Roads Through Asia

8:00AM-9:15PM on 25 FEB
1737 Cambridge St, CGIS South Concourse Level

20th Annual
Harvard East Asia Society Graduate Student Conference 2017

http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/heasconference
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# HEAS GENERAL SCHEDULE

**CGIS South Building (1730 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, MA)**
- Concourse – Basement Level
- S010 – Tsai Auditorium
- S020 – Belfer Case Study Room
- S030 – Doris and Ted Lee Gathering Room
- S050 – Seminar Room

## February 24, 2017

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<tr>
<td>4:15PM-5:45PM</td>
<td>Registration and Reception</td>
<td>Harvard Asia Centers’ Lounge</td>
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<tr>
<td>6:00PM-7:30PM</td>
<td>Opening Remarks (Xiaofei Tian, Chair, RSEA)</td>
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<td>Keynote (Michael Puett, <em>Harvard University</em>)</td>
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## February 25, 2017

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<th>Time</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>8:00AM-9:00AM</td>
<td>Breakfast</td>
<td>Concourse</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00AM-10:30AM</td>
<td>Panels A, B, C</td>
<td>See &quot;Panels&quot;</td>
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<td>10:45AM-12:15PM</td>
<td>Panels D, E, F</td>
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<td>12:15PM-1:15PM</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
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<td>1:15PM-2:45PM</td>
<td>Panels G, H, I</td>
<td>See &quot;Panels&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00PM-4:30PM</td>
<td>Panels J, K, L</td>
<td>See &quot;Panels&quot;</td>
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<td>Keynote (Theodore Bestor, <em>Harvard University</em>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:45PM-6:15PM</td>
<td>Closing Remarks (Alexander Zahlten, Director of Graduate Studies, RSEA)</td>
<td>S-010</td>
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<tr>
<td>7:15PM-9:15PM</td>
<td>Dinner &amp; Drinks</td>
<td>10 Akron Street</td>
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* There will be a 15-minute interval between panels for a coffee/tea break in the Concourse.

-- 2 --
PANELS

Panel A (Modern Japan, Professor Howell) S-010

Panel B (Modern Sinophone Literature: Re-imagination of Identify and Modernity, Professor Wang) S-050

Panel C (Chinese Philosophy, Professor Puett) S-020

Panel D (Memory and Legacies of Contemporary Korea, Professor Moon) S-010

Panel E (Literature, the State, and the Political Imagination, Professor Tian) S-050

Panel F (Geopolitics of Development in East Asia, Professor Kirby) S-020

Panel G (Art History, Architecture, Media, Professor Stiller) S-010

Panel H (Roads Through Premodern Korea, Professor Kim) S-050

Panel I (Chinese Historiography, Professor Li) S-020

Panel J (Gender in East Asia, Professor Zahlten) S-010

Panel K (History of Medicine in Japan, Professor Kuriyama) S-050

Panel L (Japan and its Encounters, Professor Gordon) S-020
KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

Michael Puett

Opening Keynote Speaker
Walter C. Klein Professor of Chinese History
East Asian Languages and Civilizations Department

Michael Puett is the Walter C. Klein Professor of Chinese History in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations and the Chair of the Committee on the Study of Religion at Harvard University. He is the recipient of a Harvard College Professorship for excellence in undergraduate teaching. He is the author of The Ambivalence of Creation: Debates Concerning Innovation and Artifice in Early China and To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-Divinization in Early China, as well as the co-author, with Adam Seligman, Robert Weller, and Bennett Simon, of Ritual and its Consequences: An Essay on the Limits of Sincerity.

Theodore C. Bestor

Closing Keynote Speaker
Reischauer Institute Professor of Social Anthropology
Director, Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies

Theodore C. Bestor is the Director of the Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies and Reischauer Professor of Social Anthropology at Harvard University. He is a specialist on contemporary Japanese society and culture; much of his research focuses on Tokyo, and he has written widely on urban culture and history, local neighborhood society and identity, markets and economic organization, food culture, and popular culture as a defining aspect of urban Japanese life. Currently his research focuses on Japanese food culture and, in particular, on the globalization of Japanese cuisine and its intense popularity throughout the world.
Panel A: Modern Japan

Ryoko Nishijima, University of California, Los Angeles
Omoenashi in Late Meiji and Taishō Japan: From the ‘Welcome Society’ to ‘Japan Tourist Bureau’

International tourism in Japan, from its formation in the early 20th century to today, bears in many ways the postcolonial contradiction of Japan as a nation that has been at once the colonizer and the Orient. Omotenashi, the Japanese term for hospitality, recently became a buzzword in Japan as the nation strives to establish itself as a tourism nation. While this self-indulgent rhetoric of welcome appears to celebrate Japan’s hospitable altruism towards foreign tourists, it is in stark contrast against the firm anti-immigration stance the government has continued to take. Jacques Derrida calls attention to hospitality as a term of “troubled and troubling origin, a word which carries its own contradiction incorporated into it […] ‘hostility’” (Derrida 2010). Hospitality should be understood rather as negotiation of power between the host and the guest. Tourism was one of the many industries that arrived to Japan at the turn of the 20th century. Historicizing the Japanese tourism industry in general, and locating the lineage of Omotenashi in particular, this paper follows the discourse of hospitality among the earliest organizations dedicated to the development of tourism infrastructure in Japan, such as The Welcome Society (1893-1912) and its succeeding agency, Japan Tourist Bureau (1913-present). Through examining the lectures given by Meiji and Taishō elites on how to appropriately welcome foreign guests, to the more pragmatic debates about how to improve ill-equipped hotels and ill-mannered hosts, this paper explores the notion of "civilized hospitality" emerging in the early 20th century Japan.

Keren Wang, Penn State University; Tomonori Teraoka, University of Pittsburgh
Legitimation Crisis of the Japanese Constitution: Reflections on Japan’s post-WWII constitutionalization process

This paper examines the problem of constitutional legitimacy in Japanese political system, specifically focusing on the challenges and possibilities concerning the post-WWII Japanese constitution in terms of ability to create and maintain a self-referencing framework for the legitimate expression of the general will, in ways that not only adhere to the established transnational constitutional principles, but also conforms to the basic political lines of the polity. Against this theoretical background, this paper seeks to explore two primary question: first, did the post-WWII Japanese written constitution manage to transform itself into tacit societal knowledge that provides an legitimizing framework for the expression of the general will of Japanese polity? Second, is it possible to translate the basic political functions of post-WWII Japanese political system without fundamentally displace the established transnational constitutional principles? This paper investigates the problems aforementioned from the theoretical perspective of constitutionalization process, and explore both the legal and rhetorical dimensions of constitutional legitimacy. The goal is to identify relevant preexisting societal
knowledge-frameworks that give rise to the explicit rhetoric concerning the post-WWII constitution, and examine their role in the shaping of the constitutional legitimacy in contemporary Japanese political system. The analysis in this paper keeps a strong eye towards the state of judicial review in postwar Japan, and distill a comparative model visualizing the gap between form and practice as observed in Japanese judicial review process. The analysis finds that in practice, the postwar Japanese Constitution has never been past beyond the ensoulment stage of constitutionalization process. While the language in the current Japanese Constitution adheres to the prevailing transnational standards of constitutional democracy, its persistent lack of implementation implies that post-war Japan has yet to develop itself into a full-fledged constitutional society.

**Eunji Hwang**, Yonsei University

*Politics of Statue: Peace Monument and the Personification of Memory*

The very purpose of statue is to bring the past into the present and even further for progeny. An effective statue as symbol generates far-reaching political power as a processor, mediator, and transmitter of memory. This paper attempts to take an approach regarding the political meaning of the Peace Monument, in order to answer the question of “why does Japan keep on demanding the removal of the statue?” Although some say that the 2015 agreement between Korea and Japan concerning the comfort women issue marked another stage in the progress of the bilateral relationship for future generation, it sparked an angry backlash in Korea for being another humiliation of the victims and the Korean people. This paper argues that the disruptions in the current Korea-Japan relationship emanate from its unique characteristic where people are overly awash with affection rather than cognition in evaluating the statue. Because public recollections of the same historical events of Korea and Japan are anchored in dichotomized memories, the colonial memory has been crowded out in Japan but remains strong in Korea. Consequently, the issue has become a political football by the personification of memory into a tangible and sympathetic figure. Its symbol of resistance to urge for Japan’s sincere apology has been augmented by the triangular interaction of the statue, its location, and the ceaseless collective actions around the statue as the pivotal figure. Therefore, the Peace Monument significantly contributed to the making of the politics of identity and the space for resistance.

**Median Mutiara**, Nagoya University

*Religious Education for Migrant Children in Contemporary Japan: Islamic Teaching in Indonesian School of Tokyo*

Among countries with majority Muslim living in Japan, Indonesia is the only country having a foreign national school in Tokyo since 1962. The growing activities of Indonesian Muslims in Indonesian School of Tokyo (IST) have brought this school under the surveillance of The Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department’s Public Security Bureau, as revealed in 2010 (Kartikasari, 2013). Students are at risk of becoming the terrorists-suspect, under the counter-terrorism measures proposed by the Government. Through the measures, education has been considered as a double-edged sword for both “promoting and countering violent extremism” (Ghosh, 2016). This ostensibly justifies counter-terrorism acts in many countries to use schools to watch over “signs of radicalization from the young generation.” This paper aims for explaining the Islamic teaching to Indonesian migrant children and answering a question: whether the Islamic teaching
in the Indonesian School of Tokyo should be the subject of radicalization and terrorism prejudices? Observing how religious values is taught to children is pivotal in understanding the contemporary Muslim migrants living in Japan. This study is conducted by having participant observation in the school and in-depth interviews with teachers and parents. The findings suggest that some Islamic values are part of the hidden curriculums, as results of teachers and parents’ concerns in transmitting religious values to their children. The teaching is, nevertheless, not in the framework of making the school a single-religion enclave, but more of national-identity building in which religious-based values are embodied. Through active participation and exchanges with Japanese schools, this school also promotes the understanding living in an increasingly diverse society in Japan.

**Panel B: Modern Sinophone Literature: Re-Imagination of Identity and Modernity**

**Yinyin Xue**, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
*Science, Romance, and Imagined Socialism: Death Ray on a Coral Island 1964-1980*

This article looks at the discourses and narratives of science and technology in PRC from the perspective of transmedia storytelling of science fiction from 1960s to 1980s. I focus on Tong Enzheng (1935-1997)’s “Death Ray on a Coral Island,” an award-winning science fiction that tells a story centered around the invention of laser machine and atomic battery, while depicting the images of scientists from different background. Written in 1964, published in 1978, and adapted into film, radio drama, and pictorial books in the early 1980s, the story was first banned from publication, but later encouraged to be printed. It is in close relation with the discourse of national security against the Cold War background and also deeply engages with the popular culture and market reform in the early 1980s. This article argues, in the time span of nearly two decades, the emergence and reemergence of the same narrative in different media form signals the continuous reimagination of Chinese socialism. By considering how science fiction engages with the development of military technology, socialist state ideology, and the burgeoning consumer culture, this article aims to activate science fiction as a productive space to rethink the interaction between the socialist state and popular culture, and the competing forces of constructing a futuristic society.

**Anting Ma**, The University of Hong Kong  
*Anthropophagy Beyond Anthropology: A Cannibalistic View of Jiu Guo in Translation*

Drawing from Oswald de Andrade’s Manifesto Antropófago (1928; Cannibalist Manifesto), the Brazilian translators Augusto and Haroldo de Campos promote a view of translation as cannibalism that redresses the asymmetry of power in postcolonial relations. This offers a nuanced reading of translation both of and in the Chinese novelist Mo Yan 莫言. Starting with another look at modern and contemporary Chinese literature, my presentation will analyze the place of cannibalism, in the de Campos sense of the term as applied to translation and translation studies, in Howard Goldblatt’s translations of Mo Yan, particularly The Republic of Wine: A Novel 酒國. The originality of the intriguing topic lies in not least some of the intricate difficulties it will come against: whereas de Campos proposed translational cannibalism as
“irreverently amorous devouring,” upsetting the colonialist association of cannibalism with savagery, in the Chinese context cannibalism has also been linked to violence and inhumanity—indeed, in one of the founding texts of modern Chinese literature, Lu Xun (1881–1936) chastises the whole of traditional Chinese culture as one that eats people and devours its children. This not only poses a challenge to the translatability of cannibalism into the Chinese context, it also potentially opens the way for seeing cannibalism in Goldblatt’s translations as a re-inscription of colonialist domination over the Chinese textual other. How might the formulation of “cannibalistic translation” allow for critical re-assessment of Howard Goldblatt’s translations of Mo Yan? My presentation is in search of an answer.

**Jannis Jizhou Chen**, Harvard University  
*As a Sentimental Being: Sinophone Sociality and Subjectivity*

This essay bucks the trends in Sinophone studies that have for years been fixated on the linguistic and geopolitical aspects of Sinophone literature at the expense of attending to the affective and transcendental dimensions of Sinophone subjectivity and sociality. I am particularly concerned with the interpellation of Sinophone subjectivity through the articulations of qing (sentiments and feelings) and the (de)formation of Sinophone sociality through the encounters with the other. Here, I extend the notion of the “other” to both abiotic and nonhuman biotic components. My central question is: how do Sinophone sociality undermine and undergird the diasporic experience and consequence?

I engage with Sinophone sociality in four ways by looking at selected writings of narrative fiction. Firstly, I probe the emergence of Sinophone sociality through the Sinophone’s encounters with their kith and kin. Secondly, since the protagonists often have to skirt the porous and dubious boundaries between kinsmen and strangers, I maintain that kinship and stranger socialities are two contrasting modes of social configuration, which either espouse or efface Sinophone subjectivity. Thirdly, I turn to sentiments in amorous term, and underscore that the Sinophone are not parochially obsessed with their displacement, exile, nostalgia and victimhood. Their passion and desire bespeak an affective power that engenders rippling consequences beyond the immediacy of their geo-psychological displacement. Lastly, I look at a somewhat unusual relationship: the Sinophone’s ambiguous and ambivalent relationship with the biosphere in order to accentuate the transcendental capacity of Sinophone sociality beyond inter- and intrapersonal relations.

**Yvonne Lin**, University of Oxford  
*Affecting Nostalgia: Performing the Past in Taipei People*

In my paper, I argue that the polyphonic reconstruction of identity through performance in the short story collection Taipei People suggests a greater awareness of progressing time than previous critics have suggested. This seminal work of Taiwanese literature, written by Bai Xianyong in the 1960s, frequently features melancholic characters who aim to recreate their former lives in communal spaces of performance and entertainment. Despite their disparate origins back in mainland China, it is in the taxi-dance halls and entertainment houses of Taipei that they assemble to dwell and revel in an imaginary shared identity, recalling rosier days spent in escapism in Shanghai’s Paramount Ballroom or Grand Theater. Through performance, they look back from their Taipei present to wax nostalgic not about their ordinary lives but about
glamorous stars and the entertainment world. What can the layers of fiction these characters have swathed themselves in tell us about the performative, embodied, often sexualized aspect of nostalgia? How is the sense of tradition imbued in song and kunqu, passed through the ages and carried over the strait as they have been, altered in this new time and place when return to the mainland is impossible? By framing these short stories using Svetlana Boym’s conception of reflective/restorative nostalgia as in conjunction with Richard Schechner’s work on ritual and performance, I hope to shed light on the way in which these characters – and more broadly, the exiled mainlanders they represent and elegize – negotiate inexorable shifts in their identity.

Panel C: Chinese Philosophy

Jingcai Ying, University of Virginia
Deliberation for Self-Cultivation: Zhu Xi and Confucian Democracy

The rising nationalism in China, which the Chinese government keeps fueling to legitimate its authoritarian rule, reinforces the conventional wisdom that Confucian ethics is too hierarchical to justify democracy. Against this background, my dissertation examines the seemingly self-contradictory concept, Confucian democracy. Drawing on Zhu Xi (1130–1200 CE), arguably the most influential ethicist after Confucius himself, I contend that democracy—especially deliberative democracy—not only is compatible with Confucian ethics but also best promotes Confucian self-cultivation. To defend my thesis, I use a comparative method that equally privileges Confucian ethics and democratic theory. It places both traditions in a mutually transformative dialogue. The democratic lens highlights the deep tension between Zhu Xi’s egalitarian ethics, which is his paramount concern, and his firm support of monarchy, which he considers a crucial instrument for his ethical vision. I exploit this tension, arguing that democracy is a better instrument than inegalitarian regimes for Zhu Xi’s egalitarian ethics. Zhu Xi’s ethical vision—all persons should be given the equal opportunity to pursue sagehood—then becomes my guide in my appropriating deliberative democracy for Confucian purposes. The outcome of this cross-cultural dialogue, I hope, is a Confucian democracy more attuned to Zhu Xi’s ethical ideals than any political hierarchy.

Seth Robertson, University of Oklahoma
Nunchi, Ritual, and Early Confucian Ethics

There are positive and negatives senses of the Korean word nunchi (눈치, pronounced “noon-tchee”). Positively, nunchi is the ability both to accurately read others’ mental states by the subtlest of cues and to use this information to expertly steer social situations. The person who notices the tiniest twinge of discomfort on a colleague’s face when a new topic is broached, and then deftly directs the conversation away from that topic has lots of nunchi; the person who always puts her foot in her mouth lacks it. Nunchi is both perceptive and performative. It is not quite social or emotional intelligence and not quite tact, but it includes them all. Negatively, nunchi is closely related to concerns about social hierarchies, places more burden on those with less power, and can even be used as an insult (sycophants are said to have “too much” nunchi).

In this paper, I focus on the positive sense of nunchi. In particular, I argue that reading nunchi (a
relatively recent concept) back into the works of the early Confucian philosophers provides a powerful illuminating perspective on their ethical projects. Nunchi, I claim, is a virtue that allows one to read important microethical information subtly communicated in the highly ritually-restrained behavior of others, and to successfully communicate back. This type of communication is vital for the li, ritual, to do the moral work that the early Confucians believe that they can do.

Maddalena Poli, University of Pennsylvania

_A body/mind dualism? On xin 心 and shen 身 in selected poems from the Chuchi 楚辞_

Recent quantitative analyses of a corpus of Chinese texts have highlighted a significant contrast between the word xin 心 and three of the words which indicate the body (shen 身, ti 体, and xing 形) in classical Chinese texts. This result per se is not sufficient to invalidate the holistic position and to demonstrate a formulation of human nature as a body/mind dualism in Chinese culture, but it calls for new attention to the subject. In this paper, I use one of these contrasts (i.e. xin/shen 心/身) articulated in three poems from the Chuchi 楚辭 (Lyrics of Chu), for which I propose a new translation. While proposing the use of quantitative analysis as a tool to highlight textual points of interest, this paper underlines that they have to be understood contextually. My aim is to show, first, that a detailed account of human nature in terms of material and immaterial essences is indeed present in Chinese culture; and, second, that a proper translation has to take into account both the presence of this dualism and its expressions, in order to ensure a rendering that does justice to the Chinese text, within the limits imposed by the change of language.

Yinlin Guan, University of Edinburgh

_The Dao of the Heaven in the Laozi_

It is obvious that the dao plays a prominent role to any reader of the Laozi. What may not so obvious is the complexity of the different theories concerning about it. Most scholars do not distinguish tian dao, tian zhi dao, ren zhi dao clearly, rather treating them as different aspects of the dao. However, the wordings of the phrases, i.e. tiandao, tian zhi dao, tian nai dao, infer that there are various relationships among the concepts of tian, the dao and tiandao, and this in turn makes the interpretation of the dao and tiandao philosophically different. I propose that lexically there are three relationships between tian and the dao, differentiated by the usage of the function words, i.e. nai 乃 and zhi 之 and the verb fa 法, interconnecting with tiandao. This will also put ren zhi dao and tian zhi dao as different aspects of the dao into doubt. In this paper, I will initially analyse linguistically the usage of zhi 之 and tian zhi dao, nai 乃 and tian nai dao as well as tian fa dao in order to demonstrate the paradox between the supposed hierarchy that the dao as the whole is higher than tiandao as one aspect of the dao, and the identity between tian and the dao. Secondly, from the analysis of the linguistic usages of the words, I will establish the interconnectivity among those concepts I have mentioned above, and offer my solution to the paradox.

Panel D: Memory and Legacies of Contemporary Korea

Hahyung Lee, Yonsei University
Park Chung-hee vs. Syngman Rhee: Why and How Did Park Distainiate Himself from Rhee?

Syngman Rhee and Park Chung-hee, two former presidents of the Republic of Korea, are symbolic figures of Korean conservatives. Both conservatives and liberals see them on continuity, but in the opposite ways. Conservatives hail Rhee as a founding father of the nation and Park as the father of Korea’s industrialization, whereas liberals regard Rhee and Park as dictators, one civilian and the other military. This paper, however, takes note of discontinuity between them and argues that Park tried hard to sever himself from Rhee to legitimize his military coup in 1961. Park contended that the completion of the 1960’s April 19 Revolution, which forced Rhee to step down, was the main cause for his coup. Park claimed the new government he toppled down was as corrupt and incompetent as Rhee’s administration. Therefore, it was natural for Park to become one of the strongest critics of Rhee. Park intentionally discontinued Rhee’s ideas and legacies during his administration. How he wanted to draw a line between him and Rhee is evident in his writings and policies. In his books which came out soon after the coup, Park expressed his views on democracy and economic policies that were vastly different from Rhee’s. Also, his push for the normalization of diplomatic relations with Japan can be thought as a move to overcome Rhee, a highly respected anti-Japan independence fighter at the time. Lastly, this paper explains that Park’s attempt to distainiate himself from Rhee was a part of his plan for Korea’s modernization.

Sungik Yang, Harvard University
A New Right or an Old Right in New Bottles? The Historiography and Politics of the South Korean New Right

Recent domestic history textbook disputes have placed the spotlight on the politicization of Korean history in South Korea. This paper examines the historiography of one of the prime movers behind the textbook reform, the New Right, which has sparked controversy in South Korea for its unconventional readings of Korean history. I focus on New Right reinterpretations of the colonial period, the Korean War, and the Syngman Rhee presidency. I highlight its attempt at a postnationalist and postmodern reading of modern Korean history and discuss whether it is a true break from past nationalist historiography or just a vehicle for political rejuvenation of Korean conservatism. I also introduce the common perceptions and criticisms and ultimately raise the question of whether the New Right is indeed a “new” conservative movement, whether historiographically or politically.

JiYoung Kim, University of Toronto
North Korean Refugees in South Korea and Identities: 1950s-1960s

This paper is a historical analysis of six former North Korean refugees’ accounts who migrated during the Korean War in 1951. During the Korean War (1950-1953), the Cold War divided international communities into two ideologies. Subsequently, the refugees’ place in South Korean society as immigrants became highly politicized. Even after the expiration of their refugee status when they became South Korean citizens in the 1960s, these refugees represented the ideologies of anti-communism and hyper-conservatism in South Korea. The memories and representation of North Korean refugees in Kōje island (southern island) unhinges and complicates the national narrative of the war. The interviews allow to focus on the experiences of
people in the backdrop of the international and national conflict. Before refugees arrived, the island was devastated by the state sanctioned genocides. The United States Military Government in Korea (USMGIK) destroyed the communities by banning people’s committees that had been consisted of nationalists who worked to establish self-governance. The threat of being labelled as ppalgaengi (communists) dominated the island when the refugees arrived. The interviewees maneuvered through the discourses of anti-communism and nationalism, which continued their existence within the duality of the Cold War rhetoric. Like the island, the refugees represented both the ideology of communism and democracy, which perpetuated the tension of the Cold War. The formation of refugees-based communities, as well as the refugee women’s stories demonstrate how individuals navigated the stratified structure of their society to create a space for their own.

**Chaeyoung Lee**, Boston University

*Performing National Gymnastics: The Appropriation of Japanese Radio Exercise and Militarism in Postcolonial South Korea*

From time to time, a familiar marching band fanfare tune followed by a male voice’s powerful barking of “National Gymnastics, Start! One, two, three, four…” catches Koreans’ ears through the media or at a community event, and takes them back to their memories of school days. This music–voice combination is a composition for National Gymnastics, which is a five-minute free hand calisthenics activity that was established as part of citizenship education aiming to build a strong, wealthy, independent country in the 1960s and 70s. This paper discusses historical ironies surrounding the development of National Gymnastics. I explore how Japanese colonial radio exercise inspired the military government of postwar South Korea to develop the National Gymnastics program. I specially focus on the audio elements—music and verbal instruction, and examine the influence of Japanese radio exercise on Korean national gymnastics. The primary question of this study is why Korea voluntarily perpetuated the legacy of Japanese colonialism and militarism, by adopting Japanese radio exercise, while criticizing its prior use as a tool for imperial propaganda. This study ultimately aims to offer insights into the larger discourse of post-colonialism and neo-colonialism, regarding the issues concerning the reproduction of colonial structure in postcolonial states, and highlight the importance of music and sport to this process.

**Ria Roy**, Harvard University

*A True Communist Should Not Write Like That: A Study on North Korean Juche Linguistic Ideology in the 1960s*

Although commentators in the West have long predicted the demise of the North Korean state due to the successive disasters it has encountered, it has continually defied such predictions by—at least apparently—maintaining its hold over the minds and bodies of its citizens. In this regard, I explore how language itself in North Korea has become a medium closely linked to maintaining the legitimacy of the rulers. I explore how the North Korean state developed a distinctive view of language in the 1960s, one inspired by Marxist-Leninist linguistic ideology, but which has been developed into a method whereby language can be used to express and inculcate a mythical view of the state. In doing so, I trace how the right to legislate on the correct usage of the language is restricted to the leader, and then passed on from the first leader to the
next. In this way, speaking Korean correctly no longer simply means employing correct
grammar, but rather being well-versed in the instructions given by the leaders and having the
correct feeling for the state. That is, the medium of language itself becomes a means for
transmitting and inheriting the cult of the leadership. Eventually, I argue that leader providing
correct ways of using language creates a situation where “the good” and “the truth” are aligned
with the Leader, and the *modus operandi* of Juche linguistic ideology takes on the shape of a
moralising metadiscourse, eventually creating the notion of a “sacred text” in North Korea.

**Panel E: Literature, the State, and the Political Imagination**

**Wei Li**, Washington University in St. Louis

*Ethnic Witches and Tiny Foreigners: Imagining the Qing Territory in Late Nineteenth Century
Literati Storytelling*

This paper examines the untapped late nineteenth century collections of anomaly accounts
published by China’s first modern newspaper house *Shenbaoguan*. While my bigger project
explores how the lower-class literati storytellers—themselves survivors of the Taiping
Rebellion—appropriated the “record of the strange” tradition to creatively engage with their
war-ridden contemporary history, this paper focuses on stories with revealing representations of
how the late Qing territory was demarcated, experienced and imagined. With extensive domestic
migrations caused by wars, ever-growing inflows of foreigners, debuts of steamships, airships,
commercial newspapers, and developments in the production of maps and route books, China
was arguably undergoing its own “time-space compression” in the late nineteenth century. In
addition to direct references to these physical signs of modernity, in this selection of stories, new
experiences of time and space also found intriguing expressions in the fantastical alterations of
time and magical tricks of overcoming distance. As the protagonists travel all over and beyond
the China proper, these narratives offered provocative portrayals of their encounters with the
foreign (Koreans, Japanese, Europeans) and the frontier (Mongolians, Taiwanese, Southwestern
ethnic minorities), with a discernible tendency to emasculate these “others” to reclaim a sense of
moral and cultural superiority. This paper attempts to unpack how fictional distortions of the
temporal and spatial orders served as expressions of unease with changing physical and social
realities, and how the late Qing literati authors’ problematic urge to simultaneously transgress
and reaffirm territorial and cultural boundaries disclosed unsettling political and ethnic anxieties.

**Yaowen Dong**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

*Fighting the Ghosts: The Hundred Flowers Movement and the Politics of Ghost Stories*

This paper examines Stories About Not Being Afraid of Ghosts (1961), a book of ghost stories
from traditional Chinese literatures that was collected and published under Mao’s directive from
1959 to 1961. After suppressing the ghost stories from intellectuals and artists’ productions, Mao
incorporated the ghosts into his vision of an independent, militant, and masculine socialist state
and people, as well as their domestic and international enemies. While Chinese Marxist tradition
previously sympathized with the revolutionary potentials of the ghosts in traditional Chinese
literature, Mao denounced all ghosts as evil, and made them metaphors for various enemies of
socialist state. Just like imperialism and class enemies, the ghosts are to be recognized, defeated,
and even reformed and educated by the proletarian state and people. Mao used the ghost stories to respond to the political crises of late 1950s, and created a campaign of “Fighting the Ghosts” that profoundly influenced the tactics, targets, and rhetoric of political struggles during the Cultural Revolution and beyond.

**Linyi Li**, Stanford University

*Yoshimi Takeuchi’s Revisiting of Lu Xun: The Possibility of Subjectivity?*

This essay focuses on the prominent cultural critic Yoshimi Takeuchi’s revisiting and interpretation of Lu Xun during the postwar period, and probes into Yoshimi Takeuchi’s ideas about the construction of national subjectivity for modern Japan. The essay first traces the changes of Lu Xun’s attitudes towards the theory of revolution and examines the “Slide Incident” as a critical moment for Lu Xun to feel the tension between “the other’s” gaze and the inner self’s trauma. Stemmed from Lu Xun’s indispensable sense of repenting and ambivalence when reflecting on modernity and tradition, historical evolution and cultural inheritance, Yoshimi Takeuchi puts forwards the idea of “conversion”—resisting the stagnation of the present state but rejecting to become the other—to build the national subjectivity as a critique of Japan’s disregard of national idiosyncrasy in its single-minded pursuit of western “model” in a hierarchical system. Finally, the essay compares the differences between Lu Xun and Yoshimi Takeuchi’s anxiety about modernity, the construction of subjectivity and the left-wing politics and tries to discuss the merits and limits of Yoshimi Takeuchi’s aesthetic politics both in historical and intellectual levels.

**Qieyi Liu**, Columbia University

*The Transfer of Invented Tradition in a Colonial Context: Celebrating the “Fête Nationale” in the Shanghai French Concession (1928-1937)*

A joyous national holiday in France, Bastille Day (July 14th) symbolizes the political and ideological legacies of the French Revolution, which serve as a basis for subsequent French republican regimes. As France emerged as a major colonial empire in the age of imperialism, the celebration of Bastille Day was also deterritorialized. In the Shanghai French Concession (1849-1943), festive activities were held annually by colonial authorities and French settlers since 1881. Observed by all walks of life in Shanghai, this newly invented tradition became an important site for the symbolic struggles between the colonizers and the colonized, where meanings of Bastille Day, French Revolution and France itself were constantly generated, echoed, and questioned.

This project will examine the process of transferring a national festival from the metropole to the colony, surveying how symbols and rituals associated with the Bastille Day celebrations were transplanted to the Chinese soil, wherein lay the French colonizers’ intentions, and what were the Chinese responses. Using the Shanghai French Concession during the Nanjing decade (1928-1937) as a case in point, I will focus on how the commemorations were strategically interpreted and appropriated by both French communities and Chinese communities to serve their own political ends. Comparing these local voices with nationwide discourses on the French Revolution, I will discuss how the tension between the pursuit of a modern nation-state and the reality of being subjugated to western powers shaped Chinese people’s political imagination.

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**Panel F: Geopolitics of Development in East Asia**

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Feiya Suo, Stanford University

Effects of women’s political participation on female labor force participation in OECD and Asian countries

Encouraging more women to participate in the labor market is not only important toward reduce gender inequality, but also has significant effects on accelerating economic growth. Previous studies show that average national levels of education attainment of women, fertility rate and parental leaving policy have significant effects on female participation in the job market. However, the effects of women’s political participation are less discussed; in order to study how women in decision-making processes could reduce gender bias in the labor market, the author of this paper investigates the association between female seats in national parliament and the labor force participation gap associated with gender, by comparing countries in OECD and East/Southeast Asia. Results from quantitative analyses show that the increase of women’s seats in parliament could reduce the gap between male and female labor force participation rate in both OECD and Asian countries. Particularly, the increase of female political representatives has a more immediate effect on reducing the gender gap in the labor market in developing countries, compared to developed countries. These new findings on the women’s political participation may suggest some new policy recommendations for developing countries to reduce gender inequality in the labor market.

Huiju Tsai, National Sun Yat-sen University

Geopolitical Implication of Taiwan’s Economic Policies: A Comparison of President Chen Shui-bian and Ma Ying-Jeou Administrations

Taiwan’s geopolitical situation is critical to its economic policies. As an export-oriented economy, accessing to expand foreign markets is essential to the country. However, the difficult political relation with China has led to dichotomous concepts of economic policies between the two major political parties: the west-bound concept to expand the markets in China and south-bound concept to mainly develop the markets in South East Asian Countries. Kuomintang (KMT), representing the pro-China Pan-blue parties, stands to deepen the economic cooperation with China (westbound concept), while Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), representing the Pan-green parties that support Taiwan’s political independence, tends to diversify Taiwan’s foreign markets from the increasing economic reliance on China (southbound concept). The two foreign concepts may lead to different economic outcomes.

Since the establishment of the Republic of China, Taiwan has experienced three times of political transitions between two parties: President Chen Shui-bian Administration (DPP, 2000-2008), President Ma Ying-jeou Administration (KMT, 2008-2016) and current President Tsai Ing-wen Administration (DPP, 2016-). This study focuses on how the 2 southbound and westbound concepts and policies affected Taiwan’s economic outcomes during the periods of Chen and Ma Administrations, respectively. The indicators of Taiwan’s economic performances, international trade and foreign direct investments were employed for the analysis. This research concludes that the market mechanism could be the key driver for foreign economic interactions.

Yicheng Zhao, Duke University
“A Tale of Two Cities”: The Colonial Origins of Economic Divergences Between Hong Kong and Macau

In this paper, we explore the impacts of colonial origins on the economic structures in their colonies. The cases of Hong Kong and Macau, former colonies of the Great Britain and Portugal, provide strong evidence for how institutions and policies introduced by different colonizers cast a significant influence on the development of their own pillar industries. Particularly, education policy is proved vital to economic divergences of these two cities with initial similarities: Hong Kong establishes flourished bank-based financial market, whereas Macau earns a reputation for its gambling industry. In addition, other institutions and policies interacting with education policy in these two cities form self-reinforcing systems for the growth of their own industries, financial market and gambling, respectively.

Jose Floriano Lima Filho, University of Brasilia

Yen loans for China: geopolitical paradox or rational choice?

Historical events and empirical data analyzed in this article indicates that rational choice, initially based upon complementarities of energy security and most needed intra-regional trade, prevailed in the 30-year Japanese ODA for China’s development, despite geopolitical paradoxes. Using computer-assisted qualitative analysis in conjunction with key literature review, we interpret and reflect upon partial codification of dozens of news articles and Op-ed pieces published between 1966 and 1996, in Asian news outlets (mainly Japanese and Chinese) such as Kyodo, Nihon Keizai, Zaikai Tembo, Xinghua (previously NCNA), Rennin Ribao, and also in Moscow’s Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn. That period reflects the gradual post-Cold War mitigation of ideological frictions and military confrontations, and illustrates some of the structural and institutional transformations that took place in China’s economic development model. The importance of primary energy (oil, coal and gas) trade becomes evidenced as one of the major features of the Far East Asia development path, be it in bilateral or multilateral terms. In the face of complementarities and historical relations between the two economies, our analysis indicates the Japanese yen loans for China, a) were only possible because of various efforts both in the bilateral and multilateral economic diplomacy realm intensified in the 60s onwards, and b) replaced the energy and natural resources policies initially aimed at by the Japanese for industrial, financial and trade interests in China based on comparative advantages and favorable terms of trade for Japan. Despite all the Cold War acid narratives developed in Sino-Japanese media, our study indicates that pragmatism predominated between both nations and brought mutual gains for their respective economies.

Panel G: Art History, Architecture, Media

Jiaying Gu, Yale University

Landscaping My Mind: Representing the Idea of You 遊 (Travel) in Early 17th-Century Garden Paintings

It is often said garden creation (zaoyuan) reached its peak in the late Ming period (1550-1644). Although much research has been done on the discursive practices of garden art, rethinking the
new transformation in visual representations of late Ming garden has been somewhat lacking. This study finds that you (travel), figured as a significant theme in early seventeenth-century garden paintings in urban settings, and thus it is argued, to new perceptions of garden spaces. Two early seventeenth-century works, Wu Bin’s (c. 1543–c. 1626) Spring Party at the Shao Garden and Zhang Hong’s (1577–1652?) Zhi Garden Album (1627) are presented as examples of such new perceptions of space. By looking into the new dimensions of spatial representations in both works, the thesis first examines the idea of travel in the monumental landscape traditions as well as the connection between the artists’ travel experiences and their artistic style changes. The analysis then shifts to focus on the depictions of the idea of travel in Wu Bin’s Spring Party at the Shao Garden and Zhang Hong’s Zhi Garden Album, as well as the connections with other late Ming travel-theme paintings. Following that, the investigation moves to reconstruct the Shao garden owner Mi Wanzhong’s cultural identity through visual metaphors included in Spring Party at the Shao Garden. Finally, the study explores some late Ming aesthetic values and principles of garden designs expressed in the Zhi Garden Album and in contemporaneous garden landscape theories recorded in the texts Yuanye (1631-34) and Zhangwu zhi (1634). In so doing, this study makes the concept huayi (picturesque) in late Ming garden images and texts become legible to present-day viewers. By bringing together garden words and images, this study uncovers period thought concerning travel within the urban setting.

In-Hwa Yeom, Ewha Womans University

“On Image-Signs of The Amrta Painting (1939) at Heungcheon Temple,”

The Amrta Painting (1939) at Heungcheon Temple in Seoul was produced during the peak time of Japanese colonialism in Korea. Following the influx of Western civilization via Japan, this modern-era Buddhist painting integrates the composition and iconography of traditional Amrta paintings with motifs from Westernized customs practiced by Koreans of the time, such as wearing Western attire and attending circuses. The combination of traditional and Western stylistic techniques, despite their strict bifurcation in Korean artworld at that time, is also notable; the two-dimensionality and flatness became slightly cubic with extra touches of shading, and the figural detail along with the adoption of linear perspective suggest possible referencing from illustrations or photography imported from the West. The iconographical realism and graphical virtuosity were novel stimuli that appealed to the populace, and hence could be used as effective propaganda devices of both Buddhism and Japanese colonial policies. Boeungmunseong(1867-1954) and Namsanbyungmun(?-1950?), the painter monks of the piece, worked under a Buddhist temple network formed by the colonial administration, and what they offered as spectacles in the painting include war scenes carrying implications of the then-ongoing Sino-Japanese War or ‘human reformation’ program of the government. For its denoted advocacy of Japanophilism, the artwork was kept clandestine by the temple until it was rediscovered and restored by art historian Hee-Jeong Chang in 2008. Considering its singularity amongst Korean Buddhist paintings as a documentation of converging tradition and modernity, the art-historical and socio-political significations of this piece are to be further studied.

Hee Soo Yun, Sogang University

Characteristics of the North Korean system as seen in the Pyong-seong city life
North Korea has been known as a regulation country. Recent researches of North Korea focusing on urban control target mainly on the transformation of Juche architecture and intentional space (e.g. Lim Dong-woo, 2014; Kim Won, 1998; Park hee-jin 2013). The purpose of this study, though, was to understand the autonomous mechanisms by the people of North Korea, which cannot be known only from the current control perspective. Even under the restriction of the North Korean authorities, the people gain their own way of life, conduct market activities, and go on living for spirit. The city that this paper analyzes is called Pyong-sung. The scope of research is from the 1970s to the 1990s. Because of the limited access to North Korea data, I obtained data for the thesis from the North Korean authorities’ brochure and interviews of North Korean defectors. Results of this paper show that if you look deeply into the inside, you can see how the party and the people cooperate for convenience. Of course, this paper deals with only one of the 28 cities in North Korea, so it cannot generalize to the whole of North Korea. However, at least, through the space of Pyong-sung, we can confirm that there is a universal lifestyle in even a North Korea, which seems to be a special place.

**Ja Won Lee, University of California, Los Angeles**

*Imaginary Past: Illustrating Chinese Antiques in Late Chosŏn Court Painting,*

This paper examines a growing trend of the appreciation for Chinese antiques and its impact on the emergence of a new type of Chosŏn court painting: screens of Books and Scholarly Utensils, also known as Ch’aekkŏri, depicting stacks of books, Chinese antiques, rare flowers, and fruit. Given the fact that Ch’aekkŏri screens were produced at a time when a considerable number of Chosŏn collectors expressed their interest in Chinese antiques, it is significant to examine the depiction of Chinese bronze vessels in order to understand how Ch’aekkŏri screens visualize Chosŏn collectors’ aesthetic preferences. Focusing on two court painters Chang Hanjong 張漢宗 (1768–1815) and Yi Hyŏngnok 李亨緑 (1808–after 1863), I analyze how they incorporated certain aspects of Chinese antiques in their works from diverse sources. An examination of this particular trend in art collecting and its impact on visual culture gives evidence of the cultural significance of collecting Chinese antiques and highlights the intellectual and artistic motivations of collectors and artists during the late Chosŏn dynasty.

**Panel H: Roads Through Premodern Korea**

**Chan Yong Bu, Princeton University**

*A Stranger’s Gaze in the Anthropocene: Contrasting Attitudes Towards Ecological Degradation in Travelogues*

The question of ambiguous attitudes toward manmade environmental change has been widely debated in comparative literature. Scholars such as Karen Thornber have tried to unearth these attitudes in modern East Asian literature, coining the term ‘eco-ambiguity.’ This approach suggests literary writings related to Korea during the late Chosun period may be reinterpreted to overturn the conventional dichotomy of Western environmental pollution and eco-friendly Asian ideology as historical records show the Chosun elite shaped the environment since the 18th century. My paper traces the genealogy of environmental awareness in Korean and American literature.
through the works of an early 20th century Korean diplomat and US traveler. I will compare Kim Deuk-Nyon’s 金得鍊 Comments on Traveling Around the World 環璆唫艸, a record of his experiences abroad which focuses on Russia, with Elias Burton Holmes’ travelogue Seoul: the Capital of Korea and film Korea, both made during his stay in Korea, to reveal the previously oversimplified differences between Korean and American perspectives. While Holmes was perplexed over the destruction of an Asian “eco-paradise,” Kim acclaims smoking factories and deforested lands as a beneficence to the people. I argue anthropogenic activities may have been morally condoned by Korean elites prior to the periods the current research addresses. In conclusion, examining differences in environmental awareness in the early 20th century literature and film of so-called ‘strangers’ in these lands will show how the conventional dichotomy of an avaricious West and eco-friendly Asia in late Chosun lacks nuance.

Kihwa Jeon, Seoul National University

Heroin Fictions as Imaginary Experiments on Gender in the Late Joseon Dynasty: Focusing on the Heroine Character in Banghanrimjeon

The purpose of this paper is to highlight a new understanding of a group of Heroine Fictions (女性英雄小說) produced in the late Joseon (朝鮮) dynasty. The Joseon dynasty was structured by neo-Confucian scholars, and its system was based on Confucian virtues. Women, regardless of their positions (身分), were not allowed to participate in the public sphere, and their boundaries were regulated to the inner quarters (閨房). Interestingly, from the seventeenth century, a group of fictions starring heroine characters with outstanding abilities were produced and circulated such as Banghanrimjeon, Geumbanguljeon, and Honggyewoljeon, all categorized as Heroine Fiction.

In Heroine Fictions, heroine characters disguise themselves as men and prove their capacities in war. This theme has been evaluated as a limiting perspective, since the heroine characters can show their superiority only while dressed as male and so cannot reveal their ‘real’ identities. However, I argue that this evaluation is fragmentary. First, the theme of disguise paradoxically reveals how weak and awkward the sex-gender system is; simply dressing up as male allows women to act in the role of men. In addition, when heroine characters are identified as women by other characters, they cannot maintain their positions as generals despite their own identification and abilities. Second, these heroine characters raise questions about the nature of real identities; heroine characters do not maintain their identities as women but rather ‘use’ the sex-gender system to pursue their own desires and purposes. As these unprecedented female characters meddle with the system, their actions bring to light serious questions about the stability of the sex-gender system.

Kanghun Ahn, Leiden University

A Study of Ch’usa Kim Chŏnghŭi: The Import of Qing Evidential Scholarship in Chosŏn Korea and the Reassessment of Practical Learning

This research is to examine the life and intellectual work of Ch’usa Kim Chŏnghŭi and thereby to shed light on the historical significance of Qing Evidential Research(Kaozhengxue) in late Chosŏn Korea. In recent scholarship, Kim Chŏnghŭi, a prominent practitioner of calligraphy, epigrapher, and literati-scholar in early modern Korea, has drawn a lot of academic attention from scholars with different fields. However, most of the academic foci have been laid upon his
field of art, such as Sehando, Pujagnando and his calligraphic innovation called Ch’usach’e(Ch’usa style). However, his academic dedications to Qing Evidential Studies and their intellectual importance have generally been overlooked. Hence, I will try to look into the Qing Learning aspects of Ch’usa with a variety of factors involved, such as Pak Chega’s influence on Ch’usa, Kyujanggak and its Qing collection, and his academic exchanges between Qing literati, such as Ruan Yuan, Wen Fanggang, and Wei Yuan. Also, I would like to shed light on Ch’usa’s epigraphic activities in Chosŏn Korea, the exemplary of which is the discovery and reexamination of the Monument of King Chinghŭng. As is well known, the concept of Silhak(Prartical Learning) originated from “Searching Truth from Facts(Shishiquesti, 實事求是)”, the central spirit of the Kaozheng Scholarship. In this regard, the movement of Practical Learning should be reevaluated through the scope of the development of Qing evidential scholarship in late Chosŏn Korea. Further, viewing Chu’sa’s evidential scholarship as a “missing link” between Northern Learning and the 19th-century Kaehwa movement ought to be highly demanded. In conclusion, the various aspects of Kim Chŏnghŭi’s life and literary work will provide a new perspective to examine the important philosophical concepts in Chosŏn intellectual history in a radical fashion.

Panel I: Chinese Historiography

Jian Zhang, Arizona State University
The Imagination of an Interregnum around the Fall of Jurchen Jin

The paper takes a memory-perspective on the miscellaneous writing, Liu Qi’s 刘祁 (1203–1259) Guiqian-zhi 归潜志. Reading in terms of mnemonic narratives, I will focus on this dynastic holdover’s exploration and exploitation of tensions between ethical value and political reality as well as those that obtained among personal behaviors, social status, and cultural inheritance. One can see in Guiqian-zhi that, despite the tremendous catastrophe for the Mongol invasions, Liu never employed the device of apocalyptic narrative (except for a moment when describing the fall of Kaifeng itself) to keep the reader far from social and political reality. Instead he frames the narrative in a way that sees the destruction of civilization and decline of the Way only as a predictable and temporary process. Through network analysis and visualizations of the biographical entries in Guiqian-zhi, I will show that Liu Qi presented these literati as a collective body engaged in an active independent network of cultural life that had a distinct geographical center in the north of the Jin. By criticizing the uncultivated morale and insubstantial ethos of literati in the Jin and historicizing literati as a collective body of cultural elites in past dynastic circles, Liu was able not only to rationalize the failure of the Jin, but also to remind the readers that it is literati who holds culture through dynastic changes; therefore, his writing, with historical determinism, existed in tension with the pursuit of martyrdom or eremitism after the dynastic fall.

Weitian Yan, University of Kansas
Remembering a Fragmented Epitaph: Yihe ming as a Site of Memory

Yihe ming (Inscription on Burying a Crane) is a famed sixth-century epitaph in the history of Chinese calligraphy due to its unconventional style and enigmatic origin. Located in Jiaoshan, a
small island in the Yangzi River near Zhenjiang, this epitaph continually invites visitors to offer their homage till today. In light of Pierre Nora’s idea lieux de mémoire, this paper aims to showcase how Yihe ming served as a place that generated collective memory and cultural identity for elite calligraphers over the centuries, and how it was re-shaped and re-imagined by the local government and the state in contemporary China. I argue that Yihe ming transformed from a fantasized site for pre-modern elites to embody the calligraphic lineage, into a cultural heritage for nation-wide audience to experience national belonging and pride. I also believe that it is the cultural production surrounding this site that help envision this transformation. The state-sponsored documentary film emphasizes the nationalist discourse by highlighting the preservation of Yihe ming during the Japanese invasion. By establishing designated viewing routes and composing interpretive texts, Zhenjiang government successfully made Yihe ming into a popular tourist place and marked it as a cultural brand. Archaeological discoveries of the remains of Yihe ming underwater in 2000s not only extended the Epigraphy tradition of pre-modern periods, but also strengthened the enigmatic aura of it that eventually drew more diverse visitors. In all, this paper contemplates the ways in which these cultural representations visually shape the remembrance and perception of the epitaph today.

Naixi Feng, University of Chicago
Stone Drums en route: Text, Thing, and a Historical Narrative of Beijing

Focusing on the late-Ming study of a set of Stone Drums—ten granite boulders bearing the oldest known stone inscriptions in ancient Seal-Script style, this paper examines the role of these ancient objects in the creation of a legitimate and historically discursive past of Beijing. How could the Ming scholars reconstruct the history of this city where non-Chinese states—Khitan, Jurchen, and Mongol—once wielded their ruling power? When the Chinese cultural elites faced severe social anxieties on the destiny of a collapsing country, how could they negotiate the legitimacy of the five-hundred-year non-Chinese past of Beijing prior to their own time, through the account of these ancient objects? In what ways did these objects transform Beijing from a barbarian city to a legitimate and monumental capital? In this paper, I will analyze the essay “Stone Drums in Imperial Academy” from the late-Ming miscellany, A Sketch of Sites and Objects in the Imperial Capital (Dijing jingwulü e, 1635) by Liu Tong, together with poetry and treatises that are major scholarships of jinshi epigraphic studies from the early 9th to the end of the 18th century. This paper will explore the process of how these ancient objects “travelled” to and “lived” in Beijing during the Jurchen and Mongol reigns and the ways that the late-Ming literati viewed the objects in the Imperial Academy. It will also explore the historiographical thinking on how to recognize and record the past that embedded in the discourse of the Stone Drums’ cultural biography.

Panel J: Representations of Gender in East Asia

Fang Wan, Beijing Normal University
Gazing Back: Reversion of Gender Power in Contemporary Chinese and Japanese Literature

In traditional male-dominated body narratives, men exclusively decide and design images of female body, which adheres to the value of androcentrism. Striving to break Phallus centrism,
Hélène Cixous of French School proposes the bodily writing theory, which inspires a wide array of female writers in China and Japan, including Lin Bai (林白), Amy Yamada (山田詠美). However, spurred by customer culture, female bodies in these works could not escape the fate of being watched and becoming new objects of male desire. Since the end of 1980s, BL (Boys’ Love) fiction (たんび) starts to sweep through China and Japan. By fulfilling the gender power transition between women and men, BL fictions have led the narrative of women and body to a distinctively new phase. Focusing on the literary works of Konohara Narise (木原音瀬), Tokio Tsumorithis (津守時生), Feng Nong (风弄), and Lan Lin (蓝淋), this paper analyzes these fictions under the frame of sexual gaze, which is one of the core elements of sexuality/gender system. From three perspectives, including changing of masculinity, transferring male characters to sexual objects, and absence of female characters, I want to analyze how these fictions tactfully establish the watching status for women and the being watched status for men, and how the reversion and dynamics of gender power occurs during this tumultuous process.

Wenqi Yang, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Gender images and state media in China (1950-1953): A discourse analysis of gender-specific articles in People’s Daily

This essay examines the interaction among state, state media, and women in early 1950s China. Based on the mass dependency model, this study scrutinizes women's gender images on state media during the marriage reform period (1950-1953). I seek to address two questions: what were women's gender images on state media? To what extent, if any, were gender norms challenged, manipulated, or negotiated, and by whom? This research uses articles on People's Daily as primary sample. Based on the textual analysis method, the data collected indicate that state media constructed a normative model of "woman" as an active fighter in the socialist struggle against conventional gender norms and the so-called feudalism, an enthusiastic participant in socialist production, as well as an advocate of state’s political campaign. These three typical gender images demonstrate a disjuncture between the state's confident propaganda of the new socialist Chinese woman and the fact that elements of traditional gender images persisted, even in state discourse. Besides, I ascertain the statistically significant correlation between state media coverage of women's gender images and the propaganda of political campaigns.

Yidian Huang, University of Pennsylvania

Nandan (男旦) and Onnagata (女形): The Paradox of Gender Impersonation in Chinese and Japanese Theater

Two prominent theatrical genres in East Asia, Kabuki and Peking Opera, have a similar tradition of excluding actresses from the stage. Female roles in Kabuki plays are performed by actors only even to this day, while Peking Opera actresses did not emerge until the Early 20th Century. In both cases, female impersonation has been an important part of the theatrical performance, where the ideal femininity is portrayed by men instead of women. Focusing on male actors playing female roles - Onnagata in Kabuki and Nandan in Peking Opera - this paper examines the similarities and differences between cross-dressing performances in Japan and China, and demonstrates the performative nature of gender that is shown in the paradoxical female
representation. The paper aims to answer the following questions: Does female impersonation and the creation of an ideal womanhood that can be depicted by the opposite sex repudiate or affirm the conventional gender binary system? Does the appearance of actresses in Modern China suggest an increase in women’s agency or in fact, the contrary? How does gender, as presented in such theatrical practice, accommodate the public, as well as the political structure in the two different social contexts?

**Ting Fung Yu, The University of Hong Kong**

*Masculinity Crisis and Hong Kong-China Relations: Representation of Manhood in Night and Fog*

Masculinities are traditionally associated with particular national cultures, with men symbolically representing the state. In pre-1997 Hong Kong films, local male images demonstrates a sense of superiority of Hong Kong. This, however, has been changing rapidly after the handover. In this paper, I argue that new socio-economic factors, especially changes of economic structure and national identity, affected men’s self-images and social status in Hong Kong after 1997, and this situation was depicted in various Hong Kong films. As a result, male characters on the screen lose their masculine and male confidence which they had before 1997. By analyzing the masculinity crisis of two “powerless” male characters in Night and Fog(2009) and Love Lifting(2012) respectively, I suggest that these films can be read as an allegory of the post-1997 Hong Kong society. Furthermore, the two male protagonists both have a wife from mainland China. Their marriage symbolically represents imagination of the Hong Kong-China relations among Hong Kong people, either with a tragic ending or a harmonious ending.

**Panel K: History of Medicine in Japan**

**Mori Yusuke, Harvard University**

*Stem Cell Research Policy in East Asia*

In 2012, Professor Shinya Yamanaka at Kyoto University and Dr. John Gurdon at the University of Cambridge, received the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine for their “discovery that mature cells can be reprogrammed to become pluripotent.” This finding was significant not only for elucidating the reprogramming mechanism of mature cells, but also for creating a novel type of stem cell: the induced pluripotent stem cell (iPS cell). The iPS cell has the potential to differentiate into any type of cell – a muscle cell, a nerve cell, a blood cell, etc. – like a fertilized egg. Therefore, iPS cells are expected to be used for cell therapy or regenerative medicine, where dysfunctional cells or even organs can be replaced by new ones derived from iPS cells. With this understanding, the Japanese government has been increasing research subsidies for stem cell research since 2008, particularly to promote iPS cell research. These efforts by the government resulted in the world’s first retina replacement surgery using iPS cells, which was successfully performed in September 2014 in Kobe, Japan. Moreover, the government decided to introduce new approval system for “Regenerative Medicine Products” in 2013 that has enabled patients to access cell therapy products earlier. Also, lots of stem cell research and attempts for clinical application have been conducted in China and South Korea. This presentation argues that how
governments should deal with the advancement in this field to promote research and its application as well as bioethical issues to be addressed.

Fujimoto Hiro, University of Tokyo
*Internationalizing/Americanizing Medicine in Japan: Rudolf B. Teusler and St. Luke’s Hospital in Tokyo, 1900–1940*

After the opening of Japan in the middle of the 19th century, Western physicians came to the country from different places. The Japanese government and physicians were eager to learn Western medicine by hiring the Western doctors, who worked as navy and army physicians or medical missionaries. Beginning in 1859, American medical missionaries came to Japan to spread Christianity as well as Western medicine, and they contributed to the development of Western medicine in Japan. The medical missionaries, however, faced difficulty because German-style medical education became influential in medical schools starting in the 1880s. This paper examines how the American medical missionaries redefined themselves not as Western physicians but as American physicians to compete with German-style Japanese physicians. I will focus on Dr. Rudolf B. Teusler of the Protestant Episcopal Church and St. Luke’s Hospital, which he established in Tokyo in 1902. In the first half of the 20th century, no other American mission hospitals in Japan proved more successful than Teusler’s medical enterprise. Although other medical missionaries had always criticized Japanese physicians, Teusler conciliated native doctors as well as Japanese and American politicians and donators, which resulted in his success. First, he developed a connection with Japanese politicians, who were usually cautious toward missionary activity, and he gained support from Tokyo City. Second, he received the large amount of financial from friends in the United States and reformed his hospital as St. Luke’s International Hospital, which represented the US-Japan friendship. Third, he started a public health program focused on practical American medicine in cooperation with the Rockefeller Foundation. He differentiated it from programs focused on theoretical medicine, which was influential in Japan and was rooted in German medical education.

Juhee Kang, Harvard University
*Understanding the Japanese experience of the Spanish Influenza (1918-1920): what was the flu and how would you have cured it?*

This paper examines how the Spanish Influenza (19181920) was received by the practitioners of Western medicine and Chinese medicine in Japan (kampo) along the context of Japan’s early postwar development of medical industry. It explores how medical modernization after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and the rise of the germ theory transformed the Japanese medical academia and physicians’ understanding of what influenza is. In the eyes of Meiji government, westernization of medicine was synonymous with medical modernization and the increase of governmentality under the name of public hygiene. However, the Spanish Influenza with its highly lethal symptom of cytokine storm caused a havoc in the early postwar Japanese society, which in part due to its partial participation in World War I, was experiencing an economic boom. The overreaction of the immune system killed those in their twenties and thirties who consisted of the core labor force. The situation posed a major challenge to the empire as the flu pandemic could weaken the authority of modern science in its Taiwanese and Korean colonies. Government inquired the doctors trained in Western medicine
to identify the causative agent and come up with the flu cure and preventive measures. Without the knowledge of viral infection yet, the doctors could not suggest effective solutions. Instead, the influenza with no known cause fueled active information sharing and experimenting within the medical community. Reading from the contemporary medical journal articles and the government directives published after the flu outbreak receded in 1921, one can see how physicians not only tested anticontagion measures from other infectious diseases but also explored the medicinal and behavioral suggestions from the traditional medicine.

Panel L: Japan and its Encounters

Yoshinaga Megumi, Stanford University

Colonialism Manchuria Agrarian Settlers

In this paper, I will pay attention to Japanese settlers, that is, the poor Japanese farmers who moved to Manchuria after 1932 when Manchukuo was established, and argue that although Japanese settlers were considered socially and economically marginal in Japan, they gained opportunities to acquire a better education and higher social status as a ruling class in Manchukuo. However, they were never treated on par with the ranks of Japanese citizens from Tokyo, Osaka, and elsewhere. They were always considered as secondary kokumin (people of the nation) in the Japanese imperial colonialism. To argue soundly, I will answer these questions chronologically throughout this paper: (1) under what situation were these Japanese settlers sent to Manchuria; (2) what were their lives like and how did they feel after they moved to Manchuria; (3) how did they understand their relationships with both Chinese landlords and local farmers; (4) how were the settlers educated and how did they interact with the Chinese people in Manchuria; and (5), I will examine the social status of Japanese settlers while they were ruling Manchukuo. This paper attempts to utilize history books written by both American and Japanese historians to explain the general background of Japanese Colonialism from an agrarianism and an educational perspective. In addition, in order to note what the grassroots’ Japanese settlers thought during the colonial period, I cited some collected Japanese memoirs including primary sources, such as works gathered by anthropologist Mariko Tamanoi.

Helen Hyun Hwa Lee, Yonsei University

The Post-War Kokutai Debates and Japanese Constitutional Identity

The post-war Japanese government’s official stance was that the 1947 Constitution adopted as an “amendment” to the Meiji Constitution preserved the kokutai (national polity/national essence) in a fundamental continuity with the Meiji Constitution and the pre-war past. While historical accounts typically emphasize the imposition of an alien constitution at gunpoint and the Japanese government’s attempts to save both face and the emperor, this paper seeks to comprehend the Japanese “water flows, the river stays” (Tokujiro Kanamori) argument through the conceptual lens of constitutional identity, by focusing on the post-war academic efforts to comprehend Japan’s political rearrangement: in particular, the debates about the location of sovereignty between Miyazawa Toshiyoshi (August Revolution theory) and Odaka Tomoo (nomos theory) and between Watsuji Tetsuro and Sasaki Soichi on the relationship between “form of
government” (seitai) and kokutai. The paper will conclude with the implications of such an analysis for Abe’s constitutional amendment efforts.

Jonas Ruegg, Harvard University  
*Ad-Hoc Diplomacy on the Maritime Periphery of Tokugawa Japan*

On December 10th 1753, a Chinese trade vessel landed on the shore of Hachijō island, 280 kilometers south of Edo. The Kuroshio current had carried the junk close to the island after it had lost its rudder and mast in a storm. For Hachijō authorities, rescuing castaways from all provinces of Japan had become routine, and they often confiscated the freight to cover the costs. However, repatriating seventy-one Chinese sailors to China and redirecting their merchandise to Nagasaki quickly became a large-scale bureaucratic issue confronted the local magistrate with the challenges of ad-hoc diplomacy outside the official channels. This paper explores the functioning of ad hoc diplomacy and the management of unplanned encounters with foreigners in the periphery of the Tokugawa State. It discusses the divergence between the legal practice of Tokugawa diplomacy and casual international contacts in rural settings. Accidental contacts deserve to be studied as informal diplomatic relations, as they represent the immediate contact between individuals before political decisions made in the center reach the scene. Studying the reconciliation of such encounters with the Tokugawa’s restrictive attitude towards international exchange can complicate the notion of four windows, and attribute agency to apparently marginal players, such as local magistrates entrusted with applying the law of the center.

Tanja Klankert, University of Bern  
*Modern dance from Japan on the route between the 1930s and the 1940s: Imponderabilia of a transnational dance history*

Many Japanese and Korean dancers and choreographers such as Eguchi Takaya, Nimura Yeichi, Masami Kuni toured through Europe and Asia between the 1930s and the 1940s under different local conditions and circumstances. These tours and visits were partly arranged by the artists’ networks and partly facilitated by the national governments and flanked by a national cultural and educational policy. Aesthetically, the modern dancers blended conceptions of eastern and western performative art traditions. They played a significant role for the development of modern dance, e.g. in the U.S. and in Europe where they still constitute a forgotten part of a transnational dance history. One reason for that are the different socio-political contexts in which the dance performances were embedded. How did the socio-political structures influence the production and the reception? The paper juxtaposes different case studies that reveal certain tensions between transnational production and local reception, between national promotion and exploitation of the arts and their ability to resist disambiguation. These tensions can be understood through the relation of the performance and the context, or, the relation of the historical event and the institutional structure. The paper will argue that, like the historical event, performance represents something that cannot be grasped by its context or by the institutional structure, which makes the Japanese dance performances imponderabilia of a transnational dance history.
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