



**UNSW**  
AUSTRALIA

Arts & Social  
Sciences

School of Humanities and Languages

## **ARTS3218, Japanese History Modern 'Miracles' & Mythologies**

**Semester One, 2014**

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1. Course Staff and Contact Details			
<b>Course Convenor</b>			
Name	Hélène Bowen Raddeker	Room	Morven Brown 361
Phone	02 9385 235	Email	hbowenr@unsw.edu.au
Consultation Time	Mondays 10.30-11.30; Fridays 9-10		
<b>Lecturer &amp; Tutor</b>			
Name	As above		

2. Course Details	
Units of Credit (UoC)	6
Course Description	This course extends from Japan's imperial restoration of 1868 to after the Pacific War. It features cultural, social and gender history topics, for example on marginalized groups and movements of resistance; on the 'new woman', and café culture and sexwork from the 'roaring twenties'; prewar radical literature; and postwar popular culture. Political history topics include western-style modernization and its discontents; nationalism and emperor-system ideology; and Japan's wars and empire.
Course Aims	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The course emphasizes Japan's heterogeneity stemming from class, gender and regional differences.</li> <li>2. It also seeks to acquaint students with historiography, with debates about Japan's history and cultural identity, and the interdisciplinary conceptual paradigms informing them.</li> <li>3. Hence, a central theme is the ambivalent nature of progress (Japan's modern 'miracles' and their 'down-sides'), and contending representations of Japan and its place in Asia and the modern world.</li> </ol>
Student Learning Outcomes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. the critical evaluation of both primary documents (in translation) and arguments in secondary sources;</li> <li>2. conducting research in a self-motivated and independent manner;</li> <li>3. presenting one's ideas effectively in writing and verbally;</li> <li>4. understanding historiographical and interdisciplinary approaches to the study of Japan's modern history, cultural traditions and identity, and place in Asia/the world;</li> <li>5. appreciating and respecting social and cultural diversity.</li> </ol>
Graduate Attributes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. an informed understanding of human experience, history, culture and society in the Asian region.</li> <li>2. an ability to understand and explain Asian perspectives on the world</li> <li>3. a specialized knowledge of at least one Asian country</li> </ol>

	4.	a capacity to engage in and appreciate the value of reasoned and open-minded discussion and debate
	5.	an understanding of the tools and methods used in the Humanities, social sciences...including an awareness of the ways in which an interdisciplinary approach enhances the study of the region
	6.	effective oral and written communication skills and an ability to apply these effectively in intercultural contexts
	7.	the capacity for critical analysis of scholarship, writing and sources on and about Asia

### 3. Learning and Teaching Rationale

Through making a research project central to the assessment in the course, I help to furnish students with the skills to conduct research more independently, though guidance is provided through written feedback on a research proposal. Their critical skills are developed also through interpreting primary sources in translation, and being acquainted in lectures and tutorials with historiographical and interdisciplinary debates concerning major issues in Japan's modern history, Japanese cultural identity, and Japan's development and place in the modern world. My strong focus on cultural, social and gender history helps to underline the course's emphasis on internal difference or heterogeneity in Japan.

My focus also on the historiography of Japan—the philosophy of History or History theory and method—should encourage in students an awareness that the two, history and historiography, are inseparable. 'History' is not a straightforward exercise merely in gaining 'objective' knowledge of 'facts', and in the unproblematic 'recovery' of past realities. Interpretation (the attribution of meaning) is the real business of the historian, who always is positioned in one way or another: politically, intellectually, temporally, culturally. No history is ever untheorized or unpositioned, even if it has the appearance of being merely descriptive. A familiarity with historiography will serve students well, especially those who seek to do Honours in History, but it can of course contribute to the analytical skills needed to prepare students for honours in other Schools or Programs.

### 4. Teaching Strategies

I work from an assumption that students embark on their studies at university expecting and wanting to be challenged intellectually—albeit not to the extent of having unusual difficulty passing or doing well in a course. A belief in the maturity of university students is also implied in my lectures, which do not set out to entertain but to teach critical thinking and a reflective, sceptical form of history. I conduct classroom discussions in a manner that treats learning as derived also from a student's peer group, not just from teachers. Hence, I discourage the habit some students have of continually asking 'the teacher' questions (which can be a way of 'participating' through masking a lack of preparation for tutes) and often encourage students to work first in small discussion groups so that everyone can get involved, and students learn from each other.

5. Course Assessment					
Assessment Task	Length	Weight	Learning Outcomes Assessed	Graduate Attributes Assessed	Due Date
Quiz x 4		5% each	1,3,4,5	1 to 7	Wks4,6,9,11
Tutorial Facilitation		10%	1,3,4,5	1 to 7, especially 4	Tutes 1-13
Research Proposal + Bibliography		20% 10%	1 to 5, especially 2	1 to 7	24 March
Research Essay		40%	1 to 5, especially 2	1 to 7	12 May
(Details below)					

**Please Note:** In addition to fulfilling the above assessment requirements, students are expected to attend at least 80% of their lectures and tutorials in order to pass the course.

### Assignment Submission & Collection

The following applies both to the research proposal and the research essay: 2 copies must be submitted for every assessment task: 1 paper copy and 1 electronic. Concerning submission of the soft copy, see below. The soft copy must be uploaded by 4pm on the due date to MOODLE — Turnitin. The coordinator will not accept nor count as on time assignments sent to her email address. You will receive a receipt of confirmation. Note that it is the hard copy that the lecturer receives date-stamped; if the hard copy is stamped as late, penalties will apply even if the e-copy was uploaded to Turn It In on time. The electronic submission is simply used to check for plagiarism.

Written work handed in on time will be returned to students in tutorials (the research essays in week 13). A stamped self-addressed A4 envelope must be provided on submission if students require LATE assignments to be posted back to their home addresses. Assignments should not be enclosed in any sort of folder.

### Requirements for ALL Assignments:

(If in doubt about academic format, download the History essay guide, the Little Red Booklet, from the school website.)

- Written work should have an official cover sheet on which you include a word-count.
- Written work should be typed in double line-spacing.
- Written work must include references and a bibliography. Essays without references (footnotes or in-text, parenthetical notes) will be penalized because this constitutes plagiarism. You must use either footnotes or parenthetical in-text references, but not both. Both systems are outlined in the essay guide.
- References must also include the exact page number of the text being cited (not the Study Kit page number).

- Note the essay guide's advice on the use (and misuse) of internet sites and on referencing internet sites. Your sources should be proper academic ones.
- Work must not be plagiarized. That is, your work must be in your own words except where you (occasionally) quote the exact words of an author using quotation marks and acknowledging your source with a reference. When you draw on another author for information or an argument but do not quote them, you must paraphrase or change the author's words substantially (express the information or point in your own words) whilst still acknowledging your source with a reference. Plagiarizing (presenting someone else's written expression or ideas as your own) the first time will mean loss of marks (or failing the essay if it is extensive); you risk failing the course if you plagiarize a second time after a warning! For more on plagiarism, see below.
- Papers that are significantly longer (or a lot shorter) than required will be penalized.

### **Assignment Extensions**

A student may apply to the Coordinator or Tutor for an extension to the submission date of an assignment. Requests for an extension must be made on the appropriate form and before the submission due date, and must demonstrate exceptional circumstances, which warrant the granting of an extension. If medical grounds preclude submission of an assignment by the due date, contact should be made with tutors as soon as possible. A medical certificate or other evidence will be required for late submission and must be appropriate for the extension period.

Assessment Extension forms can be downloaded from the Faculty website:  
<http://www.arts.unsw.edu.au/currentstudents/undergraduate/forms.html>

### **Details about Assignments & Assessment**

#### **Quiz x 4 @ 5% each**

In the tutorials in four separate weeks (Wks 4, 6, 9 & 11) there will be a quick quiz based on lectures and readings. It will take the form mostly of multiple choice questions, with one question requiring a short answer. I will try to avoid asking too many questions requiring a memory of Japanese names (of historical personages) since some will find it easier to recognize and remember them than others.

#### **Tutorial Preparation & Participation/Facilitation (10%)**

You will be assessed on the basis of your preparation and participation—ie., not just on the frequency of your contributions to discussion but also their quality, which of course includes a familiarity with lectures and set readings. You are also expected to help facilitate small group and class discussion by raising issues or questions you feel are important or interesting—ie., not just participating by answering questions put to the class by the lecturer. Each week, you should read the Guide's introduction to that tutorial's topic and the key questions before you begin reading. If your attendance falls much below the Faculty requirement of 80% of tutorials and lectures, you may be refused assessment (i.e., fail), but participation marks will be lost for each absence not covered by a medical certificate or other documentation.

### **Research (Essay) Proposal (20%) & Bibliography (10%)**

To help you develop your research skills, both of the written assignments in the course are related to a research project of your choice. The research essay is worth a considerable part of the assessment, and doing a proposal or plan and tentative bibliography by week 4 will encourage you to begin researching it well in advance of the due date in week 10. Your submitting a written plan will enable your tutor to give you some written feedback on the feasibility of the research project of your choice—the availability of sources, workable approaches, and so on. Of course, submitting a plan that makes sense will require that you do a library search and compile a list of sources, as well as reading up a little on the topic in advance.

The plan itself should be no longer than 500 words. You may set your own research essay question, or choose one already set for weekly tutorial discussions in this Guide. (Note, however, that some questions may be a bit narrow in focus for a research essay—focused just on one reading in the Kit, for example.) Feel free to ask your tutor for advice, in the plan itself or before that verbally or by email, if you are uncertain of how exactly to proceed.

In the proposal you should:

- give the essay a tentative title (a real title, not just a question)
- set out your general topic (e.g. Meiji modernization);
- state the issue or question you will address (e.g., for whom was it such a brilliant 'success'?) as well as the aspect (eg., of modernization) you'd be focusing on;
- comment on the historiographical significance of the topic/issue;
- refer to available sources and their approach (and perhaps to how your own approach will differ);
- don't forget that references (footnotes or parenthetical notes) must be included in any academic writing;
- and append a tentative bibliography of sources compiled not only from this Course Outline.

### **Research Essay (40%)**

This is due the Monday of week 10. Since research and academic writing skills constitute a central part of your tertiary training, the research project (research plan and essay) represents more than half of the assessment for the course. Apart from having to reference and set out the essay properly (cf., the guidelines above or History essay guide, the Little Red Booklet), remember that the essay should be problem-oriented or analytical. This means that it should present an argument or interpretation, not merely a descriptive narrative (a 'story'). Critical thinking, too, is an important skill to be learned at university.

To do well you should therefore try to: a) research your essay widely; 2) demonstrate in it a good critical awareness of the issue at hand; 3) structure your argument clearly and well; and 4) express yourself with clarity and polish. Of course, as with any written work the essay must be entirely in your own words except where you are quoting ("....."). Be careful with this because these days markers have Turn It In to check for plagiarism, and it is quite effective. Note also that reading works on historiography or the theory and method of the discipline of History (see list below) helps to add conceptual sophistication to your work.

## Grades

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All results are reviewed at the end of each semester and may be adjusted to ensure equitable marking across the School.

The proportion of marks lying in each grading range is determined not by any formula or quota system, but by the way that students respond to assessment tasks and how well they meet the objectives of the course. Nevertheless, since higher grades imply performance that is well above average, the number of distinctions and high distinctions awarded in a typical course is relatively small. At the other extreme, on average 6.1% of students do not meet minimum standards and a little more (8.6%) in first year courses. For more information on the grading categories see

<https://my.unsw.edu.au/student/academiclife/assessment/GuideToUNSWGrades.html>

The following is a guide to marking criteria prepared by History staff that may be helpful.

### High Distinction 85% +

An outstanding essay, excellent in every regard. A High Distinction essay shows flair, originality and creativity in its analysis. Based on extensive research and reading, it engages with complex historiographical issues, demonstrates theoretical acumen and involves both the critical analysis of argument and innovative interpretation of evidence. This essay is a delight to read and the prose is of exceptionally high standard. A High Distinction essay shows the potential to undertake post-graduate studies in History.

### Distinction 75%-84%

An essay of a superior standard. Well written, closely argued and based on wide, thoughtful and critical reading, a distinction essay answers the question convincingly and shows an understanding of complex historiographical issues. At its best, it is elegantly expressed and pursues an argument with subtlety and imagination. Distinction students are encouraged to progress to Honours in History.

### Credit 65%-74%

A credit essay is work of a high degree of competence. It answers the question well, demonstrating a sound grasp of subject matter, and arguing its case with clarity and confidence. It engages critically and creatively with the question, attempts to critique historical interpretations and positions itself within the relevant historiography. A credit essay demonstrates the potential to complete honours work in history.

### Pass 50%-64%

A pass essay is work of a satisfactory standard. It answers the question but does not do so fully or particularly well. It has a coherent argument, and is grounded in the relevant reading but the research is not extensive and the argument fails to engage important historiographical issues. The prose is capable but could be much improved. A pass grade suggests that the student can (with application) complete a satisfactory pass degree; it does not qualify a student for admission to honours. There is a world of difference between a bare and a high pass essay. The latter signals far more reading and a much deeper understanding of the question. With work, a high pass essay can achieve credit standard.

### Fail Under 50%

This is work of unacceptable standard for university study. It fails to answer the question and/or is based on inadequate reading. A failed essay usually has serious faults in terms of prose, presentation and structure.

### **Submission of Assessment Tasks**

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Assignments which are submitted to the School Assignment Box must have a properly completed School Assessment Coversheet, with the declaration signed and dated by hand. The Coversheet can be downloaded from <https://hal.arts.unsw.edu.au/students/courses/course-outlines/>. It is your responsibility to make a backup copy of the assignment prior to submission and retain it.

Assignments must be submitted before 4:00pm on the due date. Assignments received after this time will be marked as having been received late.

### **Late Submission of Assignments**

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Late assignments will attract a penalty. Of the total mark, 3% will be deducted each day for the first week, with Saturday and Sunday counting as two days, and 10% each week thereafter.

The penalty may not apply where students are able to provide documentary evidence of illness or serious misadventure. Time pressure resulting from undertaking assignments for other courses does not constitute an acceptable excuse for lateness.

## **6. Attendance/Class Clash**

### **Attendance**

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Students are expected to be regular and punctual in attendance at all classes in the courses in which they are enrolled. Explanations of absences from classes or requests for permission to be absent from classes should be discussed with the teacher and where applicable accompanied by a medical certificate. If students attend less than 80% of their possible classes they may be refused final assessment.

**Students who falsify their attendance or falsify attendance on behalf of another student will be dealt with under the student misconduct policy.**

### **Class Clash**

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A student who is approved a permissible clash must fulfil the following requirements:

- a. The student must provide the Course Convenor with copies of lecture notes from those lectures missed on a regular basis as agreed by the Course Convenor and the student.
- b. If a student does attend a lecture for which they had secured a permitted clash they will still submit lecture notes as evidence of attendance.
- c. **Failure to meet these requirements is regarded as unsatisfactory performance in the course and a failure to meet the Faculty's course attendance requirement. Accordingly, Course Convenors will fail students who do not meet this performance/attendance requirement.**



- d. Students must attend the clashed lecture on a specific date if that lecture contains an assessment task for the course such as a quiz or test. Inability to meet this requirement would be grounds for a Course Convenor refusing the application. If the student misses the said lecture there is no obligation on the Course Convenor to schedule a make-up quiz or test and the student can receive zero for the assessment task. It should be noted that in many courses a failure to complete an assessment task can be grounds for course failure.

## 7. Academic Honesty and Plagiarism

Plagiarism is presenting someone else's thoughts or work as your own. It can take many forms, from not having appropriate academic referencing to deliberate cheating.

In many cases plagiarism is the result of inexperience about academic conventions. The University has resources and information to assist you to avoid plagiarism.

The Learning Centre assists students with understanding academic integrity and how to not plagiarise. Information is available on their website: <http://www.lc.unsw.edu.au/plagiarism/>. They also hold workshops and can help students one-on-one.

If plagiarism is found in your work when you are in first year, your lecturer will offer you assistance to improve your academic skills. They may ask you to look at some online resources, attend the Learning Centre, or sometimes resubmit your work with the problem fixed. However, more serious instances in first year, such as stealing another student's work or paying someone to do your work, may be investigated under the Student Misconduct Procedures.

Repeated plagiarism (even in first year), plagiarism after first year, or serious instances, may also be investigated under the Student Misconduct Procedures. The penalties under the procedures can include a reduction in marks, failing a course or for the most serious matters (like plagiarism in an Honours thesis) or even suspension from the university. The Student Misconduct Procedures are available here:

<http://www.gs.unsw.edu.au/policy/documents/studentmisconductprocedures.pdf>

<b>8. Course Schedule</b>				
<b>To view course timetable, please visit: <a href="http://www.timetable.unsw.edu.au/">http://www.timetable.unsw.edu.au/</a></b>				
<b>Week</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Lecture Content</b>	<b>Tutorial Content</b>	<b>Readings</b>
1.	7/3	Restoration & Resistance + film, <i>The Meiji Revolution</i>	Genrô Vs the Grassroots	See the weekly topic descriptions & readings in the second part of this Outline
2.	14/3	Modernization & its Discontents	The Domestic Costs of the Meiji 'Miracle'	
3.	21/3	Religious Reformation	New Nation/New Religion/s	
4.	28/3	'Tennôsei' (emperor system) & Imperialism	Emperor System & Empire	
5.	4/4	Meiji Individualism: Gender & the New Poetry & Fiction	'Dangerous Thought', Poetic Resistance	
6.	11/4	The State Vs Feminism; & Gendered ('Proletarian') Literature	Feminism & Literature	
7.	18 /4	PUBLIC HOLIDAY		
		SEMESTER BREAK		
8.	2/5	Taishô 'Democracy'? Debate & Realities	The 'Roaring 20s': Mass Culture & Social Movements	
9.	9/5	1930s Japan: Radicalism, Right & Left ('fascism' & JCP tenkô/apostasy)	1930s Thought Control & Ultra-Nationalism/'Fascism'	
10.	16/5	War, Defeat & War Crimes	The Pacific War & Wartime Japan	
11.	24/5	Occupation Reforms Vs Revolution: Competing Ideas on Rebuilding Japan	The Allied Occupation & Postwar 'Miracle'	
12.	30/5	Rewriting Japan's Dark Past: History as Spot/Blot Remover	'Re-Imaging' Japan's Past	
13.	6/6	Film on Popular Culture	Gender & Postwar Popular Culture	

<b>9. Course Resources</b>
<b>Textbook Details</b>
Walthall, Anne, <i>Japan: A Cultural, Social, and Political History</i> , Boston and New York: Houghton and Mifflan Co., 2006. Chapters from this textbook form part of the key readings for some tutorials. It is available from the UNSW Bookshop. A few copies have been placed in the High Use Collection in the library; and it is also available in an e-book through the library. Note that this is the recommended textbook also for ARTS2908 Premodern Japan: Status, Sex & Power (on in S1 next year).

**Study Kit**

This includes most of the key readings for tutorials. It is available from the UNSW Bookshop. By going to the library homepage you can also type in the course number and find a list of books and articles or chapters either in the Higher Use Collection or with online access. This should give you on-line access to the readings in the Study Kit by beginning of the semester.

**Moodle & Lecture PPTs and Recordings**

Lecture recordings will be available to students via Moodle (linked to powerpoints). Powerpoints will be available to download from Moodle the evening before that lecture.

Moodle is the online learning and teaching system at UNSW. All students enrolled in the course have access to the 3218 site, where you will find course information, a complete outline to download if you wish, lecture powerpoints, and links to lecture recordings and Turn It In.

As noted above, both essays for this course must be submitted via Turn It In AND in hard copy deposited in the School of Humanities essay boxes on the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor of Morven Brown. Turn It In is mainly used to check for plagiarism, so essays that have not been uploaded will not be marked.

You should also check Moodle regularly for reminders, extra information; and some further readings for research essays.

**Subject Guides**

These are available from the UNSW Library's Website through the catalogue/LRD and contain lists of major resources (including reference books, journals, databases and internet sites) in particular subject areas. There are subject guides to 'Japanese Studies', 'East Asian History', as well as 'Women's Studies' (studies concerned with women, gender, sexualities etc) and 'Feminism'. These guides can help you find further sources when researching your essay.

**Other Textbooks and general texts:**

Many general textbooks on modern Japanese history are available; note that some textbooks (by Walthall, Janet Hunter, Elise Tipton, Kenneth Pyle, and McClain) are more cultural or social histories than conventional political or intellectual histories and thus pay more attention to women and the lower classes).

Beasley, W.G., *The Meiji Restoration*, Stanford University Press, 1972.

——— *The Modern History of Japan*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973. *Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 5, The Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 1989 [and parts of other volumes].

Denoon, Donald *et al* (eds), *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Dower, John (ed.), *Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E.H. Norman*, Pantheon, 1975.

Duus, Peter, *Modern Japan*, Boston, New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1998 (Second Edition).

Gordon, Andrew, *A Modern History of Japan*, Oxford Uni Press, 2003.

Gluck, Carol, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*, Princeton

- University Press, 1985.
- Halliday, Jon, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism*, Monthly Review Press, 1975.
- Hane Mikiso, *Peasants, Rebels and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan*, New York, Pantheon, 1982.
- Henshall, Kenneth G., *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower*, Hampshire and London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999.
- Hunter, Janet, *The Emergence of Modern Japan*, Longman Cheshire, 1989.
- Jansen, M. & Rozman, G. (eds), *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*, Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Lehmann, Jean-Pierre, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, London, Macmillan, 1982
- Mackerras, Colin (ed.), *Eastern Asia: An Introductory History*, Melbourne, Longman Cheshire, 1992.
- McClain, James L., *Japan: A Modern History*, New York and London, W.W. Norton & Company, 2002.
- Najita Tetsuo, *Japan: The Intellectual Foundations of Modern Japanese Politics*, University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- & Koschmann, J. Victor (eds), *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition*, Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Reischauer, E.O. & Craig A., *Japan: Tradition and Transformation*, Allen & Unwin, 1989.
- Scott Morton, W., *Japan: Its History and Culture*, New York, McGraw Hill, 1994.
- Storry, Richard, *A History of Modern Japan*, Penguin, 1981.
- Tipton, Elise K., *Modern Japan: A Social and Political History*, Routledge, 2002
- Totman, Conrad, *A History of Japan*, Oxford and Malden, Mas., Blackwell Publishers, 2000.
- Walthall, Anne, *Japan: A Cultural, Social, and Political History*, Boston and New York: Houghton and Mifflan Co., 2006.
- Waswo, Ann, *Modern Japanese Society, 1868–1994*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Wray, Harry & Conroy, Hilary (eds), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, University of Hawaii Press, 1983.

#### On Women—

There are a number of relatively recent books that include essays on many topics: Gail Bernstein (ed.), *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, University of California Press, 1991 [also *Women and Class in Japanese History*; *Japanese Women Working*; *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives...*; and *Re-Imaging Japanese Women*].

The Cambridge histories are comprehensive and useful for research on a broad range of topics. *Multicultural Japan* contains a number of essays broadly on the theme of Japanese cultural identity (on the imperial system, minorities, women/patriarchy, the family system etc.) Other thematically organized texts such Hunter's and Waswo's can be more useful for research essays than chronologically organized ones, moreover, since they contain one-chapter overviews of, say, rural Japan since the mid-19th century, or the changing situation/status of women. *The Japan We Never Knew* by David Suzuki and Oiwa Keibo is also good on minorities and Japan's heterogeneity.

#### Journals

*Ampo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*  
*Annals of the Institute of Social Science*  
*Asian Survey*

*Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*  
*Developing Economies*  
*History and Theory*  
*Japan Interpreter*  
*Japan Forum*  
*Japan Quarterly*  
*Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*  
*Journal of Japanese Studies*  
*Journal of Asian Studies*  
*Modern Asian Studies*  
*Monumenta Nipponica*  
*Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*  
*Rethinking History*  
*Intersections* (This is an e-journal based at Murdoch Uni, concerning women/gender in Asia. You can download articles from it; one issue in 2004 was entirely on Japan)

### **Additional Readings**

#### Reference Works & Documentary Collections:

*Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, Tokyo, Kodansha

Hunter, Janet, *Concise Dictionary of Modern Japanese History*, University of California Press, 1984

Dower, John, *Japanese History and Culture from Ancient to Modern Times: Seven Basic Bibliographies*, Manchester University Press, 1986.

Kristina Ruth Huber, *Women in Japanese Society: an annotated bibliography of selected English language materials*, Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1992.

Sbrega, J. J., *The War against Japan, 1941–1945: An Annotated Bibliography*, New York, Garland, 1989.

Huffman, James L. (ed.), *Modern Japan : an encyclopedia of history, culture, and nationalism*, New York ; London : Garland, 1998

Tsunoda Ryusaku *et al*, *Sources of Japanese Tradition, II*, Columbia University Press, 1958.

Lu, D. J., *Sources of Japanese History, I*, 1974.

Livingston, J. *et al*, *The Japan Reader I*, Penguin, 1973.

The documentary collections may be 'old' but can be very useful because they contain translations of primary sources with brief editorial essays about the historical context and significance of the sources and their authors.

### **Websites**

(H-Japan, H-Asia)

Japanese Studies: [http://www.arts.unimelb.edu.au/Dept/J and C/jsaa.html](http://www.arts.unimelb.edu.au/Dept/J%20and%20C/jsaa.html)

Japan Echo (On Line): <http://ifrm.glocom.ac.jp/japanecho/hp.html>

Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs: <http://infomofa.nttts.co.jp/infomofa>  
 Mainichi (newspaper): <http://www.mainichi.co.jp/index-e.html>  
 Japan Times ( “ ” ): <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/>  
 Asahi Newspaper: <http://www.asahi.com/english/enews/html>  
 Asian Studies Association of Australia:  
<http://www.ssn.flinders.edu.au/asian/asaahpge.htm>

Internet sources/websites should be used as sources for essays sparingly (for e.g., no more than a 1/4 of your bibliography)—and, only if they are academic sites subject to the same scholarly checks and balances that apply to standard books and articles. Others may be referenced in special cases such as a desire to access public opinion on some issue (an example might be current Korean views on wartime forced labour, including sexual labour or military sex slavery, and the issue of Japanese government compensation and/or a formal apology). The above Guides prepared by library staff usually include guidelines on the academic evaluation and usage of websites.

## 10. Course Evaluation and Development

Courses are periodically reviewed and students' feedback is used to improve them. Feedback is gathered using various means including UNSW's Course and Teaching Evaluation and Improvement (CATEI) process.

## 11. Student Support

The Learning Centre is available for individual consultation and workshops on academic skills. Find out more by visiting the Centre's website at:  
<http://www.lc.unsw.edu.au>

## 12. Grievances

All students should be treated fairly in the course of their studies at UNSW. Students who feel they have not been dealt with fairly should, in the first instance, attempt to resolve any issues with their tutor or the course convenors.

If such an approach fails to resolve the matter, the School of Humanities and Languages has an academic member of staff who acts as a Grievance Officer for the School. This staff member is identified on the notice board in the School of Humanities and languages. Further information about UNSW grievance procedures is available at:  
<https://my.unsw.edu.au/student/atoz/Complaints.html>

## 13. Other Information

### myUNSW

myUNSW is the online access point for UNSW services and information, integrating online services for applicants, commencing and current students and UNSW staff. To visit myUNSW please visit either of the below links:

<https://my.unsw.edu.au>

<https://my.unsw.edu.au/student/atoz/ABC.html>

## OHS

UNSW's Occupational Health and Safety Policy requires each person to work safely and responsibly, in order to avoid personal injury and to protect the safety of others. For all matters relating to Occupational Health, Safety and environment, see <http://www.ohs.unsw.edu.au/>

### Special Consideration

In cases where illness or other circumstances produce repeated or sustained absence, students should apply for Special Consideration as soon as possible.

The application must be made via Online Services in myUNSW. Log into myUNSW and go to My Student Profile tab > My Student Services channel > Online Services > Special Consideration.

Applications on the grounds of illness must be filled in by a medical practitioner. Further information is available at:

<https://my.unsw.edu.au/student/atoz/SpecialConsideration.html>

### Student Equity and Disabilities Unit

Students who have a disability that requires some adjustment in their learning and teaching environment are encouraged to discuss their study needs with the course convener prior to or at the commencement of the course, or with the Student Equity Officers (Disability) in the Student Equity and Disabilities Unit (9385 4734). Information for students with disabilities is available at: <http://www.studentequity.unsw.edu.au>

Issues that can be discussed may include access to materials, signers or note-takers, the provision of services and additional examination and assessment arrangements. Early notification is essential to enable any necessary adjustments to be made.

## 14. Japanese Names & Eras

A knowledge of the Japanese language is not necessary to do well in this course, but to avoid confusion remember that in English-language Japanese history texts, Japanese people's names are now *usually* given in the traditional East Asian order with the surname first. (However, publishers confuse the issue by sometimes putting them in the Western order on book title pages.)

With a Japanese name like 'Tanaka Etsuko', the surname, 'Tanaka' (unlike 'Smith'), would come first in footnotes; but like 'Smith' it would also come first in a bibliography since in these works should be listed in alphabetical order by surnames.

I recommend using both names for footnotes (and even parenthetical references if you use them and are unsure which is the surname); as well as when you first refer to either a historical subject (person) or author in the text. The latter is standard academic practice for any names, not just Japanese. The problem is that even students of the Japanese language can confuse surnames with given names, which means that sometimes I don't know whom they're referring to in notes and the bibliography, especially if they use initials for what they take to be given names. The full name should be used for all authors in your bibliography.

To help you recognize male and female names, note that the following are typical female ones:

Etsuko  
Fumiko  
Eiko  
Yûko  
Fumie  
Noe  
Hitomi

So names ending in 'ko' or 'e' or 'mi' are *usually* female, though occasionally this can be the case with male names, too (eg., 'Sakae' or 'Toshihiko'). Note that male names are often longer, though: eg., 4 rather than 2 or 3 syllables.



**Japanese Eras**

(terms used by historians to denote different ages)

*Imperial age**(ancient to early medieval)*

early Nara	645–710
late Nara	710–794
early Heian	794–898
late Heian (Fujiwara)	898–1185

*Warrior rule**(medieval to early modern)*

Kamakura	1185–1333
Ashikaga (or Muromachi)	1392–1573
	1482–1558: 'Warring States' period
	1540s–1640s: 'Christian Century'

*Early Modern*

[Azuchi-]Momoyama 1573–1603

Tokugawa (or Edo) 1603–1867 (from here down most relevant)

*Modern 'Imperial' Japan*

Meiji	1868–1912
Taishō	1912–1926
Shōwa	1926–1989
Heisei	1989–

Note: Modern era names are chosen by emperors and coincide with their reigns; thus emperors themselves are usually referred to as Emperor Meiji, and so on, and eras end with the death of the emperor.

## 15. Weekly Tutorial Guide

### (with topic descriptions, questions & reading lists)

#### Week One Tutorial (Friday 7 March) Genrô vs the Grassroots

Because the Friday of Wk7 is a public holiday, both lectures and tutes begin this week.. Apart from doing the Study Kit reading for this week, I would advise students to read before this week some background material from the recommended textbook by Walthall. In particular, students who have not done my premodern history course would benefit from doing some reading on the Meiji (Imperial) Restoration of 1868 and events leading up to it, especially from the early 1850s when the demands for trade and diplomatic relations by the American fleet of Commodore Perry led to treaties with several western powers.

There are multiple copies of Anne Walthall's *Japan: A Cultural, Social, & Political History*, Boston and New York, Houghton-Mifflin, 2006 in the library (and bookshop); and also plenty of other textbooks on modern Japanese history. If you can't get hold of a copy of Walthall's book, I'd recommend Kenneth Pyle's *The Making of Modern Japan* Kenneth Pyle, *The Making of Modern Japan*, Lexington, Mas. and Toronto: D. C. Heath and Co., 1996..

#### Themes:

The tutorial this week is broadly on reforms that followed the Meiji Restoration of 1868, as well as popular resistance to change in the 1870s and eighties. Ultimately, the post-1868 reforms culminated in the promulgation of a new Western-style Constitution in 1889. This heralded a new constitutional monarchy with emperor as formal head of state and a Diet consisting of a house of Peers and House of Representatives, the latter based on a limited, property-based male suffrage. In a number of ways, this was not the sort of 'people's constitution' or 'democracy' that many in the liberal Jiyû Minken Undô (Movement for Popular Rights and Freedom) of the late 1870s and early 1880s had envisaged. Thus, we discuss this week both the PRM and the authoritarian Prussian-style Constitution that was the preferred alternative of the Meiji 'oligarchs' ('genrô', literally meaning elder statesmen), represented by them as the benevolent 'gift' of the emperor rather than a somewhat unsatisfactory response to the demands of political critics or 'the people'.

Also of interest this week is the very large Iwakura Mission or diplomatic embassy (to the U.S. and Europe) of 1871 to 1873. In a variety of ways, not just with respect to political reforms, this set the tone for Meiji development (the Meiji 'miracle').

#### Questions for Discussion (& possibly research essays):

- 1) After any revolution expectations are high and some people, inevitably, become disenchanted. Who (what classes and groups of people) were the 'winners' in the post-Restoration period of rapid and dramatic socio-political reform, and who, the losers?
- 2) What perceptions did different Japanese citizens have of people's rights and the sort of constitution needed in Japan? [cf., material on Fukuzawa and the Meirokusha, Hane, Irokawa and/or Roger Bowen]

- 3) How egalitarian were the movements for 'civilization and enlightenment' and then popular rights? [This could include consideration of attitudes toward women: e.g., what did 'enlightened' male liberals in the 1870s and 80s actually *mean* by 'equal rights' for women? cf., *Meiroku Zasshi*)
- 4) Consider the strengths and weaknesses in the historiographical approaches to the popular rights movement taken by Irokawa and Hane [cf. Bowen; and articles in Gardiner and elsewhere on social versus political history]
- 5) What do the ideas of Iwakura embassy diarists such as Kume Kunitake and Kido Takayoshi reveal about new Meiji attitudes toward *bunmei kaika* ('civilization and enlightenment')? [cf. Mayo article on Kume, & Kido's diary]

Textbook: (Walthall), Chap. 7, to p. 148)

### Kit Readings

Gordon, Andrew, *A Modern History of Japan*, OUP, 2003 (Chap. 6: 'Participation and Protest'), pp. 77–93.

*Meiroku Zasshi*, Issue 33, 1875: Nakamura Masanao, 'Creating Good Mothers' (Speech, 16 Mar 1875), in W. R. Braisted (ed.), *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, University of Tokyo Press, 1976, pp. 401–04

Hane Mikiso, 'The Movement for Liberty and Popular Rights' in H. Wray & H. Conroy (eds), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, University of Hawaii Press, 1983, pp. 90-97.

Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Princeton University Press, 1985 [extracts from Chaps. 3 and 5], pp. 102-07, 154-63.

### **Further Reading**

#### ***Iwakura Mission/Embassy, Early Liberal Intellectuals, Women's Rights***

Note that Pyle's Chapter 6 is on the Embassy, Fukuzawa, & the 'woman question'

Beasley, W. G. , *Japan Encounters the Barbarian: Japanese Travellers in America and Europe*, New Haven, CT : Yale University Press, 1995.

Soviak, Eugene, 'On the Nature of Western Progress: The Journal of the Iwakura Embassy', in D. H. Shively (ed.), *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, Princeton University Press, 1971, pp. 7-34.

Mayo, Marlene, 'Rationality in the Meiji Restoration: The Iwakura Embassy', in B. S. Silberman & H.D. Harootunian (eds), *Modern Japanese Leadership*, 1966, pp. 323-67.

- Mayo, Marlene, 'The Western Education of Kume Kunitake, 1871-76', *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 28, no. 1 (1973), pp. 3-67 [a long but very good article with extensive quotes from the diarists].
- Memorial of Kido Takayoshi upon his Return to Japan, July, 1873, in *Meiji Japan through Contemporary Sources, Volume II: 1844-1882*, Tokyo, Center for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1970, pp. 99-110.
- Pyle, Kenneth B., *The Making of Modern Japan*, Lexington Mas. and Toronto, D.C. Heath and Co., 1996, pp. 80-101.
- Beasley, W.G., *Japanese Imperialism, 1894-1945*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987, pp. 27-48.
- Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Princeton University Press, 1985 [Chap. 2], pp. 51-75.
- Lanman, C., *The Japanese in America*, London, Longmans, 1872 [Pt 1, 'The Japanese Embassy'], pp. 1-64.
- Brown, S.D. and Hirota Akiko (trans.), *The Diary of Kido Takayoshi, Volume 2*, University of Tokyo Press, 1985.
- Craig, A., 'Fukuzawa Yukichi: the Philosophical Foundations of Meiji Nationalism', in Ward (ed.), *Political Development in Modern Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1968, pp. 99-148.
- Blacker, Carmen, *The Japanese Enlightenment: A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi*, Cambridge University Press, 1964.
- Meiji Japan through Contemporary Sources, Volume 2*, Tokyo, Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1970, pp. 95-110.

- Katô Hiroyuki, 'Abuses of Equal Rights for Men and Women', Sakatani Shiroshi, 'On Concubines', in W.R. Braisted (trans.), *Meiroku Zasshi: Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment*, Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press, 1975, pp. 376-79, 392-400.
- Lehmann, Jean-Pierre, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, London, Macmillan, 1982, pp. 226-232 [on women].
- Lehmann, Jean-Pierre, *The Image of Japan: From Feudal Isolation to World Power*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1978 [Chap. 3, 'The Women of Japan—in Reality and Fantasy'], pp. 68-96.

#### Popular Rights Movement:

- Sievers, Sharon L., 'Feminist Criticism in the 1880s: The Case of Kishida Toshiko', *Signs*, vol. 6, no. 4 (Summer 1981), pp. 602-16.
- Lehmann, Jean-Pierre, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, London, Macmillan, 1982, pp. 240-253.
- Bowen, Roger W., *Rebellion and Democracy in Meiji Japan: A Study of Commoners in the Popular Rights Movement*, University of California Press, 1980, pp. 1-69.
- Vlastos, Stephen, 'Opposition Movements in Early Meiji, 1868-1885' [Chap. 6], in *The Cambridge History of Japan, V, The Nineteenth Century*, C.U.P., 1989, pp. 367-431.
- Sievers, Sharon L., *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*, Stanford University Press, 1983 [first chapters].
- Hane Mikiso (ed.), *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows: Rebel Women in Prewar Japan*, Pantheon, 1988 [Chap. 2 on Fukuda Hideko], pp. 29-50.
- Matsumoto Sannosuke, 'The Idea of Heaven: A Tokugawa Foundation for Natural Rights Theory' in Najita Tetsuo and Irwin Scheiner (eds), *Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period, 1600-1868: Methods and Metaphors*, University of Chicago Press, 1978, pp. 181-99.
- (also Vera Mackie's *Creating Socialist Women*, on Fukuda)

#### On the Meiji Constitutional System and the Genrô (Meiji Oligarchy):

- Hackett, R.F., 'The Era of Fulfillment: 1877-1911' in A. E. Tiedemann (ed.), *An Introduction to Japanese Civilization*, Heath, 1974, pp. 181-215.
- Jansen, Marius, 'The Meiji State, 1868-1912' in J.B. Crowley (ed.), *Modern East Asia: Essays in Interpretation*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970, pp. 95-121.
- Bailey, J.H., 'The Meiji Leadership: Matsukata Masayoshi' in H. Wray & H. Conroy (eds), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, University of Hawaii Press, 1983, pp. 104-11.
- Hackett, R.F., 'Political Modernization and the Meiji Genro' in R. E. Ward (ed.), *Political Development in Modern Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1968, pp. 65-97.
- Connors, Lesley, *The Emperor's Adviser: Saionji Kinmochi and Pre-war Japanese Politics*, London, Croom Helm Limited, 1987 [Chap. 2], pp. 43-52.
- Norman, E.H., 'The Autocratic State', in John Dower (ed.), *Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E.H. Norman*, New York, Pantheon, 1975, pp. 435-64.
- Beasley, W.G., 'Meiji Political Institutions' [Chap. 10], in *The Cambridge History of Japan, V, The Nineteenth Century*, C.U.P., 1989, pp. 618-73.
- Duus, Peter, Chapter 7: 'The Turn Toward Stability', in Duus, *Modern Japan*, Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1998, pp. 120-27.
- Mitani Taichirō, 'The Establishment of Party Cabinets, 1898-1932' [Chap. 2], in *The Cambridge History of Japan, VI, The Twentieth Century*, C.U.P., 1988, pp. 55-86.
- Halliday, Jon, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism*, New York and London, Monthly Review Press, 1975, pp. 23-42.
- Hackett, R.J., *Yamagata Aritomo and the Rise of Modern Japan, 1838-1922*, Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Beckmann, George, *The Making of the Meiji Constitution: The Oligarchs and the Constitutional Development of Japan, 1868-91, Volume 6*, University of Kansas Press, 1957.
- Pittau, J., 'The Meiji Political System: Different Interpretations', in J. Roggendorf (ed.), *Studies in Japanese Culture*, Tokyo, Sophia University, 1965, pp. 99-122.
- Oka Yoshitaka, *Five Political Leaders of Modern Japan*, University of Tokyo Press, 1985.

#### Historiography:

Gardiner, Juliet, *What is History Today?*, Macmillan, 1988 [essays on different styles of history, eg., political vs social history].

### **Week Two Tutorial (Fri 14 March) The Domestic Costs of the Meiji 'Miracle'**

#### **Themes**

This week we consider Meiji modernization, which has often been represented as a brilliant success (and solely due to the efforts of the genrō), and the problems with that view—i.e., the two-sided or ambivalent nature of 'progress'. Re political rights, rural economic reforms, industrialization, and so on, we might want to ask: 'progress for whom?' Did it involve real progress for Japan's lower classes, for example, dispossessed poor peasants or those forced into the new modern factories; or for women, particularly of the lower classes, subject under the new education system and Civil Code to samurai-style (more patriarchal) morality and familial forms? And what about the effects on the environment of this new 'wealthy and strong' (industrialized, militarized) Japan?

The costs of this miracle borne by neighbours in East Asia due to Meiji and later Japanese imperialism will be discussed next week.

Also of interest this week is the routine violence that attended the new political system with groups of professional 'ruffians' (see Siniawer) practicing intimidation at the polls and against rival politicians.

### Questions for Discussion (or research essays)

- 1) Discuss the domestic social costs of Meiji's rapid modernization—connected with industrial development, privatization of agriculture, militarization, new forms of sexual and social oppression etc—incorporating a consideration of the government attitudes and policies that caused the social dislocations described in the sources.
- 2) Was it historically inevitable or 'necessary' that so many Japanese people suffer in the interests of national wealth and power?
- 3) Does the material on women this week suggest a need to revise conventional, arguably androcentric (male-centred/focused) notions of 'modernity' and 'progress', and thus standard periodizations of Japan's past? [I.e., was the Meiji 'revolution' really that big a step forward for *most women*?]

Textbook: (Walthall), pp. 148 –158

### Kit Readings

Siniawer, Eiko Mariko, *Ruffians, Yakuza, Nationalists: The Violent Politics of Modern Japan*, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 2008, pp. 64–70.

Tsurumi, E. Patricia, 'Female Textile Workers and the Failure of Early Trade Unionism in Japan', *History Workshop*, Issue 18 (Autumn 1984), pp. 3-20.

Notehelfer, F., 'Japan's First Pollution Incident', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Spring 1975), pp. 351-83.

### Further Reading

[for material on state policy & women, not just related to the workplace, see the week on feminism]

Norman, E.H., 'The Agrarian Settlement and its Social Consequences', in John Dower (ed.), *Origins of the Modern Japanese State: Selected Writings of E. H. Norman*, New York, Pantheon, 1975, pp. 243-73.

Chubachi Masayoshi & Taira Koji, 'Poverty in Modern Japan: Perceptions and Realities' in Hugh Patrick (ed.), *Japanese Industrialization and its Social Consequences*, University of California Press, 1976, pp. 391-418.

Yamamura Kozo, 'Success Illgotten? The Role of Meiji Militarism in Japan's Technological Progress', *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 37, no. 1 (1977).

- Marshall, Byron.K., *Capitalism and Nationalism in Pre-war Japan: The Ideology of the Business Elite, 1868-1941*, Stanford University Press, 1967.
- Garon, Sheldon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, University of California Press, 1987.
- The Cambridge History of Japan, VI, The Twentieth Century*, C.U.P., 1988 [Chap. 11 on rural society, and Chap. 12 on industrial relations].
- Napier, Ron, 'The Transformation of the Japanese Labor Market, 1894-1937', in Najita Tetsuo & J. Victor Koschmann (eds), *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition*, Princeton University Press, 1982, pp. 342-65.
- Smith, Robert J., 'Making Village Women into "Good Wives and Wise Mothers" in Prewar Japan', *Journal of Family History*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Spring 1983), pp. 70-84.
- Crump, John, *The Origins of Socialist Thought in Japan*, London, Croom Helm, 1983, pp. 3-28.
- Hane Mikiso, *Peasants, Rebels and Outcastes*, New York, Pantheon, 1982 [essential reading on this topic: take your pick of sections on farmers, burakumin (outcastes), miners, or women sold into factory work or prostitution—most recommended is 'The Coal Miners', pp. 226-45].
- Strong, Kenneth, *Ox against the Storm: A Biography of Tanaka Shōzō, Japan's First Conservationist Pioneer*, University of British Columbia Press, 1977 [great book; see esp. Chaps. 7-8].
- Suzuki, David and Oiwa Keibo, *The Japan We Never Knew*, Allen & Unwin, 1996 [Part Three: 'Nature and Environmentalism'].
- Mishima Akio, *Bitter Sea: The Human Cost of Minamata Disease*, Tokyo, Kosei, 1992
- Tamanoi, Mariko Asano, 'Songs as Weapons: The Culture and History of *Komori* (Nursemaids) in Modern Japan', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 50, no. 4 (November 1991), pp. 793-817 [also article in *Women and Class in Japanese History*].
- Tsurumi, E. Patricia, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan*, Princeton, 1990 [excellent!]
- Aoki-Kidd Yasue, *Women Workers in the Japanese Cotton Mills, 1880-1920*, Cornell University East Asian Papers, 1978.
- Mathias, Regine, 'Female Labour in the Japanese Coal-Mining Industry', in Janet Hunter (ed.), *Japanese Women Working*, London, Routledge, 1993, pp. 98-121.
- Tamanoi, M.A., 'Women's Voices: Their Critique of the Anthropology of Japan', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 19 (1990), pp. 17-37.
- Pflugfelder, Gregory M., *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse*, University of California Press, 1999 [from Tokugawa samurai 'comrade love' to modern repression].
- Furukawa Makoto (trans. Lockyer), 'The Changing Nature of Sexuality: The Three Codes of Framing Homosexuality in Modern Japan', *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* (English Supplement), vol. 7 (1995), pp. 98-127.

### **Week Three Tutorial (Friday 21 Mar) New Nation; New Religion/s**

#### **Themes**

This week is concerned with the inseparability in Meiji of developments in the spheres of religion and state-sponsored ideology. Firstly, we focus upon the interrelated themes of Buddhism under attack; the removal of the ban on Christianity; and state sponsorship of a so-called indigenous national religion only now called 'Shintō'. This involved an attempt to tie the imperial 'Way of the Kami [gods, spirits, ghosts]' to popular kami worship and cults, to form a single state religion.

The attempt failed, partly due to Western demands for freedom of religion and partly because of the lack of popular enthusiasm for replacing Buddhism with the newly defined imperial-centred 'religion' of Shintô. The popular antagonism derived from the fact that, traditionally, folk *kami worship or cults* had never before been seen by the Japanese people as a separate religion, distinct from Buddhism. Thus, the state countered by creating 'State Shintô' officially defined now as a non-religion, albeit one centred in reality on emperor worship; while also recognizing 'Sect Shintô' as one of three legal religions, the other two being Buddhism and Christianity.

The 'new [Japanese] religions' or shamanic cults of the 19th century were thereby forced to register themselves legally as sects of 'Shintô' to avoid persecution. Some were still viewed with suspicion by the state, however, since most had a shamanic founder who was not only the vehicle through which a kami or Buddha spoke, but viewed as divine him- or herself. In the new imperial Japan 'living gods' other than the emperor who competed for people's loyalties would not be tolerated. The coming into being from Meiji of the ahistorical myth of 'Shintô' as Japan's own indigenous ancient religion (thus core of Japanese religio-cultural identity) represents a singularly successful invention of 'tradition' for modern nationalistic purposes.

### Questions for Discussion

- 1) Describe and explain the perilous situation of Buddhism in the decades after 1868.
- 2) Why did Christianity suddenly become popular in Meiji Japan?
- 3) Hardacre and others argue that 'Shintô' became a popular Japanese 'religion' only from Meiji. How spontaneous a phenomenon was this?
- 4) What were the main features of the Japanese 'new religions' [eg., Ômotokyo, Konkokyo, Tenrikyo etc] and how were these features not so new?

### Key Readings

Hardacre, Helen, *Shintô and the State, 1868–1988*, Princeton University Press, 1989 (Introduction), pp. 3–19.

Thelle, Notto R., *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan: From Conflict to Dialogue, 1854-1899*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press (Chapter 4: 'Christianity and Buddhism in the 1870s and 1880s'), pp. 46-60.

### Further Reading

#### On Meiji Religion (Buddhism, Christianity), New Religions (Sect 'Shintô'), and State Shintô

Hardacre, Helen, 'Creating State Shinto: The Great Promulgation Campaign and the New Religions', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1 (Winter 1986), pp. 29-63

Thal, Sarah, 'Redefining the Gods: Politics and Survival in the Creation of Modern Kami,' *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 29, nos 3-4 (2002), pp. 379-404.

Murakami, Shigeyoshi, *Japanese Religion in the Modern Century*, University of Tokyo Press, 1980 [good general text on religion; good on new religions if not 'Shinto'].



- Breen, John & Teeuwen, Mark, *Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami*, Surrey, Curzon Press, 2000 (intro. & other essays.....varying in quality)
- Hori Ichiro, *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change*, University of Chicago Press, 1968 [Sections on the 'new religions'—useful for definitions, features and causes].
- Hardacre, Helen, 'Gender and the Millenium in Omotokyô, A Japanese New Religion', *Senri Ethnological Studies* [National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka], vol. 29 (1990), pp. 47-62 (see lecturer).
- Gluck, Carol, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*, Princeton University Press, 1985, pp. 132-38 [on Japanese Christians as metaphorical 'foreigners'/unpatriotic].
- Fridell, Wilbur M., *Japanese Shrine Mergers, 1906-12: State Shinto Moves to the Grassroots*, Tokyo, Sophia University, 1973 [Chaps. 1 & 3], pp. 1-10, 45-79.
- Kuroda Toshio, 'Shintô in the History of Japanese Religion', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1 (1981), pp. 1–21 [seminal article].
- Scheiner, Irwin, *Christian Converts and Social Protest in Meiji Japan*, University of California Press, 1970.
- Hanayama Shinsho, *A History of Japanese Buddhism*, 1960.
- Japanese Religion: A Survey by the Agency for Cultural Affairs*, Tokyo, Kodansha International, 1972..
- Earhart, H. Byron, *Japanese Religion: Unity and Diversity*, California, Dickenson, 1974 [Part III, Chaps. 15-16], pp. 93-109.
- Anesaki Masaharu, *History of Japanese Religion*, Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle, 1963.
- [for research essays, articles on postwar new religions, eg., Aum Shirikyô, can be found in recent issues of the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*]

## Week Four Tutorial (Friday 28 March)

### Emperor System & Empire

#### Themes

This week we look at the creation, through education/propaganda and (Western-style) pomp and ceremony, of a fitting monarch for a 'modern' nation, together with a suitably awed, patriotic modern citizenry.

The creation of a modern empire is intimately related. This was achieved partly through what is commonly termed '*Tennôsei* (emperor-system) ideology—an ultra-nationalistic discourse centred on emperor-worship, propagated by both State Shintô and the new state-sponsored education system.

Meiji nationalism is discussed in connection with the imperialist ambitions of the oligarchs and other expansionists, arguably from well before the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95. Thus, we also survey Meiji foreign relations, particularly with Korea and China; as well as historians' debates about the prime cause of, or primary motivations for, Japanese expansion.

#### Questions for discussion (or research essays)

- 1) How was Japan's traditional emperor re-made and re-imaged in Meiji? [cf. Gluck in Study Kit, Fujitani etc ]

- 2) What led Japan's leaders to want to acquire a colonial empire: the need to defend Japan from external threats, economic considerations, or demands for expansion from some sectors of society? [cf. Wray & Conroy, Duus, Lone, Norman]
- 3) What is your assessment of longstanding arguments amongst historians concerning Japanese imperialism? As Marlene Mayo expressed it, was it planned long in advance by Japan's political leaders (a conspiratorial 'grand design of conquest') or an unforeseen, spontaneous response to external pressures? [cf. Mayo, Wray & Conroy, Lehmann, Halliday etc]
- 4) Discuss the evolution of *tennôsei* ideology, including how the meaning of '*kokutai*' shifted over time [cf. Wakabayashi and Gluck, Chap. V, etc].

### Key Readings

Gluck, Carol, Chapter 7: 'End of an Era', in Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*, Princeton N.J., Princeton University Press, 1985, pp. 213-27.

Halliday, Jon, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism*, New York and London, Monthly Review Press, 1975, pp. 32-42.

Lehmann, Jean-Pierre, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, Hampshire and London, Macmillan, 1982 (Section: 'Japanese Imperialism'), pp. 299-312.

### Further Readings

#### Modern Monarch & Emperor System

Fujitani Takashi, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan*, California University Press, 1996.

Titus, D. A., *Palace and Politics in Prewar Japan*, Columbia University Press, 1974.

Hall, J., 'A Monarch for Modern Japan' in Ward, R. (ed.), *Political Development in Modern Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1968, pp. 11-64.

Gluck, Carol, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*, Princeton University Press, 1985 [Chap. V, 'Civil Morality'], pp. 102-56.

Wakabayashi, Bob Tadashi, *Anti-Foreignism and Western Learning in Early-Modern Japan: The New Theses of 1825*, Harvard University Press, 1986 [on usage of the term '*kokutai*' before the Restoration].

Japanese Ministry of Education, *Kokutai no Hongi: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan* (John Gauntlett, trans.; R.K. Hall, ed.), Harvard University Press, 1949 [for official prewar definition of '*kokutai*'].

Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Princeton University Press, 1985 [Chap. 8, 'The Emperor System as a Spiritual Structure'], pp. 245-311.

Fridell, Wilbur M., *Japanese Shrine Mergers, 1906-12: State Shinto Moves to the Grassroots*, Tokyo, Sophia University, 1973, pp. 97-113.

Documents: Imperial Rescripts on Education and E.H. Norman on conscription, in *Japan Reader I*, pp. 147-54, 171-5; and Yamagata Aritomo on conscription, and Imperial Precepts to Soldiers and Sailors in *Sources of Japanese Tradition, II*, pp. 193-200.

Lehmann, Jean-Pierre, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, London, Macmillan, 1982 [Chap. 8, 'The Making of the Meiji State'], pp. 253-83.

Historiography

- Tanaka, Stefan, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993
- Stephen Vlastos (ed.), *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998
- Fogel, Joshua A., *The Teleology of the Modern Nation-State: Japan and China*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005
- Schmid, Andre, 'Colonialism and the "Korean Problem" in the Historiography of Modern Japan,' *Journal of Asian Studies*, no. 4 (2000)

Imperialism

- Lehmann, Jean-Pierre, *The Roots of Modern Japan*, Hampshire and London, Macmillan, 1982 (Section: 'Japanese Imperialism'), pp. 299-312.
- Peter Duus, *Abacus and Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1859–1910*, 1995.
- Stewart Lone, *Japan's First Modern War: Army and Society in the Conflict with China, 1894–95*, London, St Martin's Press, 1994.
- Conroy, Hilary, *The Japanese Seizure of Korea, 1868-1910*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960 [Chap. 1, 'Seikanron'], pp. 17-77.
- Mayo, Marlene, 'Attitudes toward Asia and the Beginnings of Japanese Empire' in Grant K. Goodman (ed.), *Imperial Japan and Asia: A Reassessment*, New York, Columbia University, 1967, pp. 6-31
- Norman, E.H., 'The Genyosha: A Study of the Origins of Japanese Imperialism', *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 17 (1944), pp. 261-84 (a 'classic').
- Iriye Akira, 'Imperialism in East Asia', in J.B. Crowley (ed.) *Modern East Asia: Essays in Interpretation*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970, pp. 122-50.
- Conroy, Hilary, *The Japanese Seizure of Korea, 1868-1910*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960 [Conclusion], pp. 492-507 (classic conservative approach).
- Banno Junji, 'Japan's Foreign Policy and Attitudes to the Outside World, 1868-1945' in Peter Drysdale & Kitaoji Hironobu (eds), *Japan and Australia: Two Societies and their Interaction*, Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1981, pp. 11-31.
- Iriye Akira, 'Japan's Drive to Great-Power Status' [Chap. 12], in *The Cambridge History of Japan, V, The Nineteenth Century*, C.U.P., 1989, pp. 721-82 [also Vol. VI, some of Chaps. 5 & 6].
- Halliday, Jon, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism*, New York and London, Monthly Review Press, 1975, pp. 82-94 (Marxist approach, so economic motives emphasized).
- Beasley, W.G., *Japanese Imperialism, 1894-1945*, 1987 [Chaps. 4-7] pp. 41-100.
- Myers, R.H. & Peattie, M. (eds), *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, Princeton University Press, 1984 [Introduction and articles in Part 1, particularly Duus for economic motives argument], pp. 128-63.
- Keene, Donald, *Landscapes and Portraits: Appreciations of Japanese Culture*, Tokyo, Kodansha, 1971 [Chap. 6, 'The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and Japanese Culture'], pp. 259-99.

## Historiography:

- Totten, G. et al., 'Japanese Imperialism and Aggression: Reconsiderations', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 22, no. 4 (1963), pp. 469-73 [review of Conroy's 'Seizure'].
- Wray, H. & Conroy, H. (eds), *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, University of Hawaii Press, 1983 [Part V: Note that this book is very useful on debates].

## Week Five Tutorial (Friday 4 April)

### ‘Dangerous Thought’, Poetic Resistance

#### *Themes*

The focus this week is on cultural trends in Meiji: on the influence of Western literature upon Meiji writers and educated youth; and on individualism/‘egoism’ as a more socially acceptable ideal than hitherto (at least amongst progressives) or even as a fad. Needless to say, for government and other ideologues, individualism represented a threat to Japan’s natural (sic) ‘harmony’, as did other creeds or movements that were styled by their critics as entirely Western in origin: feminism, unionism and socialism (Marxist, anarchist and social democratic). Whilst we discuss literary trends more generally, we focus particularly on famous Meiji poetry reformers, *tanka* poets such as Yosano Akiko and Tekkan, Masaoka Shiki and Ishikawa Takuboku. Note that ‘*tanka*’ means short poem: it (or ‘*waka*’) traditionally contained a total of 31 syllables in a 5-7-5-7-7 arrangement. This reform movement represented the beginning of *tanka*’s metamorphosis from high art form to mass medium.

Also of interest is a phenomenon known as the ‘anguished youth’ who, partly under the influence of radical individualism, Romanticism and Nietzsche, were fixated on the ‘big questions’ of death and the meaning of life. Kinmonth suggests some sound material reasons for their ‘anguish’, however.

A ‘new’ spirit of individualism in Meiji has commonly been discussed in the sources, especially in connection with Japan’s new literature. Though Western influence upon both Meiji literature and ‘egoism’ is undeniable, such discussions have often been framed in terms of ‘individualism’ as entirely a Western export. But, should we be accepting the common (orientalist) binary distinction between an individualistic West and ‘groupist’ East that was propagated by the oligarchs and their supporters? Even if ‘individualism’ as a *conscious doctrine or ideal* became popular in and from Meiji largely due to Western influence, does this mean that Japanese culture did not have its own individualistic traditions and impulses?

#### *Questions for Discussion*

- 1) In terms of their social context, social-personal situation and ideational influences, explain the phenomenon of the Meiji ‘anguished youth’ [discussed by Kinmonth; cf. other sources on Meiji culture such as Pyle’s *New Generation...*, Rubin, Walker...]
- 2) Which of the *tanka* poets do you think would have been the most subversive of conventional social morality? And which the most radical reformer of the medium? [you may compare just Takuboku and Akiko, or all four poets—Tekkan and Shiki, as well]
- 3) How did perceptions of the individual (or the individual ‘self’ or ‘ego’) change in Meiji, and what sorts of factors influenced these changes? [cf. Walker, Rubin, Arima, Ueda, Lippit etc]
- 4) In what sense was individualism an import from the West?

Kit Readings

Rubin, Jay, *Injurious to Public Morals: Writers and the Meiji State*, University of Washington Press, 1984 (Part of Chap. 5), pp. 55–63.

Kinmonth, Earl, *The Self-made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought*, University of California Press, 1981, pp.206-24.

Morton, Leith, *The Alien Within: Representations of the Exotic in Twentieth-Century Japanese Literature*, Honolulu, Univ of Hawaii Press, 2009 (Chap. on 'Yosano Akiko's Revolution in Verse'), pp. 43-72.

Ishikawa Takuboku, *Romaji Diary and Sad Toys*, (Sanford Goldstein & Shinoda Seishi, trans.), Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle, 1991, part of the intro, pp. 136-39, 182-87.

Further ReadingMeiji Culture, Novelists, Individualism etc

Walker, Janet A., *The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and the Ideal of Individualism*, Princeton University Press, 1979, pp. 3-29.

Arima, Tatsuo, *The Failure of Freedom: A Portrait of Modern Japanese Intellectuals*, Cambridge University Press, 1969 [Chap. 5, 'Japanese Naturalism'], pp. 70-98.

Hirakawa, Sukehiro, 'Japan's Turn to the West' [Chap. 7], in *The Cambridge History of Japan, V, The Nineteenth Century*, C.U.P., 1989, pp. 472-98.

Pyle, K., *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895*, Stanford University Press, 1969.

Morton, Leith, *Divided Self: A Biography of Arishima Takeo*, Australia, Allen & Unwin, 1988.

Ueda Makoto, *Modern Japanese Writers and the Nature of Literature*, Stanford, 1976.

Keene, Donald, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era*, 2 vols., Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1984.

Lippit, Noriko Mizuta, *Reality and Fiction in Modern Japanese Literature*, M.E. Sharpe, 1980.

Danly, Robert L., (trans. Ed.), *In the Shade of Spring Leaves: The Life and Writings of Higuchi Ichiyô, A Woman of Letters of Meiji Japan*, Yale University Press, 1981.

Rebecca L. Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan*, University of Hawaii Press, 2000.

Vernon, Victoria V., *Daughters of the Moon: Wish, Will, and Social Constraint in Fiction by Japanese Women*, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1988 [chapter on Higuchi Ichiyô], pp. 69-105.

Keene, Donald, *Landscapes and Portraits: Appreciations of Japanese Culture*, Tokyo, Kodansha, 1971 [Chap. 6, 'The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and Japanese Culture'], pp. 259-99.

Shively, D. (ed.), *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, Princeton University Press, 1971 [various articles on Meiji literature].

Jansen, M.B., *Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization*, Princeton University Press, 1965 [articles by Passin and Kato].

Irokawa Daikichi, *The Culture of the Meiji Period*, Princeton University Press, 1985.

Meech-Pekarik, Julia, *The World of the Meiji Print*, Weatherhill, New York, 1986.

Hirata, Hosea, *Discourses of Seduction: History, Evil, Desire, and Modern Japanese Literature*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center/Harvard University Press, 2005

Copeland, Rebecca L. & E. Ramirez-Christensen, *The Father-Daughter Plot: Japanese Literary Women and the Law of the Father*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002

Critical works re individualism Vs groupism:

Bowen Raddeker, Hélène, *Treacherous Women of Imperial Japan: Patriarchal Fictions, Patricidal Fantasies*, London and New York, Routledge, 1997 [chap. 6 on individualistic traditions of political heroism]

(works in cultural theory such as Befu Harumi's *Hegemony of Homogeneity*, Sugimoto Yoshio's *Images of Japanese Society*, Peter Dale's *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness*, Stefan Tanaka's *Japan's Orient, etc, should also be useful*)

Meiji Poets:

Yosano Akiko, *Tangled Hair. Selected Tanka from Midaregami by Akiko Yosano* (S. Goldstein & S. Shinoda, trans.), Indiana, Purdue University Studies, 1971.

Beichman, Janine, *Masaoka Shiki*, Kôdansha International, 1986 [Preface, Chronology, Chap. 3: 'Tanka: The Consecration of the Everyday'], pp. 74-103.

Brower, Robert H., 'Masaoka Shiki and Tanka Reform', in Donald H. Shively, *Tradition and Modernization in Japanese Culture*, Princeton University Press, 1971, pp. 379-418.

Ueda Makoto, *Modern Japanese Poets and the Nature of Literature*, Stanford University Press, 1983 [Chapters on Yosano Akiko and Ishikawa Takuboku].

Beichman, 'Yosano Akiko: The Early Years' and 'Yosano Akiko: Return to the Female', *Japan Quarterly*, vols 37 & 38 (Jan-Mar, Apr-Jun 1990), pp. 37-54, 204-28.

Hijiya Yukihito, *Ishikawa Takuboku*, Boston, Twayne Publishers, 1979.

Keene, Donald, *Landscapes and Portraits: Appreciations of Japanese Culture*, Kôdansha International, 1971 [Chap. III: 'The Creation of Modern Japanese Poetry', esp. Section on Shiki and Takuboku], pp. 157-70.

Keene, *Dawn to the West, Japanese Literature of the Modern Era II: Poetry, Drama, Criticism*, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1984 [sections on Yosano Akiko, Tekkan, Shiki, Takuboku etc].

Rubin, Jay, *Injurious to Public Morals: Writers and the Meiji State*, University of Washington, 1984 [parts of chaps. 7 & 11 on Takuboku].

Bowen Raddeker, Hélène, [article comparing Takuboku and Roland Barthes re constructs of the self, commenting also upon cultural borrowing and the issue of individualism: in *Japanese Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2, September 1999]

### **Week Six Tutorial (Friday 11 April) Feminism & (Gendered, Leftist) Literature**

**Themes**

There are a few interrelated parts to this week's topic: first, state policy toward women and the situation of women in Meiji and Taishô; second, feminist critiques—what liberal and leftist (ie., communist and anarchist) feminists had in common and how they differed; and, third, the works of leftist women novelists such as Miyamoto Yuriko and Sata Ineko, both involved in the Proletarian Literary Movement from the late 1920s.

It is interesting to consider the question of whether such works by radical women reflect or contest the conventional gender constructs of the day. This requires reading them, not in isolation from, but compared to novels written by men such as Kobayashi Takiji. For, even 'proletarian' literature written by communists differed greatly in terms of thematic content and narrative strategies, depending upon whether the author was male or female. If female, the narrative was likely to be personal and relational: about a personal relationship perhaps with

a 'significant (usually male) other', perhaps even written in the first-person. Works by men would typically be about the external, public-political world, say, about a strike by urban proletarians or peasants/tenants.

We might want to consider why this was the case: was it just a case of *gendered* social expectations of (public/'political') male and female (private/personal) concerns and writing; or did their styles differ because of different political ideas and commitments? After all, Miyamoto and Sata were communists, but they were also feminists who would doubtless have accepted the postwar feminist maxim in English-speaking countries that 'the personal is political'.

Another issue that might be re/considered is a long-standing bias against political ('propagandistic') literature held by conservative literary critics and scholars, including historians (e.g. Donald Keene). Arguably, like with empiricist scholarship where the conventional ideal was impartiality or objectivity, this prejudice partly stemmed from the liberal-humanist notion that literary excellence or fine or true 'art' is unpositioned—that is, classless, ungendered, and so on. Of late, literary criticism takes a markedly different approach, as is illustrated in a recent collection of memoirs by leftist women writers of prewar Japan (R. Loftus, ed., *Telling Lives*). This reflects the influence of recent feminist literary criticism or theory (for e.g., Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (eds), *De/Colonizing the Subject*, and similar works on transnational women's and other resistance writing).

### Questions for Discussion

- 1) In what sense and to what extent were the state's attitudes and policies concerning women, 'traditional'? [start with Nolte & Hastings; also Mackie, Ueno, Sievers etc].
- 2) Japanese feminists from Meiji to Taishō had their differences, yet were united on some issues. What aspects of society did most condemn? OR
- 3) Why would some feminists have preferred red or black 'stockings' to blue? [red is the traditional socialist colour; black is anarchist]
- 4) Kobayashi Takiji, Miyamoto Yuriko and Sata Ineko were all communists. What do their writings suggest about what communism meant to each of them? OR
- 5) How and why did female and male proletarian novelists differ in their concerns, approaches and narrative styles?
- 6) To deny leftist literature the status of 'true' literature due to its lack of impartiality is to judge it by bourgeois-liberal, equally *political* standards. Discuss [cf. critical essays by Keene and Arima versus the abovementioned feminist works on 'resistance writing'/'out-law autobiography' etc]

Textbook: Walthall, pp. 160 – 168

### Kit Readings

Patessio, Mara, *Women and Public Life in Early Meiji Japan: The Development of the Feminist Movement*, Michigan, Center for Japanese Studies, Ann Arbor, 2011, pp. 76–87.

Sievers, Sharon L., *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*, Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1983, (Chapter on the Bluestockings) pp. 163-88.

Tanaka Yukiko (ed., trans.), *To Live and to Write: Selections by Japanese Women Writers, 1913-1938*, Seattle, Washington, The Seal Press, 1987 [excerpt from the novel, 'Crimson', by Sata Ineko], pp. 161-80.

### Further Reading

#### On Women and the State, the 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' hegemonic ideology etc

Ueno, Chizuko, 'Modern Patriarchy and the Formation of the Japanese Nation State', Donald Denoon *et al* (eds), *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern*, Cambridge University Press, 1996 [also article by Nishikawa], pp. 213–23.

Nolte, Sharon H. & Hastings, Sally Ann, 'The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910', in Gail Lee Bernstein (ed.), *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, University of California Press, 1991, pp. 151-74.

Fujimura-Fanselow Kumiko, 'The Japanese Ideology of "Good Wives and Wise Mothers": Trends in Contemporary Research', *Gender and History*, vol. 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1991), pp. 345-9.

Hayakawa Noriko, 'Sexuality and the State: The Early Meiji Debate on Concubinage and Prostitution', in Vera Mackie (ed.), *Feminism and the State in Modern Japan*, Monash University, Japanese Studies Centre, 1995, pp. 31–40.

Hane Mikiso, *Peasants, Rebels, & Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan*, New York, Pantheon, 1982 [chapters on conditions for women—textile workers, rural women, and prostitutes].

Fujimura-Fanselow, Kumiko and Kameda Atsuko (eds), *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present, and Future*, N.Y., City University of New York, The Feminist Press, 1995.

Imamura, Anne E. (ed.), *Re-Imaging Japanese Women*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press,

Pyle, Kenneth, *The Making of Modern Japan* (short sections on 'Women's Groups and the State' and 'Women, Family, and the Limits of Reform')

Robins-Mowry, Dorothy, *The Hidden Sun: Women of Modern Japan*, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1983.

[cf. works on conservative, patriotic women in 1930s week & other collections of essays on women such as *Japanese Women Working*; and *Recreating Japanese Women*]

#### Memoirs by feminist activists (not novelists):

Hane Mikiso (trans., ed.), *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows: Rebel Women in Prewar Japan*, Pantheon, 1988 [Chap. 5, 'The Sekirankai'—memoirs of prewar socialist-feminists], pp. 125-41 (other chapters are by PRM and later Meiji socialist, Fukuda Hideko, the two anarchists, Kanno Suga and Kaneko Fumiko, and later communists)

Loftus, Ronald, P., *Telling Lives: Women's Self-Writing in Modern Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004)

Inagaki-Sugimoto, Etsu, *A Daughter of the Samurai*, London, Paternoster Library, 1933.

Yamazaki Tomoko, *The Story of Yamada Waka: from Prostitute to Feminist Pioneer* (Hironaka, trans.), Kodansha, 1985.

Ishimoto Shidzue, *Facing Two Ways: The Story of My Life*, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1935 (reprinted by Stanford University Press, 1986) [Ishimoto was the leader of the prewar birth control movement—cf. works on her by Elise Tipton].

Yamakawa Kikue, *Women of the Mito Domain; Recollections of Samurai Family Life*, University of Tokyo, 1992 [Yamakawa was an active prewar Marxist]



Hiratsuka Raichô, *In the Beginning Woman Was The Sun: The Autobiography of a Japanese Feminist*, (Teruko Craig, trans.), Columbia University Press, 2006

On Prewar Japanese Feminism (liberal and leftist)

- Bowen Raddeker for works on the anarchy-feminists, mainly Kanno Suga and Kaneko Fumiko: for eg., *Treacherous Women of Imperial Japan*, Routledge, 1997; & 'Resistance to Difference: Sexual Equality and its Law-ful and Out-Law (Anarchist) Advocates in Imperial Japan,' *Intersections* (e-journal, Murdoch University, Western Australia), Issue 7 (March 2002), pp. 1-11. Another just on Itô Noe is 'Anarcho-Feminist Discourse in Prewar Japan: Itô Noe's Autobiographical Social Criticism', *Anarchist Studies* (U.K.), vol. 9, pp. 97-125.
- Note also that E. Patricia Tsurumi published an article once in the Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars on the prewar anarchy-feminist, Takamura Itsue, who's more famous as the founder of women's history/studies in Japan. It shouldn't be hard to find through a journal search of BCAS via Sirius.
- Sievers, Sharon L., 'Feminist Criticism in the 1880s: The Case of Kishida Toshiko', *Signs*, vol. 6, no. 4 (Summer 1981), pp. 602-16
- Ushioda, Sharlie C., 'Fukuda Hideko and the Woman's World of Meiji Japan', in Hilary Conroy *et al*, *Japan in Transition: Thought and Action in the Meiji Era, 1868-1912*, Cranbery, N.J., Associated University Presses, 1984, pp. 276-93
- Rodd, Laurel Rasplica, 'Yosano Akiko and the Taishô Debate over the "New Woman"', in Bernstein (ed.), *Recreating Japanese Women*, pp. 175-98.
- Mizuta-Lippit Noriko, 'Seito and the Literary Roots of Japanese Feminism', *International Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1979), pp. 155-63.
- Andrew, Nancy, 'The Seitôsha: An Early Japanese Women's Organization, 1911-1916', in Albert Craig (ed.), *Papers on Japan*, Harvard East Asian Research Center, 1972, pp. 45-67.
- Reich, Pauline C. & Fukuda Atsuko (trans.), 'Japan's Literary Feminists: The Seito Group', *Signs*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1976), pp. 280-91 [excerpt from the Bluestocking Manifesto].
- Mackie, Vera, 'Motherhood and Pacifism in Japan, 1900-1937', *Hecate*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1988.
- Mackie, Vera, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 77-92
- Miyamoto Ken, 'Itô Noe and the Bluestockings', *Japan Interpreter*, vol. 10, no. 2 (Autumn 1975), pp. 190-204.
- Molony, K.S., *One Woman Who Dared: Ichikawa Fusae and the Japanese Women's Suffrage Movement*, Ann Arbor, Mich., University Microfilms International.
- Nolte, Sharon H., 'Women's Rights and Society's Needs: Japan's 1931 Suffrage Bill', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1986, pp. 690-713.
- Vavich, Dee Ann, 'The Japanese Women's Movement: Ichikawa Fusae, Pioneer in Women's Suffrage', *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 22, nos 3-4 (1967), pp. 402-36.
- Sievers, Sharon L., *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan*, Stanford University Press, 1983 [includes chapters on temperance-style activists, on Meiji socialist women, and one on the anarchist, Kanno Suga].
- AMPO (eds), *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*, Armonk N.Y., London, M.E. Sharpe, 1996.
- Mackie, Vera, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan, 1900-1937*, Cambridge University Press, 1997 [most comprehensive work on socialist/Marxist women; also her later book, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, above].
- Marran, Christine L., *Poison Woman: Figuring Female Transgression in Modern Japanese Culture*, Univ of Minnesota Press, 2007 (wasn't sure where to list this, but it's an interesting book on representations of female violence, both murderers and radical political activists)

Proletarian & Feminist Literature (primary and secondary sources):

- Kobayashi Takiji, *'The Factory Ship' and 'The Absentee Landlord'* (Frank Motofuji, trans.), University of Washington Press, 1973.
- Nee, Brett (trans.), *'Nobuko by Miyamoto Yuriko'*, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, (Oct-Dec 1975), pp. 44-51 [a famous female communist novelist].
- Mizuta-Lippit Noriko, *Reality and Fiction in Modern Japanese Literature*, M.E. Sharpe, 1980 (Chaps 8 & 9, 'Literature and Ideology: The Feminist Autobiography of Miyamoto Yuriko' & 'Politics and Literature: The Debate over Social Realism'), pp. 146-80.
- Mizuta-Lippit, 'Literature, Ideology and Women's Happiness: The Autobiographical Novels of Miyamoto Yuriko', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 10, no. 2 (Apr-Jun 1978), pp. 2-9.
- Mizuta-Lippit Noriko & Iriye-Selden Kyoko (eds, trans.), *Stories by Contemporary Japanese Women Writers*, M. E. Sharpe, 1982 [biographical info. and stories by Sata, Miyamoto, Hirabayashi Taiko, among others].
- Vernon, Victoria V., *Daughters of the Moon: Wish, Will, and Social Constraint in Fiction by Japanese Women*, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1988 [chapter 4 on Sata Ineko], pp. 69-105.
- Loftus, R., *Telling Lives* (above)
- Keene, Donald (ed.), *Modern Japanese Literature*, New York, Grove Press, 1956.
- Keene, 'The Meiji Political Novel' & 'Proletarian Literature of the 1920s', in *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1984, pp. 76-95, 594-628.
- Keene, 'Japanese Literature and Politics in the 1930s', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (Summer 1976), pp. 225-48.
- Copeland, Rebecca L. & E. Ramirez-Christensen, *The Father-Daughter Plot: Japanese Literary Women and the Law of the Father*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002 (lots of interesting essays in this)
- Iwamoto Yoshio, 'Aspects of the Proletarian Literary Movement in Japan', in B. S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (eds), *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishō Democracy*, Princeton University Press
- Arima Tatsuo, *The Failure of Freedom: A Portrait of Modern Japanese Intellectuals*, Harvard University Press, 1969 [Chap. VIII, 'Proletarian Literature: The Tyranny of Politics', pp. 173-214. Other chapters on the Shirakaba-ha, naturalism, Arishima Takeo etc are also relevant to earlier radical literature].
- Shea, George T., *Left-wing Literature in Japan: A Brief History of the Proletarian Literary Movement*, Tokyo, Hosei University Press, 1964.
- Arishima Takeo, *A Certain Woman* (Kenneth Strong, trans.), University of Tokyo Press, 1978 [an earlier radical novelist].
- Morton, Leith, *Divided Self: A Biography of Arishima Takeo*, Allen & Unwin, 1988.

**Week Seven (Friday 18 April, Public Holiday)**

## Week Eight Tutorial (Friday 2 May)

### The 'Roaring 20s': Mass Culture & Social Movements

#### Themes

The topic this week is Taishō mass or popular culture in its various expressions, from fashion and modern materialism to grassroots political radicalism, neither of which the State and conservatives looked upon very kindly. The Taishō period of 1912 to 1926 has often been referred to as the era of 'Taishō Democracy', largely because the parliamentary system had been becoming gradually more democratic since the first elections in 1890 (a bill for universal *male* suffrage, for example, was passed in 1925). In part, the era has been seen as such, however, also because of the rapid growth of unionism, social movements and leftist radicalism.

While some people were joining unions or political groups, the most radical of which were influenced first by anarchism and then (after the Russian Revolution of 1917) also by communism/Bolshevism, many more were experimenting with less dangerous Western-influenced fads. Dressed in their modern finery, *moga* and *mobo* ('modern boys and girls') frequented dance halls and cafés, and were doubtless more inclined to discuss the finer points of fashion than to dwell on politics or the deep questions of life: the 'anguished youth' of Meiji had been left behind.

The characterization of the era as 'democratic' has been questioned by numerous scholars. And it would have been seen as a joke by those in the 1920s who suffered repression simply for going out on strike for better workplace conditions, or for criticizing the government, or joining social movements! By the late 1920s, those anarchists, communists, Korean and 'burakumin' (outcaste) activists, or labour and tenant union organizers who were not in prison were underground; yet in the thirties, the rise of ultra-nationalism (again, after the Manchurian Incident) brought with it even greater dangers for social critics.

Note: Those doing the question on anarchism would be advised to rely mainly on specialist works (eg., by Crump and HBR) to avoid stereotypes of the anarchist necessarily as a 'terrorist', which are the product either of ignorance or liberal or Marxist biases.

#### Questions for Discussion

- 1) Did urban popular culture in Taishō differ substantially from Meiji's? In which era do you locate the origins of postwar Japan's popular culture?
- 2) How did the 'modern girl' of the 1920s differ from the 'new woman' of the 1910s?
- 3) How did Japan's anarchists differ, doctrinally and organizationally, from those they would have regarded as 'authoritarian' socialists: i.e., social democrats and Marxists?
- 4) Explain the high number of peasant tenancy disputes and growth of a significant tenant protest movement by the 1930s. Isn't it likely that this struggle had been brewing for decades?

- 5) Why was the Suiheisha critical of earlier 'reconciliation'-style Burakumin groups? Which would have been more effective in countering social prejudice and discrimination?
- 6) How democratic was 'Taishō Democracy'?

Textbook: Walthall, pp. 161 –172

### Kit Readings

McClain, James L., *Japan: A Modern History*, New York and London, W.W. Norton & Company, 2002 (part of Chap. 10 on 'New Modernities'), pp. 345-56.

Tipton, Elise K., 'The Café: Contested Space of Modernity in Interwar Japan', in Tipton and John Clark (eds), *Being Modern in Japan: Culture and Society from the 1910s to the 1930s*, Australian Humanities Research Foundation, 2000, pp. 119–36.

Neary, Ian, 'Burakumin in Contemporary Japan', in Michael Weiner (ed.), *Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*, London and New York: Routledge, 1997, pp. 50–59.

Crump, John, 'Hatta Shūzō and "Pure Anarchism"', *The Japan Foundation Newsletter*, vol. XVIII, nos 5–6 (1991), pp. 15–19.

### **Further Reading**

[Readings specifically on communism/Marxism are listed under next week's topic, which is partly on the JCP and *tenkō*: ideological conversion or recantation.]

#### General: 1920s Popular & Political Culture, Taishō 'Democracy', repression etc

McClain (above) Chapter on 'The Tumultuous Twenties'

Wray, Harry & Conroy, Hilary, *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, University of Hawaii Press, 1983, pp. 171-80 [on 'Taishō democracy'].

Hunter, Janet E., *The Emergence of Modern Japan*, London and New York, Longman, 1989 (Chap. 11: 'Popular Protest and the Working Class'), pp. 236–64.

Duus, Peter & Scheiner, Irwin, 'Socialism, Liberalism, and Marxism, 1901-1931', in *The Cambridge History of Japan, VI, The Twentieth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 681—699.

Roden, Donald, 'Taishō Culture and the Problem of Gender Ambivalence', in Thomas Rimer (ed.), *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*, Princeton University Press, 1990.

Hamill Sato, Barbara, 'The *Moga* Sensation: Perceptions of the *Modan Gāru* in Japanese Intellectual Circles during the 1920s', *Gender and History*, vol. 5, no. 3 (Autumn 1993), pp. 363-81

Hamill Sato, Barbara, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media and Women in Interwar Japan*, Duke UP, 2003

Silverberg, Miriam, 'The Café Waitress Serving Modern Japan', in Stephen Vlastos (ed.), *Mirror of Modernity*, 1988.

Kasza, Gregory J., *The State and Mass Media in Japan, 1918–1945*, University of California Press, 1988.

- Silberman, B. S. & Harootunian, H. D. (eds), *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishô Democracy*, Princeton University Press, 1974
- Halliday, Jon, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism*, New York and London, Monthly Review Press, 1975, pp. 103-23.
- Tipton, Elise, *The Japanese Police State: The Tokkô in Interwar Japan*, London, Athlone Press, 1990 [cf. books by Richard Mitchell on censorship, thought control, and political prisoners].
- Minichiello, Sharon, *Retreat from Reform: Patterns of Political Behavior in Interwar Japan*, 1984.
- Mitchell, R. H., 'Japan's Peace Preservation Law of 1925: Its Origins and Significance', *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 317-45 [also his books]

#### Famous Ethnographies:

- Embree, John, *Suye Mura, A Japanese Village*, University of Chicago Press, 1939.
- Wiswell, Ella Lury & Smith, Robert J., *The Women of Suye Mura*, University of Chicago Press, 1983 [study done by Embree's partner in the 30s]

#### Social Democracy (reformist socialism—also labour conditions):

- Large, Stephen, *Organized Workers & Socialist Politics in Interwar Japan*, Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Large, *The Rise of Labor in Japan: The Yûaikai, 1912-19*, Tokyo, Sophia University, 1972.
- Large, 'Nishio Suehiro and the Japanese Social Democratic Movement, 1920-1940', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1 (November 1976), pp. 37-56.
- Large, 'Perspectives on the Failure of the Labour Movement in Prewar Japan', *Labour History*, no. 37 (November 1979), pp. 15-27.
- Hane (trans., ed.), *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows: Rebel Women in Prewar Japan*, Pantheon, 1988 [Chap. 5, 'The Sekirankai'], pp. 125-74.
- Duus, Peter & Scheiner, Irwin, 'Socialism, Liberalism, and Marxism, 1901-1931', in *The Cambridge History of Japan, VI, The Twentieth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 681—699.
- Ayusawa Iwao, *A History of Labor in Modern Japan*, Honolulu, East-West Center Press, 1953.
- Totten, George O., *The Social Democratic Movement in Prewar Japan*, Yale University Press, 1966.
- Mackie, Vera [book entitled *Creating Socialist Women*]
- Hane Mikiso, *Peasants, Rebels, & Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan*, New York, Pantheon, 1982 ['The Coal Miners', pp. 226-45].
- Garon, Sheldon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, University of California Press, 1987.
- Gordon, Andrew, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan*, University of California Press, 1991.
- Gordon, *The Evolution of Labor Relations in Japan*, Cambridge, Mas., Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1988.
- Dore, Ronald P., 'The Modernizer as a Special Case: Japanese Factory Legislation, 1882-1911', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 11, no. 4 (1969), pp. 433-50.

#### Anarchism:

- Crump, John, 'The Japanese Pure Anarchists and the Theory of Anarchist-Communism', in Peter Lowe and Herman Moeshart (eds), *Western Interactions with Japan*, Folkestone, Japan Library, 1990, pp. 33-49.
- Crump, *The Origins of Socialist Thought in Japan*, London, Croom Helm, 1983. [Chap. 12, 'Christians and Terrorists', pp. 291-322, and material on Kôtoku and Osugi].

- Crump, *Hatta Shûzô and Pure Anarchism in Interwar Japan*, Macmillan/St. Martin's Press, 1993.
- Crump, 'Green before their Time? The Pre-war Japanese Anarchist Movement', in Ian Neary (ed.), *War, Revolution and Japan*, Folkestone, Japan Library, 1993, pp. 74-91.
- Crump, 'Anarchist Opposition to Japanese Militarism, 1926-1937', *Japan Forum*, vol. 4, no. 1 (April 1992), pp. 73-9.
- Bowen Raddeker, Hélène, *Treacherous Women of Imperial Japan: Patriarchal Fictions, Patricidal Fantasies*, London and New York, Routledge, 1997 (Chaps on Kaneko Fumiko).
- Bowen Raddeker, Hélène, "'The Body of the Condemned": The Case of a Japanese "Traitor"', *Asian Studies Review*, vol. 17, no. 3 (April 1994), pp. 108-17.
- Bowen Raddeker, 'The Past Through Telescopic Sights: Reading the Prison-Life-Story of Kaneko Fumiko', *Japan Forum*, vol. 7, no. 2 (Autumn 1995), pp. 155-69
- Bowen Raddeker [others listed in week 7].
- Inglis, Jean (trans.), *Kaneko Fumiko: The Prison Memoirs of a Japanese Woman*, M.E. Sharpe, 1991.
- Inglis, 'Book Review: "What Made Me Like This?" The Prison Memoirs of Kaneko Fumiko', *Anpo: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1981), pp. 34-9.
- Sievers, *Flowers in Salt* [Chapter on executed anarchist, Kanno Suga].
- Hane Mikiso, *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows*, New York, Pantheon, 1988 [Chap. 3, 'Kanno Sugako', and 4, 'Kaneko Fumiko']
- Hoston, Germaine, A., *The State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan*, Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1994 (chapter 4 on anarchism)
- Duus, Peter & Scheiner, Irwin, 'Socialism, Liberalism, and Marxism, 1901-1931', in *The Cambridge History of Japan, VI, The Twentieth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 681—699.
- Bellieni, Stefano, *Notes on the History of the Left-Wing Movement in Meiji Japan*, Istituto Orientale de Napoli, 1979, pp. 1-49.
- Tsurumi, E. Patricia, 'Feminism and Anarchism in Japan: Takamure Itsue, 1894-1964', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 17, no. 2 (1985), pp. 2-19. [Takamure was active in anarchist groups around 1930, and devoted the rest of her life to the study of Japanese women's history; hence she is now the most famous of Japan's founders of women's studies.]
- Marshall, Byron K. (trans.), *The Autobiography of Osugi Sakae*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, University of California Press, 1992.
- Stanley, T. A., *Osugi Sakae, Anarchist in Taisho Japan: The Creativity of the Ego*, Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Simcock, B. L., 'The Anarcho-Syndicalist Thought and Activity of Osugi Sakae, 1885-1923', *Papers on Japan*, East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1970, pp. 31-54 [X: see lecturer].
- Large, Stephen, 'The Romance of Revolution in Japanese Anarchism and Communism during the Taishô Period', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1977), pp. 441-467 [partly on Itô Noe and Ôsugi Sakae].
- Large, *Organized Workers & Socialist Politics in Interwar Japan*, Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 31-50.
- Arima Tatsuo, *The Failure of Freedom: A Portrait of Modern Japanese Intellectuals*, Harvard University Press, 1969 [Chap. 3, 'The Anarchists: The Negation of Politics'], pp. 51-69.
- Mitchell, Richard H., *Janus-Faced Justice: Political Criminals in Imperial Japan*, University of Hawaii Press, 1992 [particularly Chap. 2: 'Political Crimes: the 1920s'].
- Smith, Henry DeWitt, II, *Japan's First Student Radicals*, Harvard University Press, 1972.

Minorities in Japan

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- Suzuki, David and Oiwa Keibo, *The Japan We Never Knew*, Allen & Unwin, 1996 [Part Two: 'Japan's Diversity'].
- Denoon, Donald *et al* (eds), *Multicultural Japan*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Siddle, Richard, 'Colonialism and Identity in Okinawa before 1945', *Japanese Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Sept 1998).
- Siddle, 'The Ainu; Construction of an Image', in John Maher and Gaynor Macdonald (eds), *Diversity in Japanese Culture and Language*, London and New York, Kegan Paul International, 1995 [and other books on the Ainu in the library...]

## Burakumin:

Hane Mikiso [below]

- Totten, George O. & Wagatsuma Hiroshi, 'Emancipation: Growth and Transformation of a Political Movement', in George de Vos & Wagatsuma Hiroshi (eds), *Japan's Invisible Race: Caste in Culture and Personality*, University of California Press, 1966, pp. 33-67.
- Shimazaki Tôson, *The Broken Commandment* (Kenneth Strong, trans.), University of Tokyo Press, 1974.
- de Vos, George & Wagatsuma Hiroshi (eds), *Japan's Invisible Race: Caste in Culture and Personality*, University of California Press, 1966.
- de Vos, George, *Japan's Outcastes: the Problem of the Burakumin [...?]*
- Yoshino, I. Roger & Murakoshi Sueo, *The Invisible Visible Minority: Japan's Burakumin*, Osaka, Buraku Kaiho Kenkyusho, 1977.
- Neary, Ian, 'Suiheisha: Japan's Levellers', Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Sussex, 1980 [see book published in 1989 + the next one].
- Neary, Ian, *The Buraku Issue and Modern Japan*, Routledge, 2009
- Neary, 'Tenkô of an Organization: The Suiheisha in the Late 1930s', *Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies, Part II, Social Sciences*, D. W. Anthony (ed.), University of Sheffield Centre of Japanese Studies, 1977, pp. 64-76 (see lecturer).  
[More recent works by Michael Weiner]

## Koreans:

- Suzuki, David (above)
- Shin, Gi-Wook and Michael Robinson (eds), *Colonial modernity in Korea*, Cambridge, Mass.; London : Harvard University Asia Center, Harvard University Press, 1999
- Weiner, Michael, *The Origins of the Korean Community in Japan, 1910-1923*, Great Britain, Manchester University Press, 1989 (and other book, 1997).
- Lee Changsoo & de Vos, George (eds), *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation*, University of California Press, 1981.
- Mitchell, Richard H., *The Korean Minority in Japan*, University of California Press, 1967.
- Hane Mikiso, *Peasants, Rebels, & Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan*, New York, Pantheon, 1982 [sections on Korean forced labour and the treatment of Korean workers].
- Baldwin, Frank, 'Participatory Anti-Imperialism: The 1919 Independence Movement', *Journal of Korean Studies*, vol. 1 (1979), pp. 123-62.
- [works by George Hicks]
- Chung, Young-soo & Tipton, Elise K., 'Problems of Assimilation: The Koreans', in Tipton (ed.), *Society and the State in Interwar Japan*, London and New York, Routledge, 1997.

## Week Nine Tutorial (Friday 9 May) 1930s Thought Control & Ultrationalism /‘Fascism’)

### Themes

Since there was little difference ideologically between communists who recanted in the 1930s and embraced a nationalist form of ‘socialism’ and rightists, this week is about both communist *tenkô* and Japanese ultrationalism or ‘fascism’.

We first look at the state policy of encouraging *tenkô* (ideological recantation or conversion to emperor-centred nationalism) amongst radical leftists, who by this time were mostly in prison. We consider the individual reasons for *tenkô*, which was the abandonment, *en masse*, by Japanese leftists (particularly communists) of their ‘un-Japanese’ ideas and activities in favour of some form of emperor-centred nationalism—bearing in mind that it was never entirely spontaneous. The *tenkô* of much of the JCP occurred in a context of severe state repression, combined with the institutionalization of a policy of ‘re-education’ or indoctrination. Ultimately, the policy was more successful than repression alone, to the extent that many previously ‘unpatriotic thought criminals’ could now be reintegrated into Japan’s ‘naturally/uniquely harmonious, familial’ [sic] society.

The second part of the topic concerns the close parallels between the ideas of fascists and lapsed communists. Since fascist ideology anywhere both drew on traditional leftism whilst competing against it, it is unsurprising that Japan’s ‘fascists’ (for e.g., Kita Ikki, the young officers, and the agrarian nationalists) could be difficult to distinguish from former communists—those, that is, who recanted and now supported imperialist expansion. We therefore look at the ideologies of both fascists and *tenkôsha* such as the JCP leaders, Sano Manabu and Nabeyama Sadachika.

Finally, concerning Japan and fascism, few would deny that there were ‘fascists’ (such as the abovementioned) in Japan in the 1930s and 40s; that there were parallels between their ideas and fascist thought in Italy and/or Germany (and perhaps Franco’s Spain); or even that some leading intellectuals or politicians wished to emulate European fascist policies.

Yet there has been a longstanding debate on whether or not 1930s-40s *Japan* was ‘fascist’. In answer to the question of whether the prewar-wartime *regime* or *system* was ever ‘fascist’, most western scholars have said ‘no’ yet, interestingly, many Japanese (leftist) scholars have no qualms about describing it as such.

### Questions for Discussion

- 1) Explain the effectiveness of the state’s policy of *tenkô* in defeating the JCP? [see Bowen, Steinhoff, Wagner etc]
- 2) Can Sano Manabu’s *tenkô* be seen to symbolize the special compatibility in Japan of nationalism and socialism, or did he simply convert to fascism? [see Wagner, Bowen etc]
- 3) With reference to Kita Ikki, the young officers, and the agrarian nationalists, discuss the defining features of ‘fascist’ thought in Japan.



- 4) Was 1930s-40s *Japan* 'fascist'? [cf. articles by Maruyama, Fletcher, McCormack, Kasza etc]

### Kit Readings

Mitchell, Richard H., *Thought Control in Prewar Japan*, Cornell University Press, 1976 [Chap. V: 'Administration of Tenkō'], pp. 127-47.

Extracts (H. Bowen, trans.) from Sano Manabu & Nabeyama Sadachika, 'Kyōdō hikoku dōshi ni tsuguru sho' [Letter to the Joint Defendants], *Kaizō* (July 1933), pp. 191-99 [this is the tenkō statement by the two JCP leaders who initiated the mass renunciation of communism].

Siniawer, Eiko Mariko, *Ruffians, Yakuza, Nationalists: The Violent Politics of Modern Japan*, Ithaca and London, Cornell Univ Press, 2008, pp. 110–25.

Shillony, Ben-ami, *Revolt in Japan: The Young Officers and the February 26, 1936 Incident*, Princeton University Press, 1973, pp. 72–80.

### **Further Readings**

#### Marxism/Communism:

Hoston, Germaine, A., *The State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan*, Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1994

Hoston, Germaine, *Marxism and the Crisis of Development in Prewar Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1986

Large, Stephen S., *Organized Workers & Socialist Politics in Interwar Japan*, Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Large, 'The Romance of Revolution in Japanese Anarchism and Communism during the Taishō Period', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1977), pp. 441-467 [partly on Tanno Setsu & Watanabe Masanosuke].

Large, 'Revolutionary Worker: Watanabe Masanosuke and the Japanese Communist Party, 1922-1928', *Asian Profile*, vol. 3, no. 4 (August 1975), pp. 371-90.

DeWitt Smith, Henry, II, *Japan's First Student Radicals*, Harvard University Press, 1972.

Bowen, Hélène L., 'Janus in Japan: The Two Faces of Prewar Communism', Unpublished Honours Thesis, Department of History, La Trobe University, 1982 (for some reason this is in our library.....?)

Hane Mikiso (ed.), *Reflections on the Way to the Gallows: Rebel Women in Prewar Japan*, Pantheon, 1988 [section on/by Tanno Setsu], pp. 175-203.

Shapcott, Jennifer, 'The Red Chrysanthemum: Yamakawa Kikue and the Socialist Women's Movement in Pre-war Japan', *Papers on Far Eastern History* (ANU Department of Far Eastern History), no. 35 (March 1987), pp. 1-30.

Mackie, Vera [books listed under week on women]

Beckmann, George, M., 'The Radical Left and the Failure of Communism', in J.W. Morley (ed.), *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1971.

Beckmann & Ôkubo Genji, *The Japanese Communist Party, 1922-1945*, Stanford University Press, 1969.

- Bernstein, Gail Lee, 'The Russian Revolution, the Early Japanese Socialists, and the Problem of Dogmatism', *Studies in Comparative Communism*, vol. 9, no. 4 (Winter 1976), pp. 327-48.
- Bernstein, 'Kawakami Hajime: A Japanese Marxist in Search of the Way', in B. S. Silberman & H. D. Harootyan (eds), *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishô Democracy*, Princeton University Press. R. A. Scalapino, *The Japanese Communist Movement, 1920-1966*, University of California Press, 1967.
- Swearingen, R. & Langer, P., *Red Flag in Japan: International Communism in Action, 1919-1951*, New York, Greenwood Press, 1968.
- Matsuzawa Hiroaki, "Theory" and "Organization" in the Japan Communist Party', in J. Victor Koschmann (ed.), *Authority and the Individual in Japan: Citizen Protest in Historical Perspective*, University of Tokyo Press, 1978.
- Yasuba Yasukichi, 'Anatomy of the Debate on Japanese Capitalism', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Autumn 1975), pp. 63-82 [on 1920s Marxist 'rônô-kôza debate', useful only for specialized research essays on J'ese Marxism].
- Gayle, Curtis Anderson, *Marxist History and Postwar Japanese Nationalism*, London & New York, Routledge Curzon, 2002 (or other book on nationalism)

### On Tenkô

- Tsurumi Shunsuke, 'Co-operative Research on Ideological Transformation', *Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan*, vol. 2 (April 1964), pp. 54-8.
- Bowen, H el ene L. 'Janus in Japan: The Two Faces of Prewar Communism', Unpublished Honours Thesis, History Department, LaTrobe University, 1982 (this is in our library), pp. 79-116.
- Wagner, Jeffrey P., 'Sano Manabu and the Japanese Adaptation of Socialism', Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Department of History, University of Arizona, 1978 [X: see lecturer].
- Wagner, 'Sano Manabu and the Japanization of Marxism-Leninism', *Asian Profile*, vol. 7, no. 3 (June 1979), pp. 231-48.
- Steinhoff, Patricia G., *Legal Control of Ideology in Prewar Japan*, 1970.
- Bernstein, Gail Lee, 'The Russian Revolution, the Early Japanese Socialists, and the Problem of Dogmatism', *Studies in Comparative Communism*, vol. 9, no. 4 (Winter 1976), pp. 327-48.
- Smith, Henry DeWitt II, *Japan's First Student Radicals*, Harvard University Press, 1972 [Chap. 8: 'The Student Movement Underground, 1928-1934'], pp. 206-30.
- Hoston, Germaine, *Marxism and the Crisis of Development in Prewar Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1986 (Chap 8 on tenk o)
- Hoston, Germaine, 'Marxism and Japanese Expansionism: Takahashi Kamekichi and the Theory of "Petty Imperialism"', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 1-30.
- Hoston, 'Marxism and National Socialism in Taish o Japan: The Thought of Takabatake Motoyuki', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. xlv, no. 1 (November 1984), pp. 43-64—also an article by her on Sano Manabu in *Studies in Comparative Communism*, vol. xviii, no. 1 (1985), pp. 25-47
- Crump, John, 'Bushu as Bolshevik: Nabeyama Sadachika and the Early Japanese Communist Party', *Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies, Part II: Social Sciences*, vol. 2 (1977), D.W. Anthony (ed.), University of Sheffield Centre of Japanese Studies, pp. 25-45.
- Neary, Ian, 'Tenk o of an Organization: The Suiheisha in the Late 1930s', *Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies, Part II, Social Sciences*, vol. 2 (1977), D. W. Anthony (ed.), University of Sheffield Centre of Japanese Studies, pp. 64-76.
- Wray, W. D., 'As o Hisashi and the Search for Renovation in the 1930s', *Papers on Japan*, Harvard University East Asian Research Center, vol. 5 (1970), pp. 55-97.
- Starrs, Roy, 'Writing the National Narrative: Changing Attitudes toward Nation-building among Japanese Writers, 1900–1930', in Sharon Minichiello (ed.), *Japan's Competing*

*Modernities: Issues in Culture and Democracy, 1900–1930*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1998

#### Ultrationalists/Fascists & 'Fascism' Debate

- Maruyama, Masao, 'Characteristics of Japanese "Fascism",' in Ivan Morris (ed.), *Japan 1931-1945: Militarism, Fascism, Japanism?*, Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1963, pp. 36-41.
- Ueno, Chizuko, *Nationalism and Gender*, (Beverley Yamamoto, trans.) Melbourne, TransPacific Press, 2004
- White, James et al (eds), *The Ambivalence of Nationalism: Modern Japan between East and West*, Lanham, Md. : University Press of America, 1990
- Tansman, Alan (ed.), *The Culture of Japanese Fascism*, Duke UP, 2009
- Wilensky, Marcus, 'Japanese Fascism Revisited,' *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2005), pp. 58-77
- McVeigh, Brian J., *Nationalisms of Japan: managing and mystifying identity*, Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004
- Shillony, Ben-ami, *Revolt in Japan: The Young Officers and the February 26, 1936 Incident*, Princeton University Press, 1973. pp. 13-55.
- Havens, Thomas R. H., *Farm and Nation in Modern Japan: Agrarian Nationalism, 1870-1940*, Princeton University Press, 1974.
- Storry, Richard, *The Double Patriots: A Study of Japanese Nationalism*, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1976 [reprint].
- Wilson, George Macklin, *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki, 1883-1937*, Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Henshall, Kenneth G., *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower*, Hampshire and London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999, pp. 107-15.
- Fletcher, Miles, 'Intellectuals and Fascism in Early Shōwa Japan', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 39, no. 1 (Nov 1979), pp. 39-63.
- Tsunoda Ryusaku, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, New York & London, Columbia University Press, 1958 [Ch. 27: 'The Rise of Revolutionary Nationalism'], pp. 262-98.
- Maruyama Masao, *Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics* (Ivan Morris, ed.), Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Dore, Ronald and Ouchi Tsutomu, 'Rural Origins of Japanese Fascism', in James Morley (ed.), *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1971.
- Wilson, 'A New Look at the Problem of "Japanese Fascism"', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 10, no. 4 (July 1968), pp. 401-12.
- McCormack, Gavan, '1930s Japan: Fascist?', *Social Analysis*, no. 5/6 (Dec 1980), pp. 125-43.
- Duus, Peter & Okimoto, Daniel, 'Fascism and the History of Pre-War Japan': The Failure of a Concept', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 39, no. 1 (Nov 1979), pp. 65-76.
- Bix, Herbert P., 'Rethinking "Emperor-System Fascism": Ruptures and Continuities in Modern Japanese History', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 14, no. 2 (April-June 1982), pp. 2-19.
- Kasza, Gregory J., 'Fascism from Below? A Comparative Perspective on the Japanese Right, 1931-1936', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Oct 1984), pp. 607-29.
- Kasza, 'The State and the Organization of Women in Prewar Japan', *Japan Foundation Newsletter*, vol. 18, no. 2 (October 1990), pp. 9-13.
- Brooker, Paul, *The Faces of Fraternalism: Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan* Oxford: Clarendon Press ; New York : Oxford University Press, 1991
- Lebra, Joyce C. (ed.), *Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in World War II*, Oxford University Press, 1974.

- Wilson, Sandra, 'Women, the State and the Media in Japan in the Early 1930s: *Fujo shinbun* and the Manchurian Crisis', *Japan Forum*, vol. 7, no. 1 (April 1995), pp. 87-106.
- Wilson, Sandra, 'Rationalizing Imperialism: Women's Magazines in the Early 1930s', *Japanese Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1 (May 1996), pp. 39-53.
- Wilson, 'Mobilizing Women in Inter-war Japan: The National Defence Women's Association and the Manchurian Crisis', *Gender and History*, vol. 7, no. 2 (August 1995), pp. 295-314.
- Garon, Sheldon, 'Women's Groups and the Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890-1945', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 19, no. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 5-41.
- Katô Shûichi, 'Taishô Democracy as the Pre-Stage for Japanese Militarism', in B. S. Silberman and H. D. Harootunian (eds), *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taishô Democracy*, Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Halliday, Jon, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism*, New York and London, Monthly Review Press, 1975 [Chap. V], pp. 116-40.
- [Kenneth Pyle's Chap. 11, especially pp. 192-98 on the 'question of Japanese "fascism"', in his *Making of Modern Japan*].

### **Week Ten Tutorial (Friday 16 May ) The Pacific War & Wartime Japan**

#### **Themes**

The topic this week will include discussion of the Pacific War or the 'Fifteen Year War' from the Manchurian Incident of 1931 to Japan's surrender in 1945; and also the conduct of the war by Japanese forces. In the latter connection, discussion will include war crimes or atrocities committed by the Japanese armed forces and debates over whether they were quantitatively or qualitatively different from those committed by others. These include the phenomenon of what was euphemistically referred to as 'comfort stations' in Japanese (and, unfortunately, usually also in English) —ie., the system of forcing mostly Korean and other Asian women, but also a few western women, into serving the Japanese armed forces as prostitutes. In other words, this was a system of military sexual slavery which is the sort of language that should be used rather than the insulting term 'comfort women'.

We will also look at wartime Japan, at the experiences and attitudes of people at home during the war, reconsidering the common view that 'the' Japanese (ie., all or most of them) were enthusiastic supporters of imperialism and war; or the common implication that only non-Japanese suffered for the policies and actions of government/military leaders.

#### **Questions for discussion (or research essays)**

- 1) Evaluate Tanaka Yuki's explanation of Japanese war crimes and/or atrocities. Does he merely explain or, rather, justify them?

- 2) Explain the wartime phenomenon where women (mostly Asian women) were forced into sexual slavery in the interests of the 'comfort' of the Japanese armed forces. (I.e., what was the Japanese rationale for this, and what other factors might explain it?)
- 3) How would you evaluate the war crimes trials? For example, was this just arbitrary and vengeful 'victor's justice'? Did they involve fair and equal retribution? Were they just morally or also politically motivated?
- 4) A common image of wartime Japanese is that they were all patriotic, all single-mindedly united behind the emperor, Japan's leaders and the war. Evaluate this image, drawing on sources read earlier in the course and memoirs of the war.
- 5) Was it only non-Japanese who suffered from Japanese militarism and the repeated wars waged by Japanese governments/military leaders?

### Textbook

Walthall, (on the war and wartime Japan), pp. 173–88

### Kit Readings

Henshall, Kenneth G., *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower*, Hampshire and London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999, pp. 115–32.

Cook, H.T. & Cook, T.F. (eds), *Japan at War: An Oral History*, Sydney, Harper, 1992, excerpts between pages 158 and 257.

Tanaka Yuki, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II*, Westview Press, 1996 (Chapter 3: 'Rape and War: The Japanese Experience'), pp. 92-109.

### **Further Reading**

#### On the Pacific War:

Young, Louise, *Japan's Total Empire : Manchuria and the culture of wartime imperialism*, Berkeley : University of California Press, 1998

Henshall, Kenneth G., *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower*, Hampshire and London, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999 (on the Pacific War), pp. 115-32.

Iriye Akira, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific*, New York, Longman, 1987.

Dower, John W., *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*, New York, Pantheon, 1986.

Ienaga Saburô, *Japan's Last War: World War II and the Japanese, 1931–1945*, Canberra, ANU Press, 1979.

Ienaga Saburô, *The Pacific War: World War II and the Japanese, 1931–1945*, New York, Pantheon, 1978.

Craig, W., *The Fall of Japan*, New York, Penguin Books, 1979.

Lebra, Joyce C. (ed.), *Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in World War II*, Oxford University Press, 1974.

Banno Junji, 'Japan's Foreign Policy and Attitudes to the Outside World, 1868-1945' in Peter Drysdale & Kitaoji Hironobu (eds), *Japan and Australia: Two Societies and their Interaction*, Canberra, ANU Press, 1981, pp. 11-31.

- The Cambridge History of Japan, V, The Nineteenth Century*, C.U.P., 1989 [also Vol. VI].  
Halliday, Jon, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism*, New York and London, Monthly Review Press, 1975.  
Beasley, W.G., *Japanese Imperialism, 1894-1945*, 1987.  
Myers, R.H. & Peattie, M. (eds), *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, Princeton University Press, 1984.

Wartime Japan, including Oral Histories/Memoirs:

- Gibney, F. (ed.), *Senso: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War, from Letters to the Editor of Asahi Shimbun*, Armonk and London, M. E. Sharpe, 1995.  
Cook, H. T & Cook, T. F. (eds), *Japan at War: An Oral History*, Sydney, Harper, 1992.  
Wilson, Sandra, 'Rationalizing Imperialism: Women's Magazines in the Early 1930s', *Japanese Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1 (May 1996), pp. 39–53.  
Garon, Sheldon, 'Women's Groups and the Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890-1945', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 19, no. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 5-41.  
Tsurumi Shunsuke, *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan, 1931–1945*, London and New York, KPI, 1986.  
Havens, Thomas, *Valley of Darkness: the Japanese People and World War Two*, Lanham and London, University Press of America, 1986.

On War Crimes:

- Tanaka Yuki's book on the so-called 'comfort women'.....  
Hicks, George., *The Comfort Women*, St. Leonards, NSW, Allen & Unwin, 1995.  
Ruff-O'Herne, J., *Fifty Years of Silence*, Sydney, Tom Thompson, 1994.  
Williams, P., *Unit 731: Japan's Secret Biological Warfare in World War II*, New York Free Press, 1989.  
Ueno, Chizuko, 'The Japanese Responsibility for Military Rape during WWII', *Journal of the Asian Studies Association of Australia*, vol. 17, no. 3 (April 1994), pp. 102–07.  
Watanabe, Kazuko, 'Militarism, Colonialism, and the Trafficking of Women: "Comfort Women" Forced into Sexual Labour for Japanese Soldiers', in Joe Moore (ed.), *The Other Japan: Conflict, Compromise, and Resistance since 1945*, M.E. Sharpe, 1997, pp. 305–19.

**Week Eleven Tutorial (Friday 23 May)  
The Allied Occupation and Postwar 'Miracle'**

**Themes**

Following Japan's surrender in August 1945, there was a period of occupation by Allied forces led by the U.S. under General Douglas MacArthur (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers: SCAP). GHQ (the Allied Powers General Headquarters) was not abolished till the time of the San Francisco Peace Treaty of April 1952. Important policy proposals for reform by the Japanese government had to be approved by GHQ or, rather, SCAP; thus, the postwar constitution of 1947 was more the result of Allied than Japanese efforts (the Japanese draft having been rejected) and contained a number of significant reforms. War crimes trials were conducted during this period, General Tôjô (former PM, War Minister,

Chief of Staff etc) being one of the 'Class A war criminals' hanged in 1948. The Shōwa emperor, however, was spared, largely due to a fear of popular reprisals.

The Occupation's Constitutional reforms were too far-reaching for some Japanese and not radical enough for others. SCAP also proved to be less than democratic when it came to the resurgence of labour unionism and radical demands amongst unionists for better pay and conditions, including a say in management (in some cases workers actually occupied and took over factories). Thus, by 1947 it instituted a purge of communists and other 'radicals', not just in the workforce but also in the education system. Once again, like after the Meiji Revolution, the aspirations of some for full equality or grassroots democracy remained unfulfilled. Hence there have been many severe critics, both Japanese and non-Japanese, of the postwar social and political system. They have doubted, for example, how far the prewar and wartime system of a lack of democracy/authoritarian, militarism and glaring social inequities was really transformed after the war.

### Questions for discussion (or research essays)

- 1) What were the important reforms of the Occupation period and their effects on postwar society?
- 2) How democratic were the occupation authorities, and whose interests did their reforms serve?
- 3) What were the reasons for the workers' movement that instigated several cases of production control of factories or businesses during the Occupation period? And how effective were these enterprises run by workers?
- 4) What were some of the social problems and political issues that came to the fore or continued into postwar Japan?

### Kit Readings

Walthall, Anne, *Japan: A Cultural, Social and Political History*, Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflan Co., 2006, pp. 188–95, 203–06, 211–13 (on the occupation and postwar developments).

Moore, Joe, Extract from 'Production Control: Workers' Control in Early Postwar Japan', in Moore (ed.), *The Other Japan: Conflict, Compromise and Resistance since 1945*, M. E. Sharpe, 1997, pp. 34–43.

Waswo, Ann, *Modern Japanese Society, 1868–1994*, Oxford Univ Press, 1996 (Ch. 7: 'The Postwar Economic Miracle and its Consequences'), pp. 104–26.

## Further Readings

### Occupied Japan (including the War Crimes Trials)

- Pyle, Kenneth, *The Making of Modern Japan*, Chap. 12, 'Japan's American Revolution', pp. 207-26 (especially from p. 216)
- Minear, Richard H., *Victors' Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, Princeton University Press (Chap. 5: 'Problems of History'), pp. 125-59.
- Brackman, A. C., *The Other Nuremberg: The Untold Story of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials*, New York, Morrow, 1987.
- Smith, Dayle, *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: MacArthur's Kangaroo Court*, Brisbane, Envale Press, 1999.
- Lyon, Alan B., *Japanese War Crimes: Trials of the Naotetsu Camp Guards*, Australian Military History Publications, 2000
- Steiner, Kurt, 'The Occupation and the Reform of the Japanese Civil Code', in Ward and Sakamoto (eds), *Democratizing Japan* [listed below], pp. 188-220.
- Totman, Conrad, *A History of Japan*, Malden, Mas. and Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 2000 (on postwar Japan, 1945-60) pp. 442-54.
- Smith, D. B., 'Guided Revolution: The Occupation of Japan, 1945-52', in D. B. Smith, *The Rise of an Economic Superpower*, London, Macmillan, 1995.
- Passin, H., 'The Occupation—Some Reflections', in C. Gluck and S. R. Graubard, *Showa: The Japan of Hirohito*, New York, W.W. Norton and Co., 1992, pp. 107-29.
- Cohen, T. & Passin, H. (eds), *Remaking Japan: the American Occupation as New Deal*, New York, Free Press, 1987.
- Ward, R. E. & Sakamoto, Y. (eds), *Democratizing Japan: The Allied Occupation*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1987.
- Dower, John W., *Empire and Aftermath: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience, 1878-1954*, Cambridge, Mas., 1979 [chaps 8 & 9]
- Fearey, R. A., *The Occupation of Japan: Second Phase, 1948-50*, New York, Macmillan, 1950.
- Schonberger, H. B., *Aftermath of War: Americans and the Remaking of Japan, 1945-1952*, Kent, Ohio, Kent State University Press, 1989.
- Kataoka Tetsuya, *The Price of a Constitution: The Origin of Japan's Postwar Politics*, New York, Taylor & Francis, 1991, pp. 1-46.
- Dower, 'Occupied Japan and the Cold War in Asia', in Dower, *Japan in War and Peace; Essays on History, Culture and Race*, London, Harper Collins, 1996, pp. 155-207.
- Benedict, Ruth, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1946 (a 'classic').
- Finn, Richard B., *Winners in Peace: MacArthur, Yoshida and Postwar Japan*, University of California Press, 1992.

### General (on postwar Japan)

- Other essays in Moore (ed.), *The Other Japan: Conflict, Compromise and Resistance since 1945*, M. E. Sharpe, 1997 (+ the book by E. Patricia Tsurumi under the same main title)
- Hane Mikiso, *Eastern Phoenix: Japan since 1945*, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1996.
- Curtis, Gerald (ed.), *Japan's Foreign Policy after the Cold War*, New York, M. E. Sharpe, 1993.
- Jansen, Marius, *Japan and its World: Two Centuries of Change*, Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Mouer, Ross & Rix, Alan (eds), *Japan's Impact on the World*, Sydney, Japanese Studies Association of Australia, 1983.



- McCormack, Gavan, *The Emptiness of Japanese Affluence*, 1996.
- Hidaka Rokurô, *The Price of Affluence: Dilemmas of Contemporary Japan*, Ringwood, Penguin, 1985.
- Schaller, Michael, *Altered States; The United States and Japan since the Occupation*, Oxford University Press, 1974?
- Halliday, Jon, *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism*, New York and London, Monthly Review Press, 1975.
- Huddle, Norrie and Reich, Michael, *Island of Dreams: Environmental Crisis in Japan*, New York, Autumn Press, 1975.
- Gordon, Andrew (ed.), *Postwar Japan as History*, University of California Press, 1993

### Ethnographies & Memoirs etc

- Beardsley, R. K. et al, *Village Japan*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1959.
- Dore, Ronald, *City Life in Japan: A Study of a Tokyo Ward*, University of California Press, 1967
- Smith, Robert J., *Kurusu: the Price of Progress in a Japanese Village, 1951–1975*, Folkestone, England, Dawson, 1978.
- Bernstein, Gail Lee, *Haruko's World: A Japanese Farm Woman and her Community*, Stanford University Press, 1983.
- Kondo, Dorinne K., *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace*, University of Chicago Press, 1990
- Ôyama Shirô, *A Man With No Talents: Memoirs of a Tokyo Day Labourer*, Cornell Univ Press, 2005
- Bestor, T. C., *Neighbourhood Tokyo*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1989.
- Gayle, Curtis Anderson, *Women's History and Local Community in Postwar Japan*, Routledge, 2009

### Postwar Women: Law, Workplace, Family etc

[some of the above ethnographies are relevant]

[articles in *Women and Class...*; *Japanese Women Working; Re-Imaging Japanese Women*; and *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives...*]

- Lebra, Takie Sugiyama, *Japanese Women: Constraint and Fulfillment*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1984.
- Mackie, Vera, 'Equal Opportunity in an Unequal Labour Market', *Australian Feminist Studies*, no. 9 (Autumn 1989).
- Nakamatsu Tomoko, 'Housewives and Part-time Work in the 1970s and 1980s: Political and Social Implications', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1 (1994), pp. 87–104.
- White, Merry, 'Home Truths: Women and Social Change in Japan', *Daedalus*, vol. 121, no. 4 (Fall), pp. 61–82.
- Lo, Jeannie, *Office Ladies: Factory Women*, New York, M. E. Sharpe, 1990.
- Imamura, Anne, *Urban Japanese Housewives*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1987.
- Bryant, Tamie L., "Responsible" Husbands, "Recalcitrant" Wives, Retributive Judges: Judicial Management of Contested Divorce in Japan', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Summer 1992), pp. 407–433.
- Bryant, 'Marital Dissolution in Japan: Legal Obstacles and their Impact', in John O. Haley (ed.), *Law and Society in Contemporary Japan: American Perspectives*, Iowa, Kendall-Hunt, 1988.
- Brinton, Mary C., 'Christmas Cakes and Wedding Cakes, the Social Organization of Japanese Women's Life Course', in T. S. Lebra (ed.), *Japanese Social Organization*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1992, pp. 79–103.

- Brinton, 'Gender Stratification in Contemporary Urban Japan', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 54 (1989), pp. 549–64.
- Kumagai Fumie, 'Modernization and the Family in Japan', *Journal of Family History*, vol. 11, no. 4, pp. 371–82.
- Buckley, Sandra, 'Altered States; The Body Politics of "Being Woman",' in Andrew Gordon (ed.), *Post-war Japan as History*, University of California Press, 1994, pp. 347–72.
- Buckley, *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*, University of California Press, 1997.
- Tanaka Kazuko, 'The New Feminist Movement in Japan, 1970–1990', in *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives.....*, pp. 343–52.
- Buckley, 'Body Politics: Abortion Law Reform', in G. McCormack and Y. Sugimoto (eds), *The Japanese Trajectory: Modernization and Beyond*, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 205–17.
- Coleman, Samuel, *Family Planning in Japanese Society: Traditional Birth Control in a Modern Urban Culture*, Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Nishikawa, Yûko, 'The Modern Japanese Family System: unique or universal?', in Donald Denoon et al (eds), *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 224–32.
- Essays on women in the workforce, women's liberation etc, in Moore (ed.), *The Other Japan: Conflict, Compromise and Resistance since 1945*, M. E. Sharpe, 1997

**Week Twelve Tutorial (Friday 30 May)**  
**'Re-Imaging' the Past:**  
**History (Writing) as Spot- or Blot-Remover**

**Themes**

Political discourse in Japan (and East Asia) today is still haunted by Japan's earlier emperor system, colonialism and Pacific War, featuring frequent debates on war responsibility and guilt, war crimes and reparation. All this became topical once again from the late 1980s with legal suits by Koreans and others for compensation from the Japanese government; with the school textbook censorship case brought against the Ministry of Education by Ienaga Saburô; and with the beginning of the new emperor's reign in 1989. Once again questions were asked about the war role and responsibility of the Shôwa emperor (by some of the braver critics), and about why formerly nationalistic/militaristic 'state Shintô' rituals were still being conducted by emperors, PMs and others.

In other words, some doubted that there really had been a separation of state and religion as set out in the postwar constitution. Others criticized Japan's leaders for failing to adhere to the constitutional commitment to peace, either through the above actions or by remilitarizing (building up Japan's 'self-defence' force). Some scholars have also pointed to a deliberate 're-imaging' of the Shôwa emperor as a lovable and harmless pacifist who wouldn't 'hurt a fly' (well, but for the fact that he loved collecting and studying insects....).

Meanwhile, with all this and with the longstanding discourse on Japanese cultural identity ('Nihonjinron'), 'uniqueness' and often implied superiority, came a reinvigoration of neo-nationalism in Japan. Neo-nationalists typically paint Japan as 'victim' and deny war guilt or responsibility, or war crimes altogether; they are thus anti-compensation whilst, of course, pro-emperor.

Significantly, it has not only been Japanese who have 're-imaged' Japan's past. As we see in John Dower's classic historiographical essay of 1975 about 'modernization theory', conservative Western historians did their bit, too (in the interests of American/Allied foreign policy in Cold War Asia), painting Japan's early modern and modern history in brighter hues than hitherto. For them, Japan was a better model of historical 'progress' for developing postwar Asian nations than communist China. (It is important for anyone who wants to understand the historiography of Japan to read this!)

Nb: A documentary on the Shōwa emperor and the question of his war guilt may be shown this week.

### Questions for Discussion

- 1) Discuss the changing images or 're-invention' of the Shōwa Emperor from wartime to postwar Japan.
- 2) In Japan today, Japan's militaristic past is still a hotly contested site. Discuss the competing discourses amongst Japanese on its 20<sup>th</sup> century history with respect to topical issues such as government compensation for war crimes (or the lack of it) and censorship of school textbooks.
- 3) Naturally, the nature of Japan's past has been debated, on moral/political grounds, also by Western historians. Reflect on the historiographical lessons implicit in the excerpt from Dower's classic essay of 1975, and on how they might affect your own writing of Japanese history.

### Kit Readings

Dower, John W., *Japan in War and Peace: Essays on History, Culture and Race*, London, Harper Collins Publishers, 1993, pp. 349-54.

Suzuki, David & Oiwa, Keibo, *The Japan We Never Knew*, Canada and Australia, Allen and Unwin, 1996, pp. 35–59.

Inoue Kiyoshi, 'Tenno vs the People': A Historical Review (Part 2)', *AMPO: Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*, vol. 17, no 4 (1985), pp. 32–36, 42-45 (excerpts).

Dower, John, Excerpt from 'Introduction: E. H. Norman, Japan, and the Uses of History', in Dower (ed.), *Origins of the Modern Japanese State; Selected Writings of E. H. Norman*, New York, Free Press, 1975, pp. 31–65.

### Further Reading

Barnard, Christopher, *Language, Ideology and Japanese History Textbooks*, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003

Kohyama Kenichi, 'Meaning and Myth of the Daijōsai', *Look Japan*, October 1990, pp. 40-42 (a conservative).

Yoshino Kosaku, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: a Sociological Enquiry*, London, Routledge, 1992.

- Buell, Frederick, 'Nostalgic Nationalism in Japan', in *National Culture and the New Global System*, Baltimore and London, John Hopkins Univ. Press, pp. 40–71.
- Iwabuchi Kôichi, 'Complicit Exoticism: Japan and its Other', *Continuum*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1996), pp. 49–82.
- Iwabuchi Kôichi, 'Marketing "Japan": Japanese Cultural Presence under a Global Gaze', *Japanese Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2 (1998), pp. 165–80.
- Large, Stephen, *Emperor Hirohito and Showa Japan: A Political Biography*, London and New York, Routledge, 1992.
- Dower [also his 1975 historiographical introduction to Halliday's book]
- Dower, John W., *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, New York, The New Press, 1999.
- Hogan, Michael J., *Hiroshima in History and Memory*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Yoneyama, Lisa, 'Memory Matters: Hiroshima's Korean Atom Bomb Memorial and the Politics of Ethnicity', *Public Culture*, vol. 7 (1995), pp. 499–527.
- Nakazawa Keiji, *Barefoot Gen: a cartoon story of Hiroshima*, (Project Gen, trans.), London, Penguin, 1987/89 [also *Barefoot Gen: the day after...*]
- Tanaka, Stefan, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993.
- Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation*, 1998.
- Vlastos, Stephen (ed.), *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, University of California Press, 1998.
- Dale, Peter, *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness*, London, Croom Helm, 1986.
- Sugimoto, Yoshio & Mauer, Ross, *Images of Japanese Society: A Study in the Social Construction of Reality*, 1986.
- Sugimoto Yoshio [various works critiquing 'uniqueness', 'homogeneity' etc]
- McCormack, Gavan, 'Kokusaika [internationalization]: Impediments in Japan's Deep Structure', in Donald Denoon *et al* (eds), *Multicultural Japan: Palaeolithic to Postmodern*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 265–86.
- Hook, Glen & Weiner, Michael (eds), *The Internationalization of Japan*, London, Routledge, 1992.
- Miyoshi, Masao & Harootunian, H. D. (eds), *Postmodernism and Japan*, Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1989.
- Heine, Steven & Fu, Charles Wei-hsun (eds), *Japan—in Traditional and Postmodern Perspectives*, Albany, State University of New York, 1995.

### **Week Thirteen Tutorial (Friday 6 June) Gender & Postwar Popular Culture**

#### **Themes**

Clearly, one could take one's pick from a host of different aspects of Japan's postwar to contemporary mass and/or popular culture. One might choose the media (*manga*, *animé* or other film genres, TV, 'adult' or women's magazines) or broader cultural practices, attitudes, fads (say, the 50s-style rock n roll kids abroad in parks about the country; changing attitudes toward sex; porn and sexual violence in that and manga/anime etc; or sexual/gender ambivalence or amongst youth or in the 'camp' media. It should be noted, however, that the blurring of gendered roles/boundaries, cross-dressing etc has in Japan long been a feature of traditional formal, i.e., Buddhist religion, and popular millenarianism, for example in some new religions: see Hardacre on Omotokyo listed in the week on religion).

Or one might look at different subcultures such as yakuza, bikers, gangs, and so on. In the case of the yakuza (Japan's own 'mafia') the focus could either be on idealized popular representations in a popular postwar film genre, or on the reality of their involvement in crime, the drug culture and sex industry. The choice of readings/questions below is thus rather arbitrary, but I hope will be of interest.

### Questions for Discussion

- 1) Discuss sexism and gender stereotyping in the postwar to contemporary media with reference to more than one medium (manga, animé, film, TV, magazines etc)
- 2) Discuss gender/sexual ambivalence in more than one popular medium (say, the Takarazuka all-female theatre and manga/animé).
- 3) Consider contemporary representations of lesbianism and male homosexuality in Japan in terms of myths vs historical realities.
- 4) Discuss the historical continuities and discontinuities reflected in today's sex/prostitution or 'hostess' industry.
- 5) Choose one or more popular medium and discuss it/them in terms of popular culture as political resistance to mainstream values and institutions (or the reverse: merely a reflection of them).

### Kit Readings

Buruma, Ian, *A Japanese Mirror: Heroes and Villains of Japanese Culture*, Penguin, 1984 (Chap. 7, 'The Third Sex'), pp. 113–35.

Standish, Isolde, 'Akira, Postmodernism and Resistance', in D. P. Martinez, (ed.), *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 56–73.

### Further Reading

#### General

Tsurumi Shunsuke, *A Cultural History of Postwar Japan*, London, Kegan Paul International, 1987 (on mass, not 'popular culture').

Waswo, Ann, 'Japanese Society in the Early 1990s', in Waswo, *Modern Japanese Society*, 1996 (Chap. 8).

Buruma, Ian, *A Japanese Mirror*, London, Penguin, 1984/88.

Russell, John, 'Race and Reflexivity: The Black Other in Contemporary Japanese Mass Culture', *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Feb 1991), pp. 3-25.

Creighton, Millie R., 'Imaging the Other in Japanese Advertising Campaigns', in James G. Carrier (ed.), *Occidentalism: Images of the West*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995.

Ching, Leo, 'Imaginings in the Empire of the Sun: Japanese Mass Culture in Asia', in Rob Wilson & Arif Dirlik (eds), *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production*, Durham, Duke University Press, pp. 262-83.

- Tobin, Joseph J. (ed.), *Re-made in Japan: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992.
- Treat, John Whittier (ed.), *Contemporary Japan and Popular Culture*, Richmond, Surrey, Curzon Press, 1996.
- Ueda Atsushi (ed.), *The Electric Geisha: Exploring Japan's Popular Culture* (Miriam Eguchi, trans.), Tokyo, Kodansha International, 1994.
- Kinsella, Sharon, 'Japanese Subculture in the 1990s: Otaku and the Amateur Manga Movement', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 24, no. 2 (Summer 1998), pp. 289–316.
- Powers, Richard, Gid, Richard & Kato Hidetoshi (eds), *Handbook of Japanese Popular Culture*, Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press, 1989.
- Schodt, Frederick, *Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics*, Tokyo, Kodansha International, 1986 [paperback ed., in HUC].
- Brown, Steven T. (ed.), *Cinema Anime: Critical Engagements with Japanese Animation*, London, Palgrave MacMillan, 2006

### Gender-crossing, Sexuality, Sex Industry

- Roden, Donald, 'Taishō Culture and the Problem of Gender Ambivalence', in Thomas Rimer (ed.), *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*, Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Darling-Wolf, Fabienne, 'Male Bonding and Female Pleasure: Refining Masculinity in Japanese Popular Cultural Texts,' *Popular Communications*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2003, pp. 73-88
- Robertson, Jennifer, 'The Politics of Androgyny in Japan: Sexuality and Subversion in the Theatre and Beyond', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 19, no. 3 (August 1992)
- Robertson, 'Doing and Undoing "Female" and "Male" in Japan: the Takarazuka Revue', in Takie Sugiyama Lebra (ed.), *Japanese Social Organization*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, pp. 165–93
- Robertson, 'Theatrical Resistance, Theaters of Restraint: The Takarazuka Revue and the "State Theatre" Movement', *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 64, no. 4 (1991), pp. 165–77.
- Berry, C. et al (eds), *Mobile Cultures: New Media in Queer Japan*, Duke UP, 2003
- McGregor, R., *Japan Swings: Politics, Culture and Sex in the New Japan*, 1996.
- Martinez, D. P., *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture: Gender, Shifting Boundaries and Global Cultures*, Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Itō Kinko, 'Sexism in Japanese Weekly Comic Magazines for Men', in John A. Lent (ed.), *Asian Popular Culture*, Westview Press, 1995, pp. 127–37.
- Napier, Susan, 'Vampires, Psychic Girls, Flying Women and Sailor Scouts: Four Faces of the Young Female in Japanese Popular Culture', in D. P. Martinez, (ed.), *The Worlds of Japanese Popular Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 91–109.
- Buckley, Sandra, 'Penguin in Bondage: a Graphic Tale of Japanese Comic Books', in Constance Penley & Andrew Ross (eds), *Technoculture*, University of Minnesota Press, 1991, pp. 163–95 (and other works).
- Kinsella, Sharon, 'Change in the social status, form and content of adult manga, 1986–1996', *Japan Forum*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1996).
- Chalmers, Sharon, 'Lesbian (In)Visibility and Social Policy in Japanese Society', in Vera Mackie (ed.), *Gender and Power in Japan* (recent book by Routledge, but it doesn't appear to be in our library)
- Matsui Midori, 'Little Girls were Little Boys: Displaced Femininity in the Representation of Homosexuality in Japanese Girls' Comics', in Sneja Gunew & Anna Yeatman (eds), *Feminism and the Politics of Difference*, St Leonards, Allen & Unwin, 1993.
- Hara Minako, 'Lesbians and Sexual Self-Determination', *AMPO*, vol. 25, no. 4 and vol. 26, no. 1 (1995), pp. 71–3.
- Valentine, James, 'Skirting and Suiting Stereotypes: Representations of Marginalized Sexualities in Japan', *Theory, Culture and Society*, vol. 14, no. 3 (1997), pp. 57–85.

- Pflugfelder, Gregory M., *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse*, University of California Press, 1999 [includes Tokugawa samurai 'comrade love', the Meiji laws against it etc].
- McLelland, Mark, *Queer Japan from the Pacific War to the Internet Age*, Lanham MD, Rowman & Littlefield, 2005
- Mackintosh, Jonathan D., *Homosexuality and Manliness in Postwar Japan*, Routledge, 2009
- Furukawa Makoto (trans. Lockyer), 'The Changing Nature of Sexuality: The Three Codes of Framing Homosexuality in Modern Japan', *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* (English Supplement), vol. 7 (1995), pp. 98-127 [others on this under week 8].
- Aoyama Tomoko, 'Male Homosexuality as Treated by Women Writers', in Gavan McCormack & Sugimoto Yoshio (eds), *The Japanese Trajectory: Modernization and Beyond*, Cambridge University Press, 1988 [on manga].
- Buckley, Sandra, 'The Foreign Devil Returns; Packaging Sexual Practice and Risk in Contemporary Japan', in Lenore Manderson & Margaret Jolly (eds), *Sites of Desire—Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Treat, John Whittier, 'AIDS Panic in Japan, or How to Have a Sabbatical in an Epidemic', *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Winter 1994), pp. 629–79.
- Dearing, James W., 'Foreign Blood and Domestic Politics: The Issue of AIDS in Japan', in Elizabeth Fee & Daniel M. Fox (eds), *AIDS: The Making of a Chronic Disease*, University of California Press, 1992, pp. 326–45.
- Harahui Tono, 'The Japanese Sex Industry: a Heightening Appetite for Asian Women', *AMPO*, vol. 18, nos 2–3 (1986), pp. 70-76.
- Yayori Matsui, 'The Plight of Asian Migrant Women Working in Japan's Sex Industry', in Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow & Kameda Atsuko (eds), *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, New York, The Feminist Press, 1995, pp. 309–19.