify how BL culture has developed in post-war Taiwan, and in the perspective of female gazing, how *funü* has subverted the traditional masculinity and acted as prosumers to participate cultural production, circulation, and consumption.

Panel 31/15
Leadership and Representation in Social Movements: Comparing Taiwan's "Sunflower Movement" and Hong Kong's "Umbrella Movement"

Leon N. Kunz

This paper explores how activists in recent social movements in Taiwan and Hong Kong conceive and practice leadership and representation, in order to reflect on broader questions of democracy, participation, and political legitimacy. Taiwan's "Sunflower Movement" of March 2014 was a student-led occupation of parliament to prevent the passing of a controversial trade deal with China. The occupiers established an elaborate decision-making mechanism that mirrored the institutions of representative democracy. By contrast, the different groups that competed for the leadership of Hong Kong's "Umbrella Movement", which emerged in September 2014 to push for genuine democratic reform in the city-state, failed to set up a capable and united decision-making platform.

While a small group of student leaders emerged as the most widely accepted representatives of the movement, their leadership was continuously challenged by other stakeholders and factions.

The comparison highlights the importance of representative decision-making processes within social movements. Whereas the activist leadership in the case of the Sunflower Movement managed to achieve a voluntary exit from the occupation that carried a high degree of legitimacy, Hong Kong's student leaders failed to achieve a similar feat. Their occupation was cleared by the police after 79 days. This paper compares these experiences in order to contribute to the literature on leadership and representation in the fields of political theory, social movement studies, and Chinese studies. It draws on in-depth interviews with over 110 activists and document review of written materials such as leaflets, manifestos and reports.

Sustaining Ethnic Cultural Heritages in a New Land - Cultural practice of the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean diasporas in Britain

Cholong Sung

China, Japan, and North and South Korea are known as East Asia due to their geographical position, as well as historical, cultural and economic ties (Prescott 2015:3) and scholars have studied interlinking various cultural aspects of the three countries (Matsuda 2015, Richey 2015, Reischauer and Fairbank 1960). The immigration to the UK from East Asia started with the Chinese in the late C18th, followed by the Japanese in the C19th and then the Koreans in the C20th; they have respectively formed their own ethnic communities in the UK. Although those migrants are fewer in number compared to other Asian migrants such as Indian or Pakistani, they maintain and transmit their ethnic culture themselves in their communities, and present their unique culture to the host country through various ethnic events and festivals.

Following from research by others on diasporic music in Britain (e.g., Ramnarine 1996, Farrell et al. 2005, Baily 2006, Kim 2014), I explore the history of cultural activities of the Chinese, Japanese and Korean diasporas in Britain as well as their immigrant histories to the UK. What similarities and differences do those East Asians in the UK have in terms of cultural practice and aspects? How do they lead and cultivate their cultural heritage in the UK? Do they create new types of culture in a different environment? In this paper, I look into the way in which the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans have different perspectives on cultural promotion, and lead cultural activities in distinctive ways in the UK.

Unmatured Commodification, Unintegrated structuration - A study on the Chinese Japanese diasporic Wechat public accounts

Jack Kangjie Liu

The Chinese diasporic media are globally distributed with a long history, but current research on their social media is extremely insufficient. Most research projects only focus on their newspapers, or web media. Rare studies reveal the insightful stories on their diasporic media on mobile Internet. On the other hand, the Canadian media scholar Vincent Masco's "Commodification, Structuration and Spatialization" framework was accepted by the academia, but rare experimental research can sustain his idea in the Chinese media, especially the contemporary diasporic Chinese media. This paper analyzes the media content in the representative Chinese diasporic social media, the three

Japanese Wechat public accounts (Tokyo New Youth（京东新青年）, Lu Ri（旅日）, This is Japan（这才是日本）, by Masco's framework. Content analysis and textual analysis were conducted on their content between January and March 2017 (N=1101), including the top ten most-read and most favorable articles. Research results show, (1)the unmatured production-exchange processes on information suggest a partial commodification model in these accounts, (2)the Japanese coverage is more that 52%, while the articles reporting China only occupy between 1% an 2%. This suggests the highest form in spatialization-glocalization (3) the advertisements reflect an incomplete structuration in the Japanese Chinese diasporic communities, as most advertisements are composed of make-up and clothing. Finally, the unmatured commodification and the unintegrated structuration might result in an uncertain future of diasporic Wechat public accounts. This could also be one of the examples revealing some in-depth stories on the contemporary Chinese diasporic media.

Panel 19

From Brick Walls To Steel Frames: "Urban Culture Walls" In Contemporary China

Gerda Wielander

Based on a visual ethnography of public walls collected in three major Chinese cities in April and May 2018 using the psycho-geographic method of the dérive, this paper interrogates the function and change of the public wall in the course of urban transformation. This paper pays particular attention to "urban culture walls" or *chengshi wenhuaqiang* 城市文化墙—a development of the new millennium replacing former propaganda walls (*xuanchuancheng* 宣传城)—which constitute a merger of advertising, business, propaganda, and art production.

Drawing on Stuart Hall and Wang Xiaobo, the paper argues that the artistic displays on urban culture walls constitute a form of "speech tax" which provides both opportunities for and trivialization of art and artists. The paper argues that this "tax" is paid within the dominantly defined mental horizon citing all the relevant verbal and visual discourses, yet reflects the specific local conditions, including available budgets, local environment, issues, and context. The paper shows that culture walls represent a unique coming together of artistic creation, production, and official discourse in a regulated space, providing employment and opportunities (but also challenges) for a wide range of the creative sector. The paper's analysis includes an outlook on the future of such public displays in the context of the large-scale destruction of actual wall space as part of urban planning policy.

以德治党: Institutionalisation of moral performance in cadre training under Xi Jinping?

Aleksandra Kubat

Since becoming the head of the CCP, Xi Jinping expresses the need to draw on China's cultural and philosophical heritage as means of improving the performance of the CCP. While these postulates circulate in the official party discourse, we know very little about the measures put in place to disseminate such content amongst party structures. To addressthis gap, this paper looks at a new type of cadre training programme being developed in Shandong province established for the sole purpose of promoting the link between the moral and political performance amongst cadre-officials. This experimental programmeforged collaboratively between local authorities, cultural

heritage specialists, and elite-level cadre training institutions can be seen as an attempt to institutionalise cultural and moral content in cadre training.

This paper aims to address three main questions. Firstly, how does such programme frame the political benefit of traditional culture for the CCP as a political organisation and governing party? Secondly, how do local governments and party structures go about interpreting and implementing ambiguous political directives regarding party performance? Thirdly, is this programme a prototype of a new cadre training formula that could be replicated nation-wide? In answering these questions, this paper argues that Xi Jinping's prescriptions on Chinese culture are understood as serving largely political ends, in particular re-energising cadre ethos and refreshing the tired ideological concepts in party's use.

Panel 35

Mothers in Contemporary Japanese Cinema

Contemporary Japan's ambiguous relationship with the mother figure is reflected in the works of some of its most renowned filmmakers, such as Hayao Miyazaki and Hirokazu Kore-eda. The heroines of Studio Ghibli have conquered worlds and saved their men while Kore-eda's women hold together their families or the microcosm of society. Post-disaster films also reflect the growing political influence of mothers regarding the nuclear debate, as well as the demand for greater democracy. Yet, mothers are often absent in Miyazaki's films (leaving space for intervening matriarchs) and the women in Kore-eda experience varying levels freedom and power, based largely on economic circumstance. In post-disaster films such as Kotoko (2011), Odayaka na nichijo (2012), Parasyte I (2014) and Attack on Titan I + II (2015), single mothers are locked up or killed.

This panel investigates how cinema negotiates the space mothers, single mothers, maternal figures and elderly women occupy in contemporary Japan. It draws attention to the possibilities available to mothers and elderly women, as well as the socioeconomic and cultural constraints they face within society. The aim of this panel is to discuss mothers as the agents of social change.

Elderly Women in Japanese Animation: The Nurturing Matriarchs of Studio Ghibli

Angel Leigh Alderson

The films of Studio Ghibli, particularly those of co-founder Miyazaki Hayao have been praised for decades regarding their positive portrayal of strong young female protagonists. Another significant use of female characters within the films of Miyazaki is the role of elderly women, who generally play relatively tertiary roles within film & TV. Within the fantasy worlds of Miyazaki's films there are various strong and interesting elderly women, sometimes having established themselves within a matriarchal role such as Dola the pirate matriarch from *Castle in the Sky* (1986) and Yubaba, the Bathhouse witch from *Spirited Away* (2001)*.* This paper aims to explore the role of Miyazaki's powerful matriarchs, the nurturing roles they play, and its significance.

In the works of Miyazaki, biological parents are often absent from the child protagonist's life via death or other circumstance— a popular anime trope. This is a common device used my Miyazaki among other anime creators to further the narrative of the children and their freedom to pursue the story's ends. The use of orphaned children while common in anime, is highly interesting within the

context of Miyazaki's films and his pairing of these characters with both powerful and nurturing elderly female figures who often provide the absent nurturing and maternal duties of the absent mother/parent.

Through his vibrant and colourful portrayal of his strong-willed mature women, Miyazaki breathes life into this character demographic, and provides highly positive and encouraging portrayals of elderly women within animation.

Single Mothers in Post-disaster Japanese Cinema

Chantal Bertalanffy

On 11 March 2011, the deadly combo of earthquake and tsunami swallowed up the North-eastern coast of the Tohoku region and took the lives of 19 000 people. The waves also triggered one of the worst atomic accidents of the nuclear age, adding 80 000 people to the already displaced 350 000 tsunami refugees. The scale of the humanitarian tragedy was catastrophic, but Japan had been struggling with an altogether different social illness leading up to the events of the triple disaster – the hangover from the 'lost decade' or the time spanning from the country's burst of the bubble economy in the early 1990s. At a time when unemployment was growing, babies/future taxpayers were not being born and 30 000 people committed suicide the year before the disasters, the public's hopes were high for societal changes. The crisis was seen as an opportunity to instigate policy changes, though the public's demand for more democracy was not met. Reflected in the newly (re-)ignited debate surrounding the use of nuclear energy, change was undermined by the "1%" of nuclear supporters. With the reinstatement of the nuclear status quo, the overall status quo followed, hand in hand with pre-disaster social vulnerabilities.

Single mothers belong to one of the most vulnerable social demographics in contemporary Japan, marginalised by welfare cuts and low paying jobs with little social security. For challenging the traditional family model, policies and culture blame them for having created their own precarious situation. This paper investigates how single mothers are represented in post-disaster cinema and how the films in question have instrumentalised 'Fukushima' to draw attention to the struggle of many single mothers.

The Price of Full-Time Motherhood: Comparing Old and New Housewives in the cinema of Koreeda Hirokazu

Duncan Breeze

Contemporary Japanese filmmaker Koreeda Hirokazu has reached significant acclaim in both domestic and international markets for his recent dramas focusing on the family. Japan has undergone significant demographic shifts since the late 20th century which has seen the previous stability of the family come under increasing jeopardy and fuelled a looming population crisis; these resulting anxieties are acknowledged in Koreeda's optimistic representation of contemporary family and gender roles. This paper explores how the changing expectations of married mothers in Japan are reflected in Koreeda's recent narratives. While their social counterparts have experienced a seismic shift in traditional (post-war) notions of 'normative' maternal femininity, Koreeda's focuses on the authority gained by mothers through employment. However, this agency is spared from the mothers who maintain the strictly domestic role.

Koreeda's 2013 film *Like Father, Like Son* explicitly engages this disparity through the comparison of the two wife protagonists on both sides of the employed/unemployed spectrum. The unemployed mother here aesthetically evokes the post-war hegemonic 'professional housewife' (*sengyō shūfū*) but maintains no power over hers or her families affairs. However, the working mother benefits from an authority that equals or surpasses that of her husband. Contemporary economic shifts in Japan have seen an increase in the numbers of working mothers, and Koreeda rewards these protagonists across separate narratives. However, just as the emergent class of fiscally-pioneering mothers thrive, Koreeda's domestic mothers often face diminished ends and regret. This paper thus explores the notion maternal empowerment-through-earning as a common theme of Koreeda's cinema.

Panel 11

A Late Qing journalist misfit: Ying Lianzhi and the founding of the Tianjin Dagongbao

Natascha Gentz

Ying Lianzhi, a Catholic Manchu in Tianjin makes an interesting case study in the history of the Chinese press in Treaty Port concessions for his many exceptionalities: while the Dagongbao, founded in 1902, quickly became the most successful daily in China, its foundation was the result a complex process of negotiating racial, religious, national, political, commercial and professional issues. The Dagongbao also was the most prominent of papers not published in Shanghai, the national publication centre of the Late Qing Empire. Moreover, it is one of the rare examples of Catholics involved in the publication market, which was dominated by British protestants. It therefore provides a complex case study of negotiating spheres of influence of the Catholic Church, the French administration in Tianjin's concessions and an individuals' attempt to establish an impartial, liberal newspaper in Late Qing China.

Ying's hybrid background and personal interests conflicted with many conventional assumptions about a modern journalists in this period. Based on Ying Lianzhi's hand-writtendiary and other primary sources this paper will reconstruct and discuss this process of setting up an unconventional newspaper in an unconventional setting.

Deceit, Broken Pact and Red Imperialism: The Sino-Soviet War or 1929 and the Anti-Communist Caricatures in the Foreign and Chinese Press in Shanghai.

Piotr Strzalkowski

Two years before the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 other major war shook the region and Chinese public opinion. Yet, the Sino-Soviet Conflict of 1929 remains a less pronounced episode in the history of Chinese cartooning, which focused on a narrative on revolutionary struggle and anti-Japanese sentiment in China. Thus, this selective focus obscured the full range of sentiments evoked by caricatures, which fundamentally opposed all wars and imperialists.

On the example of the visual propaganda, I demonstrate that after several years of support for the USSR, a visible part of Chinese public opinion became hostile and disillusioned with the USSR's deceitful anti-imperialistic and revolutionary activities, especially after the violation of the Kellogg's Pact and forceful reacquisition of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which was de facto ceded to China in 1924.

The role of the foreign press that constantly promoted negative image of the USSR among Chinese should be underlined. I argue that the appearance of the similar themes and biases evoked in the foreign (*e.g. The North-China Herald, The China Press*) and in the Chinese press (e.g. *Jingbao, Shanghai Manhua*) suggests a formation of an imagined anti-Communist community not defined by ethnicity but by common understanding of the Soviet threat to their shared interests. Thus, created a new quality of discourse not based on colonial ideology of progress but on a common enemy. The Stereotype Content Model and semiotics help to explain the significance of these portrayals.

Voicing the public demand? Expression, distribution and interaction of Chinese online public opinion on Sina and Sohu during the Tianjin Explosion Case

Zipeng Li

The Internet has developed rapidly in China since it entered China in the late 1980s. With the assistance of major online news portals, more and more Chinese people can join online discussions for public affairs. Past researches focus on the media propaganda conducted by the state, the potential of media digitalization to challenge the authoritarian rule in China, the government censorship to online information and the online public sphere development. However, very few scholars aim at answering whether online public opinion, represented by online news comments, has value for public policy reference in the domestic environmental disaster case. Which factors can influence the content and attitudes of the online news discussions? Are online news comments consistent and representative of the Chinese population? With a case study focusing on the online news discussion of the Tianjin Explosion Incident, the research aims at answering these questions by conducting content analysis, online ethnography and applying GIS to online news discussion data. I argue that there is online space allowing questions and even critiques towards policy issues exist together with suspicious online propaganda. Chinese netizens' interest of discussing public affairs show timely inconsistent and geographically unbalanced. The online news comments platform is lack of rational and specific policy relevant discussions. But policy relevant comments tend to trigger resonations among Chinese netizens by attracting more "likes" than normal discussions.

Panels B

Panel 6

At the Crossroads of Health and Imperialism: The Dōjinkai and the Japanese-trained Chinese physicians, 1923-1937

Meilin Zhou

Based on multilingual and multi-sited primary sources, this paper explores the relations between the Dōjinkai, a Japanese medical association aiming at promoting modern medicine and public health in China, and the network of Japanese-trained Chinese physicians, a powerful faction in the medical circle of Republican China, during the period of 1923-1937. Over a decade before becoming a complete 'imperialist soldier' during the Second World War in East Asia (1937-1945), by 1923 the Dōjinkai had developed from a privately-funded organisation into a semi-official organisation in pursuit of balancing medical endeavours with Japanese imperialist interests in North and Central China. By approaching and supporting the network of Japanese-trained Chinese physicians, the

Dōjinkai attempted to mediate the contradictions between medicine and imperialism that rarely existed in Japan's formal colonies but prevailed in the 'informal empire' of China. In the context of deteriorating Sino-Japanese military and political relations, however, the Japanese-trained Chinese physicians often demonstrated more reluctance than willingnesses to cooperate with the Dōjinkai. Focusing on their respective experience and mutual interaction, this paper argues that imperialism, military conflicts, and politics posed harsh challenges to transnational health promoters in East Asia, who further shaped the realm of medicine and public health in China, an area characterised by unequal power relations, modernist discourse and nationalist ideals. In specific, a case study of the paper traces how they responded to the health demands put by the catastrophic Jiang-Huai flood in the summer of 1931 and how their medical enterprises intertwined with the sudden outbreak of the Manchurian Incident.

Wartime opportunities: Student-refugees in Macau during the Second World War

Helena F. S. Lopes

This paper examines the relocation of schools from mainland China and Hong Kong to the neutral enclave of Macau during the Second World War in East Asia (1937-1945). Focusing on the experience of student-refugees, it argues that the war brought about a new cosmopolitanism to the Portuguese-administered enclave which was especially noticeable in the enhancement of educational opportunities. Unlike the other foreign-ruled territories in China, Macau was never formally occupied by Japan and remained one of the few places in China where hundreds of thousands of refugees of different nationalities could find a relatively safe haven throughout the war. Amongst the many groups and institutions that made Macau their temporary base were several Chinese schools from Guangdong province, which were later joined by new waves of students and teachers fleeing from occupied Hong Kong. Relocating to Macau provided opportunities for resuming educational activities interrupted elsewhere. For many of the newcomers, Macau's neutrality also permitted to link teaching and learning with relief and resistance. For the Portuguese authorities, the presence of Chinese students and educators in Macau was seen a key factor in their ambitions for the future colonial development of the territory. Furthermore, the expansion of Japanese language learning in Macau during the war suggests that the student-refugees mattered for another empire-building project as well. Based on multilingual archival materials, newspapers, and memoirs, this presentation explores the contradictory experiences of refuge, exchange, and nationalism during the Second World War through the case study of the relocation of schools to a territory at the crossroads of different empires.

Breaking the Ice Through Transnational Sport: The 1972 Return Leg of Ping-Pong Diplomacy

Pete Millwood

Ping-pong diplomacy is perhaps the most famous example of transnational cultural diplomacy in recent history. When the American table tennis team was invited to visit the People's Republic of China in April 1971, a group of amateur athletes found themselves at the forefront of rebuilding the Sino-American relationship after two decades of hostility. What is not widely known is that, one year later, China's world championship team in turn travelled to the US for a return leg of the sporting contest in what was a further crucial moment in the early stages of Sino-American rapprochement. This trip was the first official visit by PRC citizens to the US and occurred just two months after Nixon's historic visit to China. The Chinese players were, for the most part, warmly welcomed to the

US and this public reception helped confirm American popular enthusiasm for a broad reopening of contacts between Chinese and American societies. The trip was not without controversy, however, and the American government paid for CIA protection for the group, correctly predicting violent protests that threatened to disrupt the tour. This paper will make use of newly released documents regarding this visit, as well as oral history interviews with surviving participants, to reconstruct the course of the visit. Further, it will analyse the event as a moment of transnational reconciliation between American and Chinese people, a spectacle in the early Sino-American rapprochement and a form of cultural performance, on the part of both hosts and guests.

Panel 39

East Asian Peace, Assistance, and Relief Operations: Constructive Cooperation or Strategic Competition?

Garren MULLOY

Japan has become renowned as a leading nation in managing the impact of natural disasters through preventative measures and extensive disaster relief operations. It has attempted to utilize that expertise in both official development assistance (ODA) efforts and through the overseas despatch of civilian and military personnel in Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief operations (HADRO), following the first Self-Defense Force (SDF) UN peace operation (UNPO) despatch to Cambodia (1992-93). Such varied operations have constituted Japan's International Peace Cooperation Activities (IPCA). The policy significance and purpose of IPCA have been framed within 'remilitarization', 'UN-centrism', 'US-Alliance buttressing/hedging', and 'Pro-active Pacifism' analyses. The question remains what have Japanese governments intended their IPCA to achieve and how successful have they been? In an era of great uncertainty regarding Asian cooperation and security, and the dependability of Japan's core US-alliance strategy, have such seemingly liberal-internationalist operations been utilised for constructive cooperation and engagement with traditional and emergent partners, or could they form part of a competitive strategy with China?

This paper illustrates how Japanese IPCA have briefly assumed certain strategic competition aspects, but have largely been utilised as 'softer-power' devices for cooperation and strategic engagement, even with states with seemingly poor inter-government relations and significant strategic concerns. The ability of Japan to engage through IPCA despite the fog of rhetoric provides hope for multiple Asian cooperation efforts on a variety of levels and in diverse areas of functional engagement.

Joint Presentation Title: Cooperation in a context of animosity: Peacekeeping, Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief in East Asia

Catherine JONES, Rikard JALKEBRO

According to the predictions of regional security architecture experts, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief should be the low hanging fruit of regional cooperation. They are non-coercive operations that have consent and assistance at their heart. Conversely, it would be expected that peace operations, preparation and deployment would be a harder challenge to produce regional cooperation. These involve the use of militaries, exchange of practices and learning operational lessons from others; indeed, throughout the 1990s and 2000s it was a common refrain that China contributed to these UN-led operations to learn lessons about how other forces act in order to enhance its own force capabilities and knowledge. As a result, cooperation and coordination in this

area, between states demonstrating tense political relationships, would be expected to be more difficult.

 However, in both cases we see the reverse trend with regards to cooperation. We see tremendous problems in coordinating patterns of assistance in the arena of HADR despite the growing need for such efforts in East Asia. We also see the increasing ability of states to coordinate and cooperate in UN peace operations. In this paper we ask the question what explains these patterns and what do these trends suggest about regional formation in East Asia?

Panel 36

Japanese Imperialism and Narrative Media in the Long 20th Century

In 2013, Yamazaki Takashi scored a box-office smash hit with *Eien no zero* (*The Eternal Zero*), a film set in the last days of the Asia-Pacific War featuring a veteran Zero pilot who strangely decides to volunteer for a kamikaze mission. Based on Hyakuta Naoki's bestselling novel, the film ignited fierce controversy in and outside of Japan (Schilling, "Debate Still Rages Over Abe-Endorsed WWII drama".) In leaving the protagonist's motivations open to interpretation, *Eien no zero* invites the viewer, as well as scholars of empire, to look more closely at the complexities of Japan's attempts to create its own empire in competition and collaboration with the Euro-American imperial powers. Taking *Eien no zero* as a starting point, this panel aims to examine fictional narratives in a variety of media that engage with the history and legacies of Japanese imperialism in the long 20th century – from the latter half of the 19th century with the decay of the Manchu Empire and the emergence of Japanese expansionism, to the current rise of far-right nationalism in Japan in the 21st century. Postcolonial Studies has in recent years paid increasing attention to forms of imperialism originating from East Asian countries, which often complicate the conventional binaries of coloniser/colonised and domination/resistance. We seek to build on this momentum to strike a stronger dialogue between East Asian Studies and Postcolonial Studies.

New Asia/Shin Ajia (新亜細亜): Internationalism and imperialism in Japanese wartime magazines (1938-45)

Prajna Desai

This paper homes in on the moral economy of decolonisation during the Pacific War (1938-45), expressed through the polemics of Japanese wartime magazines. It was a time when Japan, supporting key figures behind the independence movement in India, rallied around anti-British, anticolonial critique, despite itself holding sway in Burma and across once the Dutch occupied archipelago of Southeast Asia. Using the full range of their visual archive— photographs, illustrations of sensōga (Japanese state-sponsored war painting), manga (Japanese comics), and travelogue-style illustrated articles—I explore how concepts of internationalism and transcultural Asia enabled magazine culture to cultivate a partiality among Japanese publics for creative fertility across Asia. Some examples under consideration, namely those published by national presses such as Mainichi and Kodansha, owed allegiance to the imperial machine. At least one spoke directly for the Japan War Bureau. Yet their blind spots - inflected by the benevolent racism of imperial ideology - also showcased vibrant intersections of visual and polemical thinking, and high and popular art, during one of the most repressive periods in Japanese history. These magazines constitute a fascinating

example of that kind of fiction about postcolonialism in which the projection of political solidarity is at once transparent about where the limits lie.

Imperialism and Racism: Lin Yutang as Postcolonial Critic

Yangyang Long

This paper examines Lin Yutang's fictional and historical narratives written during the Asia-Pacific War. It explores Lin as a major critic of the postcolonial and analyses both his critique of Japanese imperialism in Asia, and of the British Empire, with its deeply-seated cultural and racial hierarchies. It demonstrates how Lin saw racial exclusion as ontological destruction, and argues that what some have seen as nationalist sympathies are outweighed by his commitment to internationalism in the post-War world order (envisioned in his 1943 essay *Between Tears and Laughter*). Through the examination of the Republican Revolution of 1911, the Asia-Pacific War, the rise of nationalism and the mass movement of refugees, this paper assesses Lin's insight into the baneful effects of Japanese and Western imperialism. To portray Lin as a nationalist advocate therefore risks obscuring both his radical internationalism and his challenge to the power politics and racial exclusion of imperialism. It concludes that Lin's vision of a post-War world order that demands both national sovereignty and international cooperation – bringing together the competing demands of the local and the global – is that of a postcolonial critic who is in many ways a precursor of Frantz Fanon because it is precisely their resistance to imperialism, albeit in different ways, and their concern with a politics of recognition that motivate both Lin and Fanon to argue for the rights of subjectivity of the reified Other.

Panel 54

Self-identity of People's Volunteer Army Prisoners of War and the Repatriation Issue During the Korean War

Chen Zhuo

After the Korean War armistice negotiations, nearly two-thirds of the Prisoners of War in the People's Volunteer Army chose to be repatriated to Taiwan based on the "Voluntary Repatriation" principle. PVA POWs' diversity in family origins, social connections, education levels, years spent in the Communist Party and the army, and birthplace exert a profound influence on their self-identity after being captured. Within the unique physical space of POW camps, four different identity categories emerged among the PVA POWs: "refugees unable return home," "victims from minority groups," "anti-communist POWs as Republic of China citizens" and "pro-communist POWs as People's Republic of China citizens." POWs gradually evolved into two groups based on their destination of repatriation: "anti-communist POWs" and "pro-communist POWs," and this external collective pressure intensified the ideological conflict between different groups of POWs, eventually leading most of them to be repatriated to Taiwan.

The Sambyeolcho Anti-Mongol War and Trilateral Relations between the Mongols, Goryeo and Japan from an East Asian Perspective

Wei Zhijiang

Goryeo's Sambyeolcho was originally a private armed force owned by the Choi military family, but because it has capital security patrol and anti-coastal pirate functions, and its salary includes government payment, so it can also be considered as government forces before the Sambyeolcho rebellion. In 1270, in opposition to policies pursued by Mongols and King Wonjong, namely "leaving Ganghwa Island for the mainland to relocate capital city back to Kaeseong", and the dissolution of Sambyeolcho, Sambyeolcho staged an armed rebellion on Ganghwa Island, and occupied the islands of Jindo and Jeju to fight against the Mongols. The Sambyeolcho Anti-Mongol War greatly postponed the invasion of Japan by Mongol-Korean coalition forces, causing the Mongol Empire to set up Tamna Chotosa (Anti-insurrection Commander of Tamna), and placed Jeju Island, a former Korean territory, under direct Mongol control. After Jindo fell to the Mongols, Sambyeolcho leader Bae Jungson withdrew to southwestern waters of the Japanese Ryukyu Islands with his remaining followers, and established one of the earliest political authorities on Ryukyu Islands, causing major changes in the geopolitical landscape in East Asia.

Panel 33
Uncertain values: prices, value, and planning in Chinese economics in the 1940s and 1950s

Felix Boecking

The concepts of price and value were the subject of one of the central debates in Chinese economics in the post-war period. While the idea of a planned economy was broadly accepted, Chinese economists and politicians debated whether Marx's Law of Value should apply under socialism, providing an empirical basis for the work of economic planners, or whether a socialist economy was characterised by the fact that the law of value no longer applied, allowing planners to set prices based purely on political priorities. To be on the wrong side of this argument was dangerous, as economists like Sun Yefang discovered to their cost. And yet, Sun and other economists like Lin Jiken, Gu Zhun were willing to argue for the existence of economic laws under socialism, often at great cost to their careers. Their arguments were frequently based on their academic training, which they had often received before or during the Second Sino-Japanese War. While it this intellectual continuity was important, their intellectual stand for the existence of economic laws was also the result of studying the economic development of the PRC and other recent socialist economies, and of the flourishing of economics as an academic field in the early PRC.

Mapping the Agriculture Growth in Qing China: Consistence and Inconsistences
Cheng King
This research uses a multi-layer Malthusian model to explain the agriculture development in Qing Dynasty China (1644-1911). There is widespread agreement that during the Qing Dynasty (also known as the most populous dynasty in the pre-modern Chinese history), especially between the 1730s and the mid-eighteenth century there was a major acceleration of population growth in China and the population almost tripled while the available land resources for agriculture use in China Proper remained the same. Based on empirical evidence, this research shows that (1) there were diversified technologies in the pre-modern China's agriculture sector, and the structure of technology diversification was mostly nature endowments dependent; (2) in pre-modern China's agricultural economy, a large portion of the agriculture production kept sufficient economic elasticity, which could allow the agriculture sector to enjoy a reasonable marginal output on additional labours; (3) the population growth in Qing China matches the agriculture sector's history of technical change. The outcome of this research confirms that there existed several trends of

intensifying in labour input in Qing China's agriculture sector. With such intensification processes, China was enabled to duplicate its high yields agriculture production mode in a few provinces to more other places. As a consequential result, the geographical expansion of high yields grain production made the long-run population growth possible. In addition, empirical study in this research indicates that some regions of the pre-modern China had managed to escape from Malthusian growth via technical progress.

Development of Rice Exportation and Rice Milling Industry in Colonial Vietnam

Rui Takahashi

This study focuses on the development of the rice milling industry as the factor of export competitiveness and the integration process into the international rice market in Vietnam under French rule, which is known as one of the main rice exporters.

Introducing modern milling technology enabled to export white rice as superior export goods to cargo rice which is almost similar to brown rice and supported resilient rice exports from Vietnam. Therefore, we clarify the following three problems. The first problem is how the modern rice milling technology was invented in the West where rice is not a staple food and introduced to Asia such as Vietnam. The second is how the modern rice milling technology accepted in Vietnam after the introduction. The third is the role of local Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese in the introduction of modern rice milling technology.

As a result, we found the following facts: 1）The propagation of rice cultivation and the rise of rice market including re-export to other areas in the West were important factors contributing to the invention of modern rice technology, 2）Two types of modern milling technology, abrasive and friction, were accepted in the markets of domestic consumption and export, steadily replaced the traditional milling technology after the introduction into Asia, 3) the role of local Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese in the successful introduction of such technology was quite important, they generated huge employment and promoted labour-intensive industrialization.

Panel 41

Seeking a Depopulation Dividend in 21st Century East Asia: (Re)Building Regional Resilience in Japan

Ageing and depopulation are complex social phenomena occurring globally and bring consequences for all of society: At micro level, they are related to changes in citizens' living conditions, such as family formation behaviour and elderly care. At macro level, demographic shrinkage and ageing are linked to regional land use, infrastructure planning, disaster prevention, and resource consumption. Generally, only the demerits of ageing and depopulation are considered in a 'growth-first-society'. However, the growth-first-society has reached its environmental limits and humanity is facing imminent catastrophe on a number of fronts. We argue that positively accepting demographic change, and developing a sustainable and prosperous society – achieving a Depopulation Dividend – are necessary in the twenty-first century. Japan is in the vanguard of ageing and depopulation in East Asia. South Korea and China both have low fertility, and will encounter depopulation soon. This conference panel will at three aspects of ageing and depopulation in Japan's regions, with a view to asking whether what happens there today will occur across East Asia tomorrow.

Yang Li (Convenor) will discuss the implications of depopulation for Japan's regional resource consumption. Following that, Peter Matanle will ask whether the seawall being built in northeastern Japan is sufficient tsunami protection for an ageing and depopulating society under climate change. Finally, Jing Wang will look at regional elderly care and the potential for the transposition of Japan's care system into China.

Does a Shrinking Population Reduce Resource Consumption?

Yang Li*, Emily Buehler, and Peter Matanle

With the development of an energy-based civilization and the global population increase, the relationship between the world population and energy use has become an extremely serious factor for socio-environmental sustainability. Population growth usually leads to increased demand for energy, transportation, food and water in the community, and such resource consumption is now an existential threat to the sustainability of the environment and society. Consequently, some argue that reducing the world's population would reverse some of the environmental losses that we are currently experiencing, and thereby improve social and environmental sustainability. It's a tempting logic, but whether it is correct or not remains to be further studied. This research empirically tests such reverse assumption: does depopulation result in reduced resource consumption and carbon output? This study puts numerical data on resource consumption and environmental outcomes (energy and carbon output) as proxy indicators to examine the relationship between population change and resource consumption in Japan. Japan is the world exemplar for examining this relationship. Japan is not only one of the world's most resource hungry countries but also the first Asia-Pacific country to cross the demographic transition threshold into national scale depopulation. From the perspective of exploring the relationship between population dynamics (population size, density, age structure and household size) and various energy consumption, the findings draw empirical evidence and provide references for future energy policy response to population change. Additionally, a Japan-based study also makes tentative assumptions for other countries, particularly China and elsewhere in the Asia-Pacific region.

*This research is a collaboration between the three researchers named above. Yang Li will present the conference paper at JEASC.

Imagining Tsunami Disasters in the Era of Climate Change: Is Japan's New Seawall Necessary, Effective, or Sufficient?

Peter Matanle *, Joel Littler, and Oliver Slay

Following the Great East Japan earthquake, tsunami and nuclear disaster of 11 March 2011, the Japanese government began constructing a series of 440 seawalls along the north-eastern coast of Honshu. Cumulatively measuring 394.2km, they are designed to defend coastal communities against tsunami that regularly strike the region. We present a case study of the new seawall in Tarō, Iwate Prefecture, which had previously constructed massive sea defences in the wake of two tsunami in 1896 and 1933, which were subsequently destroyed in 2011. We ask whether the government has *imagined* the next disaster and, therefore, whether Tarō's new seawall is *necessary*, whether it will be *effective*, and whether its rationale for the wall is *sufficient*. Rather than adopting a transformational approach to disaster risk reduction appropriate for each locale in the era of climate change, the government has implemented an incremental strengthening of Tarō's existing tsunami

defence infrastructure. Crucially this does not anticipate for global warming driven sea level rise, which is accelerating. This continues a national pattern of disaster preparedness and response established in the early 20th century, which reached a crescendo with the failure to imagine the 2011 tsunami. We conclude by recalling the philosophy of Tanaka Shōzō, father of Japan's modern environmental movement, who urged Japanese to adjust to the flow (*nagare*) of nature, rather than defend against it, lest they are undone by the force of its backflow (*gyakuryu*).

*This is a collaborative research project between the above three authors. Dr Matanle will present at the JEASC conference.

Regional resilience in ageing Japan - reflection from investigation of long-term elderly care system

Jing Wang

Ageing issue draws on a worldwide attention in modern society. Japan has the highest rate of ageing among OECD countries. This demographic characteristic determines that how to tackle with the large amount of elderly people will become inevitable issue when consider comprehensive well-being for regional sustainability. Therefore, this research aims to discuss resilience of regions in Japan from the perspective of the mechanism established for dealing with elderly care. This research is elicited from the author's one part of PhD dissertation in which includes both literature research and data collected from one-year field work in Japan. The author will be addressing the aspects from macro-level system overview as well as micro-level individual interviews. Moreover, discussion from metaphysical perspective in terms of "care" and will be also considered into interpretation since "elderly-care problem" not only exists as a problem, but rather closely relates to how to provide decent care for human-being who is in the last stage, which aims to lead to a practical solution for sustainable resilience for regional issues in Japan. The sequence of logic in this research will be followed as factual analysis consisting of macro and micro investigation; thereafter in value research, posing existing problems in the elderly care mechanism and digger the reasons deeply; last but not least analysis will extend deeper into metaphysics touching issues closely relevant to life and human being as the purpose of designing appropriate social structure is still for creating better society and hence well-being of people.

Panels C

Panel 5

Reconstruction in China and Taiwan after World War II

During World War II, the Japanese empire covered much of east and southeast Asia. The impact on the economies, physical infrastructure and lives of people was immense, and it took years for the region to recover. However, especially compared with other theatres of war, there has been comparatively little research on reconstruction. Historians have dismissed the efforts of some postwar regimes or turned to other questions such as the success of the Communist Revolution or the outbreak of the Cold War. Such questions are important but can only be truly understood in the context of reconstruction after a long and in many cases brutal occupation. The papers on this panel focus on China and Taiwan and explore how the Nationalist and Communist governments dealt with the legacies of World War II. In so doing, they highlight the long-lasting impact of Japanese

imperialism, and seek to write the East Asian experience of reconstruction into the global history of how the world was rebuilt after WWII.

Destruction in Chinese cities in World War II

Toby Lincoln and Lu Ye

This paper outlines some of the preliminary results of the AHRC early career leadership fellowship project entitled "Post-war Urban Reconstruction in China, 1937-1958." This project researches how the reconstruction of Chinese cities after the war laid the foundation for China's emergence as the world's largest urban society in the second half of the twentieth century. Key to this is an appreciation of the extent of wartime urban destruction. Although individual cities such as Nanjing and Shanghai have been studied in some detail, there is no work in any language that attempts to provide statistics on the extent of the devastation in China's cities across the country.

This paper is the first such attempt to do so. The result of a collaboration between the two presenters over several months, it draws on the recently published 中国抗战损失课题调研成果丛书 Zhongguo kangzhan sunshi keti diaoyan chengguo congshu (Collection of the results of the investigation of Chinese Wartime losses). This paper will discuss the issues with these and other surveys on Chinese wartime losses and provide a preliminary statistical analysis of the extent of destruction in Chinese cities. This includes data on a range of variables, including damage to buildings, the number of people killed and displaced, losses to business, and the impact on political and social institutions such as schools and hospitals. Such data is key to understanding how Chinese cities recovered from the Japanese invasion and occupation, and provides a foundation for understanding how the Chinese Communist Party created socialist cities after 1949.

Taiyuan: Reconstruction, Reform and Revolution

Shirley Ye

Lying along the Fen River, a tributary of the Yellow River, Taiyuan was the Regional Office for the Shansi-Suiyuan-Chahar region, a key Communist stronghold and one of fifteen regions under the purview of the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA). Taiyuan in particular saw a large number of displaced persons from the wartime ravage. This paper looks at Taiyuan on the urban fringe of wartime land reform and as the site of remarkable reconstruction efforts and revolution in mid-20th century North China. In many ways, Taiyuan's fate was tied to the Yellow River. At the center of Chiang Kai-shek's military strategy in North China, the dikes of the Yellow River were broken to flood large areas of the North China plain and stop the advance of the Japanese Army. In so doing, millions of Chinese people were displaced from their homes not to mention those lives lost to flood and the subsequent famine in 1942-1943. Arguably, the tempo of land reform in Communist controlled areas hastened during the war years, taking on urgent and violent qualities due in no small part to the damage wrecked by the floods. On the urban fringe of the Yellow River's wartime devastation, Taiyuan is a remarkable case study for wartime and postwar reform, revolution, and reconstruction.

Reconstructing State and Society: Land Reform in Early Cold War Taiwan

Tehyun Ma

Land reform - as a means of stabilising and reconstructing societies – stood at the forefront of postwar plans for securing East Asia. For the Chinese Nationalists (GMD) it was a much needed but belated means to stave off Mao's appeal. For American planners it was a strategy to nullify the threat from both the extreme right and left and safeguard US interests abroad. Rural reconstruction in Japan, Korea and China - where a US presence was palpable - therefore prioritized the resolution of the land problem. In China, this convergence of interests led to the formation in 1948 of a Sino-American collaboration, the Joint Commission of Rural Reconstruction. When China 'fell' in 1949, the defeated Nationalists took their designs for land reform to Taiwan, where redistribution was largely complete by 1953.

On the island, the land reform story has been told in a number of ways: as a method of regime consolidation through clientism, as an instance of American Cold War sponsorship, and as a successful product of early Cold War development politics. These important interpretations, however, tend to elide the vexed process of implementation. The GMD, renowned for its incompetence and corruption, saw the 'performance' of land reform as a means to simultaneously strengthen its state apparatus, mobilise disaffected islanders for the impending war against the Communists, and curry favour with its American sponsors. Drawing on ideas about Leninist party organization and the Maoist 'mass line', Nationalist reformers believed reconstruction and the strengthening of their revolutionary party apparatus went hand in hand.

Trans-revolutionary reconstruction: urban rebuilding in China's double postwar, 1945-53

Mark Baker

The mid-century fate of Zhengzhou was typical of medium-sized cities in the Chinese heartland. Changing hands five times in seven years, the city was also bombed variously by Japanese, American and Nationalist planes. On the return of Nationalist rule in 1945, 70% of buildings were destroyed, the most damaged city in war-torn Henan Province. On Communist takeover in autumn 1948, while the scale of physical destruction was smaller, Zhengzhou's newest rulers faced similar problems in housing, food supply, urban production.

Yet Zhengzhou was reckoned a "city that is easy to destroy, and easy to build up again." Even as the physical detritus of war – trenches, pillboxes, rubble – was being cleared away, Zhengzhou enjoyed a post-war economic boom in both 1946 and in the second half of 1949. With the restoration of local rural-urban relations and long-distance railways, this junction city once again became a center for commerce and processing of rural products.

In both post-wars, reconstruction and recovery also raised questions about Zhengzhou's long-term future. In 1947 Nationalist authorities proposed a new industrial zone and a massive public housing project for this overcrowded boomtown. Civil war overtook the plan before it could be begun, but the 1950 Communist design for the city was remarkably similar to the 1947 scheme, and by 1953 work on the project was underway. The challenges, reconstructions and ambitious plans of Zhengzhou's "transrevolutionary" years were giving way to a new era of planned economy in action.

China in Trinidad and Tobago: An Examination of their Presence in Trinidad and Tobago and the Impacts of the Bilateral Economic and Social Influence.

Amanda R. Ramlogan

China is one of the largest economies and most prominent actors in the international system. Their active participation in the international system led to them having a special interest in the Global South particularly the Caribbean and Latin America over the past few years, which is evident from their participation in economic agreements and political engagements with socio-economic impacts in the target countries. As a result of this relationship they have focus on establishing and maintaining economic and political ties with the region via regional arrangements but also by encouraging bilateral relations. While China and the Global South is typically examined extensively, this research takes a rather different approach. It aims to look specifically at the China/ Trinidad and Tobago bilateral relationship regarding their objective and reasoning for investing and maintaining this relationship between these countries. It will also look at the impact of this relationship on trade and investment opportunities and finally the social influence on Trinidad and Tobago. A mixed methods approach would be used as both quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques would be employed. Neoliberalism will be used in the analysis of this topic which lays the foundation for an important aspect of the argument, which is that China is creating a new international regime that focuses on providing development assistance to member countries. This new international regime's membership will include the poorer developing countries such as those from the Caribbean and Africa that are reliant on foreign aid. The new regime will give developing countries an alternative to western development assistance which would counteract the US influence in Trinidad and Tobago.

Old Friends, New Adversaries: Deterring the Chinese Communist Party in the Indo-Pacific

Annie Kowalewski

From economic pressure to threatening political isolation, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is slowly shifting the balance of power in the Indo-Pacific through coercive tactics that fall below the threshold of conflict. To better understand how the United States and its Asian allies can protect their interests and maintain a favorable balance of power, this paper takes a close look at deterrence theory as it applies to non-nuclear deterrence in peacetime. This paper will thus contribute to the broader discussions on deterrence through a case-study argument for the continued utility of deterrence in modern day policymaking.

This paper begins with an overview of the literature on deterrence, detailing the ways deterrence has evolved beyond nuclear deterrence post-Cold War and the different ways to achieve deterrence (denial or punishment). It identifies the key aspects of successful deterrence: capability, credibility, and appropriate targeting, and discusses how each aspect shifts states' risk calculations. This paper will then apply this to a modern-day policy dilemma: the CCP's military, economic, and political coercion in Asia. It weighs each of the identified aspects of successful deterrence against the US and its allies' current commitments and the behavior of the CCP, concluding that increasing the risk of or outright denying the CCP the capability to expand militarily and publicly shedding light on CCP tactics would deter the CCP. This paper will thus use deterrence theory to determine how the US and its allies can deter the CCP from coercing countries into accepting unfavorable outcomes.

Understanding change in China's international climate change policy: vertical and horizontal role contestation and foreign policy making in China

Kim Vender

China's climate change policy in the United Nations (UN) framework has changed in the mid-2000s from strictly opposing mitigation commitments for developing countries – including itself – to considering and finally accepting quantified emission reduction targets. Scholars explained this incremental policy change by several factors ranging from external pressure and policy diffusion to internal considerations of a more sustainable economic growth model. This paper examines China's foreign policy change from the perspective of role change. National roles are defined as behavioural patterns of states as social actors in the international system and are constituted by external and internal behavioural expectations. Influenced by Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) approaches, recent role theoretical literature has put the focus on the domestic contestation over the "right" role for a country, which can occur between elites (horizontal) or between the elite and the public (vertical) (Cantir & Kaarbo 2012, 2016). In line with this, this paper examines possibly diverging role conceptions of domestic actors in China that are acknowledged to have an influence in the climate policy-making process. This includes Chinese academics and policy analysts as well as members of the bureaucracy. The main aim is to shed light on the differing views within China on the country's role in mitigating climate change in order to understand China's increasingly responsible stance and its turn towards global leadership in the UN climate regime despite its traditional emphasis of the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" of developed and developing countries in the matter.

Panel 4
Peripheries and China, 1940 - 1949.

The Making of the Chinese Cultural Identity Through Bak Kut Teh in Southeast Asia, 1940 – 1949

Kylie Lui

This paper situates itself in social history and critical food studies and looks at how overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia in the 1940s constructed their cultural identity through an examination of Bak Kut Teh 肉骨茶, a Southeast Asian culinary dish. Bak Kut Teh is originally a nourishing "Chinese" herbal soup invented in the early 20th century. It demonstrates both the merit of Chinese medicine knowledge and the abundance of herbs and spices in Southeast Asia. There are several versions of origin behind the dish but many agreed the dish was named Bak Kut Teh after a Chinese diaspora Lee Boon Teh brought a similar dish from Fujian and recreated a new version in Klang in the 1940s. Through reading the history and cultural significance of Bak Kut Teh, it would reveal to us how overseas Chinese demonstrated creativity and adaptability through culinary creation against material scarcity in post-war poverty. It adopts "Chineseness" as a theoretical framework to examine how Chinese identity was reinforced and contested outside mainland China, as well as the economic and cultural mobility of Chinese ethnic subjects in a colonial context. Through the study of foodstuff, the lives of the ordinary are brought to critical discussion that would deepen our understanding of social and cultural history of peripheral Chinese subjects in the 1940s.

Beyond Home and Superpowers: China in the Asian Relations Conference, 1947

Tommy Lo

The years 1945-1949 have been seen as a time when China was fixated upon itself: the Nationalists and the Communists fought a civil war, and their engagement with the superpowers was a means to win the war. Little is known about the Nationalist government's intention to shape the future of post-1945 Asia, not only politically, but economically and socially as well. This paper looks at the Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi in 1947. The conference became a platform for Nationalist China to promote its modernisation model in Asia – developmental state, economic planning and state provision of welfare – to reconstruct the economy and society after years of war and decades of colonial influence. This model was supported by most states in South and Southeast Asia, some of which proposed similar models simultaneously. Arguably it sowed the seeds of the later rise of developmental states in East Asia, and offered a template of development for developing economies in Asia and even the Third World. The fixation with modernisation in Asian developing countries is often seen as coming out of the desire to rid themselves of colonial conditions and to catch up with major Western powers. This paper suggests, however, that it stemmed also from having experienced the trauma of Japan's invasion in the 1930s and 1940s. Moreover, it was inspired by a global interest in state economic intervention, as well as the recognition that development and welfare was just as important as military security to the post-1945 world.

Narratives, Memory and History: Depicting and Recounting Chinese Communist Party Underground Work and Underground Communists in Hong Kong during the Chinese Civil War, 1945 – 1949

Amanda Zhang

This paper contributes to existing scholarship on underground Communists and the history of the Chinese Communist Party. It considers narratives about underground Communists in Hong Kong, and how such narratives affected the lives of underground Communist spies who worked in the colony during and after the civil war. Hong Kong had a substantial underground Communist presence before and during the civil war, and the colony served as an important training ground, transport hub and safety retreat for party members. The Hong Kong Branch of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party 中共中央香港分局 actively engaged in underground activities in the colony and Communists in Hong Kong contributed significantly to the eventual 1949 Communist takeover of China. Narratives about underground Communists in Hong Kong during this period described them as treacherous "bandits" from the North. In hindsight, underground Communists remembered using their perceived differences from the colonial and popular understanding of the underground Communist spy in order to conceal their identities. During the earlier years of the People's Republic of China, many former underground Communists were denounced as evil, treacherous spies and condemned for not having "sacrificed" their life to the party during the civil war. In many ways these narratives, from memoirs written in the 1980s by the survivors of earlier party purges, were ways to explain and justify why these underground Communists survived their undercover work during the Chinese Civil War and for them to demonstrate their loyalty to the Communist Party.

Japan and the Japanese in Keinen's diary of the East Asian War (1592-1598)

Marshall Craig

This paper looks at how one monk's account of the East Asian War of 1592-1598 brings a nuance to the depiction of Japan and the Japanese rarely seen in contemporary writing.

Chōsen hinikki 朝鮮日々記 (Daily Diary of Chosŏn) was written by the monk Keinen 慶念 from Kyūshū, who joined Hideyoshi's invasion of Chosŏn in 1597. Keinen was almost alone among contemporary writers in distinguishing between Japanese warriors and the labourers forced to accompany them. In sympathising with the labourers' plight, he demonstrated that the line between aggressors and victims could not be neatly drawn across the sea between Chosŏn and Japan. While most contemporary Japanese writers extolled the valour of Japan and its warriors, Keinen not only had no interest in martial glory but hated the samurai for their cruelty to both Japanese and Koreans.

Yet Keinen's position defies simple categorization: while post-WWII Japanese scholars were delighted to find in Keinen an apparent anti-imperialist and pacifist, his praise of Hideyoshi and celebration of Japan as 'Land of the Gods' were difficult to reconcile with these labels. Comparison of *Chōsen hinikki* with other contemporary Japanese accounts reveals how Keinen's portrayal of the invasion is both radically different from, and yet shares some important common elements with, contemporary samurai narratives.

This paper explores Keinen's nuanced portrayal of the Japanese and their role in the war and discusses the implications of his writing for our understanding of views of Japan at the end of the 16th century.

Japanese reenactments of World War II-era events

Aleksandra Jaworowicz-Zimny

Historical reenactments are a popular form of entertainment and commemoration in many countries around the world, including Japan. Recreations presenting events known from the history of Medieval Japan, like battles of Sekigahara or Kawanakajima, became popular yearly events attracting large numbers of both participants and viewers. What has been given less attention, however, are groups whose primary interest are events related to World War II, both on Pacific as well as European front. While interested in modern history, participants of such reenactments may be seen primarily as military enthusiasts. Main events are divided into several fractions: Eastern Front, Western Front and Pacific Front. Each group organizes reenactments of specific historical events, for example Battle of Crimea, Battle for Aachen or Battle of Iwo Jima, although not all groups hold meetings on regular bases. Furthermore, a separate unit is dedicated to "historical survival games", in case of which participants engage in military boot camp-like training while wearing wartime uniforms.

Based on the information provided by events organizers, this paper disuses activity forms and motivations of Japanese reenactment groups inspired by wartime era, with the focus on two aspects of the phenomenon: first, interest of Japanese history enthusiasts in recreation of the events that took place outside of their nation's past, including Nazi-Germany units' maneuvers. Secondly, it

explores the thin line between survival games and historical reenactments that can be observed in the case of Japanese participants interested primarily in World War II-period battles.

Disentangling and Re-entangling Prestige: Lessons from the Japanese Diet

Kristian Magnus Hauken

This paper aims to come to a closer understanding of how notions of prestige present themselves in political discourse. By examining Japanese parliamentary discourse over a course of 30 years and across three case studies, the goal of this paper is to show how the concept of prestige is currently undertheorized and underexplored within the International Relations community, and aims to resolve this issue by illustrating how notions of prestige, as presented through the discursive practices of Japanese diet members, can be re-conceptualized through applying innovative theoretical frameworks within the field of IR.

Drawing on recent work on hierarchy and emotion as fields of study within the discipline of IR, this paper will, using Faircloughian critical discourse analysis, illustrate how accumulating or safeguarding national prestige remains a shared motive across political and ideological fault lines. However, while the motive of acquiring national prestige is present in a subset of politicians in the diet, notions on how to attain it remain divided along familiar lines of ideological division within the Japanese political landscape.

This paper concludes that several parliamentarians across political divisions in Japan perceive that international community has an implicit hierarchy, and that Japan deserves a higher position within said hierarchies, these hierarchies are presented as operating on significantly different logics. Furthermore, prestige-related discourse in the diet also indicate efforts from politicians at universalizing their utterances through appealing to a shared common interest, the attainment of national prestige.

Panel 24
Diplomatic Vision and International Relations in Pre-modern East Asia

This panel examines the diplomatic visions of pre-modern East Asian authorities. In particular, the panelists consider cases that illustrate how the authorities of Ming China, Chosŏn Korea, and Tokugawa Japan imagined and envisioned international relations in the period from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

Policy-making in foreign affairs requires knowledge of foreign peoples and countries. Due to the difficulties of cross-regional information exchange, pre-modern East Asian authorities had little knowledge of each other as compared to the world of today. The authorities had to fall back on their imaginations, sometimes buttressed with direct experience and intelligence reports, to perceive and understand the discourses and behaviours of foreign actors. Naturally, all actors made decisions and interacted with each other to defend their interests. As a result, the history of pre-modern East Asian international relations consists of conflicting and sometimes competing diplomatic visions formed from individual authority's imaginings about others.

It is not surprising that unilateral imaginings often contradicted the reality of the neighbouring states and led to diplomatic dilemmas. Nevertheless, not all visions were oppositional. In some cases,

sustained, stable international trade and lasting regional peace resulted, even though different parties were telling different stories.

This panel is interested in how diplomatic visions developed and shaped international relations in pre-modern East Asia. The first paper examines the export of Ming China's hierarchic and centrist diplomatic system to the region. The second paper explores the ways that the Chosŏn court processed the intelligence its ambassadors collected from Qing China to fit its imagination about the geopolitical situation on the East Asian continent. The third paper looks at a confrontation between the Tsushima domain and the Tokugawa *bakufu* to show that the ability to define the vision could be the key to diplomatic authority, and it was not necessarily held in the capital. The fourth paper considers the pragmatic realpolitik proposed by Amenomori Hōshū in the early eighteenth century when Tsushima dealt with Chosŏn Korea.

By analysing specific cases from Chinese, Korean, and Japanese perspectives, the papers offer a deeper understanding on diplomatic imagination with a broad geographical scope. The presenters revive the contexts in which diplomatic visions were constructed and offer illustrations of diplomatic imagination and the impact of the resulting visions on international relations in East Asia. The panel sheds light on the means through which actors developed such visions—part experience, part projection onto others of values and assumptions, part self-awareness, and part expediency.

'The King of Japan': Ming China's monarch-centred notion of international politics

Siu Yiu

The Ming court insisted on conferring the title 'King of Japan' on the de facto leaders of Japan, even though it was aware that their actual position was that of a prince or a shogun. This paper argues that the forcible application of a Sino-centric title served not only to establish Ming China's supreme position in the region by constructing a formal hierarchical international system (the so-called 'tribute system') with Ming China at the apex, but also to strengthen the emperor's domestic authority by promoting a monarch-centred diplomatic order that confirmed the emperor's total control of diplomatic affairs. This paper also shows how this diplomatic vision restrained Ming China and Chosŏn Korea from establishing formal relations with the Ashikaga regime, who opposed the title of 'King of Japan' several times by the early fifteenth century.

'The diplomat's vision': the contest for diplomatic authority between Tsushima and the Tokugawa *bakufu* in the eighteenth century

Xia-Kang Ziyi

Beginning in the eighteenth century, declining Korean trade impoverished the Tsushima domain and forced it to rely on *bakufu* sponsorship to fund its Korean operations. As it became more financially involved, the *bakufu* was keen to enhance its political presence in the Japan-Korea political interactions as well. The murder of a Korean official, Ch'oe Ch'ŏn-jong, by a Tsushima interpreter during the Korean Embassy to Edo in 1764 is a well-known diplomatic anecdote that has been studied for the mutual perceptions between the two countries. This paper re-examines the incident as the culmination of the *bakufu*'s contest for Tsushima's diplomatic authority. During the murder investigation, the *bakufu* employed agents, such as the Osaka City Magistrate and the Iteian monks, to disenfranchise Tsushima from its control over Korea-related jurisdiction and communication. In

retaliation, the Tsushima administration cited its historical legitimacy and diplomatic prowess to discredit the *bakufu*'s interference. The domain highlighted the unequal power relations in Japan-Korea interactions according to which Japan had always and must continue to maintain its '*bui* (military ascendency)' to ensure Korea's submissive attitude. By making use of the traditional yet increasingly irrelevant diplomatic concept of *bui*, Tsushima exploited the *bakufu*'s unfamiliarity with Korean affairs and created a vision of the relations with itself as the indispensable convenor. Perpetuating this distorted understanding of the relations in Edo was key to Tsushima's eventual success in reclaiming exclusive control over Japan's Korea relations.

The Machiavellian side to Amenomori Hōshū's 1728 *Kōrin teisei* 交隣提醒: Background and commentary to incidents of prostitution and riots at the Pusan Japan House

James Lewis

The paper offers an overview of Amenomori Hōshū's life (雨森芳洲, 1688-1755) and examines his depiction of two of the most common issues in Tsushima's relations with Chosŏn: prostitution and rioting. Hōshū has been known as a well-informed commentator on Japanese-Korean relations and is famous today as a 'cosmopolitan' Japanese, even a Koreophile, who was acutely aware of the Korean perspective. Contemporary hagiographers in Japan and South Korea extol Hōshū for his cultural relativism and his 'tolerance' and argue that Hōshū can be understood as something of a pacifistic humanist, when, in fact, Hōshū's *Kōrin teisei* ('Sober advice on relations with Korea', 1728-1729) makes the argument for cultural sensitivity from a purely pragmatic perspective: if we understand Korean views and take note of changing power relations between Tsushima and Chosŏn, then we can obtain more that is of benefit to us. The real wisdom Hōshū sought to communicate to his lord was that foreign relations must not be animated by prejudice or wishful thinking; it had to be moved by a calculated realpolitik based on a deep cultural understanding of the other party and a cold-eyed assessment of changing power relations. His discussion of prostitution and rioting at the Japan House in Pusan reveal a Machiavellian mind at work.

Panel 63
Building a generation: how video game developers redefine South Korean contemporary culture

Chloe PABERZ

South Korea is considered today as a pioneering country regarding digital tools. In the late nineties, the government encouraged computerization by making colossal investments in the information technologies; this affected various aspects of society including education, economy and entertainment, and lead to the development of an entirely original video game culture. Games soon became the most popular leisure activity as well as one of the most lucrative and innovative industries in the country. Despite the amount of time that the Korean population spends every day playing, watching, making and talking about video games, these activities are largely overlooked by academic research. They seem to fit neither the category of traditional (and established) arts and crafts, nor the category of modern (and popular) culture, often reduced to k-pop.

Based on ethnographic data collected during nine months in a game company located in Seoul, this paper intends to show how Korean video game culture develops through everyday social practices.

Shared references, values, ideals and conventions are built and negotiated inside and outside the workplace. While game industry workers come from extremely diverse backgrounds and have to move frequently from one company to another, they tend to constitute a community that emphasizes homogeneity. The game culture is hence constructed as predominantly male, young, egalitarian and non-conformist. We will see how game developers try to reject what they consider to be traditional rules and patterns, in an attempt to redefine a Korean society fitting the standards of their own generation.

So close and yet so far: Globalized Korean-ness in media discourse with migrants

Tanja Eydam

South Korea's national identity has been articulated by its citizens and state based on a self-image as mono-ethnic for a very long time. This image is the basis for the heavy focus on ethnic nationalism as a component for the South Korean self-conception. However, the country has registered a rising number of migrants coming to the country. Over the last twenty years, multiculturalism has become a buzzword. Looking at this apparent, sudden change, the question arises how migrants get depicted in this changing society and what this portrayal of foreigners tells us about the self-conception of South Koreans.

Television narrates the nation by feeding into the discourse on identity, especially in case of foreigners featuring the programs. For a better insight into the (re-) articulation of the Self and thereby on the self-positioning of Korea in a globalizing world, the awarded broadcast program 비정상 회담 (English: Non-Summit) is exemplarily analyzed. The show features a panel of migrants who discuss ostensibly cosmopolitan topics with South Korean MCs and star guests. Corresponding to Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Studies, special attention is paid to the power relations due to the production processes and techniques, and the application of stereotypes as the Self interacts with the foreign Other. The results show that the South Korean Self tries to position itself close to white "Western" norms, whereas it distances itself from the foreign Other simultaneously – both out of nationalist interest. This sheds light on a globalizing Korean society; the above-mentioned change becomes conclusive

Different Realisms between North Korea and the Socialist Hungary through the Lenses of Cinema

Gabor Sebo

This paper aims to examine how Juche realism in North Korean cinema and socialist realism in socialist Hungarian cinema differed from each other. The comparative analysis explains how main characteristics of core theories have been reflected on screen. Furthermore, the research method points at two key local specifications, notably (1) the occupation of the protagonists and (2) the location-based narratives. Nevertheless, the study does not focus only on the general similarities, but the major part goes beyond this dimension in order to highlight the discrepancies between the two theories and their film implications. Despite the commonly shared ideologies along with similar contents and forms, there are significant contrasts between the movies on theme approaches and symbology. Therefore, the paper describes how (1) the relation between protagonist and community, (2) the portrait of the antagonist and (3) the image of romance have been visualized from various aspects in the two analyzed politically constructed cultural direction.

PGR Workshop – Ethics

Mark McLeister

This workshop is primarily aimed at postgraduate researchers in the early stages of their projects. It will be an interactive session which will focus on the ethical approval process for research projects, with consideration of some of the ethical issues which arise when conducting field research in the East Asian context.

Panels D

Panel 25
Layered Security in the Northeast Asia

An Unequal Structure? "Layering" the US – Japan Relationship

Thomas French

This paper proposes a new approach to the examination if the US-Japan relationship though the employment of "layers" of analysis. Within this, the different elements of the relationship are examined individually as separate, but often interlinked, strata, providing a more inclusive and holistic picture of a complex, multifaceted, and often politicised subject. Taking the key elements of the 'macro' state-level security relationship as its initial starting point and then examining other layers such as trade, military base impact on local communities, and others, the paper illustrates that while certain strata of the relationship clearly favour or disadvantage different groups or actors, these inequalities do not consistently favour one side or the other, indicating that prioritising one layer over others within overall analyses risks oversimplification. This layered approach does not seek to privilege or prioritise any particular strata over another, and through its discrete analysis of each layer permits the maintenance and reflection of opposing viewpoints within itself, hence arguably better reflecting the complexities of this close, but sometimes fractious relationship.

Layered Security on Okinawa: Engaging with International, National and Local Actors

Ra Mason

Situated in a strategically pivotal position amid the East China Sea – lying between Tokyo, Beijing and Taipei – and hosting more than 74% of US military bases in Japan, Okinawa has often been referred to as the 'Keystone of the Pacific' within regional security narratives. This paper examines the case of Okinawa-related security issues from a layered perspective. In so doing, it critically interrogates how narratives of Okinawa have been constructed and articulated across international, national and local contexts, in order to shape policy in the name of security. By making use of critical discourse analysis and risk-based theories of International Relations, it reveals how the intersections between actors such as foreign ministers, national mass media, and local government and activists have created a highly complex, contested and asymmetrical tapestry of often contradictory security narratives. In conclusion, it argues that while some inequalities due to massive material power and resource imbalances – such as those between the US and Japan and the Government of Japan and the

Prefectural Government of Okinawa – have been well-covered in the extant literature, many layers of security on Okinawa are often misrepresented or overlooked altogether. As such, the paper highlights how the diverse narratives that articulate these layers require greater integration across academic, political and mainstream (media) spheres in order for Okinawa to more effectively galvanise the diffuse interests of leading actors on the Islands, negotiate productively with central government, and engage more extensively with other regional players.

Security Cooperation between Japan and South Korea on the North Korean Nuclear Threat: Strategic Priorities and Historical Issues

Sachio Nakato

This paper examines a further international layer of security in Northeast Asia through exploring the dynamics of Japan-South Korea relations regarding the North Korean nuclear threat under the Park Geun-hye and Shinzo Abe governments. In particular, it explores how security cooperation between Japan and South Korea differed following the third and fourth nuclear tests by North Korea. In contrast to existing explanations, this paper focuses on the convergence and divergence of strategic priorities between the two countries apart from those of external threat perception. Second, it is argued that the credibility of the U.S. commitment to protecting its allies is a constant variable regarding the increasing North Korean nuclear threat; however, this is not a defining factor in Japan-South Korea security relations. Moreover, the level of the politicization of historical issues is also examined, and the paper concludes that while these do influence the security relations between the two countries they are not a constant variable. This paper argues that the interactions of convergence/divergence in strategic priorities and the degree of politicization of historical issues between the two nations determine the levels of cooperation and conflict between Japan and South Korea.

How should Japan respond to a possible China-Taiwan conflict?

Keiji Nakatsuji

There are three dangerous flashing points in East Asia. Along with the Korean Peninsula and South China Sea, Taiwan Strait is one such point. In fact, China and the US were on the verge of a military collision over Taiwan in 1996. China had a strong intention to even militarily prevent Taiwan's move toward independence. The US could also not accept China using military means to coerce Taiwan. Luckily a war was avoided at that time, but the relations among China, Taiwan, and US today have changed little since then. That is to say Taiwan question is unresolved and it might invite another crisis at any moment if any of three countries made a miscalculation. If a military collision between US and China happened, US forces will be dispatched mainly from US bases in Japan so that the possible crisis might inevitably involve Japan. This paper explores a further layer of the security of Northeast Asia through examining the relations between two middle tier powers, Taiwan and Japan, and specifically Japan's policy towards Taiwan from 1996 to the present.

Panel 40
Disaster in progress: How has 3.11 affected work in Japan? Ethics, markets, regulations, relations

The 2011 Triple Disaster has been analysed by social scientists from numerous perspectives: cultural, economic, religious, architectural, ethical, artistic, etc. In each of these fields, the common component of work plays a fundamental, yet underestimated role.

How have the consequences of the disaster, the aftermath, and reconstruction reverberated in the lives of those working in Japan? If volunteering and horizontal co-operation exposed a newfound attraction for equality, consistently neoliberal strategies to 'revitalize' the Northeastern coast emerged after the first 'selfless' wave of response. While new styles of entrepreneurs in Tohoku are exploring alternative ways of doing business, traditional craftsmen, manufacturers and other producers have faced the crisis of the disaster with a more conservative attitude. In any case, if, on the one hand, social differences were challenged by the impartiality of 3.11, on the other hand different responses have exposed diverging interests and results. New avenues of individual and cooperative work have meanwhile emerged alongside the contraction of several pre-existing jobs. In what ways has the disaster affected coworking and hierarchical relations in the workplace, influenced work ethics in response to 2011, and created new configurations and constellations of work opportunities?

Drawing together a team of scholars from humanities and social sciences, this panel aims at exploring work in post-disaster Japan, considering how the Tohoku earthquake, tsunami and nuclear meltdown has affected human activities in their economic, ethical, organizational, and social characteristics. Our aim is to open a thematic window onto the transformations and trends that characterize Tohoku and Japan, discussing *how* and *why*, after the disaster, work has profoundly changed.

Tourism development in post-disaster Tohoku

Anna Martini

As tourism becomes a more and more widespread phenomenon, there is an increasing demand to visit the locations of famous catastrophic and death-related events. Places such as Auschwitz, Chernobyl, Ground Zero, already experience a steady flow of visitors. These successes have sparked the development of new endeavors, like tours to the impoverished slums of India and South Africa, or the construction of a tourist village close to Fukushima's nuclear power plant, destroyed by a tsunami in 2011.

Such sites spark people's imagination and curiosity and entice tourists to visit them. In the last decades, tourism stakeholders looking for innovations have produced new tourist attractions capitalizing on the economic potential of these areas. Post-disaster Tohoku is no exception: while most towns are trying to 'go back to how things were', others have decided to use the disaster to create new tourism circuits that merge previous attractions and traditions with post-disaster tourism.

This contribution considers the town of Rikuzentakata and Kuji, and the Fukushima exclusion zone, and analyses how tourism became a propulsive engine for recovery and revitalization, and the ethical and political implications of such choices. I analyse the motivations and feelings of tourism workers, locals, and foreign tourists who are involved in the tourism landscape of Tohoku after the 2011 triple disaster (earthquake, tsunami and nuclear meltdown). Tourists, researchers, and volunteers, visit such places to see with their own eyes something that they could only experience

through media. The reasons behind this decision range from educational purposes to mere curiosity, to the desire to observe the consequences of a disaster from a safe place.

A pretense of recovery: Ritual reproduction, distortions of time, and the memorialisation of 'normalcy' at a Japanese corporation during and after 3.11

Mitchell W Sedgwick

This paper considers the collective experience of trauma among members of a Japanese corporation, and their families, whose consumer electronics factory and office buildings, homes and communities were ripped apart in the tsunami following shortly after the 'Great East Japan earthquake' 東日本大震災. In the ethnographer/author's co-experience of outrageous helplessness with Japanese colleagues in the immediate crisis, it was notable that even if, practically-speaking, mostly irrelevant, they took coordinated action where possible, placing an impressive emphasis on their work for the corporation itself as an emotional life raft. In the months and years to follow, 'recovery' was formally emphasized at this corporation, as elsewhere in this region of Japan. Machinery was repaired or replaced and assembly lines eventually re-opened, 'restart' ceremonies were held, with ribbons cut in comparatively sober, and sombre, celebration. The destruction of the earthquake and tsunami acknowledged, a page ostensibly turned, the prospect of hope for a new beginning formally memorialized.

Rather, this paper argues that whatever the physical proximity to disaster, it is timeless and, ultimately, continuous for those who share it. It is not forgotten but 'lived with': we can never again see each other but through the reminder of that deep distortion of normalcy. The memorialization 3.11 is most significantly represented, it is suggested, in its encounter with the re-emergence of day-to-day practice: ritualized formations of exhaustion, familiar in regular patterns of work itself.

Searching for Mental Health Care in the Disaster Zone

Ben Epstein

The Japanese Society of Psychiatry and Neurology, in accordance with the Saigai Kyusai Ho (Disaster Relief Act) and scheduled by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare —responsible for producing policy recommendations and guidelines surrounding mental health— dispatched more than 50 mental health care teams to the affected areas as part of a massive psychological recovery effort within a few days of the initial earthquake. Drawing on a year of fieldwork based at a laboratory specialising in disaster psychiatry in Sendai, and documenting the experience of organisations that make the transition from emergency relief to the adoption and promotion of structural changes in service delivery, I examine the narratives of practitioners who deliver mental health care in the region. Using a methodology that follows interventions instead of symptoms, by focusing on the expert clinician as active in the very process of constructing and interpreting what should be done to support the families and survivors of the tragedy, I address how the role of mental health provider and the meaning of mental health care —perhaps one of the few areas of employment on the rise— has changed since the disaster in a region that has historically had an ambivalent relationship to psychiatric services.

Fisherman Japan: shifting waters for the *ryoshi*

Duccio Gasparri

The 2011 diasaster disrupted eminently the coastal infrastructures of Northeastern Japan. Among the most affected were the numerous family-based fishery small enterprises coordinated by the Japanese Fishery Union (*gyogyō kumiai*). During the reconstruction hiatus, many fishermen (*ryoshi*) and acquafarmers abandoned their villages, discouraged by the lack of proactivity from the central government and the prefectural administrations, and by the economic damage produced by the damage rumor (*fuhyo higai*) prompted by the Fukushima meltdown. In this context of shrinkage, those who remained are considering alternative models of business, relying on the brokerage activities provided by former volunteers and NGOs, who act as hinges between the peripheral world of rural fishery and the wealthy consumer base of city-dwellers.

Drawing from my doctoral fieldwork in the Miyagi Prefecture, I present a case study concerning the shifting image of the fisherman, from a figure traditionally associated with frugality and backwardness to a young, active and *cool* entrepreneur, as described by the employees of Fisherman Japan, a small company of intermediaries based in Ishinomaki town, who provide fresh fish and seafood and services. I produce a reflection on the aesthetic and ethic transformation of the fisherman's job, and the possible futures of Tōhoku's fisheries.

Panel 1

Brushstrokes, Stones and Shrines: Power and personal agency in the cultural production of Medieval Eastern Eurasian society

Historians often attempt to access the premodern Eastern Eurasian past through the appropriation of textual and visual sources which in most cases were not originally intended to serve as transparent witnesses of social phenomena. Indeed, the very sources that tell us about past societies are themselves reflections of the very societies under study. At the same time they are also products of individual actions and decisions.

This panel brings together four advanced PhD/DPhil students from two institutions, the University of Oxford and the University of Birmingham, working on different periods and sources for medieval Eastern Eurasia. The panel will go from the Tang (618-904) through the Liao (916-1125) and Song (960-1279) and then forward and back again with seventeenth century Korean literary reconstruction of Tang society. Each paper also addresses a different medium, from handwritten manuscripts, prose from the early era of printing, stone epitaphs and painting. Together this panel showcases the high quality and vibrancy of research into premodern Eastern Eurasian history currently taking place in UK institutions.

Governing by Writing: Applying Imperial Handwriting in Tang Administration

XIE Chen

The Song dynasty imperial calligraphic collection catalogue – Xuanhe Calligraphy Catalogue lists seven Tang rulers as acclaimed calligraphers, and among their exemplary works there were imperial decrees. However, the assumption that these works were written in the emperor's own hand seems to contradict the institutional regulations that stipulated imperial decrees proclaiming the 'King's Words' must be composed and executed by ministers or scholar-officials in the Secretariat.

A large amount of existing research has contributed to the topic of the 'King's Words' from the perspective of administrative procedures. This study attempts to explore the implications of imperial decrees being personally written by Tang emperors, in contradiction of institutional practice, from a largely unadopted prism of writing and calligraphy. To achieve this goal, I will examine with a combination of visual and literary analysis a group of Tang imperial decrees that have been preserved in the form of Dunhuang manuscripts, stone inscriptions, and calligraphy modelbooks collected by the Song court.

Focusing on the interaction between the emperors as calligraphers and the ministers as recipients of these imperial decrees, I argue that in doing so Tang emperors could circumvent the constraints of the authority of the 'state' in the form of the administrative system. It was a pivotal technique by which the rulers sought to build personal bonds with their subjects; facilitating their agenda in the confrontations with the ministers; consolidating their personal authority and fostering the image of being civilised rulers with cultural accomplishments.

The Consolidation of the Song Geo-social order and Neo-Confucianism

Thomas Dongsob AHN

This paper studies the proliferation of Neo-Confucian shrines in the Southern Song (1127-1279). By analysing the spatio-temporal distribution of such shrines and the contents of commemorative essays, I will argue that the shrines facilitated the rise of local identities. One of the most pressing concerns of the Southern Song localities was how to define their relationship with the inchoate Southern Song central power. The Northern Song (960-1126) Kaifeng regime that dominated and intervened in all corners of the empire had collapsed and the new Hangzhou regime failed to fill in the power vacuum. Virtually all localities showed a tendency to develop distinct local identities, yet their pursuit of a distinct identity ironically contributed to not the disintegration of the Southern Song order but the further integration of it. This finding provides an explanation as to why the now well-known Southern Song 'localist turn' did not damage, let alone overturn, the authority of the Southern Song central power.

Writers and Rhetoric in Chinese and Kitan: The Authorship of Liao Epitaphs

Lance PURSEY

Over 200 Chinese and 50 Kitan epitaphs (muzhiming 墓志銘) have been retrieved from around the Liao period (10-12th century) Northeast China. Some of these were commissioned personally by the emperor, some paid for with state funding for funerals and some produced and paid for privately. Regardless of who commissioned them, they all had an author, often brought in as an acquaintance of the family. Authors had the task of providing a credible account of the deceased while also satisfying the interests of the living commissioners and mourners, a task made harder in situations where the writer may have been exclusively Chinese-speaking, interpreting into Chinese the life and heritage of the Kitan nobles.

This paper presents a prosopographical study of the composers and calligraphers of Liao epitaphs, exploring who these writers were, their social status, education, religious affiliation, and the circumstances by which they came to produce certain epitaphs for certain people. Having

established the demographics of epitaph composers I also inquire into the extent to which they had editorial input and license, i.e. were they seen as authors, or merely scribes?

By looking at the stories and social factors behind the authorship of these epitaphs, we get a clearer picture not only of literacy and education in the Liao but also of who got to shape the very historical record upon which our knowledge of Liao society is based.

Similes and Metaphors for Family Gathering in *Kuunmong*: Hunting and Contests of Arts

KIM Yonsue

The seventeenth-century Korean novel *Kuunmong* is set in ninth-century Tang society. However, paintings based on the work feature buildings in the background modelled on Yuan and Ming Chinese architecture, while the characters are dressed in Ming Chinese costumes. This may be due to conventions commonly deployed in Ming illustrated novels that influenced the composition of *Kuunmong* paintings. However, it may derive from the painter's own surroundings, making it a rare example of personal input from painters. The novel generally carries little details concerning the places where the narrative unfolds. Rather, it is composed of various types of writings that differ in formalities, styles, and implied audiences as a means to differentiate situations of varied degrees of intimacy.

This paper looks at the most extensive family gathering that occurs in the novel to assess how a family gathering would be described in text and visually translated into image. In the description of the Nagyuwŏn 樂遊原 gathering for hunting and the contests of arts, a certain style of discussions and debates among family members is performed. In particular, similes and metaphors of fighting at battlefields are adopted, and two formal poems are written about the occasion and sent to the emperor. I compare how the family gathering is described in the text of the novel to how it is presented visually in paintings. I argue that the lack of personal observations of surroundings in the textual description opens up way in which the banquet would be visualized to interpretation and artistic license.

Panel 7
Re-Envisioning Asian Borderlands: Visuaity, Materiality and Emotions

Bringing four papers concerning the multi-ethnic Asian borderlands, this panel probes how representation and ethnicity are negotiated, designed and produced from some novel perspectives. It emphasizes the significant roles of material cultures, visual images, films and emotions for the understandings of the complexities of frontier encountering in Yunnan, Guizhou and Tibet in both colonial and post-colonial eras from multiple disciplines, including history, art history, sociology and media studies. Regina Ho fer's paper explores the provenance and collection history of Tibetan artefacts bought by the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin in 1906 from L. A. Waddell (1854-1938) and she suggests Waddell strongly shaped the categorisation of what is considered Tibetan art today. Yang Li addresses the representations of sexgender in Pema Tseden's "Tibetan Trilogy" films. Taking a postcolonial feminist approach, she questions the representation of Tibetan women critically and contests how the cases of Tibetan films could fit into current debates of gender theories. Drawing on the case of ethnic performers in Southwest China, Jingyu Mao seeks to use emotion as an analytic tool to understand minority migrants' daily experiences of ethnicity, and she examines the ways in which people manage their emotions in relation to the culture norms around ethnicity through

"ethnic script". Focusing on Miao albums in late imperial China and Republican ethnographic photography of Yunnan and Guizhou, Jing Zhu explores the mutual constitutions of visuality and empire from the perspective of gender, probing how the lives of China's ethnic minorities at the southwest frontiers were translated into images. With our chair, Julian Ward and discussant, Joseph Lawson, two scholars specialising in the travel narratives and violence in Liangshan in the southwest China, this panel expects to generate productive conversations for the studies of the multi-ethnic Asian borderlands among young and established scholars from both British and German academia.

Collecting Tibet: Material Culture from the Younghusband Invasion in Berlin Collections

Regina Höfer

This paper retraces the provenance and collection history of Tibetan artefacts bought by the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin in 1906 from L. A. Waddell (1854- 1938). As an Indian Army surgeon, amateur researcher and archaeologist stationed in British India, Waddell acquired Tibetan objects under highly problematic conditions in his position as "cultural consultant" during the 1903-04 British invasion of Tibet led by Col. Younghusband. But he also relied on alternative sources resulting from his first-hand contacts with and academic knowledge of Tibetan culture. The collection located today in the Museum of Asian Art and the Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, consists of primarily two object groups: Tibetan ritual devices and material culture and Tibetan painted scrolls. Considered as one of the foremost authorities on Tibet in his time, Waddell strongly shaped the categorisation of what is considered Tibetan art today. However, his books on the history of civilisation have caused controversy and contributed to fascist ideology. Therefore, this paper seeks to investigate the role of the Berlin collection in the light of this arguable personality and locate it within scientific, military and colonial collection strategies.

The Silent Tibetan Women and Their Representations in Pema Tseden's "Tibetan Trilogy"

Yang Li

Representations of sex-gender in Pema Tseden's "Tibetan Trilogy", The Silent Holy Stones (2006), The Search (2009), and Old Dog (2011), can be seen to re-consider the meaning behind the Laura Mulvey's performance's assertion of "woman as image, man as bearer of the look" (1975) in cinematic consideration. It can be argued that in the "Tibetan Trilogy", men, at times, serve as 'images' used to represented Tibetan culture and identity, while Pema Tseden's refusal to objectify and exoticise women positions women outside of the dichotomy of 'image' and 'bearer of the look'. In this sense, Pema Tseden's films reject any objectification and exoticisation of Tibetan culture and landscape, while at the same time his films explore the issues of loss of identity and the universal value of humanity. As He (2009:280) notes that Pema Tseden's Tibetan-language films are famous in Tibetan areas and at international film festivals, "not because a Tibetan filmmaker is a novelty, but because his films invite reflections and imaginations on the deeper landscape of Tibet." This paper therefore takes into consideration of postcolonial feminist approach and subaltern studies to ask if it is possible to understand Pema Tseden's refusal to objectify women in his 'Tibetan Trilogy' is one way in which he 4 rejects the objectification and exoticisation of the Tibetan culture and landscape. In addressing this questions, this paper will adopt two lines of inquiry, asking: 1) Do Pema Tseden's films deliberately silence 2 Tibetan women's voices in order to represent oppressed/repressed Tibetan social/ethnic identity? 2) Do 'silent Tibetan women' speak through Pema Tseden's cinematic

representations? In this way, this paper questions Spivak's suggestions that "[t]here is no space from which the sexed subaltern subject can speak" and "[t]he subaltern as female cannot be heard or read" (Spivak 1988:307-8).

Ethnic Scripts as Feeling Rules?—Towards an Emotion Approach in Understanding Ethnicity in China

Jingyu Mao

Drawing on the case of ethnic performers in Southwest China, this paper seeks to use emotion as an analytic tool to understand minority migrants' daily experiences of ethnicity. Ethnic performers are people who perform ethnic songs and dances in restaurants or sightseeing points, most of who are also rural-urban migrants in China. Although not all performers think of themselves as 'authentic' ethnic minorities, undertaking ethnic performance as work certainly provide a novel context for performers' negotiation around the meaning of ethnicity. Ethnic performers' ambivalence feelings around whether they are 'authentic' points to the importance of understanding emotions in people's negotiation around the meaning of ethnicity. 'Ethnic scripts' was brought up as a concept to understand the overarching and hegemonic representation of ethnic minorities in China, which largely depicts ethnic minority people as backward, primitive and good at singing and dancing. The existence of ethnic scripts also largely shaped how performers understand their ethnic identities. I argue that the existence of ethnic scripts work as 'feeling rules' (Hochschilds, 1979) to shape the ways people manage their emotions in relation to the culture norms around ethnicity. Such feeling rules also deeply shaped informants' experiences of ethnicity outside of work context. I conclude this paper by arguing for an emotion approach in understanding the meaning of ethnicity in contemporary China.

Visualising Ethnicity in the Southwest Borderlands: Gender and Representation in Late Imperial and Republican China

Jing Zhu

This paper explores the mutual constitutions of visuality and empire from the perspective of gender, probing how the lives of China's ethnic minorities at the southwest frontiers were translated into images. Two sets of visual materials make up its core sources: the Miao album, a genre of ethnographic illustration depicting 5 the daily lives of non-Han peoples in late imperial China, and the ethnographic photographs found in popular Republican-era periodicals. The study highlights gender ideals within images and aims to develop a set of "visual grammar" of depicting the non-Han. Casting new light on a spectrum of gendered themes, including femininity, masculinity, sexuality, love, body and clothing, the thesis examines how the power constructed through gender helped to define, order, popularise, celebrate and imagine possessions of empire. Emphasizing the values of images to historians, it explores the ways of seeing ethnic minorities when Han Chinese gender norms were de/reconstructed. The insights into the visual codes of gender also aim to place Chinese imperial models in a cultural context, testing how well the case of China fits into theories of empire generated mainly from European models.

Grappling with the unREFable: Creative outputs in the field of East Asian Studies

Analytical forms of written work are the dominant way East Asian studies scholars are evaluated. From social sciences to humanities, it is difficult to escape the need to evaluate each other's work, and the long historical benchmarks created through textual scholarship. This issue is all the more difficult in a field that prides itself on linguistic competency as the foundation to cross-cultural understanding. Yet, there is an equally long history of creative engagements with East Asia among artists and scholars that warrants further consideration. And today, we see increasing numbers of scholars grappling with issues that require thinking beyond the textual, from questions of affect and experience, to a world of material relationships that exceed how we have classically conceptualised 'the human'. Despite the prevalence of these works, and efforts to incorporate them into frameworks such as the REF in the UK, there is still little agreement as to how we might position such engagements in the field of East Asian studies. In this panel each presenter will put forward a statement of conviction on the topic of creative outputs in East Asian studies with the intention of building a manifesto for how we might encourage, incorporate and assess non-traditional approaches to doing East Asian studies. Drawing from a wide variety of alternative outputs, from fine art to film and soundscape, each panelist will offer an example of how to grapple with the unREFable from their experience working at the intersections of traditional and non-traditional scholarly practice.

Thinking Through the Edit, Feeling with the Subject

Jennifer Coates

What is the goal of a research film? As the UK Research Excellence Framework expands to account for 'impact', the British academic landscape looks more welcoming to alternative outputs than ever before. But with its focus on public engagement and open access, does the REF really account for the contributions to scholarship made by the filmmaking *process*? When we attach value only to the final REF-able product, what learning processes become invisible? My statement of conviction is that we need to find ways to acknowledge those less visible, less documented, but nonetheless essential processes at the heart of creative production.

Films are generally received and positioned as an alternative output, in contrast to the traditional book-publishing format. Yet, the experience of making my short documentary film *When Cinema Was King* (*Goraku no ōsama,* 2018), showed how the editing process related to my larger research project, connecting the filmmaking experience to the writing of my current book manuscript. 'Thinking through the edit' means entering the different temporal state of the process, using the flow of the editing practice to uncover elements of the research that were not visible during data collection. While editing we can also observe the recorded research subject in more intimate detail than we can in the original interaction, noting micro-expressions and vocal modulations. Artificially extending the time that we spend in certain emotional states in this way allows us to 'feel with' the subject, enhancing our ethical engagement with the people we study. This paper considers how we might account for these essential but unREFable contributions to the research process.

Anti-Ethnographic, Artistic 'Research Creation': What sort of knowledge is this?

Jennifer Clarke

This paper will address problems of 'unREFable' research with regard to my recent art-anthropological work in and about Tohoku, Japan following the 3.11 'triple disaster', work that operates at the interstices of traditional and 'non-traditional' research practices in anthropology and art.

Broadly interested in transformations of 'knowledge' from one mode to another, and what kinds of knowing are made possible through contemporary art and related experimental practices, my approach is trans-disciplinary, while recognising the limitations of each discipline. Framing this in terms of relational aesthetics, new materialism and ecological thinking, I will present an approach to art-anthropological research as works of translation rather than representation (understood as speaking for others), where the effort is not to seek to create knowledge retrospectively through writing, but by creating works that function as forms of 'research creation'– generating forms of knowledge that are extra-linguistic through practical engagement in artistic practices (Manning, 2016). This paper will also consider to what extent this approach might be considered anti-ethnographic, developing the argument that "anthropology is not ethnography" (Ingold 2008). My work does not claim to 'represent' others but presents visual work as a personal response, a mode that makes most sense within the discipline of art, and which arguably makes aspects of it 'un-refable' as social research. I will explore these ideas by describing images and site-specific installations, speculative endeavours aimed at creating spaces for self-reflection and shared conversation, creative practices that go beyond the documentation of existing realities.

Beyond BBCification: staying committed to regional expertise

Jamie Coates

The imagination of how we produce creative works about East Asia for the public is narrowing as its format becomes more established. This trend limits how both the public and researchers engage with East Asia. A popular but problematic form involves documentary film crews working in limited timespans, often with no experience or knowledge of local contexts, relying on interviews with academic experts to produce feature length films. This style range from BBC documentaries to the popularization of non-fiction film-making on streaming sites such as Netflix. While this approach makes for entertaining and informative media products, it also reproduces an assumption about the role of scholarship in creative media. Namely, that research is predominantly a source of knowledge disconnected from, but disseminated through, creative outputs such as films. Tendencies such as these inhibit the possibility of research emerging from the film-making process and suggests that creative engagements with East Asia need not involve familiarizing oneself with local contexts and languages.

Within this paper I present the challenges and exploratory opportunities that emerged during the production of an ethnographic film about young Chinese people in Japan titled *Tokyo Pengyou* as well as other more experimental creative works. These projects were scouted, planned, filmed, edited and subtitled by a single researcher in the field. This end-to-end film-making style contrasts with the 'parachute-in' mode common in current documentary practice. Arguing for a clear distinction between research films and research dissemination, I show how the film-making process affords new insights and experimental opportunities.

From academia to the art gallery (and back?): Experimental ethnography in East Asia

Gabriele de Seta

Ethnographic research is intrinsically grounded on an embodied engagement with one's fieldsites. Sights, sounds, smells, tastes and feelings, often captured through multi-media fieldnotes, become the raw data that is transformed into predominantly written accounts. Critiques of anthropological textualism have extensively argued for the necessity of self-reflexive approaches to the primacy of written text outputs; similarly, the more recent sensory turn has made a strong case for the recentering of the senses in ethnographic practice. Despite the wealth of writing about the need for multi-sensory and experimental approaches to the production of ethnographic accounts, the institutional and disciplinary demands for standardized textual outputs (peer-reviewed journal articles, monographs, and at best video documentaries) keep constraining the extent to which researchers are able to productively engage in experiments with ethnographic genres and sensory domains. Drawing on the author's experiences with experimental ethnographic projects conducted in China and Taiwan, this presentation offers concrete examples and suggestions for practicing and producing research that moves beyond the institutionally-recognized formats. By tracing the circulation of ethnographic works between academic institutions and multiple art worlds (including underground art scenes, artist residencies and contemporary art centres), I argue that engaging in this sort of experimentation can also become an important heuristic enabling researchers to enter previously inaccessible contexts. Conversely, moving back to academia remains a more challenging endeavour given the lack of institutional recognition for non-standard research outputs – something that is even more evident in East Asian academia.

Panel 14

The Prospects of Developments of Sino-Armenian Political and Military Cooperation in the Framework of OBOR

Mher Sahakyan

The main aim of this paper is to present several recommendations for strengthening Sino-Armenian political and military cooperation in the framework of the "One Belt, One Road" Initiative. The main recommendations are the following:

As China is interested in making investments in South Caucasus, which is in the important crossroad of communications and has a reach energy sources, Armenia can try to involve China for solving Nagorno Karabakh conflict in a peaceful way. Yerevan can offer Beijing to submit resolution in the UNSC, which will impose arms embargo on sides, which are involved in aforementioned conflict. As a result, the arms race between Azerbaijan and Armenia will be stopped and Nagorno Karabakh conflict will be solved in a peaceful way, in turn China will get an opportunity to make vast investments in this region without any risks. It is worth mentioning that one of the routs of the SREB's China-Central Asia-Western Asia also passes through South Caucasus.

I argue, that in the future China will continue to enlarge its involvement in UNPKO, where it plans to make investments in the framework of the OBOR. In turn, Armenia is also interested in UNPKO operations, in this field Yerevan cooperates mostly with NATO. Armenia and China can negotiate and further participate in peacekeeping missions together, sharing military experience and knowledge with each other.

During the last years, China successfully developed its production of drones, military robots, and hypersonic missiles, which could be interesting for the Armenian side as military advances. The next

recommendation is that Armenia and China establish production of aforementioned weapons which will be possible to sell in the Middle East as well.

Hidden *power-geometries* of transport infrastructure: the case of Lamu Port

Elisa Gambino

African territories are undergoing a process of *respacing* through infrastructure development. Railways, roads, ports and airports have increasingly become the focus of national developmental agendas, as well as developmental agendas of regional actors. Increasing involvement of Chinese actors in infrastructure projects across the African continent calls for further investigation of the negotiation dynamics that lead to the planning and implementation of infrastructure projects. Through the analysis of the designing phases of transport infrastructure, it is possible to gather insights on the *power-geometries* amongst the actors involved. Infrastructure have historically been both a tool and a reflection of state power, yet the involvement of private or foreign actors gives birth to a complex and layered political reality. During the agenda-setting phases, the strategies of the actors involved might diverge, thus raising questions around the importance of the funding source, the role of African agency, the proliferation of diverse agendas and the factors and events leading to the finalisation of a project. Using the case study of the Lamu port project in Northern Kenya – financed by the Kenyan government and constructed by a Chinese company – this paper sheds light on the geographies of power (im)balances amongst the planning actors. Based on qualitative data collected through fieldwork research in China and Kenya (July 2018 – April 2019), this paper traces the negotiations, conflicts and compromises that characterised the years leading to the ground-breaking ceremony of the Lamu port, thus unveiling the actors' power relations and negotiations.

Is the Belt and Road Initiative under Siege? China's Muslim Problem in Xinjiang Slips over Borders

Giulia Sciorati

This paper examines the criticalities experienced by China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in relation to the counterterrorism strategy adopted by China to oppose separatist claims raised by the Uyghur Muslim minority in Xinjiang. Although Uyghur separatism pre-dates the BRI by thirty years, it has recently triggered the reaction of the two countries that sit at the core of China's BRI project: Kazakhstan and Malaysia. Both countries host Muslim majorities, and benefit from the BRI investment system. However, Kazakhstan and Malaysia have recently started to voice their concern for the counterterrorism strategy adopted by China that violates the religious freedom of the ethnic groups of Muslim faith that reside in Xinjiang. Indeed, Malaysia was the first of China's BRI partners to openly oppose the highly invasive policies adopted in the region under the banner of counterterrorism. As news began to circulate of China's return to a *laogai* system in the region, Kazakhstan joined Malaysia in expressing dissent for the fate of Chinese nationals of Kazakh origins. The paper employs statistical analysis to assess the success rate achieved by China's BRI projects in Kazakhstan and Malaysia, and correlates it to the level of assertiveness displayed by China's two BRI partners in voicing concern over Xinjiang. The level of assertiveness is measured by means of discourse analyses on speeches and press statements of Kazakh and Malaysian presidents within the 2013-2018 timeframe. The paper concludes that the reality of the benefits of China's BRI projects fell

short of Kazakh and Malaysian expectations, thus driving both countries to explicitly oppose China's counterterrorism strategy in Xinjiang as well as weakening China's entire BRI project.

Panel 65

Banished Immortals: Women's self-portrayals in seventeenth century China

Li Yizhuo

It is widely assumed that the images of banished immortals, like Ye Xiaoluan in *Wu meng tang ji,* were imposed and incarnated to women by men literati in seventeenth century China. However, judging by the inscribed poems some women of that time wrote in their paintings of the immortals, they concealed themselves in those paintings which were supposed to be regarded as self-portraits, such as Xue Susu, Qu Bingyun and Cao Zhenxiu. My research intends to study the banished immortals as women's own expression rather than men's subjective creation, investigate their motivation and trace them back to the tradition that started as early as Tang dynasty (618-907) when women depicted themselves as banished immortals in their own anthologies.

Flickering feminism: Portrayals of women in Chinese box office hits since 2012

Alexandra Hamilton

With the release of Leta Hong Fincher's Betraying Big Brother: The Feminist Awakening in China (2018), it is becoming apparent that there is a Chinese feminist movement flickering to life. And yet, in the Chinese Box Office, feminism doesn't make the cut. When we look at recent Chinese Box Office hits, the female roles play to Xi Jinping's vision of China: women at home; men at work. Among the seventy top-ten films that came out in the Chinese Box Office under Xi's governance (2012-date), fifty-nine films centre on male protagonists with female roles relegated to a supporting role. Specifically, the year 2015 was notable in its stark absence of any lead female roles in the top-ten Chinese Box Office hits. What this suggests is that Xi-era Chinese Box Office hits have led to an overall shrinking of public space for the significant discussion of women's place in society. This paper firstly will give a fuller picture of Xi-era female cinematic representations by discussing the different types of women presented in the seventy top-ten Chinese Box Office hits since 2012. Secondly, it will underline how academic literature offers by no means the complete picture of the portrayal of women in the recent Chinese Box Office. And lastly, this paper will highlight how these Xi-era Box Office hits tend towards portraying women in roles that fit into Xi Jinping's national narrative and vision.

The Precious Scroll of Henpecked Husbands (Pa laopo baojuan): A late Imperial Chinese marriage guide?

Thomas Jansen

The seventeenth century witnessed a challenge to Confucian family virtues among the non-elite population. The 'fierce wife' or 'shrew' is a prominent theme in Pu Songling's 蒲松齡 (1640-1715) collection *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋志異 (Strange Tales from the Liaozhai Studio). In an essay on the topic Pu urged people to donate money for the printing of a Buddhist sutra which was supposed to restore the traditional power balance between husband and wife. The view that religious texts could

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be manipulated by their users to handle everyday affairs is occasionally echoed in the scholarly literature on Chinese religions but rarely examined in more detail. In my paper I will explore the use of religious texts as guidebooks for solving everyday problems, using a manuscript copy of the *Precious Scroll of Henpecked Husbands* (Pa laopo baojuan 怕老婆寶卷) as my case study. First, I will briefly summarise the content of this *baojuan* and then focus the analysis of the text on three questions: What information does the text yield about how it was used? Is it a text for men, women or both? How is the relationship between husband and wife conceptualised in this *baojuan* compared to, for example, the stories in *Liaozhai zhiyi*?

Panel 48

No laughing matter: Matayoshi Naoki and his aesthetics of comedy and literature

Till Weingartner

For a number of years, Japanese stand-up comedians have also been successful with publications on the domestic book market. Benefiting from their high popularity and constant presence in the media, publications by comedians-cum-book-authors often turn into media scoops. One of the most prolific and interesting comedian-cum-writers of the recent years has been Matayoshi Naoki. Years after Matayoshi's image as an intellectual bookworm as constructed and established in the media, his novel *Hibana* (eng.: *Spark*, 2015) was awarded the Akutagawa Prize. The book turned into a bestseller and was later adapted as a series on Netflix, reaching audiences all around the world. *Hibana* focuses on the life of stand-up comedians in Japan, such as Matayoshi himself. With autobiographic undertones Matayoshi scrutinizes the aesthetics of comedy and the role of the comedian in Japanese media and society, while also creating or re-confirming audiences' ideas about the life of a professional comedian. In my talk, I am going to examine the relationship between ideas of comedy presented in *Hibana* and the author's on-stage/on-screen personae across different media. By doing so, I hope to achieve a better understanding of how comedians' images are constructed in Japanese show business.

Kabuki meets manga: Adaptation and intertextuality of manga in Kabuki

Jennifer Scott

Kabuki has a long history of adapting material from other sources. Many of the best-known plays originated from the *bunraku* puppet theatre of the Edo period. More recently, works as diverse as Shakespeare's Twelfth Night and the Indian classic *The Mahabharata* have been successfully adapted for the kabuki stage. In addition to the traditional kabuki repertoire, such new works add excitement, catch media attention, and widen kabuki's appeal by attracting first-time audiences, thus ultimately ensuring its continued commercial viability.

The latest examples are adaptations from popular manga. The highly successful *Super Kabuki II – One Piece* (2015-) is a kabuki-inspired adaptation of Oda Eiichiro's long-running (1997-) popular manga series *One Piece*. The kabuki version was co-directed by Ichikawa Ennosuke IV, who starred in the leading role, and Yokouchi Kensuke, who also wrote the script. Continuing the trend, 2018 saw the premiere of *New Kabuki Naruto* starring Bando Minosuke in the title role and Nakamura Hayato as Sasuke. Based on Kishimoto Masashi's manga *Naruto* (1999-2014), it was adapted and directed by G2.

Such productions incorporate traditional kabuki elements such as posing and manner of speaking alongside modern staging techniques such as recorded music, contemporary lighting and computer graphics. Makeup, costumes and wigs combine traditional and contemporary features to evoke manga characters and atmosphere.

This presentation analyses issues of adaptation and intertextuality in manga-based kabuki productions with reference to a theoretical framework focusing on the adaptation form as a product, the adapters and their process of adaptation, and the audience reception.

The appeal of nostalgia in contemporary Kabuki

Helen Parker

This paper will attempt to assess the significance of nostalgia for contemporary fans of kabuki, paying particular attention to the Kabuki-za theatre in Ginza, Tokyo, which closed for rebuilding in 2010 and reopened in 2013. The study is informed by theories of social remembering, starting from Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* (1989); and by theories concerning the uses of heritage in modern and contemporary society.

The first section will examine how the theatre which closed in 2010 after almost sixty years features in the collective memory of members of the kabuki community, through an analysis of *Waga Kokoro no Kabuki-za* (*Kabuki-za: Final Curtain*), a documentary film released in January 2011, during the period of rebuilding and refurbishment before the opening of the new Ginza Kabukiza. It is a product of the kabuki community, initiated and coordinated by the Shōchiku company which manages the theatre and kabuki performers. I will argue that the film cultivates a pre-existing notion that the Kabuki-za, and the performances held there, are closely linked to nostalgia in the minds of actors and audiences, reflecting its importance as a space connected to memories of performance.

In the second section, I will look at how nostalgia continues to affect the life of the current Ginza Kabukiza theatre, while it also serves as a new home for kabuki, in which its present and future are to be performed.

Panels E

Panel 55

Revisiting Sun-deuk Lim, a Korean Socialist Feminist, in Light of the MeToo Movement Era

Jesook Song

Abstract: This paper explores the significance of Sun-deuk Lim's (1915-1956) writing as a way of critiquing the liberal feminisms now manifested in the populist mode of the MeToo Movement, despite my due respect for the courage and inspiration of these actors. Lim was a Korean socialist literary critic, fiction writer, labour activist, and most essentially a feminist thinker actively publishing from the 1930s to 1950s. She was an erudite person who read extensively within Russian, German, and East Asian literature and philosophy. She lived through the tumultuous period of Japanese colonialism, Asia-Pacific War, US occupation, and the division of Korea after the Korean War. Lim's publications have been introduced to the South Korean audience only recently, due to an almost

half-century long censorship of socialist writers' work in public education curricula under the anti-communist Cold War regimes in South Korea. Yet, Lim's approach to women's liberation and class revolution -- in her critiques of Korean women writers' works not to be seen as limited to women but to proletarians and subalterns more generally – illuminate various blind spots in liberal feminism's ideas that emerged through the discourse and representation of the New Woman in her times. It is Lim's foresight and praxis of socialist feminism that this paper considers, as the past that is unfulfilled future in Walter Benjamin's sense, as an attempt to provide a different path in the new millennium from that of the now-dominant populist liberal feminism.

The Escapism of Park Mok-wol, Park Du-jin and Cho Ji-hun's Poetry Featured in the Blue Deer

Owen Stampton

Anthology The Blue Deer Anthology (청록집), produced by the Blue Deer School (청록파) of Park Du-jin (1916-1998), Park Mok-wol (1917-1978) and Cho Ji-hun (1920-1968), became a significant landmark in Korea's poetic history upon its publication in 1946. The collection focused on the idyll and the beauty of nature through the employment of a simple, traditional lyricism composed in the Korean language that had faced suppression during the latter years of the colonial era. Due to its publication date, the anthology is celebrated as a great achievement of the Liberation Era (해방기), however, this paper follows the scholarship trend that explores the anthology as a collect of poetry intrinsically linked to and shaped by the Dark Era (암흑기) that preceded the anthology's actual publication date and was the period of time in which these poems were written. While the majority of scholarship on the collection tends to focus on the natural imagery explored in the poems, this paper, however, aims to more deeply explore the thematic elements of escapism and the ways in which poetry writing and poetry reading during the Dark Era could be a cathartic experience - reading about idyllic nature as a means of psychological and spiritual relief. This paper thus aims to explore two issues, namely, how can a recontextualisation of their anthology as a Dark Era work enable a better understanding of the types of poetry being written during the latter years of colonial Korea? And also, how do Park, Park and Cho escape from the realities of the times through their poetic imagery of the natural world? Despite the significance of the anthology in the poetic history of Korea, it is still almost unknown in the West with little in-depth analysis of the collection by Koreanologists. This paper thus hopes to introduce this interesting collection, its message and the history that surrounds its production to a new audience and draw more interest towards the large bodies of work that Park, Park and Cho have left behind.

Take It Apart to Build It Again: Translation and Gender in the Work of Mizumura, Sagawa, and Nakayasu

Irina Holca

This presentation focuses on how texts written by novelist Minae Mizumura, modernist poet Chika Sagawa, and translator-poet Sawako Nakayasu problematise the intersection of translation and gender.

Minae Mizumura's novel *Shishōsetsu from left to right* (1995) consists of a mixture of Japanese and English, which reflects the author-narrator's bilingual/ bicultural legacy. Drawing on autobiographical material, it is a critique of the so-called *shishōsetsu,* a genre considered male par

excellence. In my talk, I discuss how the intentionally imperfect self-translations and re-writings included in the text are used to challenge the asymmetrical (linguistic/ cultural/ gendered) power relations the narrator inhabits.

Sawako Nakayasu's *Mouth: Eats Color* (2011) is a collection mixing English, Japanese, French, and Spanish "translations, anti-translations, & originals," which have as a starting point Sagawa Chika (1911-1936)'s poems. I first discuss Sagawa's work translating James Joyce, as well as her unique position within the (male-centred) modernist movement. Then, I move on to analyse the way Nakayasu approaches Sagawa's texts when rendering them into English (?), making the translation process visible ("punching the translator's invisibility in the face") and positioning the result as *nijisōsaku/* spin-off*.*

My analysis of the above-mentioned texts will shed light on translation, self-translation, and anti-translation as means for the woman writer-translator to negotiate her way of "being in the world." Special attention will be paid to the subversive, as well as creative potentials of incomplete/ ongoing translation in connection with today's multilingual literary production and consumption.

Panel 62

"It didn't have to be this way!": Unsettling historical narratives in South Korean film

Mark R. Plaice

This paper explores the critical potential of post-dénouement flashbacks in a number of contemporary South Korean films. 'Classical narrative' structure remains the dominant form in many Hollywood films. Despite continuing debate over the parameters of 'postclassical' Hollywood cinema, and despite the particular pleasures offered by films with complex non-linear plots, this paper takes the position that classical Hollywood narrative structures comprise a norm against which many national cinemas seek to differentiate themselves. The paper suggests that two particular uses of post-dénouement flashbacks characterise a number of South Korean films. Such flashbacks either present tragic protagonists at past moments of innocence, or revisit earlier scenes to reveal previously hidden information. Should this return to innocence, a trope associated with Melodrama, be understood in relation to melodrama as the dominant modality of Korean cinema? This paper presents an analysis of two key films, *Peppermint Candy* (1999) and *Gangnam Blues* (2015) in order to demonstrate the critical function of this narrative device. In both disrupting narrative closure and in returning to moments of innocence, post-dénouement flashbacks prompt a re-evaluation of the plot-as-past and of the narrative closure-as-present. The paper concludes that this formal device therefore operates to unsettle dominant historical narratives of the South Korean nation state, and opens up an imaginary of how the past and consequently the present and future could have been different.

Can't buy me love: precarious masculinities in Abe Kazushige's early short stories

Maria Roemer

Japanese writer Abe Kazushige's fiction describes the worlds of men. All the same, research on the author has not analyzed his novels and short stories from a perspective of masculinities studies yet. This paper fills this gap: it argues that Abe's two early short stories Minagoroshi (Massacre, 1998) and Triangles (1997) destabilize hegemonic notions of manliness by feminizing their male

protagonists. Both Ōta Tatsuyuki and Suzuki Ichirō are attached to women who are absent. They spend their time waiting for these women's attention. Men waiting for women is a feminization of them according to Roland Barthes theory of romantic love. This paper relates this trope of male waiting to cultural narratives on shifting male identities in post-bubble Japan. Both Ōta and Suzuki are freeters. In 1990s Japan, being a male flexible worker did not correspond to the image of hegemonic masculinity projected by the salarīman. Moreover, not being able to be the breadwinner of a family made it difficult for male freeters to hold heterosexual relationships (or get married), which society in turn considered as a major male failure. This paper analyzes through what specific images Minagoroshi and Triangles evoke the male waits of their protagonists as complications of romantic love. It emphasizes these complications as expressions of the men's insecurities based on their professional choices. In doing so, the paper offers, for the very first, a reading of both short stories through the lens of masculinities studies.

Traumatized memory of South Korea: Reading the Gwangju uprising throughout three feature films; A Petal (1996), May 18 (2007), and A Taxi Driver (2017)

JaeWook Ryu

The Gwangju Uprising was a movement for democratization in the city of Gwangju, South Korea, which occurred from the 18th to the 27th of May 1980. Many citizens and students in Gwangju protested for democracy against the Jun Doo-Hwan government which succeeded the long-standing military coup.

In the Korean film industry, there are three feature films dealing with the subject of the Gwangju Uprising: A Petal (1996), May 18 (2007), and A Taxi Driver (2017). These three films were produced with a gap of 10 years between each production. Each film shows a different perspective of history according to the time period in which it was produced. The films all deal with characters who went through and were traumatised by the Gwangju Uprising. However, interestingly, they portray different experiences through various types of characters.

This paper aims to understand the traumatised memory throughout Gwangju Uprising by exploring these films. Therefore, this paper will conduct a critical comparative text analysis to ascertain how these three films deal with historical events, specifically in regard to the experiences of characters who experience the Gwangju Uprising. The analysis will provide insight into how history can be remembered, interpreted and represented through the characters' points of view in each film. Gwangju Uprising is still important today in regard to politics, and not just as a historical event. In short, this paper analyses a politically traumatized memory of the Gwangju Uprising through three feature films and the political parties in Korea, and their stance on the incident.

Panel 30
Pie in the sky? The promise and pitfalls of gastrodiplomacy in East Asia

Paul O'Shea

The nascent field of gastrodiplomacy heralds the power of food to bring people together, promoting peace, understanding, and prosperity – the potential to 'win hearts and minds through the stomach'. From the high politics of Shinzō Abe serving Donald Trump hamburgers, or taking Barack Obama to Sukiyabashi Jiro (of *Jiro Dreams of Sushi* fame), to the commercial promotion of kimchi and K-food,

gastrodiplomacy as state practice has taken off in East Asia. Yet, food is not always so diplomatic – nor is East Asia. Hitherto, gastrodiplomacy, - a subfield of public diplomacy – has focused singularly on the positive, emphasising economic and soft power gains. Elements which are conflictual are redefined out as 'gastronationalism', despite their public diplomacy intent. The reality of practice in East Asia raises questions about this move. This paper analyses three cases, from both 'high' (summit diplomacy) and 'low' (public diplomacy promotion of national cuisine). The first is the 'Dokdo mousse' served at an Inter-Korean summit in spring 2018, the second the *Journal of Ethnic Foods*, an English language Korean academic journal with a mission to fix 'historical distortions' and 'promote the cultural values of Korea', and finally, state-level attempts to regulate Japanese food abroad. These examples suggest a broadening of the subfield to (a) recognise that gastrodiplomatic practices are used to express nationalistic sentiment and *this is still gastrodiplomacy*, and (b) non-/semi-state actors can employ gastrodiplomatic practices, without direct state backing, outside of formal gastrodiplomacy campaigns, to advance what they perceive to be the national interest.

Beyond philosophy and philology: Relation between the Confucian classics and rhetoric in East Asian Countries during the pre-modern period

Min Jung You

Originally, East Asian intellectuals focused their attention on the philosophy or philology of the Confucian Classics. For this reason, many scholars in this present speculate that the Classics and the study of rhetoric did not have a close relationship. In counterpoint to this common sense of the academia, not only the Classics was regarded as a model for learning rhetorical strategy but also rhetoric worked as a tool for interpreting of the Classics. Furthermore, this close relationship between the Classics and rhetoric had been maintained from the mid-periods of China to the pre-modern periods of China, Korea, and Japan.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the relation between the Classics and rhetoric during the pre-modern periods in the three East Asian countries—China, Korea, and Japan. Firstly, I will evaluate the two contrasting interpretations of the passage "修辭立其誠" in the *Book of Change*. By doing so, the East Asian intellectuals' views on rhetoric will be investigated, since the Sinographic term *xiuci* 修辭 is applied to the Western concept of rhetoric. Second, I will figure out how the study of rhetoric affected to East Asian intellectuals when interpreting the Classics. As a part of it, I will also examine the examples that show how East Asian intellectuals employed the Classics as a compositional model.

This study will provide a stepping stone of understanding that the Classics and rhetoric were not poles apart ideologically. In doing so, we will be able to recognize that the Classics and rhetoric had an inevitable relationship, and then will be able to think outside the box that the only two disciplines—philosophy and philology—were utilized when interpreting the Classics.

Panel 21

From Japanese Otaku to Chinese Zhai: The development of Chinese online Anime, comics and games subculture

Yingjie Huang

The Chinese phrase Zhai (宅) means a residence for people to live in or a status of people staying at residence. With the circulation of Japanese anime, comics and games (ACG) products in the Mainland China via Taiwan and Hong Kong from the 1990s, the phrase Zhai on Chinese Internet has a new definition as ACG Zhai, which developed from Japanese otaku and means ACG fans being addicted to watching anime and comics or playing games. Chinese online ACG culture communities also formed, such as the Bilibili ACG community, which promotes itself as an online place Chinese ACG fans congregate. With a participant observation on Bilibili ACG community, this paper examines the similarities and differences between Japanese otaku and Chinese ACG Zhai. This paper finds while Japanese otaku has for decades casted social-cultural influences on the Japanese society, such as the social isolation and withdrawal of Japanese otaku, Chinese ACG Zhai is an emerging online subculture attracting attentions mainly from Chinese ACG fans. This paper also finds Chinese ACG Zhai followers are becoming the backbone in the consumptions on domestic ACG products in Chinese ACG industry. This paper claims the development of Chinese ACG online subculture is dynamic, in which Chinese Zhai extracted meaning from Japanese otaku and developed into a cultural phenomenon carries Chinese characteristics. This process cannot be neglected in the cross-regional cultural communication in the East Asian studies.

Smart city, smart planning? The implementation of smart city policies in Taiyuan and Xi'an

Ran Peng

China is committed to the idea of Smart Cities. Currently, China's approach to Smart Cities consists of policies addressing the building of basic technology infrastructure (5G mobile networks, IOT, cloud computing, AI, transportation), improving urban administration (new departments, monitoring system and Smart governmental service, Smart social community), developing the economy (Smart payment methods, IT industry, international business), and adopting "Smart lifestyles" (using all kinds of Smart technology, living in Smart home). While some Chinese cities have embraced the Smart City project, the results have been questioned and characterised by a lack of clarity, uneven urban administration and technological application, resulting in imbalanced city development.

Based on initial findings following fieldwork in China this paper focuses on the development and implementation of the Chinese national strategy of constructing Smart Cities between 2012 and 2020. The paper will outline Chinese Smart City policies and practice through two case studies. I will use Taiyuan and Xi'an as examples to show the practice of constructing Smart Cities in China. Smart Cities construction is supposed to be sustainable and flexible. In this paper, I will analyse how local governments achieve this. The paper will address how these two Chinese cities use information technology and collaborate with partner companies. Through this analysis, the relationship between local governments, enterprises, and the implementation of Smart Cities will be sketched out. This will allow for some initial conclusions to be made regarding the development and implementation of Smart City policies at the local level.

On the complications of State and Cryptocurrency - An analysis of China's digital currency policy

Daan de Jonge, Max de Jonge

The advent of blockchain-based digital currencies has presented the People's Republic of China (PRC) with a multi-faceted challenge, which could serve either to undermine the PRC's state power; or to advance it's domestic economic oversight to unknown heights. This research seeks to fill a large gap

in academic literature about a topic which can provide significant insight not only into the future of the PRC's monetary policy and engagement with new technologies. Firstly, this is done through an analysis of the PRC's legislative action against private digital currency trading to determine. Secondly, we look at the extensive research done by the People's Bank of China and their Institute for Digital Currency Research to elucidate the direction the PRC is taking with digital currencies. We aim to show the duality of the PRC's position on digital currencies, as in private form it is presented to them as a substantial threat, whereas in a state-backed form it promises the PRC oversight into every single transaction made directly from purchaser to seller. Not only is the PRC leading the world in research of how this can work in tandem with maintaining strength in the commercial banking sector, but they are also one of the world leaders in research of the underlying technology. The introduction of a state-backed digital currency will allow the PRC to significantly improve the efficiency in their economy, ranging from anti-corruption benefits to more reliable social welfare. We strongly feel this should see more discussion due to its immediate relevance.

Panel 37

The Evolving Identity of the Scientist in Japan

Like its English counterpart 'scientist', the term *kagakusha* was for much of its early existence a matter of debate, particularly in Japan where science initially suffered from a reputation as a vocation for "second rate people" (Yamagata 1889: 1). During the twentieth century, however, scientists in Japan increasingly came to have an established professional identity and a clearly defined position in the public sphere.

The three papers in this panel provide a chronological exploration the evolving profile of the scientist in nineteenth and twentieth century Japan, asking how the identity of the *kagakusha* developed, and examining how Japanese scientists established a position for themselves in society and in the public sphere. Ruselle Meade's paper explores how scientists targeted mass-market periodicals in a deliberate effort to counter their low public profile in the mid to late Meiji period. Ian Rapley discusses how the foreign language learning of Japanese scientists reveals the challenges they confronted in operating within the global structures and networks of modern science. Kenji Ito presents the case of Takeuchi Tokio, arguing that the controversy surrounding findings in one of his publications is illustrative of the final transition of Japanese physicists from *gakusha* (scholars) to *kagakusha* (scientists).

Together these papers historicize the notion of the scientist in Japan in an attempt to de-centre our understanding of the history of modern science. It is hoped that such an approach can reveal some of the implicit assumptions underlying mainstream scholarship and contribute to a more thoroughly global history of modern science.

The mass-market periodical in the construction of Japanese scientists' public personae

Ruselle Meade

With the establishment of a science department at the Imperial University in the 1870s, writing for the general public became an important part of scientists' training. Students of science and engineering (as well as those in other disciplines) were expected to contribute articles, be they translations of foreign-language articles or synopses of lectures, to the institutional magazine *Gakugei Shirin*. This magazine was sold across Japan and, at a time when the identity of scientists

was still very much in formation, served as a forum for fledging scientists to convince the public of the relevance of scientific expertise to their daily lives and to establish their authority. Although scientists later increasingly wrote for specialist and disciplinary journals, many took immediate advantage of the rapid expansion of the mass-market periodical market in the late 1880s and 1890s to reach as wide an audience as possible.

This paper explores how scientists targeted mass-market periodicals in a deliberate effort to counter their low public profile in the mid to late Meiji period, and to establish the contours of an emerging professional identity. Through case studies of four prominent scientists (Ikeda Kikunae, Miyoshi Manabu, Sekiya Kiyokage and Kimotsuki Kaneyuki) this paper will compare writings in disciplinary journals with those in mass-market periodicals to demonstrate how scientists projected their authority differently to those outside of their community, showing how they deftly exploited the potential of a new medium to establish the public esteem that later became a hallmark of their professional identity.

Foreign languages and the Japanese scientist

Ian Rapley

One dimension of Japan's mid-nineteenth century 'opening' and its subsequent modernisation was an encounter with the practices and bodies of knowledge of modern science. From the *Rangakusha* of late Tokugawa Japan, through the establishment of scientific departments within Meiji-era universities and beyond into the twentieth century, Japan became a participant in these global networks.

However, despite their claim to universality, core scientific institutions remained profoundly grounded within a specific (European) context. As a result of this dominating foreign influence, studying and using European languages were, from the outset, inescapable parts of Japanese scientists' professional practice. Languages were a means of accessing knowledge, making contacts, and building networks, and in time they came to be a necessary tool for sharing results and theory.

This paper examines the foreign language experiences of a number of Japanese scientists, including Oka Asajiro, a biologist and populariser of evolutionary theory, Murata Masataka, a doctor and medical researcher, and Oishi Wasaburo, a meteorologist. These examples stretch from the late nineteenth century through to the 1930s. Working in different fields and across a range of time, the three and others adopted different approaches to the foreign language dilemmas which they faced. As a result, they help reveal how Japanese science negotiated challenges of legitimation within a national context and of positioning in relation to the global structures and networks of power that comprised modern science.

When did Japanese physicists become "scientists"? Their transition from *gakusha* to *kagakusha* and Takeuchi Tokio's artificial radium in the early 1940s

Kenji Ito

This paper claims that physicists in Japan became 'scientists' (*kagakusha*) in today's sense by the beginning of the 1940s. One prominent feature of today's scientists is the primacy of research. They are identified and evaluated by the new knowledge they produce rather than by the amount of knowledge they have absorbed. Scientists need to know only relevant previous studies and research

methodologies to produce new knowledge, in addition to the knowledge to perform their professional duties such as teaching. In contrast, the traditional conception of a scholar (*gakusha*) placed much more emphasis on the depth and breadth of one's knowledge, but not on the ability to produce new knowledge.

Kuwaki Ayao, who turned from physics to the history of science had this conception of scholarly ideal. This ideal was consistent with demands to import new knowledge from Europe and North America. If such scholars were skilled at importing knowledge and communicating it to the public, they could be regarded as authoritative figures, even if they did not produce new knowledge. One late and somewhat degenerate example of such physicists was Takeuchi Tokio who attained fame, not through his own research, but through prolific popular writings on new developments in physics. A highly publicized debate and an ensuing experiment in 1941 disproved the result of one of his papers, demonstrated his lack of research skills, and questioned his qualification as a physicist. I argue that this incident symbolized the completion of the transition of Japanese physicists from *gakusha* to *kagakusha.*

Panel 22

The politics of memory: The contested revolutionary pasts of singing girls, CCP Cadres and official history

Mi Zhao

This paper investigates the politics of memory in the reconstruction of the CCP revolutionary history by individuals and the government. It focuses on both state archives and individuals' memories, singing girls-turned-revolutionary artists and CCP cadres. Singing girls were female entertainers who sang stories to mostly male patrons before the 1950s socialist transformation. Their identities were ambiguous as both performers and women of ill-repute. Their class statuses were fluid depending on the statuses of their male patrons. The CCP cultural cadres also came across diverse class backgrounds such as bourgeoisie, working class, rural landlords and petty peasants. Today, these individuals craft their remembered revolutionary pasts shaped by their shifting gender and class identities in a changing political context.

Individuals' memories are not always associated with official history, however, not necessarily as a form of resistance. They could challenge and yet collaborate with the state in the making of official history in terms of their gender roles, class backgrounds and changing political statuses. For instance, when speaking of bitterness, singing girls marked the beginning of their bitterness variously from the reform of private troupes in the 1950s or following the pattern of "before and after 1949." Cadres' stories of "joining the revolution" challenged the CCP narratives such as land reform and women's liberation.

This essay examines the contested revolutionary histories in an intersectional framework of gender, class, and political status. I apply a critical analysis of the competing narratives of individuals (oral accounts) and that of the state (archival records).

Colour me revolutionary: How the use of colour grammar in Chinese visual iconography aids in understanding internal messages of propaganda imagery

Avital Avina

Colour in China has a long history of artistic, symbolic, religious, and mythological use. Conventional use reflects national traditions and cultural context and is a key element in various artistic forms including art, literature and writings, and folk customs. It can be used as a sign of status, virtue, fortune, personality, mood, and authority. Even in the modern Chinese context, colour was an important meaning conveyer such as the colours red or black in Cultural Revolution posters.

This paper takes the idea of colour as a meaningful element within Chinese society and introduces the use of visual colour grammar as a new way to identify and breakdown the use of colour within political art and propaganda posters. The use of colour has been adapted by visual linguists into its own unique visual grammar component, relaying much more information than just a symbolic transfer from sign to signifier. Meaning within political posters can be derived from regularities in use, presentation, and conventional meanings. Colour as a visual grammar component is expressed through the three metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual.

This paper explores how the Chinese views on colour interconnects with the metafunctions of colour to look at the political posters of the PRC. I will discuss both the approach to art as a text that can be 'read' through visual grammar and present colour in the Chinese context as more than a symbol making device but as a meaning component in and of itself.

The politics of smell: Language, olfactory metaphor, and the Chinese Revolution

Xuelei Huang

Language, rhetoric and discourse played a pivotal role in the Chinese Communist revolution. A wide range of techniques and strategies of revolutionary linguistic engineering were developed during the Mao era, and a common foundation of such techniques was what may be called "the emotional roots of political power." This paper provides a case study of the largely overlooked sensory dimension of political language and discourse in Mao China. It will demonstrate the ways in which rhetoric references to stench and fragrance engaged with emotions, forging the bond between members of the discourse community of Communist China at the biological/corporal level. How was sensory perception employed by propaganda to internalise political doctrines? How did the imageries of the fragrant and the foul serve to stimulate admiration and worship, and to instigate agitation and hatred? Adopting the keywords approach initiated by Raymond Williams, this paper studies such smell-related keywords and phrases as "the political sense of smell" (政治嗅覺), a range of scatological utterances (fart 屁, shit 屎, muck 糞), "to struggle against/condemn somebody until s/he stinks" (鬥臭, 批臭), "fragrant breeze" (香風), and "fragrant blossoms/poisonous weeds" (香花/毒草). In doing so, I explore the themes of revolutionary neurosis, rudeness, ruthlessness, the polarization of love and hatred as the necessary ingredients of revolutionary emotions and discourses.

Roundtable - Climate change and researching East Asia

Sophia Woodman (Moderator), James Paterson, Dave Reay, Lei Xie, and Joy Y. Zhang

This roundtable will bring together scholars working on projects on climate change in different parts of the region, as well as those working on environmental and sustainability issues, to think about how research on this region needs to adapt in the face of climate change. Should we be assessing the carbon footprint of the research we do? If so, how might this change our choices of what to

study and how? Might such action contribute to addressing broader global inequalities in knowledge production? How does methodological nationalism obscure the relationships between action to address climate change in one region (e.g. Europe) and another (e.g. East Asia)? How are our research agendas shaped by, or in tension with, the competing national rhetorics and climate realities? How much is climate change-related research focused on problematising or stigmatising a climate issue as opposed to solving it? How do the structural conditions of research careers relating to research on this region—such as priorities in research funding, evaluation of research activities, schedules and location of conferences—contribute to obscuring such questions and possible solutions?

Panels F

Panel 17

Bi/multilingual education, translation, and social mobility in Xinjiang

Saihong Li

This paper – drawing on fieldwork conducted through questionnaires, interviews and participant observation in the form of a triangulation method – references Antonio Gramsci's writings on language and political theory (also known as glottopolitical theory) as an optic through which to analyse bilingual education, translation and social mobility in Xinjiang, China. By adhering to the practices and procedures governing empirical investigation, it evaluates the effects of China's bi/multilingual language policy and discusses its implications within education. The chapter's objectives are threefold: 1) to evaluate current forms of bilingual education in Xinjiang within the curriculum as a whole, and to assess the importance of using specific languages and translation; 2) to assess the attitudes of different ethnic groups towards current bi/multilingual education policy and its evolution in Xinjiang; and 3) to develop proposals concerning the preservation of minority culture and languages while also diffusing the benefits of Mandarin and English for career enhancement, without exacerbating the tensions that exist between unity and diversity. The research shows that an optimal education policy would take into consideration the needs of minorities. To provide equal opportunities for all, whatever their first language, is to contribute to social harmony and economic progress at both a regional and national level. It is argued that aspects of Gramsci's glottopolitical writings on language and cultural identity reflect the guiding principles of an openness to linguistic diversity and a balanced language policy in terms of 'plurality within unity' in China.

Ethnic Mongols in today's China

Alex Chelegeer

While being widely stereotyped that China is populated entirely by a homogeneous Han population who all speak the same language and have a more or less uniform culture, the fact is that there are 55 ethnic nationalities (MINZU) with state-certificated communities of people and distinct languages, customs, economic lives, and psychological make-ups in culture, whose autonomous habitats account for 64% of the country's total land territory. The MINZU category represents a fundamental structure of Chinese population for the administrative system and indicates how

ethnicities like Uyghurs, Tibetans, and Mongols have been weaving intricate networks of conflict, interconnection, and influence over the entire Chinese history and the Chinese society.

During the last two decades, Xinjiang and Tibet, the homes to the Uyghurs and Tibetans, have been claimed as being exposed to security threat from terrorism, extremism, and separatism, and have drawn great attention from the world. However, the Mongols in China seems absent from political violence and continues to be downplayed and unappreciated in recent discussions.

By sketching the Mongolian society in China, this paper will stress the living conditions of those Chinese Mongolian citizens and discover how their ethnic identities influence their daily practice. Although scholars like Bulag (2002) believed the Mongolians in China could be a subject of postcolonial criticism, this paper would take a more neutral view to see how Mongolian elites different from Uyghur and Tibetan ones and how they lead interacts with the central government. Furthermore, this analysis will favour the sociological debates on Chinese nationalism and its constructed ethnic relations.

The campaign against religious extremism as a de-radicalisation policy in China

Zhang Chi

States' reaction to terrorism affects the ways in which their Muslim communities live. This paper argues that it is fruitful to situate China's de-radicalisation strategy in the debate over multiculturalism, as it reveals the pervasiveness of the difficulty in regard to identify the proper line between civil liberties and state security in the context of counter-terrorism. The diversity of a Muslim minority becomes uncomfortable to the mainstream media, and is considered what undermines community cohesion of a liberal and open society. The alleged 'crisis' of multiculturalism has prompted scholars in the West to reflect on the relationship between diversity and community cohesion, especially in the UK. However, the current debate over multiculturalism is focused on the Western models of multiculturalism, which involves concerns for minority nationalism and immigration groups, while the experience in non-Western countries is less explored. This project seeks to bridge this gap by applying this concept in analysing the CCP's de-radicalisation and its efforts in curbing religious extremism.

China's integration model is based on Fei Xiaotong's paradigm 'diversity within unity'. It projects a hierarchical relationship between national identity and ethnic identity. Under this policy, separatism is conflated with terrorism. The ruling party established a regime of truth that helps it to differentiate between 'correct' and 'incorrect' views of history. In addition, the state seeks to differentiate between 'normal' and 'illegal' religious activities as politics elites consider the spread of Islam a potential threat when it interfere with the administrative system in a secular state. As a result, the state has designated a considerable number of daily activities as 'illegal'.

Panel 38
Looking at Modern Asian History through the Prism of Law

For a long time, law and history have been studied as disciplines widely apart, if not diametrically opposed in academia. Traditionally, positive law pretends to be the manifestation of universal rationality and systematic thinking that transcends temporality and historical contingency. This has changed, however, in recent times and, while law experiences a veritable 'historical turn', so do

history and the humanities in general witness what one could similarly call a 'legal turn'. Thus, legal doctrine, its evolution and global dissemination especially since the 19th century has increasingly become the medium that serves to register ripples in the domestic as well as international fabric of politics, society and culture.

This panel contributes to this field by focusing particularly on the role of law in modern imperial Japan and the repercussions of its interpretation and practice within Japan as well as in East and Southeast Asia. The first paper (Raj Lakh Sen) uses the representation of family law and the law of succession in late 19th century Japanese literature to analyse wider issues of class and gender in the evolving modern Japanese state. In chronological succession, the second paper (Hiromi Sasamoto-Collins) takes the relation of law, state and society to the interwar and war period by looking at how Japanese criminal lawyers discussed the rationale of criminal law in relation to individual freedom, morality and the state's purposes gearing up for total war. The final paper (Urs Matthias Zachmann) traces this trajectory into the wartime period, casting a light on how the Japanese military strategically used law as a weapon, not only to discipline soldiers and civilians in the occupied areas of East and Southeast Asia, but also as a tool of violence in itself.

Trans-creation of Law in Meiji Era and its Interpretations in Japanese Novels

Raj Lakhi Sen

This paper will explore how Japanese writers 'trans-created' their versions of Japanese law from the 19th century European legal landscape while retaining some crucial elements of the 'medieval' civil laws, and presented them as part of the 'modern law' of Japan in their work. It will show how they perceived contemporaneous Japanese societal discourse as 'pre-modern' especially regarding the inheritance and adoption law, despite the enforcement of the new Civil Code (1898) and the considerable popularity of the People's Freedom and Rights Movement which advocated the concepts of equality and freedom in the late 1870s and early 1880s. I will investigate the extent to which these new laws and their interpretation by Japanese writers through the lenses of 'popular beliefs' created new social discourse in literary work and later sustained by bibliography and the works of Japanese writers such as Miyazawa Kenji (1896-1933) to Higashino Keigo (1958-). I will touch on a possible link between modern Japanese legal history and how the history of Japanese literature itself had been written, and also the dynamics of the class and gender issues in contemporary Japanese society in the area of law and literature.

Criminal law in a time of crisis: scholarly debates in early 20ᵗʰ century Japan

Hiromi Sasamoto-Collins

Criminal law is both a means to maintain the safety of society and an instrument to protect the individual from the abuse of state power. Modern Japanese criminal law is filled with such tensions, and Japanese legal scholars, who emerged in early 20ᵗʰ century as a distinctive professional group, were frequently engaged by the need to find exact definitions of crime, the law's purposes and remit.

This paper will therefore examine the theories of three leading criminal law specialists active in early 20th century Japan. They were Makino Eiichi (1878–1970), Takikawa Yukitoki (1891–1962), and Ono Seiichirō (1891–1986). Makino was one of the most influential criminal law specialists in Japan in the

first half of the 20th century and a strong promoter of the criminology-based Modern School of criminal law. Takikawa and Ono were leading critics of Makino's 'modern' theory. However, while Takikawa was purged from his university in 1933 for his liberal views, Makino and Ono began to accommodate to the government's war policy. In the late 1930s and during the war, Makino advocated an evolutionary notion of the cultural state (*bunka kokka*) and Ono a Hegelian and Romanticist notion of the moral state (*dōgi kokka*). Both participated in the pro-government Japanese Law (Nihon Hōri) Movement during the war. The paper will focus on the ideological contrasts between these men, highlighting in particular the legal status of the individual at a time of political crisis.

Fighting War by Law in Asia: Japanese Military Justice during the Asia-Pacific War, 1937-45

Urs Matthias Zachmann

Japan fought the war over East and Southeast Asia between 1937 and 1945 not only in the theatres of war, but with equal harshness in the courtrooms of military justice. Wherever Japanese soldiers went, judge-advocates followed, meeting out stern justice to soldiers, civilians and enemy soldiers alike. The system of courts-martial and military courts throughout East and Southeast Asia served three purposes: regulate violence and channel it efficiently to serve Japan's war goals; deter the civilian population and coerce it into following Japan's 'New Order' in East Asia; and finally, convince domestic and international audiences that Japan's war was not only legitimate, but also 'legal'. Yet, despite formal pretences, verdicts routinely ended in execution or harsh imprisonment. As such, the violence of the justice system mirrored the brutality of the war in general.

This paper outlines the project of using military justice as focal point and as a highly precise lens for studying the various figurations of violence during the war. It analyses legal practice as an integral part of this violence and facilitator for its routinisation and escalation on the battlefield and in the occupied territories. The project is based on a wholly new and voluminous set of historical sources that, through legal documentation of the Japanese military justice system reflected (and often exacerbated) the stark realities of the war in East and Southeast Asia.

Panel 44

Making a Japanese identity against East Asia: Japanese young migrants in Dublin

Ayako Suzuki

Contemporary Japanese migration has been characterised as a quest for rewarding and meaningful experiences. In particular, for Japanese youth the transient global movement in the forms as language students and working holiday makers has become a common experience that allows them to acquire international experiences and gain a broader perspective. Therefore, Japanese middle-class youth who travel to Western destinations that are seen as offering cosmopolitan lifestyles, expect to become a cosmopolitan through their migration experiences. Then, is it actually so?

This paper examines the reflexive practice of re-enacting Japanese young migrants' social standing in a destination society through ethnographically exploring migration experiences amongst Japanese individuals in their twenties and thirties who travelled to Dublin on temporary visas. Their Irish experience, particularly encounters with Korean and Chinese people in their everyday lives, was instrumental in de-defining Japan's cultural and economic superiority over general Asian Others. In

the Irish context where Japanese ethnicity was invisible and subsumed into an overarching framework of Asian Other, my participants engaged in such class-based processes of othering. I discuss the ways in which they drew distinctions between self and Other, and re-enacted their economic and cultural privilege in their new lives. These processes of negotiating their positionality in Dublin, I attempt to unpack the nexus of migration and identity.

"You should be tough": Surviving in Japan as a male asylum seeker

Yusuf Avci

Japan has been criticised for having one of the toughest asylum regimes among developed countries in the world, mostly because its record low numbers for refugee recognition. As a result of this tough asylum regime, most of the asylum seekers experience various difficulties in Japan, starting from long detention times to finding proper accommodation. The hardships they face affect asylum seekers in many ways and usually they blame the Immigration Bureau, Japanese government or sometimes even ordinary Japanese people for these problems. In these circumstances, male asylum seekers employ different tactics to survive, which also includes certain masculinity performances. Dealing with a detention officer or a possible girlfriend requires different abilities, and therefore they constantly recalibrate their performance of masculinity in order to present the best matching version of themselves for each situation. Even though a "macho" might sometimes convince a reluctant boss to pay, it may also cause someone to be arrested if the things go wrong. Therefore, male asylum seekers must carefully craft their attitudes toward others. This paper will address and explore how male asylum seekers in Japan negotiate and adapt their masculinities in order to survive in a non-hospitable asylum regime, and also why they choose certain performances over others.

Panel 47

Regionalism, networks, and power: The case of Japan and Southeast Asia

Ryan Hartley

This presentation will focus on regionalism and sub-regionalism within the context of Japan-Southeast Asia relations. The literature on regionalism and regionalisation has developed to a point of stalemate confusion. Crudely encapsulated by the "Old Regionalism" and "New Regionalism" schools of thought, International Relations and Area Studies literature has come to a point of theoretical confusion on the subject. This is even more the case when the focus becomes East and Southeast Asia. The many levels of, and great number of spaghetti soup acronymic regional groupings, present significant classification challenges. This presentation will collapse these divisions by applying Network Theory – an inter-disciplinary application that is very rare – to the subject of East and Southeast Asia. Specifically, the presentation will argue that not only can Network Theory aid in better understanding this region and its relations, but also argue that large actors in the region such as Japan (and China and South Korea) already understand and use this notion of networks in international relations. From this perspective there are significant misunderstandings taking place in approaching the relations of the region, as (Western) preferences for nation-states are less preferred in favour of transnational and multi-spatial power networks. The presentation will present original and contemporary research into how Japan employs network logic in its relations with Southeast Asia, in addition to critiquing claims of how the so called 'competition' with China (and to a lesser extent South Korea) that so easily makes its way into media and academic commentary, may be overblown.

"Decentring" Japanese strategy? Partnership proliferation and the US Alliance in Japanese security

Garren Mulloy

Prime Minister Abe Shinzo's determination to reassert Japanese commitment to the US Alliance was demonstrated by his efforts to engage with President-Elect Donald Trump in 2016. That this was required indicated concerns regarding confidence in Japan's only alliance. Abe has also been the most assiduous cultivator of Japanese multilateral relations and Strategic Partnerships within Asia and further afield, within a vision of Japan's Indo-Pacific strategic approach. Paul Midford suggests that "Japan has decentred from the US since the Cold War" (2018), replacing the sole US strategic relationship with a US core-relationship complemented by an expanding diversity of other relationships. While many Japanese partnerships have focused upon cultivation of economic and development cooperation security elements have also significantly increased, from 'softer-power' civilian maritime and cyber security, through to 'harder-power' defence technology cooperation and military exercises.

The questions are whether such partnerships are intended as alliance-buttressing, or alliance-insurance hedging, and how much confidence can Japan's Strategic Partners have in a risk-averse Japan within a security-challenged Indo-Pacific? What are the intended purposes of partnerships, and are they fit for purpose? This paper evaluates Japanese partnerships in light of these questions, what functional engagements and mutual benefits have emerged, and future potential Japanese approaches. It particularly focuses upon the different forms of partnerships being cultivated with ASEAN and other Asian states, and how these differ not only within Asia, but also compared with the partnerships formed with European states and fellow US allies, such as Canada and Australia.

Japan-UK relations before and after the Brexit referendum

Utpal Vyas

In the post-war era Japan and the UK have built up good economic and political relations which have increasingly been characterised by a mutual respect and even appreciation of each other's cultures and interests. Some scholars maintain that they have many cultural similarities due to geographical and geopolitical situations as island nations facing strong continental powers, although these assertions can often be used as a cover for sometimes deep differences which result from philosophies and cultures separated by great distances.

In recent years, relations between the two nations have been increasingly amicable as Japan has sought to deal with China's rise and Japan's own internal socio-economic problems, while the UK has been dealing with the European Union and its own post-financial crisis problems. However, the Brexit referendum in the UK, which resulted in the government pronouncing that it would leave the EU due to the popular vote in favour of leaving, has created surprise and confusion in a Japan which craves stability and reliable international partners outside its own tense region.

This paper uses a framework of national identity to ask how Japan is dealing with the sudden change in its perceptions of its relations with the UK. The paper will consider how interaction in national identities can help us to understand how nations relate to each other, and in particular ask the question of how Japan's own national identity has shaped the changes in its relations with the UK which have occurred due to the referendum result.

(De)Constructing Nostalgic Myths of the Mother in Japanese drama Woman

Forum Mithani

In a time of uncertainty and crisis, many Japanese have sought comfort in images of an idyllic native home, centred on a devoted, nurturing mother. Paradoxically, while this romanticised conception of the 'mother' is mourned as a casualty of modernisation, it is a relatively recent invention produced in response to anxieties over the rapid social changes Japan experienced during post-war period. The construction of this maternal fantasy has primarily been the work of men seeking solace in the warm embrace of the 'mother' as compensation for their diminishing social status. However, nostalgic representations are not invariably sweet reminiscences. The television drama *Woman* is one example of a media product that exploited the nostalgic image of motherhood without ignoring its contradictions. I argue that in its depiction of two contrasting returns to one's native home, the drama constructs an indulgent, child-centred idealisation of motherhood only to deconstruct it through the revelation of its artifice. In the process, it reveals the contrasting dissatisfactions of men and women in contemporary Japan.

Designing Japanese disaster narratives

Christopher Hood

Mileti (1999) has argued that disasters are 'designed' and are 'the consequences of narrow and short-sighted development patterns, cultural premises, and attitudes toward both the natural environment and even science and technology' (ibid:18). If disasters themselves are 'designed', what about narratives about disasters? Yacowar (2012) not only categorised disaster movies into types, but also set out 16 conventions of features that appear in these movies. Despite the fact that Yacowar's work has been cited by many other works over the years, and the work in which it appears has had several editions, it has not been updated since it was originally written in 1976. In other words, it was written prior to the disaster blockbusters of the 1990s, such as Cameron's *Titanic* (1997) which is the highest grossing historical disaster movie of all time, and, as of 2019, is the second highest grossing film of all time (Box Office Mojo 2018). A further problem with Yacowar's work is that it primarily focussed on English-language movies. This paper not only considers the degree to which Yacowar's conventions apply to English-language narratives, but also looks at some Japanese disaster movies to see the degree to which they apply to them. The paper highlights that new conventions need to be considered, but there are some key differences between English-language and Japanese narratives which may impact the international appeal of such narratives.

Re-mediation, decontamination, and the waste ecologies of post-Fukushima Japan

Franz Prichard

Akagi Shuji's photography explores the media/ecological dimensions of the ongoing Fukushima Dai'ichi reactor meltdown disaster. Mobilizing twitter to record the uncanny traces of Fukushima-city's decontamination and recovery efforts, Akagi's photography affords a renewed consideration of the expanded ecologies of disaster. Akagi's work troubles the ideologies of recovery that ring hollow

before the unprecedented realities of the ongoing disaster by recording the residual vestiges of the state's decontamination process. His tweets constitute an archive of bodily encounters with the visible and invisible remnants of disaster, disclosing a profound crisis at the heart of attempts to manage the accumulating contaminants, such as the Sisyphean efforts of the subcontracted day laborers who decontaminate the city's surfaces and resultant "temporary storage facilities" that proliferate across the landscape. I will explore how Akagi's "traces" are re-mediated through the specific channels of the twitter platform –attending to how such work mobilizes the unique rhythms and affective pathways of the post-disaster twitter-sphere in Japan–and consider the ways this work presents a new modality of self-reflexive documentary media. Moreover, I will map the ways that Akagi's work forces us to reconsider the established vocabularies of environmental disaster through the specific ecologies and residual materialities of nuclear waste. Along the way, this paper will situate Akagi's work among other aesthetic interventions that similarly seek to grasp the geopolitical dimensions of ecological disaster based on critical forms of exchange among bodies and media environments.

Panel 29
Science and Medicine for the Border-Crossing Diseases and Populations

The panel aims to examine how various scientific and medical activities during and after the Asia-Pacific War conceptualized and treated diseases and populations crossing borders across and beyond East Asia, and how these activities went in tandem with the expansion of the Japanese wartime empire in the early 1940s and the demise thereof in the latter half of the 1940s. By covering both the so-called 'wartime' and 'post-war' periods, the panel as a collective highlights continuities that existed in how the Japanese state regarded disease control and population distribution continuously as a critical tool for its geopolitical strategies, despite the changing political status and structure after 1945. At the same time, by analyzing medico-scientific activities that focused on border-crossing disease and human agents, the panel also stresses how these activities were also embedded in wider, transnational, context. Finally, the panel aims to explore whether or not interventions into populations and human bodies via science, technology and medicine conducted under the aegis of state policies could be regarded as state violence, and if so, how.

Resourceful populations and demographic sciences for the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere

Aya Homei

This presentation studies demographic sciences in the government efforts to regulate Japanese people crossing borders within the Japanese wartime empire. Specifically, I will analyse the scientific investigation into the demography of 'Japan Proper', which was conducted in the late 1930s and early 1940s to establish the policy of 'national land planning' (kokudo keikaku). In the presentation, I will show how scientists and technocrats commissioned to examine population matters for the national land planning policy subscribed to the idea originally presented by geopolitical theorists, that the population of 'Japan Proper' was a crucial geopolitical actor which, through its organic links with 'national/native land' (kokudo), defined a spatial boundary of the Greater East Asia Coprosperity Sphere as a Lebensraum of the Japanese race. Furthermore, in the context of controlled economy and total war, their scientific activities also stressed the pivotal role that the Japanese population played as 'human resource' (jinteki shigen), directly contributing to national defence as soldiers and to wartime economy as workers. Through the presentation, I will argue

population scientists in wartime Japan played a pivotal role in national land planning precisely because the wartime state valued the specific qualities of the Japanese population for fulfilling its goal. The presentation is an attempt to engage with the recently thriving historical studies that claim population science as an academic field was indebted to state politics, precisely because of the fundamental role the population question played in the economy, society and politics of a modern sovereign nation state and/or an empire.

Malaria on the Thai-Burma railway

Atsuko Naono

The literature on the Japanese wartime empire has devoted considerable attention to the atrocities committed by the Japanese imperial army, particularly regarding forced labours during the construction of the Thai-Burma railway. The forced labourers consisting of about 62,000 British, Australian, and Dutch POWs as well as some 250,000 local Southeast Asians were submitted to some of the harshest living and working conditions during the war. While many studies and accounts of the railway generally mention horrendous health conditions and medical negligence, there have not been focused studies on the role malaria, which was one of the major diseases that burdened the labourers on the railway, played in further worsening the situation. This presentation will consider the interaction of malaria control (treatment and prevention) carried out by the Japanese imperial army on the Thai-Burma railway, the impact of topography and climate of the railway and its effect on vivax malaria (the dominant malaria type of the railway), and the supplementary role played by medical personnel among the POWs. Nevertheless, the overwhelming availability of sources on the POW experience can be misleading. The main malaria experience, this paper will show, was that suffered by local Asian labour. In both cases, the railway construction in Yunnan and further South on the Kra Isthmus introduced sudden waves of labourers into malarial highrisk areas as new susceptible populations that needed treatment. The paper's main intention is thus to illuminate how the Japanese and the Americans differently approached health concerns regarding these Asian labours.

Eradicating parasites, eradicating empire: Anti-malaria screening of Japanese repatriates after World War 2

Jeong-Ran Kim

When Japan accepted unconditional surrender in WWII, about 6.9 million Japanese nationals were dispersed overseas (half of which were civilians and the rest members of the military). During the war, they were admired as frontiers men of the empire, but now were regarded as scars left by the defeat and as a burden to an impoverished country. For the US military which became the main occupation force in postwar Japan, repatriation of these nationals was an urgent mission. However, during the war, many of them were exposed to diverse diseases and the situation was worsening as the war deteriorated further for Japan. Therefore the US military and the Japanese authorities were concerned about the possibility of the spread of diseases by the movement of repatriates to Japan, exacerbating the terrible sanitary conditions. It was deemed necessary to screen pathogens and remove them in order to protect US troops and dispel social unrest in Japan. The US military ordered the establishment of quarantine stations at repatriation ports and screened communicable diseases. Examination of malaria smears was one of the main purposes of the quarantine because malaria was

prevalent throughout Japan's overseas territories and repatriates were seen as carriers of the parasites. Thus, quarantine officers examined returnees' blood to detect and eradicate malaria parasites as if obliterating the taint of imperialism imprinted in their bodies. This presentation will analyse quarantine against Japanese repatriates, focusing on how anti-malaria measures reveal not only concerns over health but for the reputation of a defeated nation.

Panel 3

Politics of Prints and Pictorial illustrations: Diplomacy, Religious and Medical Missions, 17-19th Century

Propaganda, Politics and Portraitures: Robert Morrison and the Victorian Engravings

Uganda Sze Pui Kwan

It is well known that the early 19th century Protestant Missionaries who ventured "to open China" saw printing as a form of silent evangelism. While Qianlong's 1753 decree which cordoned off foreign infiltration was still in place, the printing medium was a good way to evade the prohibitions against religious propagation and spread the word of God in China. Robert Morrison was one of those missionaries. Indeed, he operated under the persecutions of not only the imperial court, but also the East India Company at Canton and the Roman Catholic authorities in Macao. With unfailing interests in book history and printing culture, historians have paid close attention to the printing endeavours of Robert Morrison. But his various uses of images have largely escaped notices. They serve not only to aestheticize the text, but also to convey powerful messages in addition to written words. In fact, Morrison left behind at least 5 identifiable portraitures, most of which were drawn during his sabbatical leave in England between 1824 and 1826 after a 17-year sojourn in China. Clearly, Morrison saw something powerful and appealing in the Victorian portraiture and wanted to put it to use. By analyzing hitherto unseen archival materials with an interdisciplinary approach, this paper aims to resurrect this neglected aspect of Morrison's missionary life and the politics behind the making of religious portraitures.

Liu Xihong and His Diplomatic Diary: Shaping the First Chinese Associate Envoy to Britain under the Victorian Prints

LI Jiaqi

Liu Xihong (1822/1823-1892), as the first Associate Envoy to Britain (1876-1877) and the first Envoy to Germany (1877-1878), was one of the Chinese leading figures visiting the West in the 19th Century. However, during the imperial self-strengthening movement, Liu expressed his resistance to industrialization, especially the China Railway Construction Program in 1880. His resistance is interpreted as the conservative rejection to the national modernization within the "Progressive/Conservative" binary framework of Chinese historical writing. His diplomatic dairy, *Mission to Britain*, recording his understandings and criticisms of the West, is often cited as the evidence of his conservative ideology as well. Based on the Victorian prints, my project will refresh the historical memory of Liu by constructing his mediatory role and his diary making process. During his residence in Britain, the public activities of Chinese mission were covered by the written reports and pictorial images from the print media such as *the Graphic, Illustrated London News, Ipswich Journal*, etc. These archival materials illustrated the precious and specific circumstances within which Liu performed his diplomatic duty through two embassy interpreters. The rediscovery of Liu's

interpreters was the key to solve the long standing debate on how Liu carried out the diary writing without language proficiency. More importantly, by comparing the media prints with his political diary to the Qing Court, we could see how Liu rewrote the interpretations and translations to incorporate his personal agenda.

Panels G

Panel 27

Nationalism, Regionalism, and Militarism in China and Japan in the Early Twentieth Century

Medievalism and Martial Ideals in Japan and China

Oleg Benesch

 The idea that China was the center of civilization gave shape to the East Asian order for centuries, while Japan was seen as a martial country under warrior rule. This hierarchy began to break down in the face of foreign imperialist challenges in the late nineteenth century. While China suffered domestic turmoil and foreign interference, Japan emerged as a great power, and became a major conduit for the introduction of foreign ideas and reforms into China. Thousands of Chinese traveled to Japan to study in the decades after the Sino-Japanese (Jiawu) War of 1894-95. Many enrolled in military academies, and this period saw a reversal of traditional flow of knowledge from the continent to Japan. Much military technology and knowledge had its origins in the West, but its transmission was heavily mediated by the notion that Japan was a martial country. The war reinforced this belief, as did Japan's victory over Russia in 1905. Japanese military training increasingly focused on "spiritual education" methods that invoked Japan's medieval martial heritage. Many of the Chinese cadets, students, and exiles exposed to these ideas returned to China and became important military and political leaders. This paper argues that traditional notions of Chinese and Japanese identity fed into the formulation of new types of nationalism as part of a "global medievalist moment" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

New polity - "new" nation: The 1911 Revolution and the militaristic reorientation of Chinese nationalism

Clemens Büttner

After the Wuchang Uprising and the outbreak of the Revolution in October 1911, China's revolutionaries were soon faced with the dual challenge of having to assume *actual* governmental responsibility and of having to acknowledge that their exclusionary image of a distinct Chinese (ethno)-national community was not compatible with the future Chinese nation-state they had imagined – a polity with the same borders as the outgoing multi-ethnic Qing Empire. In face of these challenges, revolutionary authorities ventured to preserve the territorial integrity and popular cohesion of the fading empire by reorienting their nationalist ideology.

On basis of Chinese intellectual debates of the time and early Republican policy measures, this paper argues that the nationalist threat to the Qing geo-body was met by replacing the hitherto prevailing approach of imagining a national community based on ethnic/cultural/historical markers by that of a community defined by a specific set of *military* behavioral patterns, value concepts, and virtues. This

change of ideological course was only seemingly fundamental, however: Both notions of the nation, be they ethnic or militaristic in spirit, were based on a Social Darwinist worldview that emphasized the struggle for survival. The main advantage of the militaristic over the ethnic discourse rested with the fact that national belonging thus became reduced to compliance with an acquirable mind- and skillset that held the prospect of a national people who totally, and willingly, subjected themselves to the needs of their state.

World War One and Asian State Socialism

LEUNG, Ernest Ming Tak

This paper seeks to point out the existence in East Asia of a "State Socialist Phase" of developmentalist thinking, whose maturity was reached with the forgotten 1918 manifesto, "Strategy for Economic State-Building". This was commissioned by the Japanese Prime Minister Terauchi Masatake and written by his advisor Nishihara Kamezō, who championed an economic Pan-Asianism, the goal of which being a successful rebellion of the East Asian economic periphery against Caucasian "core nations". Nishihara argued that the economic growth of China is not to be feared but should be fostered as complementary to Japan's prosperity. He proposed a massive investment package for China similar to the "Marshall Plan", and an "East Asian Economic League" with a Bretton Woods-like currency arrangement. In Japan, land reform would be followed by total collectivization, and an "Imperial Commodities Corporation" would replace the whole retail sector. This thesis traces the European origins of Nishihara's thinking. During WWI, Walther Rathenau, head of the Raw Materials Section of the German War Ministry, expanded on Bismarck's State Socialist model and turned it into a planned economy for total mobilization. This simultaneously inspired Nishihara's proposals and Lenin's War Communism, which gave rise to Stalinist industrialisation. Stalinism was imported into East Asia in the 1930s by Japanese "Reform Bureaucrats". Nishihara serves to bridge the gap between late-Meiji social reformism and economic statism and the mindset of the "Reform Bureaucrats", who would remain dominant in Japan until the mid-60s, and would also leave a rich legacy in the two Koreas and China.

Panel 8
New Economic Histories of Agriculture, Forestry, and Water in China from the 1930s to the present

 This panel presents new research on the economic history of China from the 1930s to the present. Most scholarship on China's economic history has been either focused on the eighteenth to early twentieth century, typically working within the framework of the 'Great Divergence' debates, or on the last few decades of reform and growth up to the present-day. There is little intersection between the two inquiries, which are separated by disciplinary boundaries of history and economics, and neither has been concerned much with the Mao-era in Chinese history. While the broad outlines of economic change from 1930s onwards are known, there has been little focused work on the economic history of the Mao-era, and little conversation between scholars of the Mao-era economy and those working on the eras before and after. This panel will begin conversations to redress this lacuna by bringing together experts who, together, cover the whole period from the 1930s to the present, with a primary focus on agriculture and natural resources.

State, War and Socialism: Tung Oil Trade in Chongqing

Wankun Li

Chongqing (Chungking), an inland city in southwest Sichuan (Szechwan) Province, was a major producer of tung oil, a kind of tree oil used for staining and waterproofing wood. In 1935, tung oil replaced tea and silk as the largest export commodity in China. After 1937, when the Japanese invasion cut off the exports of tung oil along the Yangtze River. The United State, the largest importer of tung oil, provided monetary aid for the Nationalist Government (Guomindang or Kuomintang). Relying on the "Tung Oil Loan", the Nationalist government successfully established a state-owned trade company and carried out the policy of "Unified Purchase and Sale of Tung Oil" (tongyou tonggou tongxiao), shaping the tung oil trade as a state-led "supply- refining- export chain" during the Second World War. After 1949, when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was planning to implement the state acquisition policy on grain to support the its army in the Korean War, the CCP learned from Nationalist government, and established the State-owned Grain Trade Company and controlled grain processing factories and granaries. After the War, the "Unified Purchase and Sale of Grain" (liangshi tonggou tongxiao) was officially initiated, which exerted huge influence on the daily life of every Chinese people in the following decades. By using Chinese county-level archives, this paper examines the effects of wartime tung oil trade on the local Chinese economy and argues that the arrangement resulted in policies and practices had shaped inland China's economic development into the Communist era.

Labour (im)mobility and technology in Mao's China

Joseph Lawson

This paper develops a broad hypothesis about economic change and political economy in Mao's China. It argues that controls on the movement of labour not only fostered a division between urban and rural areas, but also broke patterns of seasonal labour migration among rural areas that had been an important, though difficult-to-measure aspect of China's rural economy. This led to significant shortages of labour during peak agricultural seasons in some areas with more developed industries, such as southern Jiangsu. These shortages of labour were resolved through investment in agricultural mechanization, which were subsidized heavily through an ad-hoc system of grants and very low interest loans that emerged in the aftermath of the Great Leap. Since such areas were usually wealthier than less-industrialized areas, this aspect of Mao-era economic planning entailed subsidies for already-privileged rural communities, widening gaps among rural areas. Some other parts of the country also saw substantial investment in agricultural mechanization, but with a different set of outcomes if there were no shortages of labour during harvest and planting seasons. This paper develops these arguments using county-level indicators of agricultural intensity to alongside data on other forms of economic activity to evaluate the impact of labour-saving technology.

Managing a "Water Emergency", Hong Kong, 1963-64

David Clayton

With annual rainfall at forty per cent of the long run average, the summer of 1963 was a period of 'extreme peril' in Hong Kong when the storage capacity of local reservoirs fell to seventy days. The colonial administration responded by declaring a "Water Emergency". This paper explores its form and effects. It discusses a draconian system of rationing, which halved personal consumption and

which was reliant on communitarianism and coercion. It explores how this crisis impacted on long term investment in water capture technologies, such as reservoirs, salt-water flushing, desalination, and how it affected the politics of trading in clean water with Communist China.

Unravelling China's food security puzzle, 1979–2008

Jane Du

This article provides an empirical study of China's state policies and strategies in relation to (i) food market formation and (ii) food security in the 1979–2008 period. It traces main changes in government grain procurement pricing, urban subsidised food selling and monopolistic control of food circulation from 1979 to 2008 in a bid to fulfil both food availability and accessibility under budget constraint. By observing the government's switch from state monopoly to the market, this article reveals the mechanisms through which the Chinese government acted as a monopsony by creating and sending to farmers artificial price signals to generate food availability, and as a monopolistic dealer from the supply side by providing subsidised low price food to urban consumers in order to keep costs at a low level for industrialisation. Thus China's food security largely hinges on the government's budget. The Chinese government juggled between food security and fiscal affordability to formulate a food budget that would not excessively impact food security nor cause a crisis to government finance. China's food security puzzle was eventually worked out in the mid2000s with boosted national income which enhanced the food accessibility of its population and eased Beijing's concern on food security.

Panel 57

Politics of toys in divided nations: The Korean case

Virginie Grzelczyk

The relationship between toys and society has been scrutinized in the past. While many have focused on the representation of empires and armies via pewter soldiers (Brown 1990, Ray 2006) and markets and manufacturers (Brown 1993, Benson 1998), a particular strand of study has sought to understand the connection between toys, children and their relation to culture and history (Jacobson 1999, Patico 2011). This is particularly salient when considering parts of the world that have undergone conflicts, such as the Korean peninsula. Hence, is the Korean conflict and division featured in toys that Korean children, both in the North and in the South, play with? If so, is there a specific agenda contained in such toys? What is the role of both Korean governments in toy production? And are recent rapprochements between the Koreas featured in new toys?

This paper is part of a larger project on the representation of enemy in the toy culture in conflict and post-conflict spaces, and funded by the Leverhulme Trust. The data presented at the JEASC is based on field research conducted in both South and North Korea in May 2019.

Fish, subterfuge and security in North Korean and Soviet institutional interactions in the 1970s

Robert Winstanley-Chesters

From Pyongyang's urban landscape to Mt Paektu's sacred architectures, North Korea's topographies have been harnessed in support of its politics. While the nation's coastlines have been by their nature more liminal than its monolithic urban/political terrains, North Korean maritime infrastructures have historically served its politico-developmental narratives, forging new 'socialist' landscapes and geo-political connections. These landscapes and histories have been almost entirely human in focus with historically little consideration given to a wider 'web of life.' This paper therefore considers North Korean physical and anthropological terrain and interactions with international partners and competitors as an assemblage of participants, including what Jane Bennett has termed 'vibrant' or lively matters. Exploring first the institutional and political fishing histories of Pyongyang the chapter traces developments in North Korean interaction with the Soviet Union in the 1970s. Drawing on newly encountered archival material from the Russian State Archive of the Economy and the Soviet Union's Ministry of Fisheries Archive the paper considers the reality of such encounters. In particular it analyses research exchanges between North Korea and the Soviet Union and the complexities and security paradoxes created by them as well as North Korean and Soviet fishing encounters in the Sea of Okhotsk. Fish, Fisheries Researchers and Fishing Technologies are certainly vibrant, active, lively matters in the landscapes of exchange between these two nations and their complex relationships of socialist fraternity.

The domestic construction of North Korean identity in foreign policy

Marco Milani, Federico Solfrini

The foreign policy strategies of the Democratic People Republic of Korea (DPRK) have been overwhelmingly analysed through frameworks offered by positivist traditions of IR theory. These approaches led to a biased reconstruction of the reality of North Korea, obfuscating other crucial issues like identity, norms and values that maintain a propulsive role in shaping the country's foreign policy orientations. This paper aims at re-constructing the domestic construction of North Korea's foreign policy with a specific reference to two crucial variables: history and identity. Developing a specific constructivist framework through which entangling North Korea's foreign policy, this paper will argue that also the military elements of security – including the nuclear program – are solidly responding to the fluctuations of North Korean identity through its evolutionary process. After having outlined the constructivist framework that guides the analysis, the paper will compare three different stages of North Korean identity's formation, from Kim Il Sung to Kim Jong Il, to Kim Jong Un, emphasizing the connection between national identity and the development of the nuclear program. By using the proposed constructivist framework, this paper allows to place the origin of the DPRK's foreign policy within the domestic loci through which it has been formed throughout history. Given the importance of a country's identity in developing its specific sense of the self and of the other, this paper will recover an often-underestimated role to North Korean identity in shaping its foreign policy

Panel 59

The Koryo saram in Russia: Not with one voice

Matteo Fumagalli

The paper investigates how younger generations of Koryo Saram understand and redefine their Korean-ness by focusing on ethnic Koreans living in Russia.

Drawing on fieldwork conducted in Russia, Kyrgyzstan and Korea the paper advances two main arguments. One, the Koryo saram are a highly heterogeneous community, divided by country of origin, age and experiences of mobility (to Russia, the west or South Korea). Local Koreans do not speak with one voice, and their experience tells – taken as a whole – an interesting story of de- and multi-centred identities. Two, different identity markers (language, religion, traditions, among others) are salient to different groups. This makes the preservation of group boundaries especially challenging, ultimately favouring both assimilation and a sense of identity loss.

An experimental analysis of North Korean refugees' social and ethnic identities and integration

Seo-Young Cho

As peace-making and reconciliation processes between South and North Korea progress, integration and mutual-understanding between people from the two parts of the peninsula have become more important than before. However, evidence-based research on North Koreans' life experience and attitudes is rare due to restricted accessibility to the population. To overcome this problem, this research employs behavioral experiments with North Korean refugees who currently reside in South Korea and shows how their social and ethnic identities affects their integration in South Korea. In these experiments, I apply priming methods to identify the effects of identities on integration. To do so, experiment participants (North Koreans) are primed with different identities; ethnic unity (being a Korean) is emphasized for one group of the participants, while their refugee status is pronounced for the other group. After applying the identity-priming, participants in both groups are asked to choose behavioral strategies and choices regarding cooperation, altruism, trust, and confidence. The results of the experiments reveal that emphasizing the marginalized refugee status influences North Koreans' behavioral attitudes negatively, in that they demonstrate low levels of cooperation, trust, and confidence. This finding suggests that social exclusion for the ethnically homogeneous social minorities can be perceived by them as rejection of their values, indicating the complex, compounding effects of ethnic unity and social exclusion on their integration.

The self as a reference for mixed culture persons

Nayoung Jeong

As a Korean-born, international artist and researcher, my work with locally sourced clay intervenes within contemporary notions of nationalism, identity, and globalism. Pulling from my heritage and Korean training, I employ ritualistic actions and local materials to create invitational sculptures providing Asian migrants opportunity to transcend cultural isolation. Moreover, exhibiting these public art pieces in various cities around the world engages both native and immigrant populations to challenge traditionally held concepts of territory. Since clay is naturally found in the earth in a borderless form, my primary material makes problematic ideas of territory and cultural prohibition experienced by many Asian communities. Applying my research methodologies amassed through years of doing this work on an international basis, allows me to offer Asians familiarity and social integrity through encountering my artwork alongside cross-cultural audiences.

The basis for this work and research stems from my own experiences as a mixed cultured person of Korean heritage. As such, I navigate the world with the same notions of cultural displacement experienced by my target audiences. My own Self provides a subjectively artistic framework on which to offer an objective solution to communities that speak and live as I do. Using locally sourced

clay provides Koreans and others of Asian descent to attain a literal sense of ownership over a place that may be hostile or invested in their foreignness. By infusing these sculptures with ritualistic actions that are evocative of Korean heritage and worship, my live performative sculptures also transfer a specific sense of familiarity.

Panel 61

Korean divisions and international responsibility: Retracing history to advance resolution

Mark E. Caprio

The recent advances by South Korea and the United States in their relations with North Korea constitute yet another chapter in the attempt to rectify problems associated with divided Koreans and their homeland. Between the August 1945 decision to split occupation duties at the 38th parallel, with the Soviet military governing in the north and United States military in the south, and the June 1950 outbreak of conventional war on the peninsula serious attempts were made to reconnect the two halves of the peninsula. The more formal attempts included the 1946-47 US-USSR Joint Commission discussions and the 1947-48 United Nations Temporary Commission that followed. These efforts produced, to the contrary, even stronger divisions that pushed the two Koreans into establishing separate states from 1948, which all but predicted eventual conflict. Recent efforts to resolve contemporary peninsula-centered issues, however, approach peninsular problems while neglecting their colonial and immediate postwar/post-liberation origins. Drawing primarily from government documents this presentation will examine the earliest attempt by Korea's occupiers to assemble a provisional Korean democratic government that would serve as the foundation of true Korean national independence and sovereignty. What were its aims of this Joint Commission? What areas of disagreement distanced the Soviet and American Delegations? What were the reasons for its ultimate failure to agree on a plan to achieve the Commission's aims? Were there alternatives to the UN Commission's decision to permit South-only elections in May 1948? How might consideration of these efforts contribute to discussion to resolve contemporary peninsular issues?

Pedagogical guidance, thought control and freedom: Teacher handbooks under Yusin system in the Republic of Korea

Agnieszka Smiatacz

This study concentrates on Korean ethics education under the Yusin System (1972-81), which was characterized by a strong affirmation of the South Korean state as the only legitimate holder of power on the Korean Peninsula. The so-called "human revolution", propagated by the Yusin Constitution, delivered the image of an ideal citizenship, and exercised power through the appeal to self-identity and through its contrast with the meticulously painted caricature image of human existence enslaved by communism and various strands of leftist thinking. This study argues that teaching ethics under the Yusin system was a complicated venture: it displayed the necessity, through the ethics classes, that the students formulate and adhere to "free" opinions on political reality, basing it on a strongly selective and centrally moderated knowledge of broadly perceived anti-state thought, delivered by the state-centered public education system. The focus here is the notion of "freedom" (*jayu*), as used in handbooks designed to help teachers responsible for the subject of ethics (*yulli*). This freedom, in a paradoxical twist, is supposed to be the road to purposeful ethical and ideological transformation, as opposed to the "supremacy of freedom" (*jayu jisangjuui*)

or "the omnipotence of freedom" (*jayu manneung*), which, according to the books' authors, in the past had led to the loss of direction in the nation. Ultimately, the various notions associated with "freedom" in the handbooks are presented in the light of the rapidly developing state-society conflict which ultimately lead to a crisis in the late 1970s in Korea.

At the intersection of history and sociology: A participatory action approach to data generation and interpretation for more nuanced understandings of HIV related stigma in Korea

Sini-Petriina Klasto

Social stigma is one of the leading causes for the spread of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) in Korea. After the televised presidential debate between Moon Jae-In and Hong Jun-Pyo in May 25th, 2017, HIV became a heated topic of discussion in the media and consequently encroached HIV more prominently into the consciousness of the general public.

This paper, grounded by a more encompassing PhD project, discusses how social research methods were employed to interrogate the history of HIV-related stigma in Korea through a data generation process that utilised HIV-related articles published in *Dong-A Ilbo* and *The Hankyoreh* between 1988-1999. In the project, four researchers generated a corpus of 527 articles which was first read and interpreted by everyone involved individually, and afterwards re-interpreted through multiple group discussions.

Prior to the study, it had been suggested that HIV-related stigma in Korea is *'obviously'* related to the stigma attached to a sexual minority status. The study findings, however, complicate this assumption by arguing that, until very recently, there has been very limited empirical evidence to support any direct link between HIV and homosexuality in Korea. Moreover, by collapsing the methodological conventions of sociology and history respectively, a more nuanced historical as well as sociological understanding of HIV-related stigma was generated.

The paper proposes that by collapsing disciplinary boundaries we are able to tap into the potential from which to generate more comprehensive and more encompassing knowledge.

Western travellers perception on the legitimacy of Japanese rule in Korea

Álvaro Trigo

Through this paper I analyze the information contained in a variety of travelogues written prior and after the Japanese annexation of Korea to provide a better understanding on how westerners perceived the colonial rule. In order to do so I have extracted from these sources comments on specific topics such as the socio-political situation of Korea or the traveller´s perception of both Korean and Japanese people.

All these primary sources have to be approached taking in consideration the *Zeitgeist* of the West during the period. Many of their authors depart from a historical context of social darwinism that was predominant during what some historians like Eric Hobsbawm named the Age of Empire. Besides that, while taking travelogues as a source of historical information has its limitations it also constitutes an excellent way to discuss to what extent the Japanese propaganda effort in the colony was efficient or not. To this regard I have found recurring topics in the accounts. For example, the

monumental GGK building did not go unnoticed to any traveller who arrived at the Korean capital and its mere presence often triggered political remarks reflected in the accounts.

It is also important to note that most of the travellers arrived to Korea via Japan, they stayed at the japanese managed Chosun hotel and they often had very limited interactions with Koreans. Thereby they were exposed to the japanese discourse. This can be seen in their comparisons between Korean and Japanese customs. However, I would like to argue how their perception on the later was still influenced by the orientalist discourse as it can be interpreted from the fact that they often showed ambivalent views on Japanese colonizers as newcomers to the sphere of Imperial powers.

Panel 9

Traversing Boundaries: Spatial and Material Narratives of Twentieth-century Hong Kong

Modern Conveniences: Spatial Negotiations of Neighbourhood Malls in Hong Kong New Towns Public Housing Estates, 1960s – 1980s

Vivien Chan

Hong Kong experienced drastic urban transformation in the late 1960s to the early 1980s, after the city's explosion onto the global stage as a central trade and manufacturing hub. The public housing programme was a dominating factor in this transformation, and with it came a change of everyday life for the working-class in the domestic sphere. Designed to be 'self-contained' and 'self-supporting', Hong Kong's New Towns public housing estates were widely promoted as including all the necessary amenities for the modern family, including schools, bus terminals, and crucially, shops, markets, and neighbourhood malls, and internationally applauded for their architectural prowess. This paper considers the neighbourhood mall as a site for spatially negotiating the dramatic changes in the urban, social and economic landscape of the mid-twentieth century in Hong Kong, against the backdrop of an increasingly material world. As personal finances became relatively stable thus allowing for a different kind of cultural interaction, this paper asks how the neighbourhood mall stimulated ideas about modernity through consumption, both from the perspective of the British colonial government and the growing population of the working and middle classes, and how the material manifestations of these ideas clashed and coalesced in the space of the public housing estate. Using original images and historical ethnographic research, this presentation unpacks the relationship between cultures of consumption and space in the wider narrative of Hong Kong's New Towns public housing estates, considering the role of consumption in the everyday flows of suburban life in the city.

Cultural Cross-Dressing and the City: Embodied Displacement of Chinese Female Intellectuals in London, 1910-1934

Janice Li

Chinese women's presence in London's urban history is readily neglected and assumed to be restricted to prostitutes or wives of working labour in Limehouse; but in fact, Chinese female intellectuals from cities under the influence of both formal and informal British Empire, such as Hong Kong, Shanghai and Singapore, including the first Chinese female architect, journalist, and doctor

had resided in London and had led active social lives in the city. They were not restricted to the stereotyped Limehouse but were out on the streets, parks, universities, conferences, international exhibitions, and diplomatic meetings. Fashion choices of these women have not yet been studied in great length, giving rise to a stereotyped racial filter to mainstream perception of Chinese bodies and dresses. By investigating how these women negotiated their identities through fashion and photography in a displaced urban environment, this research aims to re-examine and reconstruct the currently ambiguous existence of Chinese elite women in London during 1910-1935 against generalisation, reclaiming their place in the urban landscape while bringing design history into the debate. Cultural cross-dressing and photography will be discussed as tools of rebellion and site of cross-cultural encounters and contestations between the intimate body and the socio-political landscape. Instead of reading their adaptation of cosmopolitan/ethnic dresses as a sign of mimicry/resistance, their active choice of cultural cross-dressing will be contended as liberating experimentation and complex identity formation within spaces of cultural hybridization.

Crown Land Rule and Spatial Governance in Hong Kong

Juliana Yat Shun Kei

In the current historiography of Hong Kong, the Crown Land Rule has been seen as a key foundation for the former British colony's impressive economic development in the second half of the 20th century — the colonial government's ability to collect land rent enabled low tax rate and laissez-faire attitude to trade and commerce. Meanwhile, as the allodial landowner of almost all the land in Hong Kong, the government had significant autonomy in determining the provision of social housing, hence ensured an ample supply of low-wage workforces. What has been missing from the discussion is the Crown Land Rule's function as a means of governance. This paper draws attention to frictions that have long been side-lined in the discussion of Hong Kong's land policy, in particular, the issue of racial and ethnics divisions amongst Chinese migrants from different provinces and arrived at different time period. In this effort, this paper looks into three types of "villages" in Hong Kong's urban planning policy: indigenous villages that are founded since the 19th century, squatter villages that are recognized and tolerated by the colonial government through a series of Survey in the 1980s, and illegal settlements. Paying particular attention to the policy on squatting, this paper highlights the tangible and intangible boundaries that were created and fortified as a result of Crown Land Rule. This research adds to the current discourse on land reform and urban development in the Global South through a critical re-appraisal of Hong Kong's late-colonial and post-colonial spatial governance.

Panel 10

Droll diluvian discourse: zhiyan and therapeutic scepticism in the Zhuangzi

Wilson Lee

Chapters 27 (Yuyan) and 33 (Tianxia) of the Zhuangzi contain curious moments of reflection on the use of language in the text. They list three modes of communication, of which zhiyan [卮言] may be read as the dominant, if not underlying. Traditional interpretations of this, following Guo Xiang's commentary, understand zhi [卮] as a goblet which self-empties in a context of consumption. However, Daniel Fried has argued from archaeological and cross-textual evidence for the possibility of interpreting zhi as an ancient tipping-vessel used in the irrigation of crops. In my paper, I will

argue that Fried's interpretation of zhiyan may contribute to an understanding of how Zhuangists, at the tail-end of the textual tradition, may have read earlier chapters of the Zhuangzi to not only avoid succumbing to their own professed scepticism about language (e.g. in the Qiwulun), but effect life-affirming transformations in its readers. I will do this by examining a number of closely related passages and argue that these suggest that zhiyan, with its agricultural connotations, is mean to achieve scepticismavoidance and reader-transformation through humour.

Joseon Jongmyo: The royal aspiration for transnational Confucianism

David W. Kim

While the geopolitics of East Asia is a crucial issue among those nations (Japan, Korea, China, and Vietnam), Chinese culture has been transmitted into the lifestyle and history of each ethnic society. The globalization of philosophy, astronomy, and literature (either officially or individually) promoted an alternative thought. The transnational movement of traditional religions was not exceptional. The history of Korea reflects that the teachings of Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism have been passed onto the ancient and medieval kingdoms and dynasties in which they transformed the local culture and structure. The religiosity of national leadership was also increased in the dynamic of Chinese religions instead of Shamanism or animism. Taoism arrived at the Goguryeo kingdom in 624 CE. Buddhism was the key teaching for the establishment of the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392). Meanwhile, one of the most substantial influences for the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910) was Confucian thought. The scared site of Jongmyo was built abiding by the new religious ideology. That being the case, when was the Confucian shrine created? What was the social function of Jongmyo? How was the Chinese philosophy of the religion implied in the royal Joseon myo (廟)? The paper explores the religio-political aspects of *Jongmyo jerye*, *Jerye-ak*, and architecture through the historical figures of Jeongjeon, Yeongnyeongjeon, King Gongmin shrine, Chilsadang, and Gongsindang. Further, the transnational legacy of Ye (禮, courtesy), Hyo (孝, filial piety), Chung (忠, loyalty), the Samjae thought (三才思想), and the Yin-Yang and Five Elements theory (陰陽五行說) is argued as the intellectual philosophy of modern Korea, shaping the moral system, the life style, social relations, and the legal principle.

Animals and the limits of interpretation in the *Zhuangzi*

Joachim Gentz

In its semanticisation of literary signs, by means of both metaphorical and physiognomical arts, the *Zhuangzi* achieves such a great variety and the inventiveness and complexity of combinations of literary meaning production and the range of subtleties is taken so far that it permanently provokes questions about the possible limits of textual complexity in a reader's hermeneutical process of understanding. In the following paper I have chosen three examples in which animals play a central role to illustrate different means whereby this kind of complexity is constructed in the *Zhuangzi*. The examples reflect a range of possible ways of constructing meaning in the *Zhuangzi* and at the same time demonstrate the very problem at issue here, namely whether and when exactly we start to see ghosts and other "excesses of wonder" (Eco *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*) in the *Zhuangzi*.

Panels H

Panel 52

Female beauty and women's bodies have often been regarded as important determinants of civilization and progress since Korea's reception of modernity from the early twentieth century. In order to examine different dimensions and understand the cultural implications of such processes, this panel presents four different perspectives on the female body and identity as they have been constructed over the last century in Korea. The first paper examines a comic adaptation of the popular Korean folktale *The Tale of Ch'unhyang* in order to shed light on the ways in which "modern" was inscribed on and visualized through the female body in colonial Korea. The second paper examines media representations of modern "Koreanness" in contrast to "Chineseness" in pro-Japanese colonial films featuring actresses Moon Ye-bong and Li Xianglan. The third paper problematizes an idealized Korean girlhood constructed vis-à-vis popular Korean girls' magazines published in post-liberation Korea (1945-50) in order to rebuild and remasculinize South Korea. The last paper focuses on contemporary Korean adoptee memoirs in order to explore how transgenerational trauma moves through the relationships between Korean unwed birth mothers and their relinquished children. Starting from the comic adaptation of a popular Korean folktale in the 1930s to a recent memoir written by a Korean-American adoptee, this panel aims to articulate the makings of modern Korean genderscape as mediated through the female body and its representations in light of their own testimonies.

Korean Birth Mothers, Adoptees, and Transgenerational Trauma

Jasmine Healey

With the rise of critical adoption studies in recent years, scholars across numerous disciplines have written about the 60-year history and development of South Korea's international adoption industry, often in the context of the Korean War and American military occupation in postwar Korea. However, comparatively little critical attention has been given to Korean unwed birth mothers, or *mihonmo*. Only recently, scholars have started to study a generation of birth mothers who relinquished children for overseas adoption from the 1980s to the mid-2000s as these adoptees have reached adulthood. Such a shift in the study of Korean adoptees has problematized the different socio-cultural implications of the reasons for their relinquishment, the mother-daughter relationship between birth mothers and adoptees, and ultimately the very boundaries of Korean culture and identity. Particularly, Nicole Chung's recently published memoir *All You Can Ever Know* (2018) about growing up as a Korean-American adoptee and an edited collection of letters written by Korean birth mothers, *I Wish for You a Beautiful Life* (1999), exemplify how Korean adoptees—with fractured cultural or linguistic ties to the "motherland"—and Korean birth mothers struggle to make sense of transgenerational trauma stemming from the Korean war. By closely examining two contemporary works, this paper reconsiders *mihonmo* motherhood and Korean mother-daughter relationships and the ways in which transgenerational trauma is passed from Korean birth mothers to their relinquished children.

Korean "Girlhood" and Remasculinizing Post-Liberation Korea (1945-1950)

Eun Joung Kim

After Korea's liberation in 1945, there were urgent cries to restore the devastated nation and eradicate traces of Japanese imperialism. Accordingly, male authors created numerous narratives to present ideal masculine images and, at the same time, ideal women who would help recover Korean's masculinity. Various studies have focused on representations of strong mothers and devoted wives to remasculinize the nation, but little attention has been given to the role of Korean school girls in rebuilding Korean masculinity. Korean male intellectuals were obviously influenced by Japan's *shōjo* culture that had been established through girls' magazines and readerships since the Meiji period, but they had yet to create their own forum or medium to describe Korean girlhood. This paper thus focuses on female teens in order to investigate young femininity and its cultural significance constructed for the first time during the post-Liberation era (1945-1950). Specifically, this study examines the idolization of female youth and emphasis on sexual purity in various writings included in newspapers and popular magazines, such as *Sinsonyǒ* (Feb. 1946~June 1946) and *Yǒhaksaeng* (Nov. 1949~June 1950). The depictions of idealized girlhood set in an idyllic paradise in these texts allowed male intellectuals to construct a "utopian past" unaffected by Korea's tumultuous history. Such images were far removed from the typical traumatic images of the Japanese occupation and reveal that the post-liberation era was obsessed with erasing colonial memories through a popular fixation on images of fragile, beautiful teenage girls completely detached from reality but who can empower precarious Korean masculinity.

Women on the Borders: Moon Ye-bong and Li Xianglan, from Colonial Film Stars to Eternal Cultural Idols

Xiaoqian Song

In 1975, the Japanese actress Yamaguchi Yoshiko who was better known by her Chinese name Li Xianglan reunited with the Korean actress Moon Ye-bong in Pyongyang long after shooting the pro-Japanese film *Dear Soldier* together in the 1940s. Moon was the first Korean female actress to "speak" in a sound film and she became a symbolic figure to represent the zeitgeist and the model citizen of colonized Korea. Li Xianglan, too, strategically passed herself as Chinese and portrayed an ideal Chinese woman always saved by Japanese men in Japanese-occupied areas such as Manchuria, Shanghai, and Taiwan. Moon's simple elegance and Li's gorgeous performance appeared to be different but they both quickly became the emblem of exotic and pan-asiatic beauties of the Japanese empire. Their images were discounted as disgraceful history after Japan lost in WWII. However, Li reemerged as an iconic beauty in the 1990s when retro fashion became popular in China. Moon enjoyed similar popularity in Korea, which was nostalgic for the glorious past untarnished by the colonial past. By tracing Moon and Li's images in mass media from the 1930s to the 1990s and particularly in the colonial period, this study explores how modern "Koreanness" and "Chineseness" were first constructed and then further developed by refashioning the actresses' bodies within the mechanism of nostalgia in 20th century East Asia.

Ch'unhyang and Kyongsong Girls: the Palimpsest of Modern Colonial Life

Kyong-Mi D. Kwon

The Tale of Ch'unyhyang is one of the most popular Korean folktales whose adaptations gained a renewed fame when an established writer published it in modern Korean script *han'gul* at the turn of the 20th century. Since then, many adaptations in film, literature, and theaters ensued, most of which portrayed Ch'unhyang as a virtuous *kisaeng*, or courtesan, who risks her life to remain faithful to her beloved, the son of the upper-class *yangban*. However, a comic adaptation serialized in a popular magazine in the 1930s offers a very different image of the female protagonist who is virtuous but just as willful and determined to assert her own needs and protect herself from possible betrayals of her beloved. Although the comic adaptation was never completed as a result of the Japanese total mobilization which caused many literary magazines and newspapers to shut down, what were published reveal different facets of everyday life in Colonial Korea and the ways in which body, gender, and modernity were visualized in the mass media. To this end, the paper focuses on the emerging discourses on the female body and spatiality as they manifest in the comic adaptation of the folktale among other popular comics and advertisements published in the same era. Ultimately, this paper reconsiders the cultural implications of the grotesque female body as it becomes a showcase window for contesting values of Korea trying maintain its traditions while ushering in what were perceived to be modern and thus more "civilized" cultures and values.

Panel 28
Moves, Mobility, and Travels in Japanese Empire

This panel draws attention to a variety of movement and mobility that took place surrounding Japanese empire with a special concern with the travels between Japan, Korea and Manchuria. Focuses will be more on the period of Japanese imperialism, the time when more journeys and migrations became possible than ever before. Indeed, the mobility had played important roles in redefining the territorial boundaries, ethnic identities, and often the world's view. In exploring the mobility, however, this panel does not aim to investigate the movement per se; and this panel rather notes the process whereby the mobility disrupts borders, blurs the national identity and challenges the established thoughts. In our panel, Ji-hyang Heo discusses Japanese philosophers who came to the Korean Peninsula during the colonial period. Specifically by focusing on Japanese philosopher including Shōzaburo Yokoyama and Yoshishige Abe who taught Western philosophy in Korea, Heo analyzes how the new modern philosophy was transferred to the colony and how their travels reversely affected their thoughts as well. Young-shil Youn's paper concerns Korean refugees in Manchuria. Specifically, moving away from the national narratives such as Koreans, Japanese or Chinese, Youn pays attention to the conflicts between the transnational subaltern and the sovereign states. Shin-ae Ha, on the other hand, investigates the travelogues during the time of what is known as "the New Order of East Asia." Ha particularly notes the fact that the people's travels and mobility had been dropped, contrary to the general perceptions, during this period and she focuses on how the travel writings could reveal the changes in people's perception of the Asia-and-world relations. Inhye Kang explores a photo-based series called "Seen Through the Railway" that was regularly contributed to the Manchuria Graph, a graphic magazine published by the SMR. Kang particularly investigates how the vision seen through train and travels both visualized and challenged the concept of "Harmony of Five Races" in Manchuria.

Japanese Philosophers in The Colonial Korea from 1910 to1945

Ji-hyang Heo

This paper discusses Japanese philosophers who crossed to the Korean Peninsula during the colonial period in Korea. Since the 1870s when "philosophy" was translated into Japanese as "TETSUGAKU 哲学" by Amane Nishi(1829~1897), Japanese had begun to specialize in Western philosophy, mainly at the University of Tokyo (1877~, 1886~ "Imperial University"). Enryo Inoue(1858~1919) was one of those scholars who studied the Western philosophy for the first time in Japan. He had conducted for 27 years the lecture circuit to raise funds necessary for the operation of the "TETSUGAKU-DŌ 哲学堂" and moral training, and his tour to Korea in 1918 was also part of the lecture circuit. This presentation explores the contents of Inoue's tour of Korea and looks at one aspect of the Japanese philosopher's discourse, and moreover this example shows one of the philosophical discourses constructed in the colonial Korea. The term "TETSUGAKU" has taken root in colonial Korea, and there was the rise of people specializing in Western philosophy, particularly after the birth of Keijō Imperial University. Around this time, many professors who majored in Western philosophy in Japanese empire gathered at the colonial Korea. Shōzaburo Yokoyama(1897~1959) had taught "Moral" and "Introduction to philosophy" at the Preparatory course for Keijō Imperial University throughout the time during which the University existed. And Yoshishige Abe(1883~1966) was in charge of the "Philosophy and History of philosophy" course(two courses in 1927) at the Keijō Imperial University, from 1926 to 1940. Unfortunately, in the post-liberation period, scholars engaged in Western philosophy in Korea tended to negatively evaluate these Japanese scholars who taught in the colony. Yet, The western philosophical concepts that have been adapted up until now are mostly WASEIKANGO(和製漢語 Japan-made Chinese words), and many students majoring in Philosophy in Korea still refer to the History of Philosophy that was written and have been popular since the prewar Japan; and therefore these cases clearly illustrate the intertwined relationship between colonial Korea and Imperial Japan.

Korean Refugees in Manchuria During the Inter-war Period and Dissemi-Nations

Young-shil Youn

This paper will examine Korean refugees in Manchuria represented in colonial Koreans" travelogues, novels and journalism during the inter-war period and the implication of their existence in relation to the global history of the time. Hannah Arendt paid attention to the oppression and denationalization of racial minorities and stateless peoples in the inter-war European countries and analyzed it as the pathological symptom of collapsing nation-state system. During the same period, millions of colonial Koreans in Manchuria were also becoming refugees, dispossessed of their rights of culture, cultivation and residence. Avoiding national narratives about Korea, China and Japan and taking the transnational and immanent perspective of migrants and ethnic minorities, this paper will highlight conflicts between the transnational Panel Proposal, 3 subaltern who desperately sought for their „place in the world" with cross-border migration and the sovereign states which mobilized, regulated or dispossessed the migrant population with biopolitical security mechanisms of its own. Even though Korean refugees" pursuit for safety made them temporarily cooperate with the harmony of ethnicities policy of Manchukuo, they, as migrants, were fundamentally oriented at political autonomy, cultural self-representation and peaceful cohabitation with different ethnic nations. Examining Korean migrants in Manchuria, therefore, can pave a way for new imagination of diasporic nations („disseminations"), which cannot be reduced to any state-nation nor the colonial nationalism of Korea.

Travelogue in the Late Colonial Period of Korea and Reshuffling of the Awareness in the Asia-World Relations: Focusing on the Travel Essays from Samcheolli and Daedonga

Shin-ae Ha

Since the proclamation of the construction of the New Order of East Asia by the Konoe cabinet, there was growing anticipation within Japanese Empire and colonies that "Our range of activity will be infi nitely expanded (from Asia to the world) through the remarkable wartime achievements of the Greater East Asia War." This study pays attention to the fact that despite general perceptions, movement of the colonial Koreans was reduced and travel essays carried by the media and their travels were significantly decreased under a scope controlled by the empire after the declaration of the New Order of East Asia. Contrary to travel writings written from the 1910s to the 1930s that were based on the tours of civilians to random nations, the orbit of travelogues in the late period of colonial Korea was limited to the territory of the empire and its network. Also, unlike the previous times when the focus was on exchange in social, economic, cultural and art fields, writers around this time mainly visited party conventions held in Japan, Germany and Italy and felt „gratitude" by visiting the „military camps of our emperor" and thus showed that the path of colonial people during this time converged towards the policy of politics and military. Such political/military possibilities, opened with the event of the New Order of East Asia, at the same time signaled the growing impossibility of social, economic, cultural and artistic fellowship due to closed borders and severed diplomatic relationships with other countries. Then, how did civilian writers of colonial Korea who had no choice but to move within a space reshuffled by the empire reveal the changes in their awareness around the new order of the Asia-world relations through travelogues and how did they articulate the consistencies or inconsistencies of the empire"s intent? This study investigates these questions in order to shed light on cultural trends within the empire-colony surrounding the reshuffling of spatial order in East Asia at the time.

"Seen Through the Railway": the Vision of Multiethnic State Imagined through Journeys in Panel Proposal, 4 Manchuria

Inhye Kang

This paper investigates how the travels through Manchurian Railway visualized multiethnic empire for tourists to Manchuria. As is well known, "Harmony of Five races" was one of the Manchuria"s state ideologies and it was promoted through multiple visual media, including posters, postcards and magazines. Manchu Graph, in particular, as a graphic magazine published from 1932 by the South Manchurian Railway Company, was one of those visual media that was actively employed to distribute the state ideologies. As a product of South Manchurian Railway Company, topics covered by Manchu Graph often included the railway, travels and tourists. Among other things "Seen through Railway" was one of the series that was contributed to the magazine, and it featured a variety of diverse ethnic villages and their customs and life styles. This paper specifically concerns ways which how the vision seen through train and travels from the series called „Seen through the railway" visualized the concept of multiethnicity of the Manchurian state. Diverse images perceived through journeys on the railway let the tourists re-imagine themselves within a part of larger and multiethnic state. The magazine often juxtaposed the various images of agrarian ethnic villages with multiple railway stops, hoping to present the vision of multiethnic state. Yet, this project pays more attention to the ways this specific vision perceived through trains resulted in challenging the concept

of "Harmony of Five Races" in Manchuria, further stressing the struggles and separations among multifarious ethnicities.

Panel 58

Is digital feminism as public feminism in South Korea?

Jongmi Kim

In this paper, I explore how the current feminist movement (*Hyewha shiwi*) on the issue of "upskirt"(spy cam) in South Korea has become a young feminist discourse, which can be called digital feminism. The paper is focused on how technology of self that invites girls and women to raise the feminist issue against the "spycam" problem and organise a feminist movement through on/offline. The discussion demonstrates the extensiveness of debates across digitalised/public feminism, old/ young feminism, and feminism/ antifeminism is to examine continuities between the current new wave of digital feminist movements and the postfeminist sensibility in south Korea. The analysis focuses on how new forms of media enabled young generation of girls and women to form new feminism (or antifeminism): popular discussions about gender, gazing culture, playing culture and consumer body culture. Examining the incitements to digitalise feminism in the neoliberal context, the paper examines how an emergent technology of confidence re-signifies feminist accounts by situating feminist visibility and misogynist responses to feminism systematically. The paper diagnoses the current speculation of digital feminism in relation to wider debates about feminism, public feminism as digitalised culture and how this opens up new possibilities and associated new challenges.

Digital populism to the square: From Hell Joseon to #metoo movement in Korea

Youngmi Kim

Populism and populist leaders are zeitgeist in the 21st century. While strong dichotomy exists between pure us and corrupt elites this dichotomy moves further between gender, nationalist, region, generation etc.

The paper focuses on two cases of female movements since 2017 #metoo movement and wamad. This paper tells the complex and contradictory story of a Korean movement that on the one hand highlights the empowering potential of the internet, while on the other highlights its vulnerability to manipulation, leading to a backlash.

Over late 2017 and throughout 2018 #metoo has first shocked the world and then highlighted both the empowering potential of this movement and, in some cases, its limits. It explores the rise of Womad which is an women's online discussion group and its ties to the global #metoo movement, while highlighting distinctively local and contextual characteristics. The paper draws from frame analysis to highlight both the agency of Korean women and the way in which the Korea has drawn on and contributed to the global #metoo movement, while focusing on distinctively local issues. By so doing, it contributes to what is currently still an under-theorised body of literature, integrating insights and tools from sociology (most notably social movements and online activism) and political science (especially on populism). The case study of Womad – and the role in the background of far-right websites like ILBE - illustrates the logic, narratives and framing strategies of this online group. Survey data will then be used to evaluate its impact across society.

Political opportunity structures and a cycle of protests: The Candlelight Vigils in South Korea

Ji-Eun Ahn

This paper aims to explore to what extent political opportunity structures (Kitschelt, 1986) influence on the outcome of social movements and how those are created in a cycle of protests. On March 10, 2017, the Constitutional Court of South Korea upheld a parliamentary vote to impeach President Park Guen-Hye, who had been forced to step down over a wide-ranging corruption and cronyism scandal. This was an unprecedented event in Korean history, not only in that Park Guen-Hye became the first democratically elected president to leave her office via impeachment, but also in that its whole process was strongly propelled by non-violent protesters. The protests, named 'Candlelight Vigil calling for Park Guen-Hye to resign (hereinafter referred to as 'the 2016-17 Candlelight Vigil')', mobilising over 16 million people for 5 months with no violent conflict, compelled legislators to hold a parliamentary hearing on the scandal, to approve a bill to appoint a special prosecutor, and to vote overwhelmingly to impeach President Park. Interestingly, the protesters attempted to achieve their goal not by overthrowing the established political system, but by deploying it. In this sense, this paper seeks to examine following questions: 1) what is political opportunity structures comprised of in the 2016-17 Candlelight Vigil? and 2) how are those political opportunity structures created in the broader cycle of protests in South Korea? In doing so, I aim to illustrate how Korean-specific repertoire of contention, called 'the Candlelight Vigil', has dialectically evolved in relation to democracy from the historical perspective.

How "revolutionary" was South Korea's Candlelight Revolution?

Jung-A Hwang

The series of candlelight rallies in South Korea between late October 2016 and early March 2017 have brought crucial changes not only in the South Korean society but also in the whole Korean peninsula. President Park Geun-hye was ousted from her post and in the subsequent election the main opposition candidate Moon Jae-in was elected. Since his election, some unprecedented events have occurred in the inter-Korean relations as well. The rallies also have received considerable media attention in and outside Korea for their particularly peaceful and orderly qualities despite the immense size of the participants. Nevertheless, the truly "revolutionary" nature of the candlelight resistance movement has hardly been addressed, precisely because of its very constitutional and non-violent features. One rare case for its revolutionariness was presented by Paik Nak-chung, who noted that, although the movement was seemingly conducted "within the existing constitutional and legal framework", it should be acknowledged as revolution because it abrogated a "hidden constitution" that had arbitrarily suspended constitutional civil rights "in view of the exigencies of the peninsula's division and inter-Korean confrontation." In this paper, I would take his discussion further and suggest that the candlelight revolution has exemplary significance even in the broader context of radical politics in our time. In order to do so, I would argue its paradigmatically revolutionary nature with reference to Slavoj Žižek's political theology and Giorgio Agamben's discourse on 'State of Emergency'.

The mutual spectacle of foreign embassies: Gender and cosmopolitanism in late Choson embassy accounts

Eugene Lee

Chosŏn embassies to Qing China and Tokugawa Japan, supported by an entourage of up to several hundred men, were far from inconspicuous to the host countries' inhabitants. Whether headed to Beijing or to Edo, a Chosŏn embassy would attract crowds of onlookers along the way; in the case of Japan, where only twelve such visits took place during the Tokugawa period, expectant crowds gathered and vied for the best viewing positions before the embassy was even due to pass. From the Chosŏn travelers' standpoint, however, the spectators were the spectacle—especially when the spectators were women.

In this paper, I examine the presence of Qing and Tokugawa women spectators in Chosŏn travelers' accounts and situate their differently nuanced portrayals in relation to broader differences between Chosŏn interactions with China and those with Japan. I go on to suggest that, when read in light of the contemporary situation in Chosŏn Korea, the travelers' descriptive choices present an interesting interpretive challenge with implications for how we understand the genre of the late Chosŏn embassy account and its role in collective identity formation.

Chinese embassies to Chosŏn were no less sensational or scandal-prone, as the Chosŏn court failed repeatedly to keep women from joining the sight-seeing crowds. How, then, might we interpret the tendency of Chosŏn travelers to exoticize and disparage those "other women" who were in fact behaving similarly to Chosŏn women? Drawing on recent theorizations of cosmopolitanism in East Asian contexts, I offer some tentative conclusions and suggestions for further research.

The Tamayana Shrine: Conflicting myths, conflicting identities

Jame H. Grayson

In 1868 the Meiji restorationists took as their slogan 'Restore authority to the emperor'. The notion that the imperial house were divinely ordained to rule was based upon ancient mythical texts claiming that the ruling house was descended from the grandson of the Sun Goddess. In the nineteenth century, these texts were used to create a new-old religion called Shintō. In the decade and more following the overthrow of the shōgunate, nationally appointed representatives were sent to all local religious shrines to see that they conformed to the concepts and practices of Shintō. In some cases, this meant renaming the deities in the shrines, or adding deities which had never been there.

This paper will examine the case of the Tamayama Shrine (玉山神社) in Higashi Ichikichō (東市来町) in Kagoshima Prefecture on Kyūshū. This shrine was built by Korean ceramic potters - who had been captured during the Japanese invasions of Korea in the 1590s, and is dedicated to Tan'gun (檀君), the mythical founder of the Korean nation. Shrine practices are affirmed by the shrine's foundation myth. During the early years of the reign of the Emperor Meiji, the dedication of the shrine was changed. This paper will discuss the origins of this shrine, its practices, the Meiji period changes and what happened afterwards as an example of how attempts to build a nation can run into conflict with local beliefs and practices.

Dreams and Dream Interpretation in Sixteenth-Century Chosŏn: Focusing on the Dream Records in O Hŭimun's Diary *Swaemirok* **(瑣尾錄)**

Michael C. E. Finch

The purpose of this paper is to examine and analyze the dreams recorded by O Hŭimun (1539–1613) during the period of the Japanese invasion of 1592. The largest category of these recorded dreams concern people who are absent either through death or separation due to the vicissitudes of the war. They might be family members or friends and acquaintances, for example, his elderly mother, wife, children, his deceased father, and his deceased brother-in-law Yi Pin. The dreams of people almost invariably invoke heartfelt sadness in the diary's author and sometimes result in the reported shedding of tears. Other dreams are interpreted by the author as being more symbolic in nature, and in these cases O Hŭimun would often attempt his own interpretation or even record the opinions of other members of his refugee household and acquaintances. These interpretations might be based on precedents from the Chinese classics or on indigenous Korean folk wisdom. In the case of inauspicious or unpleasant dreams, however, O Hŭimun simply reported them as such and almost never provides any detail of the actual content. This paper will examine a broad selection of the dreams recorded in the first volume of *Swaemirok* (Record of a refugee) covering the year 1592 ("Imjin namhaeng illok" and "Imjin illok") and the various responses to, interpretations of, and significance given to those dreams by the diary's author in order to gain a deeper understanding of the inner life of a member of the scholar-gentry (*yangban*) class in sixteenth-century Chosŏn.

Understanding health in contemporary Korean Ki Suryon practices of immortality

Victoria Ten (Yeonhwa Jeon)

This paper inquires into the meaning of "health" as a goal of Korean *ki suryŏn* (氣修練 mind-body cultivation by using ki-life energy) practices, reinvented in modernity on the basis of ancient Asian traditions. I analyze GiCheon (氣天), one of these practices, through the interviews with the trainees. GiCheon is a set of training forms characterized as internal alchemy (*naedan* 內丹). Adepts of internal alchemy formulate their final goal as achievement of immortality, which in East Asian context means becoming similar to mountain immortals (*sŏn* 仙). Health of mind-body is considered to be one step on the road toward immortality. East Asian alchemy views an individual adept as a microcosm. A mountain can be a medium through which a microcosm-macrocosm continuum is articulated in alchemic texts, and visualized on sacred pictures. In a picture the mountain represents simultaneously a human body and a cosmic body, serving as a bridge between the human and the cosmic.

The environmental well-being of a mountain, or nature would include for example the hydrologic cycle, the food chain, the rock cycle. In the interviews GiCheon practitioners describe human health in terms of natural cycles: food and liquids to be absorbed easily, sweat and excrement leave the body comfortably, thoughts and emotions to be perceived and realized efficiently, words to be said and actions to be performed with greater straightforwardness and simplicity. These functionality and efficiency are conceptualized as health of the body-mind that Seoul urbanites strive to achieve in the spaces of family and workplace.

Return on display: memories of postcolonial migration at Maizuru

Jonathan Bull

In September 2015 the Maizuru Repatriation Memorial Museum (Kyoto Prefecture) reopened to the public after renovation and an extensive rethink of its displays. The following month, after three years of hard work, the museum staff received the news that they had long been hoping to hear. UNESCO had agreed to inscribe a selection of the Museum's documents in the Memory of the World (MoW) International Register, alongside other inscriptions such as the Bayeux Tapestry, Beethoven's ninth Symphony and the Diaries of Anne Frank. Based on interviews conducted with those involved in putting together the Museum's current and former displays, this paper examines the process by which the display at Maizuru has been produced and updated over time. We apply the concepts of "regimes" and "repertories" of migration in order to comprehend the multitude of factors, both contemporary and historical, that have influenced the production of a display treating the complex and sensitive topic of postcolonial migration. We argue that in this case migration regimes, especially the national state and local government, ultimately had the greatest influence on how historical memory of postcolonial migration has been produced.

Return not on display: memories of Korean repatriation from Maizuru and Shimokita

Steven Ivings

In this paper we revisit our recent study on how "regime narratives" have come to dominate the memory of repatriation in the wake of the collapse of Japan's prewar empire, obscuring much of the diversity and ambiguity of actual lived experiences in the process. As in the previous study we maintain our focus on Maizuru (Kyoto prefecture)—the main memory site related to repatriation—but now we add material from field research in Shimokita and Tokyo, and turn our attention to the repatriation of non-Japanese (principally Koreans) in the wake of Japan's defeat. Despite the fact that the processes of repatriation for Japanese and non-Japanese alike were intimately interrelated and that several parallels can be drawn in the lived experience of repatriates, regardless of nationality, they are treated separately in terms of historical and popular memory. On the basis of field research, interviews and personal correspondence with "memory activists", we probe into how this separation was produced and maintained.

Gendered labour, national memory and contested heritage in North-East Asia

Mark Pendleton

A recent successful campaign for UNESCO World Heritage status for sites associated with Japan's industrial modernization was initially opposed by the South Korean government due to its failure to acknowledge forced labour in sites including the Hashima/Gunkanjima coalmine.

The UNESCO fight was a recent iteration of competing multi-decade transnational campaigns by activists in East Asia and elsewhere, fueled by increasing concern with questions of history and heritage by states. Both activist campaigns and state projects largely occur through competing nationalist frames that are heavily gendered. Much of the focus on both sides is on issues of masculine labour – industrious and nation-building in Japan; exploited and colonial in Korea. However, there is also evidence of domestic labour, sex work and other reproductive labour on Gunkanjima, feminised labour practices that are marginalised.

World heritage campaigners, official government spokespeople and transnational activists have all focused their attention – both positive and negative – on the masculine work of mining at the expense of feminised labour practices that sustained life. I examine how gendered narratives of labour manifest across different historical registers, arguing that this is reflective of a wider gendered nationalism in contemporary NE Asia.

A comparative study on trauma aspects between Taiwan and Korea - Focusing on Guo Songfen's and Hyun Ki-young's novels

Chang Hsiu Yung

The aim of this paper is to study the novels derived from the Taiwanese February 28 Incident and the Korean Jeju Uprising by comparing the similarities and differences of how they portrayed their respective historical collective traumas、memories as well as the healing processes. Both Taiwan and Korea were colonized by Japan before the end of World War Two. After the war ended, the literature in both Taiwan and Korea have tried to express the trauma from governmental violence in their literature by setting the historical context as the background of those novels. The writers have all tried to take up a post-colonial mindset and express the victims' collective suffering and mental scars as well as the healing process from the oppression they faced via traumatic writing. Guo Songfen(b.1938)'s Running Mother has described Taiwanese intellectuals' multiple trauma from the February 28 Incident. On the other hand, as the writer of Jeju origin, Hyun Kiyoung(b.1941), has described the traumas resulted from the Jeju Uprising by featuring storytellers from a different perspective in his novel Aunt Suni. His personal experience of the traumatic realities of the Jeju Uprising during his childhood later had profound impact on his novel. In analyzing trauma, the aftermath of trauma, and it's healing process, this paper will use of the trauma theory of Judith Herman's Trauma and Recovery. As a conclusion, by comparing the historical contexts, political backgrounds and novels of post-war Taiwan and Korea, we intend to study the similarities and differences of the national historical memory and trauma experience, and in extension, compare the modern literature in Taiwan and Korea in early post-war era under an East Asian literature context.

Panel 20
Three approaches of rural-urban migrants' empowerment in the Chinese context

Diandian Li

Although rural-urban migrants in China are viewed as a relatively disadvantaged social and political group when compared with urban residents there are spaces and opportunities for individuals and groups to empower themselves. In particular the rural-urban migrants can collectively provide alternatives to the state's restrictive provision of social goods. However, very few researchers have paid attention to the processes through which rural-urban migrants are empowered in China. This paper examines three main approaches of rural-urban migrants empowering themselves based on 35 interviews in the city of Jinzhou, Liaoning province, China. First, the reform of social institutions provides spaces for rural residents, especially rural-urban migrants, to empower themselves. With the strategic transformation of social and economic development of rural China and the political task of "no absolute poverty in 2020" from the central government, overlapping policies between government departments and policies create empowering spaces for rural-urban migrants. Second, the frequent interactions between local bureaus (specifically in the town level and the village level)

and rural residents can empower rural-urban migrants as reliable sources of government information. Third, the pre-existing family-based social networks provide an alternative resource of essential social services that should be provided by public and private sectors. The main function of these networks that empowers rural-urban migrants is the provision of interest-free micro-loans, job opportunities and skills training. However, the effectiveness of these three approaches are highly dependent on the migrants` self-orientation and their motivation to achieve change.

(Re)claiming Chineseness through media consumption: How do Chinese people in Japan use the media to emotionally self-repatriate?

Nathalie Mingboupha

Despite ongoing disputes between China and Japan, the number of Chinese people living in Japan has been growing steadily over the recent decades. Representing a relatively well-integrated sizeable minority in an otherwise very homogenous society, Chinese people in Japan retain complex relations with their host society as well as with the motherland. Tensions in the international relations between Japan and China may frustrate and worry many of them, triggering within them questions related to their ethno-cultural identities, which is accompanied by new media practices. As they rediscover their ancestry, Chinese people who develop transnational living practices are uniquely positioned in this context, which is expressed in their media practices and daily lives. This paper sheds light on the new concept of emotional self-repatriation, which is the conscious emotional process wherein migrants reclaim their ethno-cultural identities by performing a number of self-motivated actions with the purpose to reconnect with their heritage. Emotional self-repatriation is a proactive experience achieved through cognitive actions that involve exploring, consuming, and (re)producing media that migrants associate to their ancestry. Examining how Chinese people in Japan use the media as part of their emotional self-repatriation processes allows us to better understand the active role that migrants play in producing participatory cultural practices as they interact with media content and platforms. This highlights the value of material culture, and how everyday "things and objects" can be given meaning as they are part and parcel of media practices which migrants adopt and liken to their ancestral heritage within which they anchor themselves.

No longer - Not yet - Already: Nuisance of depopulation and rural decline

Paulina Kolata, Anna Vainio

This joint paper focuses on the notion of *fuben* (sense of inconvenience) as the measure of depopulation, decline and revitalisation in regional Japan. Japan's governmental narratives around long-term rural decline and depopulation tend to centre on the quantitative evaluations of people's experiences. The lived reality of local populations in the areas designated as depopulated is often obscured with statistics such as school closures and abandoned empty houses. Instead, we are interested in qualifying the quantifiable impact of depopulation by investigating how changes to local community landscapes inconvenience people's lives. From the Buddhist temple communities in rural Hiroshima Prefecture to the post-disaster coastal communities of Miyagi, we argue that *fuben*, the sense of inconvenience, can offer a more grounded framework for understanding and analysing depopulation as an everyday social, temporal, and affective experience. Through our diverse research context, we frame *fuben* to represent something that is either "no longer thriving – but not

yet in a state of despair" or "already transformed beyond recognition – but perhaps with a potential to thrive again." Thus, we analyse *fuben* a measure of change for regional residents – a change that is consciously marked by them in time through the notions of "no longer," "not yet," and "already." Through ethnographic data, this paper explores a bricolage of voices from two different depopulating regional communities under a shared theoretical framework which engages with the emic notion of inconvenience as a tool for complicating the political definitions of depopulation and our understanding of revitalisation.

Panel 42

Yūrei narrative at Tokugawa Japan

Frank Chu Fan

Over the centuries ghostly apparitions of *yūrei* have bedevilled and bewitched scores of Japanese scholars, giving rise to a significant body of literature which takes as its starting point the teachings of the Kokugaku nativist Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843). Through the analysis of multiple sources and media, my research seeks to cast a light on popular yūrei narratives as they developed in the Tokugawa period, in order to expose a hitherto unexplored tension between Confucian moral codes and Buddhist didactic dogma. I posit this tension as a dialectic between forms of social control imposed by the Tokugawa Bakufu and a system of local laws that developed through custom.

My research endeavours to produce a comprehensive and critical examination of the development of this narrative. The analysis begins in the early Tokugawa period and concludes in the initial decades of the Meiji Restoration. It looks to texts (*monogatari* and *yomihon*), pictorial references (*nikuhitsuga* and *ukiyoe*) and the stage (*rakugo* and *kabuki*) as primary sources in interrogating accounts of causation and methods of dealing with *yūrei* in an attempt to identify a wide-ranging analysis of the ontology of the period. It also seeks to identify the core ideologies implicit in each source. Thus far I have primarily analyzed the various incarnations of the story of Kasane, a woman-turned-*yūrei*. It begins with the first known apparition of Kasane's tale in 1684 and concludes with the well-known Rakugo of 1888. My findings have led me to approach the Tokugawa yūrei narratives as a syncretism of Confucian social norms and a Buddhist cosmology, which is often combined with Kokugaku aesthetics. These ideologies are revealed as being in a state of tension with each competing to establish a definitive ontological explanation of *yūrei*.

Philosophical perspectives in Heisei literature: Doubt on the concept of man, views beyond the homo sapiens

Lisette Gebhardt

A main feature of Japanese literature had always been a severe doubt concerning human existence. Throughout modern and contemporary texts authors are addressing the questions what it means to be human, how human existence is determined and what kind of place this world actually is. In times like today with the proclaimed end of all certainties when one speaks already of the post-anthropocene, the former *homo sapiens* centered model of the world order has become shattered. A rethinking of the relationship between humans, the things they created, and the natural surroundings provokes new possibilities, new values and ideas of conviviality - or a dystopian replacing of the human with some other species. In this situation, several texts by Japanese authors

such as Shiraishi Kazufumi白石一文 (*1958), Tawada Yôko 多和田葉子(*1960), and Murata Sayaka 村田沙耶香(*1979), written in the Heisei period deliver revealing designs of the near future.

The intention of this contribution is to look at literature for its philosophical approaches, while I want to discuss at the same time "philosophical literature" as a rather fascinating phenomenon of the (global) book market.

From helper to dispatcher: Socio-ideological evolutions in the dramatis personae of late Edo tales of vengeance

Mario Talamo

Since the beginning, the late Edo *katakiuchimono* (tales of vengeance) were issued as a mean of propaganda for the Confucian tenets that the military government aimed at disseminating over the populace. The vengeful practice represented in fact the perfect embodiment of the quintessential Confucian virtues of loyalty (toward the lord) and filial piety (toward the father). This subgenre flourished from the immediate aftermath of the Kansei reforms (1787-93) until the end of the Edo period. In this time span, the ideology constituting its very foundation evolved, and so did its morphology and range of dramatis personae, under the pressure of social and ethical transformations.

This paper aims at delineating an evolution in the tenets informing the late Edo tales of vengeance, by following a twofold approach that combines morphology and history of religion. I plan to analyse the typologies of dramatis personae – specifically the helper, the dispatcher, their functions, and the rendering of hierarchies – and to connect their peculiarities to the transformations occurred in the ideological system. The corpus of the present paper is constituted by seven tales of vengeance, spanning from the *textus princeps* of the subgenre, *Katakiuchi gijo no hanabusa* (1795) by Nansenshō Somahito (1749-1807), to the last examples, dated from the sixth decade of the nineteenth century.

Life and death, individuals and community: Tensions in 21st century Japan

Miguel Cesar

The 1990s Japanese economic crisis was intensified by intense traumatic experiences that shocked the country. Among these the Aum Shinrikyō and the Kobe A Boy cut deeply in rising debates on such diverse themes as religion, the role of the state, family and the youth. Engaging with these debates neoliberal reformers such as prime minister Koizumi blamed the interdependency of the Japanese and their lack of entrepreneurial risk as the main cause of the generalised crises. Koizumi, and others, praised the individualism, risk-taking and the fading of communitarian bonds and dependencies. Less than a decade later, isolation and loneliness became the main concerns of Japanese society, with the NHK labelling the country a *muen shakai*, a society with no bounds, with no interest on building connections or belonging to any group or community.

In that decade, 2000-2010, different popular culture media engaged the conversation on the individual and the group through the abstract proxy of the Transgression of Essential Boundaries. These texts challenge the neoliberal and egoistic pulse by interrogating the pursuit of individualistic freedom, the withdrawal from the community and its consequences. In doing so they combine the

language of their specific media to construct innovative experiences that challenge and contest the establishment metanarratives with revolutionary proposals.

This paper explores the mediation of the manga, anime and computer game media on dealing with the theme of essential boundaries, their transgression and the challenge of their proposals to the individualistic push in 21st century Japan.

Panels I

Panel 2

Perspectives on Chinese citizenship

As a sociological and political concept, citizenship has not been widely deployed in the analysis of contemporary China. In part this is because the concept has often been assumed to be embedded in features of Euro-American modernity, although questions of citizenship have been central to Chinese modernity as well. This panel examines cases in which, as a relational lens, it provides useful perspectives on empirical cases. Here citizenship is used as a conceptual framework for exploring key axes of tension in Chinese society: between the global and the national; between the rural and the urban; and between the collective and the individual. The three papers address the following questions: In an era of rising nationalism, how global is Chinese citizenship education, compared with that in Scotland? How does emotion matter for how migrants to a small town in southwest China navigate the *hukou* system and think about their citizenship entitlements? How do the successors to earlier forms of local collectives (urban work units and rural communes) still matter for local citizenship and how do they shape the balance between individual and collective in the citizenship order?

Creating global citizens: a comparative analysis of citizenship education discourses in Scotland and China

Jingyi Li

The global dimension of citizenship education has increasingly drawn the attention of educators and education policymakers on an international scale. Such prevalence of global citizenship in education is reflected in its inclusion in the 2015 UN Sustainable Development Goals. However, it is questionable whether citizenship can be global due to citizenship's inherently national character. Moreover, with the rise (or return) of nationalism in society, it seems a much needed but potentially ambitious goal to prepare learners with the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes to contribute to a more inclusive and peaceful world. Drawing on the three dimensions in global citizenship education suggested by UNESCO (2015), the paper compares conceptualisations of global citizenship in Scottish and Chinese schools, with focuses on the official curriculum which reveals the dominant norms and values of society. A critical discourse analysis is conducted whereby the policy documents and recommended materials for teaching and learning are read to identify the expression of knowledge, skills, values and attitudes relevant to global citizenship education. The comparison concerns several aspects including diversity, empathy, identity, responsibilities and rights, and explores what extent the current curriculum open up critical discursive spaces for complex and ethical understanding and political responsibilities. While for both systems, the construction of a national identity through

education remains the primary task, the paper also shows that there is more significant policy inconsistency in the Scottish system in comparison to the Chinese context, although the existing gaps in policies may provide more spaces for critical consideration.

Exploring emotional citizenship—rural-urban migrants' emotional experiences of *hukou* in a small city in Southwest China

Jingyu Mao

This paper adopts emotion as a theoretical lens to look at how citizenship is experienced emotionally by rural-urban migrants. By drawing on the case of rural-urban migration in a small city located in Southwest China, this paper firstly aims to answer what kinds of emotions are engendered during migrants' negotiation around their sense of entitlement to local *hukou*. *Hukou* has long been at the centre of the debate on rural-urban migration in China. While it is often argued that migrants without urban *hukou* lack full citizenship, it might be surprising to learn that in a small city, migrants may have ambivalent feelings regarding whether they would like to gain an urban *hukou*. After exploring the different kinds of emotions that are engendered through migrants' encounters with or imaginaries of *hukou* policy, the concept of 'emotional regime' will be used to understand these emotions in relation to its social and historical context, i.e. the neoliberal governance in China. To be more specific, in line with the state's promotion of 'happiness' and 'positive energy', as well as the ideology of 'the China Dream, migrants do emotion management to frame their negative emotions into positive ones. That is, instead of showing their discontent about the unequal migration regime, they frame it as their own individual responsibility to achieve success and thus gain entitlement to full citizenship in the city which is still largely attached to *hukou*. This paper concludes by further exploring the meaning of emotional citizenship.

'Seeing like a collective': forms of grassroots organization and the Chinese citizenship order

Sophia Woodman

Discussions of citizenship in the Chinese context have often focused on the exclusion of less-valued people (usually rural migrants) based on formal status, generally location of their *hukou* household registration, or on cultural characteristics, such as relative 'quality' (*suzhi*) expressed in a variety of ways. However, such an approach generally fails to specify the terms of *inclusion* and how the accepted, good citizen is recognized, defined and enacted. As citizenship theorist Etienne Balibar points out, inclusion too may involve forms of coercion and discipline. This paper explores the idea of 'the collective' as a continuing feature of organization at the grassroots, one that blurs the boundaries between formal and informal authority, rules and norms. It shows how these collective forms enable face-to-face forms of politics that give people connections to state agents and thus channels for pursuing grievances they would not have in bureaucratized systems, but also make social interaction through collective forms a strong mechanism for enforcing political and social conformity. The paper draws on ethnographic field work in resident and villager committees, as well as on empirical data on remaining work units and collectively organized villages from secondary sources, to analyse how these local anchors for citizenship shape the overall citizenship order and hegemonic forms of valued citizenship.

New lenses - social change and female photographers in 1990s Japan

Elizabeth Noble

This paper explores the relationship between Japanese female photographers and social change in the late 20th century. Photographers often work in spaces where interactions between art and the politics of everyday life take place, bridging the gap between the two. Traditionally, this gap has been the realm of male photographers. While individual female photographers were active throughout the 20th century, they rarely attracted the same levels of attention as their male counterparts. However, in the 1990s, several young women broke into the photography world, gaining both commercial and critical success. Mori Mariko, Sawada Tomoko, Yanagi Miwa, Hiromix and others became the face of a new generation of photographers, exploring questions of gender, identity, and cultural materialism in post-bubble Japan.

How do we explain the success of these young women? This paper will argue that social and economic changes in the role of women in Japanese society opened new spaces for women in cultural production, including photography. Drawing on cultural economics, it will argue that the combination of several factors contributed to their success: changes in the political, economic and social structures governing gender roles and consumerism; technological developments; and the institutionalisation of photography. Through this discussion, this paper will demonstrate that, far from being an area separated from social and economic developments, artists and cultural production are deeply integrated into the social fabric. The study of artists thus gives us a window into how these changes manifest themselves in the images and cultural symbols that surround us in daily life.

Ribu and the Mona Lisa - A symbol for intersectional radical feminism in the 1970s

Anna-Viktoria Vittinghoff

The *ribu* movement's discourse on women's liberation, gender equality and its overall societal critique builds a crucial part in understanding contemporary Japan's societal relations and problems. *Ribu's* fundamental critique of the 'capitalist logic of productivity', the dominating ideological framework used by the Japanese state is especially relevant in comprehending gender relations and their evolution in post-war Japan.

This paper will centre around the life and work of *ribu* activist Yonezu Tomoko, who following her engagement in the radical student movement of the 1960s became a leading figure in Japan's *ribu* movement. As a woman living her daily life with a disability, critically exploring Yonezu Tomoko's activism provides a method for understanding radical feminism and its interaction with the activities of other marginalised groups fighting for equality and recognition within Japanese society.

Specifically, this paper will investigate the 1974 'Mona Lisa Spray incident', a *ribu* protest action led by Yonezu Tomoko against the discriminatory decision of the organisers to not provide access to the exhibition for people in need of special assistance as they were anticipating large numbers of visitors.

By analysing the writings of Yonezu, other *ribu* and disabled-rights activists, as well as taking into account the broader media discourse generated by this incident, this paper will characterise the perceptions of disability in Japan and outline the outcomes for the radical feminist and disabled

rights movements. By doing so, it will fill an important gap in our understanding of women's intersectional politics in post-war Japan.

Building resilience: The role of women in faith-based disaster response to the 2016 Kumamoto earthquakes

Paola Cavaliere

Disaster response has been recently shifting toward a more equitable disaster management that provides specific response to needs of women and vulnerable groups of the society. However, when the Kumamoto prefecture was hit by two subsequent strong earthquakes in April 2016, official emergency and disaster management were still unable to enact the expected needs-based strategies. Drawing upon qualitative data (2016~2018) of religious-based post-disaster relief and support activities performed by women of Sōka Gakkai and GLA (God Light Association), this study shows that the persistent gender blindness within Japanese institutional post-seismic intervention measures intensifies women's vulnerability, while the moral economy shaping an efficient post-disaster management of religious organizations capitalizes women's capacity to transform a condition of vulnerability into a source of resilience. In Kumamoto women mobilized and combined their networks and resources with those of their sponsoring religious organization, and applied emergency strategies beyond their religious group. Ordinary women of Sōka Gakkai and GLAplayed a pivotal role in helping those affected to respond and recover, as well as providing assistance to official agencies, thus enabling vulnerability reduction strategies while also nurturing a disaster resilient environment at the local level. Even conservative religious groups such as Sōka Gakkai became source of successful gender-sensitive responsive activities where women's agency combined both the needs-based and the equality right-based views. Such findings highlight the need to develop official procedures encompassing more adaptive and inclusive models of disaster management to harness women's capacities and faith-based resilience that exist within and across communities in Japan.

Panel 13

The politics of meat in China

Tracey Fallon, Carol Morris

China now consumes double the total meat of the United States. In developed countries, excessive meat consumption has become problematised as a threat for health, the environment, and animal welfare. Driven mainly by civil society groups, Less Meat Initiatives (LMIs), such as the Meat Free Mondays, campaign for reduced meat intake and receive positive commentary in UK newspapers (Morris 2017). In China, tensions emerge between the value ascribed to meat in the reform era and the demands for health and environmental considerations. This research uses discourse analysis to examine the framing of meat consumption in Chinese newspapers and the LMI of an International NGO in China. The newspaper analysis shows a positive framing for moves to reduce meat consumption but very little coverage overall. While health benefit is a pervasive rational for eating less meat, reduced consumption is also attached to values of the state: of socialist values of austerity and state-led low carbon slogans. There is little mention of animal welfare and Buddhist vegetarian practices omitted. The International NGO campaign, on the other hand, uses celebrities to model eating less meat as part of a stylish and ethical global lifestyle targeted at young urban elites. Both

media frame less meat consumption as of benefit to the individual and wider society. China is reconsidering meat consumption but the discussion remains limited in coverage and scope.

Getting the Party back to the frontline of governance: the regime of shared responsibility in local food safety regulation in China

Yao Xiao

The separation of Party and state functions was one of the major political reform measures in the 1980s. The committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) at each level had its direct involvement in governing economic activities and social life reduced. However, the newly established regime of shared responsibility between the Party and state in the field of food safety regulation is challenging the previous boundaries. This new regime has brought accountability to the committees of the CCP at the local level, and requires the Party to play a more active role in the process of policy implementation.

On the basis of interview data with officials in Hunan province and documents collected from the relevant regulatory agencies, this paper examines why the regime of shared responsibility was carried out. The central committee of the CCP aims to optimize food safety regulation, and main obstacles after the institutional reform in 2013 are insufficient public funding, disappointed human resources and weak interagency collaboration. The Party at the local level distributes those key resources, and its power to appoint directors of government agencies ensures its tremendous influence on collaborative networks. Due to Party's decisive role in local food safety regulation, this regime is designed to achieve central government's policy goal. In the context of the reassertion of Party control in China, this paper contributes to our understanding of how the Party is going about taking back the leading role in local governance, and the mechanism of local agent control in these new circumstances.

Evaluating the effectiveness of participation in environmental governance in a scenic part of rural China: a critical institutionalist approach

Neil Munro

Building, on an experimental basis, "zero pollution" cities through the expansion of recycling and improved solid waste management, including agricultural waste, is the subject of a new bill which has been approved by the CC subcommittee in charge of Comprehensive Deepening of Reforms. According to the Minister of Ecology and Environmental Protection, this is part of an effort to build an ecological civilisation, requiring members of the public to shift from their usual role as bystanders in environmental policy to become "participants" (参与者) and "builders" (建设者) (Li, 2018).

Participation in governance has become one of several instruments for effective policy implementation in the "toolbox" of China's local state (Ahlers and Schubert 2015). The paper examines the introduction of experimental "zero pollution villages" in a scenic part of rural China to illustrate the instrumental use of participation by the party-state for the larger purpose of building an ecological civilisation. "Zero pollution villages" are being built from the bottom up to please discerning, middle class customers whose role is to finance redevelopment of the land. Most of the profit from the redevelopment goes to senior local officials but there are niches for the rural middle class and lower ranking officials to profitably inhabit. Evaluating the effectiveness of public

participation in environmental governance in scenic rural China is thus an exercise in evaluating success in the performance of roles allocated by a project aimed at commodifying landscape, material artefacts and culture.

Panel 56

Does the legitimacy of authoritarian regimes really matter? Tracing New Year statements of North Korea

Junhyoung Lee

While the third wave of democratisation in the post-Communist world has spread, notable authoritarian regimes have maintained their rule in part by arguing that they are legitimised by public support. Why have some post-communist states persisted as autocracies while other liberalised or even democratised? As a case study, this article contributes to these debates with a theoretical analysis of legitimacy in North Korea. North Korea is a "hard case" for understanding legitimacy because of its highly repressive political system. This article traces the consolidation of legitimacy in North Korea, which has been resilient in the face of internal and external challenges. In light of the theoretical framework of three pillars of autocratic stability: 'repression', 'legitimation' and 'co-optation', the article tracks the changing of legitimation mechanisms from ideological-repression to performance and co-optation under the rule of Kim Jong-Un. Through this examination, it is implied that we need to understand patterns of performance-based legitimation in non-electoral authoritarian regimes.

Localising Human Rights institutions: An assessment of the Korean experience

Andrew Wolman

One of the most notable recent developments in the field of Korean human rights governance has been the widespread establishment of human rights institutions by local governments. These institutions have included municipal human rights commissions, human rights centres and human rights ombudsperson organisations (here called 'local human rights organisations'). While this is a phenomenon that has also occurred (and been studied) in Europe and the United States, it has been the subject of little attention in Korea. This paper takes a first step towards filling this gap through empirical research into the implications of local human rights governance in Korea. The project focuses in particular on answering the following four questions. First, what types of relationships do local human rights institutions enjoy with other human rights actors in Korean government and civil society? Second, to what extent do local human rights institutions develop implement international human rights norms, as opposed to norms developed at the national or local levels? Third, to what extent do these institutions enjoy independence from other governmental actors? Fourth, how can local human rights institutions add value to the existing constellation of human rights actors in Korea? The research involves an examination of primary source materials from the respective institutions, as well as semi-structured telephone interviews with local human rights officials and civil society human rights advocates. Fifteen of these institutions will be studied, all of which were founded during the period 2011-14 (making them the earliest to be established in Korea).

Kano Jigoro's dying wish: A case study on the impact of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics

Julian Wayne

In May 1938, Kanō Jigorō, known internationally as the founder of *jūdō* and domestically as the father of physical education in Japan, died at sea while returning from an IOC meeting in Cairo. In 1936, Kanō's efforts to promote the Olympic movement had been recognised by the decision to hold the 1940 Olympics in Tokyo, and at the time of his death, Tokyo was still the planned venue. In the end, another 26 years were to elapse before Kanō's vision was realised.

With the 2020 Tokyo Olympics approaching, I will attempt to provide an overview of the history of Japan's interactions with the outside world through sport, from its first participation in the Olympics at Stockholm in 1912 to the selection of Tokyo as the 2020 Olympic venue just over a century later.

As an example of the social and cultural impact of the Olympics on Japanese society, I will look at the circumstances behind the founding of the Osaka University of Health and Sport Sciences (OUHS). Founded in the wake of the 1964 Olympics as the Osaka College of Physical Education, OUHS was the first tertiary institution of physical education in the Kansai region.

My presentation will include consideration of the role of sport in international relations within Asia and of the post-war impact of Western culture on the trajectory followed by sport in modern-day Japan.

Making of a mourning city: The politics of suffering bodies in the Miike coal mine, Japan

Takashi Miyamoto

This paper discusses how deaths among coal mine workers have been represented in post-war coal mining city of Miike in Kyushu, Japan. In particular, the paper examines the commemorative activities for deaths of convict labourers, migrants from Yoron island, forced labourers from Korea and China, and victims of the 1963 mine explosion.

The Mitsui Miike Coal Mine, extending across Omuta and Arao in Kyushu, was one of the largest coal mines in Japan. Cheap labour was required for developing the mine in its early years. Convict labour was employed in the mine between 1873 and 1931, and labourers from outside Kyushu, including those from Korea and Yoron Island, were brought to Miike. Chinese workers and Allied POWs were also forced to work in the mine during the WWII. Many died in the mines. In the post-war period, a number of free workers, including repatriates from the former colonies of Japan, moved to Miike. An explosion in the Mikawa pit in 1963 killed 458 people and hundreds of survivors continued to suffer from carbon monoxide intoxication.

Since the mid-1960s, various individuals and citizens' groups started commemorative activities for the deceased. Memorial services were initiated and monuments were erected. The act of mourning itself became one of the common forms of collective activities in the public spaces of Miike. Examining the discourses employed in such activities, this paper shows how suffering bodies of the victims became a part of Miike's political imagery.

Belonging on trial in the wake of '68.

Chris Perkins

On 20th April 1969, students at the University of Tokyo published a collection of self-styled 'Captivity Epistles', letters written by student radicals imprisoned during the 1968/69 university campus battles. These Captivity Epistles, the title a reference to a collection of four letters written by St. Paul (Phillippins, Philemon, Colossians and Ephesians) while imprisoned in Rome, were justified in the first edition as a method of 'overcoming the thick wall of power' and facilitate 'human' communication and solidarity between the 'captives' and society as a whole. This paper will explore these Epistles, asking how they help us understand the motivations of the student radicals, how the students tried to engage with the wider public through this medium, and how the publication fit into the next phase of their struggle: the 'battle through the courts'.

Panel 16

When China ruled the (Third) World: The role of global Maoism in China's foreign affairs

James A. G. Evans

In 1974, Mao Zedong's articulation of his Theory of Three Worlds—comprised of "the international proletariat…and the oppressed nations"—served as an alternate world vision to U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism during the Cultural Revolution. This Maoist-styled Third World forged an ideological justification for relations between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Maoist-sympathizing states, Marxist-Leninist parties, and individuals that had previously lacked alignment in the international system. These "unanticipated reconfigurations"—to borrow Arif Dirlik's term—of relationships between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and sympathetic political organizations across the world positioned the PRC as a figurehead for Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations as disparate as Albania's Party of Labour, Naxalite organizations in India, the Peruvian Maoists, and the Black Panther Party. Through extensive people-to-people diplomacy, delegation visits, aid projects, and scientific and cultural exchanges, Maoist China developed intense (and often short-lived) relationships with individuals members of these ideologically-aligned groups in return for their public support for the PRC. This paper argues that a reexamination of the impact of Global Maoism on the CCP's foreign affairs through sub-state activities—such as the exchange of technical experts, visiting delegations, and aid flows—presents an alternate approach to understanding the PRC's global role in the Cold War compared to explanations that forefront international relations at the level of the nation state.

A question of class? Algeria, India, and Beijing's visions of the Third World, 1954-1962

Anton Harder

In the late 1950s, Beijing's sense of a growing global matrix of transnational class alliances and antagonisms prompted the Chinese communists to seek closer ties with revolutionary liberation movements like the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN). Beijing therefore retreated from the era of moderate diplomacy ordained after the Korean War ended in 1953 when, under the rhetoric of the 'Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence', it had eschewed support for revolutionary activity overseas and assumed a more conventional role in the international arena to assuage the suspicions of its Asian neighbours. Support for the FLN severely strained Beijing's major diplomatic relationships with Moscow and New Delhi, two actors who greatly valued Chinese moderation. Using new documents from the Chinese Foreign Ministry archive this paper explores the first encounters

between Chinese diplomats and FLN revolutionaries in order to understand how Beijing conceptualised this new relationship and what that revealed about its changing diplomacy. The paper will argue that just as Beijing exaggerated the revolutionary opportunities of Indian domestic politics, and chose to apply diplomatic pressure on New Delhi in order to catalyse that potential, so did Beijing's engagement with Algeria rest on an overly optimistic assessment of the potential for a class-based alliance with the FLN. This case study highlights how Beijing's class-based analysis drove its changing posture towards the third world in the late 1950s and early 1960s.