Japan's "Return to Asia": History, Diversity, Gender

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1.   Summary

In this paper, I will argue for an interdisciplinary and multi-facetted approach to Japanese images of Asia, with particular emphasis on history and gender. I also claim that when studying constructions of Asia in Japanese media and (popular) culture we should not loose sight of the wider context of Asian responses to such constructions. Taking into account the modern history of the region, that is Japan's prewar and wartime history as military aggressor and coloniser as well as its postwar history as a neo-colonial power in Asia will enable us to make sense of the various Asianisms and nationalisms apparent in Japanese images of Asia as well as in Asian reactions to Japan. The second aspect, gender, also has a historical dimension: the case of the so-called "comfort women" (*ianfu*), which epitomises the sex-discriminatory character of the Japanese-Asian hegemonial power relationship. Present-day popular Japanese images of Asia should be scrutinised for the gendered messages they transport, not just because of how they construct the "Asian woman" but also because of what they imply about the roles of Japanese women. Finally, I argue that it is the women, and particularly the minority women of Japan who have the greatest capacity to criticise simple identity concepts like Asianism and nationalism because they have always had to deal with multiple identities and multiple discrimination.

2.   Japan's "Return to Asia": History, Diversity, Gender

The following discussion is based on three papers presented at the 2001 ICAS Conference. These presentations, together with an introduction and these comments constituted a panel on "Images of Asia in Japanese mass media, literature and popular culture."[1] The three presenters are all part of a research project headed by the panel chair, Hilaria Gössmann, on the theme of Japan's "return to Asia" (*Ajia e no kaiki*) as reflected in literature, media and popular culture (see Gössmann, 2002). This discussion refers, primarily, to the three papers by Barbara Gatzen, Susanne Phillipps and Kristina Weickgenannt, but also to some other data collected for the project by panel members[2] as well as to research of my own. In my comments, I will try and pick up some of the themes which ran through all three of the papers, and address some of the questions which remain, namely with regard to the diversity of images of Asia emerging and circulating in Japan, the historical dimension of the relationships between Japan and other Asian nations, other Asian nations' responses to Japanese efforts to "return to Asia", and, finally, questions of gender.

The three papers, and the joint project that their authors are part of are concerned with a topic that has come to the foreground and has continuously called our attention since the end of the Cold War: the question of national, ethnic, racial, and cultural or - to quote Samuel Huntington (1993) - "civilisational"[3] identities. For Japan, the collapse of the political system of the Cold War coincided with two other more or less traumatic experiences, namely, the bursting of the so-called economic bubble of the 1980s, and the emergence of "Asian" issues in the context of unresolved Japanese war crimes. The latter was initiated by the coming-out of so-called "comfort women" (*ianfu* or, more precisely, *Nihongun ianfu*): women, mostly from other Asian countries who were, during the Asia-Pacific War, held in slave-like conditions and sexually exploited by the Japanese army. These events taken together have heightened the interest of the Japanese public for issues of national and ethnic identity and of Japan's position in a world that has rediscovered the category of "culture" as one of its coordinates.

The quest for a Japanese national identity has plagued Japanese intellectuals since before the Meiji-Restoration, and has continued to do so up through the period of high economic growth. In contrast, the pan-Asianism of pre-war and wartime Japan seems to have been discontinued after Japan lost the war and was economically and politically integrated into the Western power system – as if to fulfil Fukuzawa Yukichi's famous appeal for Japan to separate from Asia. From the 1970s, however, numerous intellectual constructs of Japanese cultural identity emerged which presume Japan's superiority over the rest of the world but did not preclude visions of an Asian identity. Especially those concepts that identified Japanese traditions with a holistic view of the world and of humankind associated with Buddhism or Shintô aimed at relocating Japan in the Orient (*tôyô*). Such concepts depend on dichotomies like that of Eastern

"harmony" and "oneness of the mind and body" versus Western "egocentrism" and "dualism."[4]

Such identity concepts, including what has been called Japan's "return to Asia" have typically been criticised for their politically conservative or reactionary tendencies, their naïvety and commercialism by foreign Japan scholars (e.g., Dale, 1986; Prohl, 2000; Gebhardt, 2001) as well as by some Japanese academics (Kokubun, 1995; Mishima, 1996; Matsumoto, 1997; Shimazono, 1993). Gatzen, Phillipps and Weickgenannt, in accordance with their project, take a basically affirmative stance acknowledging the inevitability of constructions of cultural identity. They do not follow postmodernist claims to the obsoleteness of so-called "master narratives" but point to, and examine the retelling of these narratives in the context of a changing world. We may deduce from their framework an overarching hypothesis which assumes that the change in focus from concepts of Japanese uniqueness to postulations of an Asian community is a positive move toward a more open Japanese society. The project represented by the papers which I am to discuss here is thus in line with post-colonial theories which postulate "hybrid identities", and with recent efforts made in various disciplines to overcome ethnocentrism and to construct or reevaluate more integrative views of the world (with regard to History see, e.g., Rüsen, Gottlob, Mittag, 1998, herein especially Rüsen, 1998). Of course, we should not forget to cast a critical eye even at ideas which like Japan's new Asianism seem to pertain to the new post-colonial discourse but, in fact, they transport hidden, or unconscious ethnocentrisms and nationalisms.

As Gössmann points out in her introduction (Gössmann, 2002), the question that runs through all three presentations is whether in Japanese manga, literature and television "Asia" is presented as foreign and exotic or as the discovery of something familiar. We might add another question with regard to those images of "Asia" that make it look close and familiar to the Japanese. Do these images, we should ask, help to dissolve ethnic and national borders, or do they merely displace them to create new boundaries – real or imaginary? One example of such reinvented and, at the same time, reinforced boundaries might be the borderline between East and West formerly defined to run between Japan and the West, now circumscribing the whole of Asia including Japan. Another example could be a new emphasis on gender, replacing previous definitions of Japanese femininity and masculinity with new normative concepts of Asian femininity and masculinity.

In my comments, I would like to focus on this second question. But before I return to the topic of gender, let me point out a few other important issues with regard to the Japanese quest for an Asian identity, which emerge from the three papers.

Firstly, what we are concerned with is, of course, not the Japanese construction of a singular Asian identity but a whole spectrum of Asian identities constructed in different contexts and at different levels, more or less visible and more or less

influential. Let me show only to some of the levels touched upon in the three papers. There is "Asia" as it is being constructed in NHK documentaries – distributed via national television, one of the most influential media in Japanese society. The closer look that Gatzen took shows that NHK does not produce a monolithic image of Asia but a range of diverse and even contradictory images. Stories focusing on China's speedy modernisation[5] versus references to traditional Chinese concepts like the quest for a long life provide one such example.[6] Then, there is the diverse imagery of Japanese *manga* catering to their nicely segmented readership: "Asia" for young working women and maybe even feminists; "Asia" for *sarariiman*; "Asia" for children; "Asia" for students etc. And, finally, there are images of "Asia" constructed for a more intellectual readership, readers expected to deal and identify with the alienating Asian life histories of people like the writer Yû Miri and some of the protagonists of her fiction: women born in Japan but, nevertheless, alien to Japan – an experience that calls common concepts of identity into question. To take such experiences into account is to recognize the possibility of "hybrid" Asian identities as well as the construction of a position "inbetween", refusing to identify with any normative or media image of Asia or Japan. Recognising the diversity of Asian images and of ways to identify also means to acknowledge a pluralism which has often been denied with regard to present-day Japanese society.

Secondly, Japanese constructions of "Asia" usually mirror the very complex and complicated historical relationship between Japan and other Asian nations. Japan's historical role of tributary to China and the strong influence of Chinese culture and civilisation, for example, imply Japan's subordination, and a mode of learning from Asia apparent in some of the NHK documentaries. (See, for instance, the programs on Chinese secrets of long life, on a Korean summer camp teaching modern children Confucian morals, or on the diligence and motivation of Indian students of computer science).[7] On the other hand, Japan's recent past as a colonial power in Asia and its present role as what is sometimes called a neo-colonial power may result in an arrogant and presumptuous attitude with regard to the rest of Asia represented, for instance, by the bestseller *manga* "Hurray, we are all alive" (*Bokura wa minna ikiteiru*) which Phillipps has analysed. However, among the conscientious intelligentsia (*ryôshinteki chishikijin*), the fact of Japan's past and present exploitation of Asia including the sexual slavery of the *ianfu* can be shown to have the reverse result, prompting these Japanese women and men to take on the guilt of their own country and to apologise to the victimised nations of Asia (see Wöhr, 2001). Interestingly enough, the *manga* "Hurray, we are all alive" also gives some recognition to the fact that Japan is not innocent of the fictive Asian country's disaster which provides the background of the story. This *manga* is a good example of the complexity of Japanese images of Asia.

The "hybrid" existence of the writer Yû Miri which is documented by Weickgenannt, is also a result of Japan's unresolved colonial past: Yû's personal history of being

born to Korean parents in Japan is a reflection of the historical relationship between the former colony, Korea, and its coloniser, Japan. Her being bullied at school to the extent of trying to commit suicide, as well as her dilemma with regard to her own child's nationality reflect the hard fate of the ethnic minority that she was born into. In Yû's fiction and autobiographical writing we also find the theme of the problematic return of the Japanese-Korean[8] to the land of her ancestors. One of the issues here is how Japan is viewed by a country formerly colonised, or victimised, by Japan.

This is the third point I would like to make: Our perspectives on Japanese constructions of "Asian" identities should always include the reactions and points of view of people in other Asian nations which may not always welcome the Japanese overtures. When in Korea, the protagonist of Yû Miri's story "Fish swimming in Stones" (*Ishi ni oyogu sakana*) is perplexed by encounters with a kind of nationalism that ignores her position as Japanese-Korean by treating her like any other Korean. Her feelings also get hurt by her manager's suggestion that the prospective audience of her play will react more favourably if she keeps up the lie that her play was originally written in Korean rather than being a translation from the Japanese. From Weickgenannt's analysis of the story I imagine that Yû's protagonist, the Japanese-Korean playwright Hiraka, might have started on her first trip to Korea with a vision of some kind of reconciliation, at least on a personal level. However, the refusal of her Korean countrymen and countrywomen to recognize the Japanese part of her self and her being in-between the two cultures makes her trip to Korea a nightmare.

The Korean trauma of Japanese colonial rule still lingers on. It is epitomised by the phenomenon of the "comfort women", the majority of which came from Korea. This trauma comes to the surface in reactions against the Japanese economic and cultural hegemony which, in South Korea, seem to be stronger than in other Asian states.[9] Only recently, South Korea lifted its ban on products of Japanese culture. Nevertheless, in April 2001, demonstrators in Seoul publicly burnt Japanese products like toys featuring Pokemon and Hello-Kitty characters to protest against the recent backlash regarding the presentation of the Asia-Pacific War and Japanese colonial rule in Japanese school textbooks (Universität Erfurt, 2001).

Taiwan, in contrast, has been presented in the Japanese media to be pro-Japanese in spite of – or, in the mind of some Japanese, due to – its history as a Japanese colony. One of the latest expressions of this belief is a *manga* called *Taiwanron* ("On Taiwan") which was published in Japan in 2000. It was written and illustrated by Kobayashi Yoshinori who is a figurehead of the neo-nationalist group fighting against the mention of the "comfort women" and other Japanese war crimes in Japanese school textbooks. The Taiwanese edition of this *manga* came out in March 2001. The unfavourable Taiwanese reactions show that Taiwan's image as a nation of Japan-lovers where the "Japanese spirit" (*Nihon seishin*) that has been lost in present-day Japan is still alive (Honda, 2001, p. 226) is, to a large extent, a Japanese self-deception. The politicians and industrialists acting as the informants of the Japanese

media as well as of *manga* author Kobayashi, represent a small and ever shrinking segment of Taiwanese society made up mostly of old men who formerly collaborated with the colonisers and, in some way or other, profited from Japanese colonial rule (Honda, 2001, pp. 224-227). One critical Japanese author, the journalist Honda Yoshihiko, has analysed this phenomenon of the Japanese political right "taking advantage" (*amae*) of pro-Japanese people from Taiwan "without trying to understand their background and motivation." According to Honda, "the true concern [of the Japanese who overemphasise Taiwan's pro-Japanese attitude] is not with Taiwan; their interest is, rather, anti-communist and anti-[mainland] China, or else they are [merely] acting out the role of a good person with sympathy for Taiwan" (Honda, 2001, p. 227). The gulf between the image of Taiwan produced by Japanese media, on the one hand, and the self-perception of most Taiwanese, on the other, proves the point that when we analyse Japanese images of Asia we should always bear in mind that those who these constructions refer to may not agree with them at all.

The forth issue which I would like to discuss a little more in depth is that of gender. Authors on the topics of nationalism and gender, or on feminist nationalism have emphasised the fact that perceptions and concepts of the nation and of national identity are always gendered. That is, concepts of the nation as they are propagated by modern social movements, by the media or the State, usually prescribe different roles to different genders – roles pertaining to the public sphere in the case of men, and to the private sphere in the case of women, who are, thereby, relegated to the position of second grade citizens (e.g. West, 1997 (a), pp. xi-xii; Ueno, 1998, pp. 31-38; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Nevertheless, the nation is often conceived in implicitly feminine terms centring on biological and cultural reproduction.[10] Also, as a result of their gendered roles, men and women must necessarily perceive the nation differently. This has been shown to be true by studies on feminist nationalisms all over the world (e.g. West, 1997 (b)).

Of course, the above must, in some way, also be true for Japanese constructs of Asian identity, many of which can be viewed as extensions of national identity concepts. Such gendered identity concepts are, sometimes, even reproduced by otherwise critical authors. One example is Honda Yoshihiko whom I cited on Japanese self-deceptions about the "Japanese spirit" supposedly alive in Taiwan. To counter such ideas, Honda maintains that what has been idealised, as "Japanese spirit" is, actually, the moral code which all Asian agricultural societies adhered to. According to Honda, this morality entails as its central concepts: public-spiritedness (*kô no seishin*), loyalty (*seijitsusa*), diligence (*kinbensa*), steadiness (*jimichisa*) and manliness (*isagiyosa*) (Honda, 2001, p. 223). Except for that of diligence, these are qualities which, on the whole, pertain to the public sphere, a warlike State and male gender. Honda thus challenges the notion of Japan's particularity and leadership in Asia but at the same time, unconsciously and unwillingly, constructs a clearly gendered Asian identity.

Images of Asia emerging from NHK documentaries are also imbued with moral implications, promoting diligence and perseverance as Asian virtues of the future. (See, for instance, the program on people in Cambodia and East Timor training for the Sydney Olympics).[11] Diligence and perseverance are not distinctly gendered concepts but gender, nevertheless, plays an important role in NHK conceptions of a new Asia. As Gatzen has shown, male protagonists by far outnumber female main characters in the NHK programs. This ratio bespeaks a gendered approach to the construction of the new Asia. There are also more explicit messages about and for women. However, it would go beyond the purpose of this paper as well as my means (as I have not myself been able to watch a representative sample of the discussed NHK programs) to give an in-depth analysis here. Let me therefore make some brief suggestions which are mainly based on the summaries of the NHK Asia documentaries which were prepared by Barbara Gatzen.

Among the programs featuring female protagonists there is, no doubt, a significant number focusing on so-called liberated or emancipated women. The popular Chinese singer for instance who stands for individualism and for political and social change allowing private emotions to be expressed in public which previously used to be taboo. There is the young Korean fashion designer whose precarious existence is sustained by new prosperity and a new individualism and, maybe, a new kind of national pride apparent among the youth of the city of Seoul. Another example is the staff member of the women's bank in Bangladesh helping poor women to start their own business.[12] These women are, in a sense, icons of modernity. They represent the avantgarde within their own societies and cultures that are characterised by political, moral and economic constraints which are, often, particularly hard on women.

Although the NHK documentaries often focus on processes of modernisation and democratisation, the preservation of traditional lifestyles and culture is presented as an important issue for those Asian nations recovering from civil wars, from communism and dictatorship. If "Asia", or the "East" is conceived as oppositional to the "West", then traditional Asian customs must play an important part in the reconstruction of an Asia liberated from Western "cultural imperialism". Women are ascribed important roles with regard to Asia's return to tradition. In one story, a woman is shown to be struggling to recover the tradition of puppet play in Myanmar, and another story features a woman working for an NGO in Cambodia and hoping to revive the traditional silk production there. Women, thus, are shown as activists, on the one hand, but the preservation of traditional lifestyles on the other has other implications for women which are usually not an explicit part of the narrative.

Tradition, as we know, is often a modern construct which implies the reinforcement of patriarchy, and the return of women to the home or family. We may ask ourselves, then, what the United Arabian Emirates' nostalgia for traditional lifestyles, and the Korean trend to reintroduce Confucian values into children's education – both topics of the NHK program "Meeting a New Asia"[13] – might entail for women. We may

wonder whether the Mongolian girl featured in "Meeting a New Asia" will be happy supporting her nomad family's struggle for survival, or whether she would have been happier if her wish to go to school had been fulfilled.[14] Also, we should note that representations of women who have supposedly left the domain of family and tradition may, nevertheless, transport gendered norms, such as the story about young women in Thailand training to nurse old people.[15] On the one hand, the existence of nursing homes is, in itself, evidence of the decline of the family and traditional values. On the other, the program seems to reinforce discriminatory ideas pertaining to gender and ethnicity by implying that being a woman and being of the friendly mentality said to be typical for Thai makes these young workers naturally suited to care for old people. Finally, such messages with regard to Asian women should make us attentive about what they may imply for the Japanese audience which these documentaries were produced for. What does the representation of Asian women as caring, and as community and family oriented rather than pursuing their own individual interests, entail for Japanese women who are to be part of the new Asia?

As has been shown, images of Asian women conveyed in the NHK programs are rather contradictory. We find celebrations of modern realisations and expressions of the self as well as demonstrations of the preservation of traditional values like self-denial and self-constraint. Phillipps, in her analysis of Asia as portrayed in Japanese *manga*, has introduced a paradigm that may help to view these seemingly contradictory perceptions of women's roles as consistent responses to (as well as constructions of) views on women as they are held by the majority of the Japanese television audience. What I am referring to are the three categories of horror, salvation and the exotic which Phillipps used to characterise *manga* imagery.[16] We could try and apply these categories when analysing images of the female in Asian as well as in Western cultures. The above mentioned documentary on young Thai women, for example, can be interpreted to pertain to the categories of salvation as well as the exotic, constructing Asia *and* the female as healing, exotic "Other". The same can be said with regard to "Akio's travels to Bali" (*Akio kikô Bari*), one of the *manga* analysed by Phillipps. Here, the essence of Asia seems to reside in the poor but beautiful woman which the male protagonist, the author's *alter ego*, falls in love with.

But "modern" women like the popular Chinese singer, the Korean fashion designer and the Bangladeshi social worker can also be seen to have a healing effect – not directly on Japan, this time, but on their own societies which, for the time being, may be too politically backward or too poor to be represented as the healing "Other" of modern Japan but for which these women are leading the way to modernity. In these countries there are, of course, also male artists, designers and social workers, and some of them do appear on the NHK programs. However, it seems that the message conveyed by men versus that conveyed by women is a slightly different one. Possibly, the modernity represented by these Asian women is perceived by the audience as one

that allows for more "private" sentiments, personal relationships and compassion than that represented by men. It may stand for an Asia of the future that will, in time, emerge as a new healing "Other" for Japan and, perhaps, for the "West".

The female as "Other" is, basically, a male construction. We might hypothesise that the common identification of Asia as "Other" with the female as "Other" is also the result of a male perspective. If women are prone to have a different view on nation and nationalism, as feminist theory and research have told us, then they should also have a different perspective with regard to Asia. Murata Junko's partly autobiographical *manga* "Hong Kong Working Girl" (*Honkongu wâkingu gâru*) proves the point. Phillipps informs us that Murata's female protagonist Tomo finds Hong Kong a modern, dynamic city which, with regard to women's job opportunities, is much more advanced than her native Tôkyô. Although Tomo also enjoys the exotic, "Asian" aspects of the city, the focus is on the modern aspects of her new surroundings and working conditions. This image of Hong Kong is underlined by the representation of a Japanese businessman who is shown to be barbarian and misogynist.

Japanese women's simultaneous turn towards Asia and against their own Japanese countrymen seems to be a typical pattern which can also be found with what has been termed "Asia feminism" (*Ajia feminizumu*) (Tonooka, 1992). Today, the most important issue of "Asia feminism" is the rights of the former "comfort women." The feminist activists supporting the claims of the former *ianfu* in Japan are, in an important part, the successors of a movement against Japanese men's sex tourism to South Korea and other Asian countries (Wöhr, 2001, pp. 3-4). The objective of this movement, which was initiated in the 1970s, implied solidarity with Asian peoples, particularly Asian women, and criticism of Japanese men. The Japanese *ianfu* supporters, who started their activities in the early 1990s, are part of a strong network of women from all over Asia. Their criticism focuses on the system of sexual slavery instituted by Japan's military during the Asia-Pacific War, on present-day Japanese men's exploitation of women from other Asian countries, and on men's sexual violence against women perpetrated by the military and in wars all over the world. The image of Asia which emerges from the writings of these women is informed by a critical self-image – contrary, for example, to the narcissist notion of Taiwan held by *manga* author Kobayashi Yoshinori and other neo-nationalist reactionaries, who strongly oppose the aims and activities of the *ianfu* support movement. Although the *ianfu* feminists' ideas are not totally free of essentialist constructs pertaining to "Asia" and to "women" (Wöhr, 2001), their inbetweenness – "as daughters of the perpetrators and sisters of the victimised" (Kim Puja, quoting Yamazaki Hiromi, in Nihon no Sensô Sekinin Shiryô Sentâ, 1998, p. 74) – seems to enable them to view Asia both more realistically and more sympathetically.

An even more complicated inbetweenness informs the writings of Japanese-Korean *ianfu* activists like Kim Puja (see the above quote) and Yamashita Yon'e (1996, 2000),

and of the Japanese-Korean sociologist Chon Yonhe (1995, 1996) who are all keenly aware of the double discrimination they are subject to as minority women: ethnic discrimination by the majority *and* sexual discrimination by the male members of their own ethnic group. Sadly, I cannot give any details here. All I can say is that the three women's reactions to these experiences are different, but for all of them being a woman assumes more importance than being of a certain ethnic origin. At the same time, they remain more or less critical of feminist universalisms and an essentialist denial of differences *between* women. For all of them, a peaceful Asia is an important objective, but the deconstruction of identities – ethnic and sexual – becomes an inevitable step on the way to get there.[17]

Let me return, once more, to the Japanese-Korean author Yû Miri. In an essay, Yû states that it was her torn situation as a Japanese-Korean which made her all the more indifferent toward the issue of identity (Weickgenannt, 2002, p. 4). And, as Gössmann shows in an article on Yû's recent autobiographical works, the author is keenly aware of the conspiracy of ethnic discrimination by Japanese society *and* sexual discrimination by Korean culture, much like the three Japanese-Korean women mentioned above (Gössmann, 2002, p. 7).

Perhaps, it is women like Kim Puja, Yamashita Yon'e, Chon Yonhe and Yû Miri who will pave the way for a peaceful Asian community – individuals who were forced into a status of multiple identities and multiple discrimination, and have emerged from their painful experiences to question all simple concepts of identity.

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[1] The second International Convention of Asian Scholars (ICAS) was held in Berlin, August 9-12, 2001. Just like these comments, the papers mentioned here were all published online with the Electronic

[2] In particular, I would like to thank Barbara Gatzen for letting me read her summaries of the NHK documentaries.

[3] The conservative political scientist Samuel Huntington who, in 1993, prophesied a "clash of civilisations" provides a prime example for how theories of culture can imply political meanings and intentions.

[4] See Prohl, 2000 about the ideas of Umehara Takeshi, Kamata Tôji, Nakazawa Shin'ichi, Yamaori Tetsuo and Yuasa Yasuo; see also Wöhr, 1997.

[5] See, for instance, the program on the Chinese pop singer Na Hei in "Asia Who is Who," May 2000, broadcast No. 1, and on the fashion show on board of an air plane in "Asia Crossroads," October 2000, broadcast No. 1. All my citations of NHK programs refer to the summaries by Barbara Gatzen; some of them she did not use herself in her paper or her presentation.

[6] See "Asia Crossroads," May 2000, broadcast No. 2, and September 2000, broadcast No. 2.

[7] See "Asia Crossroads," May 2000, broadcast No. 2; "Meeting a New Asia", September 2000, broadcast No. 4; "Asia Crossroads," October 2000, broadcast No. 2.

[8] In accordance with the other panel members, the term *zainichi* is rendered as "Japanese-Korean" rather than "Korean-Japanese." Our reasons for this choice are that most of the *zainichi* are not "naturalized," that is they are not Japanese nationals (different from, e.g., Korean-Americans who are usually American citizens). To use the term Korean-Japanese, we felt, was to ignore this status which is partly due to the immens difficulties facing those who apply for Japanese nationality, but also involves questions of ethnic identity.

[9] About how the construction of manhood in Korea is influenced by "the historiography of Korea as a nation constantly under threat of foreign domination," see Cheng, 2001, pp. 9-12. Page numbers of unpublished works like those of Cheng and Gössmann, 2002, refer to the manuscript which was at my disposal.

[10] See Kandiyoti, 1991, p. 429, who is referring to Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1989; see also Cheng, 2001, pp. 9-11.

[11] See "Asia Crossroads," September 2000, broadcast No. 1; broadcast No. 2.

[12] See "Asia Who is Who," May 2000, broadcast No.1, "Meeting a New Asia," May 2000, broadcast No. 2, and broadcast No. 3.

[13] See "Meeting a New Asia," May 2000, broadcast No. 1, and September 2000, broadcast No. 4.

[14] See "Meeting a New Asia," October 2000, broadcast No. 2.

[15] See "Meeting a New Asia," October 2000, broadcast No. 1.

[16] These categories were originally employed by film theorist Werner Faulstich (see also Gössmann, 2002).

[17] For an analysis of some of the writings of these three Japanese-Korean women on the subject of the *Nihongun ianfu*, see Wöhr, 2001.