

Keynote speech (Senate Room)

Junji Koizumi

(Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University; Leader, Global COE Program "Conflict Studies in the Humanities"; Trustee and Vice President of Osaka University)

The "Global COE Programs" are projects initiated by the MEXT to build international Centers of Excellence as major bases for the development of research and education in each scientific field. The Osaka University Global COE Program "A Research Base for Conflict Studies in the Humanities" is one of the twelve programs in the country selected by the government for the field of humanities in general. This Program started in 2007 and a number of joint research projects with interdisciplinary orientations have been carried out. The Program aims at comprehension of ongoing conflicts across the world as dynamics between the global and local values that emerge as different reactions to the forces of globalization, which include activities by the governments, growth of multi-national corporations, expansion of international flow of people, goods and money and revolutionary advancement of information and communication technology. Different reactions to globalization come "from below," or from those who actually live through these global transformations and experience them in specific localities. These reactions can be conceptualized in a polar model between "positive acceptance" and "outright denial" at both extremes, with more moderate reactions in-between. This simple model becomes more subtle and complicated when we focus on the entanglement between a "universal," usually cosmopolitan orientation towards globalism and a "parochial," often nationalistic orientation towards localism. These two orientations generally coexist in specific instances, and the analysis of the tension and contradiction between them was a central theme in Clifford Geertz's anthropological pursuit. On the one hand, people seek for an efficient, modern state in which a more effective political and economic order and greater social justice are longed for; it is characterized by the desires that are fundamentally based on some sort of universalist values, such as democracy, humanitarianism, egalitarianism or neo-liberalism. On the other hand, people also seek for establishing or emphasizing their own identity; they wish to be "somebody" in the world whose unique characteristics are to be respected, and this often leads to some form of essentialism, nativism or xenophobia. This is an entanglement between "citizenship" and "selfhood," between political identity and cultural identity. The usefulness of this sort of conceptualization will be illustrated by the presentation of some case materials from fieldwork in Guatemala.

Junji KOIZUMI is Trustee and Vice President, Osaka University. He founded the Global Collaboration Center, Osaka University in 2007, and he is also the Leader of the Global COE Program A Research Base for Conflict Studies in the Humanities, Osaka University since 2007. He received his doctorate from Stanford University in 1981, and he was a Member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, in 1996-1997. He is on the board of editors of American Anthropologist; he is Secretary-General of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) and former Chair of the World Council of Anthropological Associations (WCAA). His main areas of research include Anthropology and Latin American Studies, interpretive approach, ethnography of Central America, social and economic transformation, transnationality, conflict studies, and international cooperation. His recent works include Becoming a Practical Researcher: Realities in the Human Sciences (co-edited with K. Shimizu, Japanese, 2007), "Etnicidad y Estado nacional en Huehuetenango, Guatemala: resultado de las elecciones y el problema del nacionalismo communal" (2006), Dynamics of Cultures and Systems in the Pacific Rim: Anthropological Studies (ed., 2003), and Interpretive Anthropology and Anti Anti-Relativism (ed. and trans., Japanese, 2002).

Panel 1:

'Humanitarianism and Its Discontent: Global Discourse and Local Realities'

Co-chairs: Eisei Kurimoto and Joost Herman

Eisei Kurimoto (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

'Limits of Humanitarianism during and Post-war Periods:

The Growing Gap between Cosmopolitan and Local Orientations in Southern Sudan'

Joost Herman (Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen)

'Negative and Positive Aspects of Globalization: Global Humanitarianism Implemented at Grass Root Level'

Mohamed Salih (International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague)

'The Perverse logics of Neo-humanitarianism'

Matthias Vanhullebusch (Perelman Centre for Legal Philosophy, Universite Libre de Bruxelles)

'Humanitarian Conscience and International Law: Reconceiving Humanitarian Intervention'

Georg Frerks (Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management, Utrecht University; Disaster Studies, Wageningen University)

'Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: The Impact of Local Politics and Violence on Humanitarian Action'

Johan Pottier (discussant, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) Jaap de Wilde (discussant, Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen)

Eisei Kurimoto (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University) Limits of Humanitarianism during and Post-war Periods: The Growing Gap between Cosmopolitan and Local Orientations in Southern Sudan

Since the end of 1980s, Southern Sudan has become a huge experimental field of humanitarian intervention, which is in itself a part and parcel of globalization. During the civil war (1983-2005), a massive amount of resources were poured in under the UN-led Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), one of the largest and longest UN relief operations. After the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), even more resources, i.e. man power, materials and budget, have been invested in the process of reconstruction and peace-building. Although I acknowledge that humanitarian assistance did save the lives of many people, this paper highlights, based on my own field research and literature survey, the negative aspect of humanitarian assistance. The point to be focused on is that neo-liberal sort of transformation of political and economic systems, transplanting democracy and market economy, often creates conflicts between the rich-urban and the poor-rural. It neglects in particular the "socio-economically weak," vulnerable sector of population, namely those who live in rural areas depending their livelihood on subsistence economy and those who are former refugees and IDPs who do not have adequate socio-economic assets. The paper concludes that unless this issue is properly addressed, the entire peace may become fragile and unsustainable.

Eisei Kurimoto is professor at the Graduate School of Human Sciences, as well as director of the Global Collaboration Center, Osaka University. He is also the deputy program leader of the Global COE Program, "Conflict Studies in the Humanities." He is a social anthropologist and has conducted fieldwork in Southern Sudan and western Ethiopia for the last three decades on such topics like Nilotic ethnography, civil war, ethnic conflict, displacement, and post-war reconstruction and peacebuilding. His major publications include, People Living through Ethnic Conflict (in Japanese, Sekaishisosha, 1996), Conflict, Age and Power in North East Africa: Age Systems in Transition (co-edited with S. Simonse, James Currey, 1998), Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and after (co-edited with W. James, D. Donham and A. Triulzi, James Currey, 2002). A recent article is "Changing Identification among the Pari Refugees in Kakuma," Changing Identifications and Alliances in Northeast Africa (G. Schlee and E. Watson, eds, Berghahn, 2009).

Joost Herman (Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen) Negative and Positive Aspects of Globalization: Global Humanitarianism Implemented at Grass Root Level

Globalisation is a heavily contested issue from any academic discipline's perspective. Nonetheless, generally, globalisation is an overarching process comprising all contemporary major issues and challenges facing the international and national communities in a framework of growing interdependencies. For many individuals and groups around the world the process of globalisation has provided them with opportunities previously unheard of; the quality of life has dramatically increased for sizable proportions of the world population.

The other way around, however, the picture is more bleak. Globalisation has resulted in major threats to likewise sizable proportions of the world population. In various parts of the world, globalization has undermined human security, social equity, democracy itself, even the sustainability of livelihoods. Haunted by manmade and natural disasters people see those phenomena reinforced, deepened and aggravated by the impact of globalisation. Out of a sense of solidarity, through a globally framed response based upon the humanitarian imperative and values of human security, codified in numerous universal legal and political documents since 1948, world society has offered help. The EU's Directorate General Humanitarian Aid (ECHO) and UN OCHA represent this global solidarity. However, how beneficial aid can be, based on global / universal values that simultaneously are at the core of livelihood deterioration in the first place?

The forum's contribution focuses on the tension in existence between the globally framed solidarity response and the sheer needs of the populations struck by exactly the same /similar forces of globalisation. It will be examined whether humanitarian policy makers have successfully merged the positive forces of globalisation with an accurate assessment of needs at grass root levels resulting from the negative impact of the same process of globalisation.

Joost Herman studied International Law and History, Leyden University. In Utrecht he received his doctorate on the effectiveness of international law concerning the protection of national minorities. Today he works at the University of Groningen, International Relations and International Organisation Department being Director Humanitarian Action Program; Director Globalisation Studies Groningen (GSG) and Financial Director / Executive Board member of the European NOHA (Network on Humanitarian Assistance) Association. His most recent publications are

D.Dijkzeul, J. Herman and D. Hilhorst, Eds., 'Social Dynamics of Humanitarian Action' *Disasters* (Special Issue, April 2010);

- D. Dijkzeul en J. Herman ed., *Humanitaire Ruimte. Tussen onpartijdigheid en politiek* (Humanitarian Space: between Impartiality and Politics) (Gent University Press; December 2009) 226 p.;
- J. Herman, "The Dutch drive for humanitarianism. Inner origins and development of the gidsland tradition and its external effects", *International Journal* (Autumn 2006), pp. 859-874.

Mohamed Salih (International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague) The Perverse logics of Neo-humanitarianism

Grandeur claims propelled under the humanitarian intervention banner such as humanity, neutrality, independence and impartiality are in desperate need of being humanized, argues my colleague Professor Eisei Kurimoto. Countless cases of humanitarian intervention have illustrated that, with all well-founded intentions, humanitarianism has created its own victims adding millions to those it contrived to save. From Iraq to Afghanistan and from the Democratic Republic of Congo to Sudan and Somalia, humanitarian interventions have, of course saved some lives, but created a myriad of problems, leaving its mess for failed or failing states and local populations to cope with. It is now common knowledge that, while cases described as deserving of humanitarian intervention are acted upon, and sometimes with urgency, its negative consequences on people and local communities are lamented but hardly attracted much attention.

In this presentation I argue that as a political project, humanitarian intervention has ushered in major policy shifts from national/local spaces of livelihood struggles to global policy narratives, deploying neo-humanitarianism as an instrument for advancing globalization and foreign policy objectives.

Using field experiences in Iraqi Kurdistan and Darfur, supplemented with a large array of literature, I attempt to illustrate that because humanitarian intervention carries the insignia of globalization, it renders the local subservient to externally driven political and economic policies far removed from local concerns. These policies often complicate already desperate local conditions. The perverse logic of neo-humanitarianism lies in its ability to simultaneously save some lives (food and medicine and shelter), while forsaking other lives (collateral damage, human rights abuses and structural violence) as if the two are unrelated.

Mohamed A.R.M Salih (PhD in Economics and Social Studies, University of Manchester, UK) is Professor of Politics of Development both at the International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University Rotterdam and the Department of Political Science, University of Leiden, The Netherlands. His latest books include: Hermeneutics, Scriptural Politics and Human Rights (Palgrave/Macmillan: New York, 2010): Interpreting Islamic Political Parties (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2009), Climate Change and Sustainable Development: New Challenges for Poverty Reduction in the 21st Century (Edward Elgar: Cheltenham, 2009). In the area of peace and conflict studies he recently published: "A Critique of the Political Economy of the Liberal Peace: Elements of An African Experience", in E. Newman, R. Paris and O.P. Richmond (eds.) New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding (United Nations University, Tokyo 2009), "An African Perspective on Security", in David J. Francis (ed.) US Strategy in Africa: AFRICOM, terrorism and security challenges (Routledge: London 2010), among others.

Matthias Vanhullebusch (Universite Libre de Bruxelles)

Humanitarian Conscience and International Law:

Reconceiving Humanitarian Intervention

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate that the debate on humanitarian intervention is also informed by a humanitarian conscience which transcends the traditional tension between sovereignty-based and community-based values in international legal discourse. On the one hand, states accused of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity or ethnic cleansing refute those allegations as they violate the prohibition to interfere in the domestic affairs of states. On the other hand, the international community of states is developing a doctrine of responsibility to protect in order to question upon humanitarian grounds the sovereignty and responsibility of states. The (in)action of both states and the international community of states to assume their respective responsibilities has exposed an apparent indeterminacy of and a contradiction within international law to prevent and redress the suffering of those populations in need of humanitarian assistance.

Instead, these local and global approaches toward human security could put the whole of humanity central again to international law's humanitarian endeavours, namely to prevent and redress mass atrocities against civilians. In this respect, humanity would be the first beneficiary of (inter)national peace and security and a humanitarian conscience would the driving force of such a humanitarian project. The right to life as endorsed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the legal expression of such humanitarian conscience: without life, there is no justice. Though international law has not always been as successful to prevent and redress human suffering, it has been instrumental to protect human life whose value is shared by all peoples in this world, even through humanitarian intervention.

Matthias Vanhullebusch is the Research Fellow in International Humanitarian Law and Transitional Justice on the ATLAS Project (EU 7th Framework Programme) at the Perelman Centre for Legal Philosophy, Université Libre de Bruxelles. He is about to submit his PhD thesis on International Humanitarian Law and Islamic Law of War at the School of Law of School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

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Publications:

When Justice Meets Peace: Reassessing the Relationship between the ICC and the Security Council, Vol. 1(1) (2008), Issues in International Criminal Justice, at 24-58.

General Principles of Islamic Law of War: A Reassessment, in Cotran, E. and Lau, M. (eds.), Yearbook of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law, Vol. 13, Leiden/Boston: Koninklijke Brill, 2006-2007, at 37-56.

The United States of America's Global War on Terror in Iraq: International Humanitarian Law Approaches, CERIS Publications 2006, at 1-76. (www.ceris.be)

Georg Frerks (Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management, Utrecht University)

Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea:

The Impact of Local Politics and Violence on Humanitarian Action

Humanitarian action and the classical principles upon which it is purportedly based are increasingly compromised in the daily practice of disaster and conflict aid in the countries concerned. Though much attention is paid in the media to the mistakes, mismanagement and malpractices of the sector itself, the context of aid is an equally important factor to be considered. This contribution will discuss how local politics and violence affect the proper implementation of emergency aid programmes and what difficult dilemmas this raises. One the one hand, there seems to be fairly little that outside actors can do or change about the way local politicians or warlords act. On the other hand, there is also little analysis of local practices and insufficient knowledge to resolve the resulting problems among humanitarian practitioners. The paper is based on field work carried out during the tsunami disaster in Sri Lanka, but also draws from some examples from the African continent.

Prof. Georg Frerks holds a chair in Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management at Utrecht University, The Netherlands and also a chair in Disaster Studies at Wageningen University. As a sociologist and policy analyst he focuses on disaster and conflict-induced vulnerabilities and local responses as well as on policies and interventions implemented at international and national levels. Frerks worked for eighteen years as a Dutch diplomat and was also the head of the Conflict Research Unit of the Netherlands Institute of International Relations. He acts as an advisor to several governmental and non-governmental organisations. He is a member of the Steering Committee of the Cultural Emergency Response (CER) programme of the Prince Claus Fund for Culture and Development.

Recent books include Mapping Vulnerability: Disasters, Development & People. London: Earthscan (2004; co-editors Greg Bankoff and Dorothea Hilhorst), Refugees and the Transformation of Societies. Agency, Policies, Ethics and Politics. Studies in Forced Migration – Volume 13. Oxford: Berhghahn Books. (2004 Co-editors: P. Essed and J. Schrijvers), Dealing with Diversity, Sri Lankan Discourses on Peace and Conflict. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' (2005; co-editor Bart Klem), Gender, Conflict and Development. Washington, D.C.: World Bank (2005; co-authors Tsjeard Bouta and Ian Bannon) and Human Security and International Insecurity (2007; co-editor: Berma Klein Goldewijk). He has further published a large number of articles, book chapters and reports, including articles and book chapters on the tsunami. At the moment he is working on an edited book on Cultural Emergencies and Humanitarian Policies. E-mail: georg.frerks@planet.nl

discussant

Johan Pottier

(School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London)

Johan Pottier is Professor of African Anthropology at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. He specialises in food security; media representations of conflict; and humanitarian intervention. Publications include Anthropology of Food: The Social Dynamics of Food Security (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1999; Japanese translation, 2003) and Re-Imagining Rwanda: Conflict, Survival and Disinformation in the late 20th Century (Cambridge University Press, 2002). He is currently researching aspects of the history of Ituri District, North-eastern DR Congo.

Panel 2:

'Humanities, Art and Global Politics'

Co-chairs: Wolfgang Schwentker and Jaap de Wilde

Jaap de Wilde (Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen)

'Matching Local and Global Security Analyses?'

Marco Duranti ("History and Memory" Research Group, University of Konstanz)

'Conservative Politics and the Genesis of European Human Rights Law: Looking Beyond the Global Studies and International Relations Paradigms'

Nicholas Lees (Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford)

'Inequality as a Problem for Cosmopolitan Theories of Justice'

Rien T. Segers (Faculties of Arts and Economics and Business, Groningen University)

'Two Societies at the Crossroads: Japan and the Netherlands between National Conflicts and Globalizing Tendencies'

Kukiko Nobori (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

'International Art Exhibitions in the Globalization'

Wolfgang Schwentker (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

'Political Conflicts on the Opera Stage: John Adams's "Nixon in China""

Jaap de Wilde

(Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen)

Matching Local and Global Security Analyses

This paper investigates how the logic of Multilevel Governance (MLG) can be applied in the context of globalisation in order to link largely separated fields of security studies, i.e., traditional Neorealist and Neoliberal Institutionalist analyses at the global level, Security Complex Theory at the level of world regions, traditional National Security analyses at the state level, and Human Security analyses at the local level. Local and national security studies tend to play down wider structural conditions and events, whereas macro-level analyses exclude micro-level structures and events. MLG first of all helps to highlight the problems inherent to such demarcations. Additionally, it offers a framework for overcoming them.

Jaap de Wilde is professor in IR and World Politics at the Department of International Relations and International Organization (www.rug.nl/let/irio), University of Groningen. From 2001 to 2007 he was professor in European Security Studies at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, from 1995-2007 senior research fellow in European Studies and IR Theory at the University of Twente, and from 1993-1995 senior research fellow at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI). Major publications include:

Jaap de Wilde (forthcoming, 2011), "The Mirage of Global Democracy", European Review, Vol. 19, No. 1.

Monica den Boer & Jaap de Wilde, Eds. (2008), The Viability of Human Security, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Jaap de Wilde (2006), "Orwellian Risks in European Conflict Prevention Discourse", Global Society, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 87-99.

Wouter G. Werner & Jaap de Wilde (2001), "The Endurance of Sovereignty", The European Journal for International Relations, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 283-313.

Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver & Jaap de Wilde (1998), Security: A New Framework for Analysis, London, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Marco Duranti (University of Konstanz, Germany)

Conservative Politics and the Genesis of European Human Rights Law: Looking Beyond the Global Studies and International Relations Paradigms

This paper will argue for a greater recognition of the impact of domestic political factors in the construction of international human rights law. Recent historical studies have made individual states the primary agents of their analysis, describing how foreign ministries viewed human rights as a tool of ideological warfare in the domain of international relations. What is required is a closer empirical investigation of the interplay of activities underway at the local, national, transnational and international levels.

The story of the origins of the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights offers a telling case study. Drawing on unpublished archival sources, this paper will demonstrate that the European Convention was primarily the product of the domestic political agendas of conservatives operating within transnational movements for European unity. British Conservatives hoped to use a regional human rights regime – one that safeguarded classical civil, political and property rights but not social rights – to counter the Attlee government's program of nationalizations and economic controls. Likewise, the continental Right viewed it as a response to their governments' program of purges and social reforms. These groups' involvement in European human rights projects compensated for their impotence in the domestic political arena and served as a means of political rehabilitation at home. It is true that the final stages of the drafting process were the preserve of states. Yet, by the time foreign ministry officials, diplomats and government-appointed lawyers entered the scene, a profoundly conservative conception of European human rights law had already emerged triumphant.

This paper will conclude that the grand narrative of the development of international human rights law needs to move beyond the polarities offered by the International Relations and Global Studies paradigms. With the example of the European Convention in mind, scholars should consider how the domestic concerns of groups in transnational civil society spur governments to conclude international human rights accords and shape the ideological parameters in which intergovernmental negotiations take place.

Marco Duranti is a postdoctoral fellow in the University of Konstanz's "History and Memory" research group. He obtained his doctorate in history at Yale University in 2009, writing his dissertation on the genesis of European human rights law. He is currently analyzing the construction of a foundation myth of international human rights law in relation to the development of Holocaust memory culture. His publications include "Utopia, Nostalgia and World War at the 1939-40 New York World's Fair," Journal of Contemporary History 41:4 (October 2006); "John Pym and the Collapse of Consensus Politics", Tempus: A Harvard College Historical Review (Spring 2000); "Stains of Red: The Changing Face of Human Rights in Russia and China", Harvard International Review 21:1 (Winter 1999).

Nicholas Lees (Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford) Inequality as a Problem for Cosmopolitan Theories of Justice

Cosmopolitan theorists have put forward influential accounts of the obligations of justice that arise from the existence of durable global inequality. Anti-cosmopolitans have challenged these claims, arguing that obligations of justice are only incurred within bounded communities, whether the nation-state or even more local and particular forms of community. This paper, however, argues that the problem for cosmopolitanism is not that duties of justice are not incurred at the global level, but that the present international order may not be able to support relations based on justice. This is not a narrowly instrumental issue, but a question of whether a feasible global order could meaningfully institutionalise justice, understood as a specific kind of moral and political relationship. Attention will then be turned to the specific features of the present international order that would make institutionalization of global justice problematic. In particular, the paper will demonstrate that, ironically, the existence of radical inequality within the international system is itself a barrier to the realization of cosmopolitan justice. It seems implausible that putative world citizens could feasibly become co-equals in the sort of institutional scheme the cosmopolitan project would require. In the absence of conditions of reciprocity, the beneficiaries under a scheme of cosmopolitan justice would remain dependent on the goodwill of the powerful. The problems with the notion of global justice make accounts of international justice, in which states remain the primary representatives of individuals, more attractive. International justice must therefore take priority over claims regarding global justice, because it is only within an order in which states exist in a situation of rough equality that global justice might feasibly be realised. Given the realities of international politics, such an international rather than global account of justice may necessarily accept a greater degree of conflict and dissensus than cosmopolitanism acknowledges.

Nicholas Lees is completing his DPhil in International Relations at University College, the University of Oxford. His research concerns the relationship between justice and global inequality, and the process of argument between the advanced industrial states and the coalitions of the global South over the governance of the global economy.

Rien T. Segers (Faculty of Arts/Economics and Business, University of Groningen) Two Societies at the Crossroads:

Japan and the Netherlands between National Conflicts and Globalizing Tendencies

It is a self evident observation to state that in scholarly and journalistic discourse Japanese and Dutch societies are primarily viewed as 'different' and 'distinct'. Almost always differences are highlighted and similarities between the two societies have been neglected or overlooked. This is due to Western (and Dutch) constructions of Japan as 'the other' (from Ruth Benedict to Karel van Wolferen) and to influential Japanese constructions of Japan as a country of 'unique uniqueness' (*Nihonjinron*). Obviously, there is reason to do so: the cultural identity of both countries have been formed by distinct historical and religious traditions, by diffent value systems and by separate business models.

Despite the numerous *changements de décor* in the 21st century the perception and the discours with which this perception is formulated, still circles around 'difference' rather than around 'similarity'. That implies that a comparison of the contemporary cultural identity of both nation states and their societies is still based on 'otherness'.

Since the turn of the century, however, a number of important developments have taken place both in Japan as well as in the Netherlands which make it important to reconsider the validity of the difference paradigm and to ask attention for an analysis that is based on similarities, obviously without neglecting the significance of the distinct conventions and traditions. The necessity for such a reconsideration is based on unescapable and irreversible globalizing tendencies. This lecture will focus on a few recent implications of these tendencies, which have effected both Japan as well as the Netherlands and which make a comparison based on similarities rather than on differences necessary and promissing.

Professor Rien T. Segers, PhD

Center for Japanese Studies, University of Groningen

Rien T. Segers studied in Europe (University of Konstanz, and University of Utrecht, PhD), in the United States (at Yale) and in Japan (University of Tokyo – Todai). He worked in the United States and in Asia (China and Japan). Since 2000 he is professor of Corporate Culture at the Faculties of Arts and Economics and Business at the University of Groningen. At this university he is also the Founding Director of the Center for Japanese Studies. In recent years he was a visiting professor at the University of Otago (New Zealand), the University of Osaka (Japan), the International Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken, Kyoto, Japan) and Princeton University (USA). His most recent book publications are:

- * Rien T. Segers, *Japan and the Unescapable Azianisation of the World* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2009), in Dutch; English transl. in preparation
- * Rien T. Segers, *The Netherlands After the Crisis. Leaderschip in a New World* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2009), in Dutch; English transl in preparation
- * Rien T. Segers (ed.), A New Japan for the Twenty-First Century. An Inside Overview of Current Fundamental Changes and Problems (New York, London: Routledge, 2008); contributors a.o. Takashi Inoguchi (Em. Professor of Political Science, Todai), Kazuo Ogoura (President Japan Foundation), Hisashi Owada (President International Court of Justice, the Hague)

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Kukiko Nobori (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University) International Art Exhibitions in the Globalization

The reason why I am interested in Fukuoka Asian Art Triennale (Hereafter FT) is because it is the project challenging the very concept of "art". The problem of defining an 'artwork', especially in the cross-cultural setting, is what anthropology of art has been struggling with as well. The situation surrounding contemporary art practices seem quite different from when James Clifford analyzed the "modern primitivism" in the 1980s. It was in the West that non-Western objects were shown, however since the 1990s the number of international art exhibitions is growing in many parts of the world. This essay considers how "Asian contemporary art" has been created in FT regarding it as the site of conflicts where the modern Western concept of art is challenged by local objects (or the other way round).

FT is an international art exhibition held every three years inviting artists from other Asian countries and region. The number of such periodically held exhibition is growing in many parts of the world since the 1990s. Often the word "art biennial" is employed as a "convenient generic term" (Wu 2004) to refer to those exhibitions, such as biennial and triennale (Jimenez 2004; de Duve 2009). It is estimated that today "between 80 and 140 art biennials scattered around the world" (de Duve 45). Contrary to the first "art biennial", started in Venice in 1895, which has been seen as the promoter of the nationalism or nation-building, today's boom of "art biennial" is often regarded either as the marketing of the city or the empowerment and growing visibility of non-Western artists in the globalization. However it should not be neglected that "art biennials" are not a monolithic entity. It is necessary to reconsider why those very different artistic attempts name themselves as "biennial" or "triennale".

To study the project of FT, I will refer to Alfred Gell's argument on "the problem of defining the idea of an 'artwork'" (219). It is suggestive for studying FT, because FT has also been dealing with those objects which are not necessary regarded as art in the conventional meaning. What FT, as an institution, has been achieving can not be fully explained by such arguments as Clifford's "art-culture system" which analyzes the status of art rather from the institutional viewpoint.

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http://www.tate.org.uk/research/tateresearch/tatepapers/09autumn/chin.shtm 1 September 2010

Kukiko Nobori is a doctoral student at the Graduate School of HumanSciences, Osaka University. After completing a Masters at Osaka University in anthropology and MA at Jagiellonian University and Groningen University in European Studies, she is now studying the contemporary art practices in Poland and Japan.

"Art Biennial in 'Europe' and 'Asia'" (MA thesis, 2010), "An Anthropological Study of 'Alternative Space'" (2008)

Wolfgang Schwentker

(Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

Political Conflicts on the Opera Stage: John Adams's "Nixon in China"

The visit of American President Richard Nixon to China in February 1972 marks a turning point in cold-war history and in US-Chinese relations. Through television and other media it turned into a global event that caused a heated debate about the political aims of the United States and China regarding the Vietnam War, the status of Taiwan and the long-term relationship of two nations with completely different social and political systems.

15 years later, the American composer John Adams and the poet Alice Goodman turned Nixon's visit to China into an opera that received a broad attention, both in public and among musical critics and scholars. At the time of the first performance of the opera "Nixon in China" (Houston 1987), Adams had already established himself as one of the leading composers of classical music in America. Together with Steve Reich and Philip Glass, Adams belongs to a group of composers who made *minimal music* the most original American contribution to classical music in the late 20th century.

Using parts of the opera "Nixon in China" as musical examples, the paper will analyze the opera from a historical point of view, focusing on a variety of <u>conflicts</u> which are dramatically and musically represented: <u>ideological conflicts</u> (the arrival of Nixon in Peking followed by the famous meeting with Mao and the welcome dinner, Act 1 of the opera); <u>gender conflicts</u> (referring to the role models and social identities of Pat Nixon and Chiang Ch'ing, the wife of Mao Tse-tung, Act 2); <u>philosophical and private conflicts</u> (the role of the Chinese revolution as a local orientation and the marriage of the couples; Act 3).

Finally, the paper will address the crucial proplem of history as a reconstructed narrative of the past, both in contemporary music and historical scholarship, emphasizing the artificial dimension in both.

Wolfgang Schwentker

Professor at Osaka University, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Centre for the Comparative Study of Civilizations Dr. phil. (Duesseldorf University, 1986)

Book publications include "Max Weber in Japan. Eine Untersuchung zur Wirkungsgeschichte, 1905-1995" (1998, Jap. translation forthcoming in 2010), "Die Samurai" (3rd ed. 2008) and "The Power of Memory in Modern Japan" (2008, as co-editor).

His current research is on "Intellectuals and the End of the Cold War, 1989/90".

Panel 3:

'Local Conflict and Global Connections'

Yumi Sakata (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

'The Conflict against the 'Generalization' of Land Reforms: From the Case of Land Redisribution Reform in South Africa'

Robert Lensink (Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Groningen)

'Does Conflict Affect Preferences: Results from Field Experiments in Burundi'

Pat Gibbons (NOHA, University College Dublin, Ireland)

'Reconcilliation Process in Northern Ireland in Comparative Perspective'

Herman Voogsgeerd (Faculty of Arts/Law, University of Groningen)

'The Impact of the International Labour Organization (ILO) and its Global Standards as a Means to Solve Local Labour Conflicts in Japan and the Netherlands'

Mayu Hayakawa (Global Collaboration Center, Osaka University)

'Confronting the Rampancy: Consideration on the Several Perspectives of Economy under the Hyperinflational Situation in Zimbabwe 2007-2009'

Yumiko Tokita-Tanabe (Global Collaboration Center, Osaka University)

'Gender and Conflict: Local and Global Connectivity among Women'

Tomoko Sakai (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

'Post-Conflict Normalisation and Globalisation: Examining Racism in Northern Ireland'

Yumi Sakata (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

The Conflict against the 'Generalization' of Land Reforms:

From the Case of Land Redisribution Reform in South Africa

The conflicts against the land issues are often triggered from neo-liberal land reform as the way of agricultural land reforms are becoming more universally than uniquely in the world. Traditional agricultural land reform, on one hand, was driven by massive nation power as carried out in Japan and Taiwan just after the WWII to 1960s. Since the era of structural adjustment in 1980s, on the other, the power of nations in agricultural land reforms has replaced global power of neo-liberalism and nation power to intervene agricultural land reform has been minimized. Universally generalized land reform by neo-liberalism are to be benefit economical growth but often ignores the needs and the wants of the periphery local by putting pressure on market fundamentalism and economical efficiency.

This paper is going to consider the influence of global hegemony of neo-liberalism on land reform and the people. The discussion precedes two parts. First, through the history of post-World War II to the current, the shift of the character of land reforms is analysed under the umbrella of mixed economy and limited government. Second, the struggles of local farmers under the current neo-liberal land reform are explored from the case of Tzaneen prefecture in South Africa.

South Africa initiated redistributive land reform as a compensation of apartheid in 1994. The reform was supposed to clear the uneven racial land distribution and empower to all black Africans through the land reform. But from 2000, the purpose of the reform was transferred from egalitarian reform to selective reform, welfare centred to economical centred development. As the results of capitalist land reform, many farmers are failed in market competition and they are becoming more vulnerable than before they were distributed the land. The study will explore the farmers' struggle against the global hegemony and the conflict to breakthrough their existing condition.

Yumi SAKATA (sakata.yumi@gmail.com)

Ph.D candidate at the Department of Human Sciences of the Osaka University.

MA of Human Sciences, from the Department of Human Sciences of the Osaka University.

*Major works

2008, The Land and the Human Security in Botswana, submitted for the MA theses for the Osaka University.

2010, 'The Land Policy and the Democracy in Botswana: From the Land Policy for the Tswana', Swahili and African Studies, no.21, pp. 112-127.

*The area of interests

Land Issues in Southern African countries, Human Security, Development Economics.

Robert Lensink

(Faculty of Economics and Business, University of Groningen)

Does Conflict Affect Preferences: Results from Field Experiments in Burundi

We use experimental data from 35 randomly selected communities in Burundi to examine the impact of exposure to conflict on social-, risk- and time preferences. These types of preferences are important as they determine people's propensity to invest and their ability to overcome social dilemmas, so that changes therein foster or hinder economic growth. We find that conflict affects preferences. Individuals that have been exposed to greater levels of violence display more altruistic behavior towards their neighbors, are more risk seeking, and have higher discount rates. Adverse, but temporary, shocks can thus alter savings and investments decisions, and potentially have long-run consequences.

Robert Lensink is Professor of Finance and Financial Markets at the

Faculty of economics and business, University of Groningen and Professor of Development EConomics, Development Economics Group, Wageningen University, the Netherlands. He obtained his PhD at teh University of Groningen.

His main research interest are Finance and Development, Micro Finance, Finance, Institutions and Growth.

On these subjects, he published more than 70 articles in International Academic Journals and 4 books. Three recent publications are: The Empirics of Microfinance: What do we Know?, Economic Journal, 117, 517, (2007), F1-F11 (+N. Hermes);

Bank Efficiency and Foreign Ownership: Do good Institutions Matter?, Journal of Banking and Finance, 32 (5) (2008), 834-844 (+ A. Meesters and I. Naaborg).

INTERNATIONAL DIVERSIFICATION AND MICROFINANCE, Journal of International Money and Finance, (+ R. Galema and L. Spierdijk), forthcoming

Pat Gibbons

(NOHA, University College Dublin, Ireland)

Reconcilliation Process in Northern Ireland in Comparative Perspective

Pat Gibbons (University College Dublin)

Master in Agricultural Sciences - PhD in 2004

Present Research Interests

Indigenous local reconciliation processes

Partners in Learning: approach to linking communities North and South River Water Conflicts Recent Publications:

- Gibbons, P (2010) Humanitarian Transformation: Concepts, Causes and Challenges, in Humanitarian Action Facing the News Challenges, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag ISBN 978-3-8305-1807-5
- De Milliano, C and P Gibbons (2010) Child Participation a concept to consider; lessons from Equador, in Rebuilding Sustainable Communities for Children and their Families; Global Survey, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, ISBN 9781443817769
- Gibbons, P & Piquard, B (2006) Humanitarianism: Meaning, Actors and Scope in Gibbons & B. Piquard (Eds) Working in Conflict- Working on Conflict: Humanitarianism dilemmas and challenges (pp. 11-24) Bilbao: University of Deusto

Related functions:

Director of Humanitarian Action Programme, UCD

Herman Voogsgeerd (Faculty of Arts/Law, University of Groningen)

The Impact of the International Labour Organization (ILO)and its Global Standards as a Means to Solve Local Labour Conflicts in Japan and the Netherlands

The International Labour Organization (ILO) is one of the oldest international organizations and has been created already in 1919. Since 1998 the ILO has given priority to standards concerning freedom of association, collective bargaining, forced labour, child labour, equal treatment and equal pay between men and women. In this contribution I will focus on the first two topics. The Organization has an elaborate system of surveillance whereby committees study reports submitted to them by the member-states. Many countries have changed their labour and other laws after communications from the surveillance committees. I study this process in two selected countries, Japan and the Netherlands and will compare the experience in both countries. What has been the role of the actors concerned, the ILO committees, the governments and the trade unions?

For Japan, the focus will lie on the Japanese trade union confederation. With the help of an external actor, the supervisory committees of the ILO, the Japanese unions and the confederation in particular, try to defend 'normal' international labour norms even in the very heart of the government: the public service. The ILO cases on Japan show us interesting material concerning fire fighter volunteers, teachers and railway personnel. I will show that the Japanese government has adapted its original position somewhat after pressure from the unions with help of the ILO supervisory procedures.

For the Netherlands, the trade unions also regularly refer to the ILO standards in order to promote their own strategies. Recognition of the right to strike in the public service is not a large issue any more. The focus here lies on the process of extension of collective labour agreements to a whole sector. In order to hinder the work of so-called yellow unions, unions that consist only of workers of the respective company and are often helped by the employer, the government changed the rules on the general extension of collective agreements. Also the topic of wage-setting and the role of the government in this respect has been sensitive in the past.

Dr. Herman H. Voogsgeerd (PhD European law) is attached to the department of International Relations and International Organization (section IPE) of the Faculty of Arts and the department of Business and Labour Law of the Faculty of Law both at the University of Groningen. His research interests are: the role of the European Court of Justice in the European integration process and the role of non-state actors such as trade unions and multinational corporations in global governance and regulation.

Three selected publications:

- -"Works Councils and Trade Unions, complement or supplement? Recent experiences in dual channel countries: the Netherlands and France", in: Prof. dr. Thomas Blanke, dr. Edgar Rose, dr. Herman Voogsgeerd and prof.dr Wijnand Zondag (eds.), Recasting Worker Involvement? Recent trends in information, consultation and co-determination of worker representatives in a Europeanized Arena, Kluwer, Deventer, 2009
 - Corporate governance codes. Markt- of rechtsarrangement?, Kluwer, Deventer, 2006
- "Building the Common Market but preventing chaos: the continuing relevance of the principle of territoriality in the field of taxation and the limits of a Europe made by judges", in: Michael Burgess and Hans Vollaard (eds.), *State Territoriality and European Integration*, Routledge, 2006.

Mayu HAYAKAWA (Global Collaboration Centre, Osaka University)

Confronting the Rampancy:

Consideration on the Several Perspectives of Economy under the Hyperinflational Situation in Zimbabwe 2007-2009

This paper aims to consider the several perspectives of economy gleaned from the experiences of those who had to live and cope with a hyperinflational environment in Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe.

Since 2000, Zimbabwe has been caught in serious political and economic crisis. Most notably from 2007 until the beginning of 2009, the life in Harare was characterized by suffering from the world-record hyperinflation and unstable supply of basic commodities as well as cash. Most people faced various difficulties to acquire goods and services, access sufficient cash from banks and even secure a non-risky institution to store their money. As a result, most basic commodities were hoarded from neighboring countries and traded on the black market. Due to the serious cash shortages the people had to stand in long queues in front of automated teller machines (ATM) from early in the morning or alternatively run some small informal businesses so as to acquire cash quickly. Foreign currencies (mainly US dollar and South African Rand) increasingly got into circulation in everyday business transactions regardless of their legality.

Such circumstances extremely increased uncertainties in their everyday lives. People could no longer live with conventional practice. Almost everything became informal and unstable. Basic commodities, money and economic transactions thus took on different meaning and interpretation from the familiar ones. For instance, people had to evaluate or negotiate on a case-by-case basis the appropriateness of the prices, the exchange rate, and the exchange procedure.

In this paper, I will explore Zimbabweans' several reactions to the unfamiliar economic situations. Focusing on their perspectives of economy and the several methods for the economic activities, I will examine the outcomes of the conflicts that the people experienced as 'a crisis of the meanings' as mentioned by James Ferguson.

Mayu HAYAKAWA

Global Collaboration Center, Osaka University Specially Appointed Researcher

Ph. D Candidate of Cultural Anthropology

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Publications:

2008 "Exchanges in Current Zimbabwe: Rationalization of Economic Activities alongside the Zimbabwean dollar", Paper presented at Anthropology Southern Africa Annual Conference, University of the Western Cape, Bellville.

2005 "When the Music Is Said to Be Political: Analysis of Studies on Chimurenga Music." Annuals of Human Sciences Vol.26. pp.219-235.

Yumiko Tokita-Tanabe (Global Collaboration Center, Osaka University) Gender and Conflict: Local and Global Connectivity among Women in Orissa, India

This paper addresses the issue of gender and conflict resolution by focusing on particular ethnographic examples from Orissa, India.

Previous works on gender and conflict resolution have tended to consider the question of whether or not women are peace makers or breakers. This paper attempts to move away from such simplified visions of women's role in conflict resolution, and looks at the actual processes by which women create local and global connections through which conflicts are both created and resolved. Examples will be presented from my fieldwork in Orissa, eastern India from 1991 to the present day.

Yumiko Tokita-Tanabe is a Specially Appointed Assistant Professor at Global Collaboration Center, Osaka University. She received her Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology from the University of Tokyo in 2000. Her major works include Gender and Modernity: Perspectives from Asia and the Pacific (co-edited with Y. Hayami & A. Tanabe), Kyoto University Press and Trans Pacific Press 2003.

Her monograph in Japanese, Living in the Postcolonial: Women's Agency in Contemporary India is in press.

Her current interests are gender in South Asia, Indian diaspora in Japan and environmental issues in India.

Tomoko Sakai (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

Post-Conflict Normalisation and Globalisation:

Examining Racism in Northern Ireland

This paper examines racism-related violence in today's Northern Ireland in relation to the globalisation into which the society is entering as a part of the "post-conflict normalisation" process. The Belfast Agreement in 1998 marked the history of 30 years of violent conflict in Northern Ireland as the most significant development of the peace process since the late 1980s. As the post-conflict reconciliation process proceeds, however, racism and ethnocentrism have begun to attract public and academic attention as a previously unnoticed social problem.

Northern Ireland had often been described as though constituted by only "two communities" – British Protestant and Irish Catholic. Now, however, the arrival of the "peace" age has led to a growing number of immigrant workers from across the world. As ethnic-minority communities grow in size, the serious hatred and violence that they face are also becoming more visible and more widely reported. Last year, for example, more than 100 people of Romanian origin were forced to flee their homes after serious attacks by people from the surrounding areas.

Such attacks are often attributed to Northern Ireland's "culture of intolerance", which is often seen as having prolonged the violent conflict since the 1960s. To view the entire problem as an unavoidable consequence of the essential folk-mentality of the Northern Irish people, however, seems to be problematic in a number of ways. By locating the problem within the wider social and economic context of Northern Ireland and comparing the situation with those of some other post-conflict societies, this paper attempts to illustrate one of the considerable difficulties that a society faces in the aftermath of a long period of political violence.

Tomoko Sakai is Specially Appointed Assistant Professor in the Osaka University Global COE Program "A Research Base for Conflict Studies in the Humanities". She obtained her PhD from the University of Bristol in 2010. Her research explores collective memory of violence and autobiographic practices in transitional societies.

Recent papers include: 'Identity and Afterwardness: Narratives of Social and Personal Changes in Northern Ireland' (XVI International Oral History Conference Proceedings, 2010); 'Trans-Generational Memory: Narratives of World Wars in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland' (Sociological Research Online, 14(5), 2009).

Panel 4:

'Gender Matters: The politics of Nationalized War Memory'

Chair: Beverley Yamamoto

Wen-Jiuan, Jang (Graduate School of Letters, Osaka University)

'The Life History of People in Imperial Japan: A Study of the Asia-Pacific War within "Naichijin" Who Lived in Colonial Taiwan'

Janny de Jong (Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen)

'Heating Up or Cooling Down? The Past as a Political Tool and Its Effects in Contemporary Sino-Japanese Relations'

Fukuko Tamashiro (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

'Remembering the Battle of Okinawa, Forgetting the Comfort Women'

Yayo Okano (Graduate School of Global Studies, Doshisha University)

'Archival Records vs. Memory: An Examination of the Controversy over Reconciliation in the Case of `the Comfort Women''

Kazue Muta (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

'Sentimentalization and Personalization of War: Gender and the De-politicization of War Memories in Japan'

Beverley Yamamoto (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

'Militarized Masculinity as National Identity'

Wen-Jiuan, Jang (Graduate School of Letters, Osaka University)

The Life History of People in Imperial Japan:

A Study of the Asia-Pacific War within "Naichijin" who lived in Colonial Taiwan

Taiwan was one part of Imperial Japan from 1895-1945. More than four hundred thousand "Japanese" lived in Taiwan during this colonial period. Many of them were born in Taiwan. But almost all of the studies undertaken up until now, only classify these people as "Japanese", as colonials who came from the "outside". Then at the end of the colonial period, they all "went back" to Japan. But actually, for some, it was their first time to go to Japan. On the other hand, some people chose to stay in Taiwan because Taiwan was "home" for them. Furthermore, some people had no choice but to stay in Taiwan or "go to" Taiwan from "Manchuria" or other areas which had been also been a part of Imperial Japan.

In this study, therefore, we do not focus on the national experience of Imperial Japan but on the experiences of individuals who lived in colonial Taiwan. In particular, we challenge the conventional notion of these people being "Japanese" first due to the many Japanese who were born in Taiwan during colonial period and called themselves "Taiwanese". During the Imperial Japan period, "Japanese" who lived "outside" the main islands of Japan-including Okinawa- were been called "Naichijin" in the official documents. Should these "Naichijin" who lived or who were born in "Gaichi", "outside" the center of Imperial Japan's power in fact be defined as "Japanese"? Were they the same as the "Japanese" who lived on the main islands of Japan? Furthermore, who were the "Japanese"?

In order to discuss the implication of Imperial Japan upon to "Japanese", this study uses the word "Naichijin" instead of "Japanese". Specifically, we focus on the Asia-Pacific War times due to the fact that people living in Imperial Japan were all forcibly named "Japanese" during the Asia-Pacific War times and these people who lived in the "Gaichi" were all be expected to be model "Japanese". It made a major impact on their lives. We think it is important to discuss Imperial Japan from their individual experiences. How they lived through the Asia-Pacific War in colonial Taiwan? How they came to be "Japanese" during the Asia-Pacific War period?

In order to analyze these subjects, this study uses individual in-depth interviews as the main and most important research method. We will examine these subjects through these interviews with the "Naichijin" who lived in Taiwan during the colonial period, including some people who lived in Taiwan after the Asia-Pacific War. And then, we will try to analyze the extensive literature of official documents; newspapers; community papers; autobiographies; memoirs, etc.

We think that by examining the "Naichijin's" individual experiences in "Gaichi", we can not only redeem the lack of the "Naichijin's" life history studies, but also can contribute a new idea to the field of Asia-Pacific War studies and the study of imperialism and colonialism in Imperial Japan.

Wen-Jiuan, Jang

Osaka University, Graduate School of Letters,

Japanese Studies, Doctoral Program,

linda changtw@hotmail.com

2008, Space of Birth: The Case of Sakariba "Seimonchou" in Taipei City during the Colonial Period. Nihongakuho27, pp.17-42

2008, Dialogue with A-bomb Drawings by Survivors, Steps toward: An Analysis of 'Encountering A-bomb Drawings by Survivors, pp.37-54

Janny de Jong (Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen) Heating Up or Cooling Down?

The Past as a Political Tool and its Effects in Contemporar Sino-Japanese Relations

The legacy of the Second World War in Europe was instructive in forging new forms of European cooperation and integration, acknowledging the need for reconciliation. However, the legacy of Japanese expansion in Asia continues to cloud Asian affairs, Sino-Japanese bilateral relations in particular. It is remarkable that Chinese anti-Japanese nationalism even grew stronger in the 21st century; as for instance the demonstrations in various Chinese cities in 2005 attest. Accusations about playing the history card on the one hand, insensitiveness and lack of understanding on the other are hardly instructive to create mutual trust. What is the reason for the frequent emotional public outbursts? Do they present a real danger to mutual cooperation and security? Why does history occupy such an important position in contemporary Sino-Japanese relations?

Dr. Janny de Jong is Director of Studies of the Erasmus Mundus Master of Excellence Euroculture, University of Groningen. She is specialised in Modern History. In 1989 she published *Van batig slot naar ereschuld. De discussie over de financiële verhouding tussen Nederland en Indië en de hervorming van de Nederlandse koloniale politiek 1860-1900* ((The debate on the financial relationship between the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies and the reform of Dutch colonial policy, 1860-1900) PhD University of Groningen, The Hague 1989).

In October-November 2008 she was visiting professor of the Graduate School of Letters – University of Osaka

Her research interests focus on Dutch and Japanese political culture, European colonialism and imperialism and the influence of public opinion and media on politics. Some of her publications in English are: 'A go-ahead fellow in Dutch politics? I.D. Fransen van de Putte, the press and Dutch political culture round 1870' in: Huub Wijfjes en Gerrit Voerman, eds., *Mediatization of politics in history*. Groningen studies in cultural change, 35 (Uitgeverij Peeters, Leuven, Paris, Dudley 2009) 33-50; 'Negotiations in Bismarckian style: the debate on the Aceh war and its legitimacy, 1873-1874', *Itinerario*, 29, nr. 2 (2005) 38-52; 'The principles of steam': political transfer and transformation in Japan, 1868-89', in: *European Review of History - Revue européenne d'Histoire*, 12 (2005) 269-290.

Fukuko Tamashiro (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

Remembering the Battle of Okinawa, Forgetting the Comfort Women

The Battle of Okinawa is an event of great importance to the people of Okinawa and one that they want

to talk about. With the publication of local history books since the 1970s that contain personal testimony,

greater attention has focused on local civilians who were victims. Through this remembering, Okinawa

has resisted strongly Japanese mainland, nationalistic versions of the Battle that attempt to silence local

stories by absorbing them within a dominant discourse of patriotic martyrdom. This strong resistance sits

alongside powerful antimilitary and antiwar sentiments caused by the experience of living next to

American military bases on the island that impact directly on the daily lives of Okinawans.

Despite these defiant acts of remembering, Okinawans have been criticized for the self-centered focus

of their stories. Firstly, these accounts ignore the diversity of people's experiences by emphasizing only

the victims' side and overlooking Okinawans who collaborated with the Japanese as persecutors of the

war. Second, non-Okinawans have been excluded as a category of victims. In this context, critical

commentators have pointed out that the experiences of the former 'comfort women' (women recruited or

abducted to service the sexual 'needs' of the Japanese military) have largely been ignored in war stories

of Okinawa society. When they are mentioned, the coverage is limited.

This paper analyzes those representations of the comfort women that have circulated in Okinawan

society over the past thirty or so years. It will consider how the comfort women have been represented in

history books and ask whether this has changed significantly or not. Where comfort women do appear in

history books, we will consider the ethnic background of the women and their overall visual treatment. To

what extent is an indigenous nationalist discourse apparent? Who is represented and who is excluded?

What is the social or historical context here? What do we learn from this exercise about the limits of these

memory narratives, bound as they are by a local version of patriarchal and Okinawa's colonial history?

Fukuko Tamashiro

Affiliation: Graduate School of Human Sciences Osaka University

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Yayo Okano (Graduate School of Global Studies, Doshisha University)

Archival Records vs. Memory:

An Examination of the Controversy over Reconciliation in the Case of the 'Comfort Women'

This presentation examines the controversy over reconciliation by contrasting the political impact of archival records with that of personal memories of the former "comfort women."

In 1995, the Japanese government established the Asian Women's Fund (AWF) as a private organization in order to take "moral" responsibility responsibility for the "comfort women" system. This is not the same as accepting political or legal responsibility. While activists and feminist scholars insist that it is essential for the government to take legal responsibility, AWF's stance is that the Japanese Government has made sufficient effort to express sincere remorse and apologies. At the same time it has accepted uncritically the government's position that official reparations had already been dealt with by the San Francisco Peace Treaty. This message has been disseminated through the AWF's costly, well-organized, bi-lingual digital museum launched in 2007 from its website.

In 2005, the Women's Active Museum on War and Peace (WAM) was opened in Tokyo. The driving force was the dedication of the late Yayori Matsui, one of the chair persons who organized the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery held in 2000.

While contrasting the on-line exhibitions of AWF with that of WAM, this paper explores approaches to 'reconciliation' seen in the 'comfort women' issue by examining the arguments of the representative activists of each organization. On the one hand, Yasuaki Onuma, who is one of the most influential scholars of international law in Japan and former director of the AWF, published a book where he strongly criticized feminist scholars, activists and the NGOs for their perceived hindrance to the reconciliation process. On the other hand, the late Yayori Matsui and Rumiko Nishino prioritized legal responsibility arguing that its achievement was necessary in order to realize true reconciliation.

The presentation will show that the exhibition of the respective organizations reflect contrary approaches to reconciliation, while also pointing out the ironic impact of AWF's digital museum for the reconciliation process.

Yayo Okano

Professor, Graduate School of Global Studies, Doshisha University PhD(Waseda University)

Publications:

Citizenship as Politics, enlarged ed. (Tokyo, Hakutaku-sha, 2009). Law as Politics (Tokyo, Seido-sha, 2002).

Research interests:

Revisiting the ethics of care as a theory of political theory.

Kazue Muta (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

Sentimentalization and Personalization of War:

Gender and the De-politicization of War Memories in Japan

Wars can be memorized through various media; museums are influential media to formulate and popularize war memories. War and peace memorial museums in Japan, whether public or private, large-scale or small, usually focus on the suffering and grievances of life on the home front during the Asia Pacific War, and particularly emphasize the sacrifice and loss of women as mothers who by sending their son's off to war dedicated them to the nation. Although such exhibitions intend to further a message of peace, they tend to personalize and sentimentalize war, thereby de-politicize war. This presentation analyzes women's symbolic role in war memorialization in contemporary Japan.

The museums to be examined are Showakan Museum and Yushukan Museum in Tokyo, and Chiran Peace Museum in Kagoshima, which specializes in exhibiting memorabilia linked to suicidal air raiders or *kamekaze*. With slight differences in emphasis on nationalism and patriotism, the primary theme of the museums exhibitions is to glorify the sacrifices of soldiers and mothers. Soldiers' letters and memorabilia left for mothers and representations of mothers' eternal love for their sons are highlights in the exhibitions. Strangely enough, however, nothing is mentioned about why and who caused their sacrifice. Visitors are encouraged to appreciate peace by sympathizing with mothers and soldiers, without thinking critically about wars.

Women can play a crucial role to make peace; but we have to recognize that they can also be great mobilizers and supporters for war, and that representation of women can be utilized to polish over the realities of a war. In this paper I will argue for a more sophisticated way of thinking about war and gender that focuses on alternatives to representations that lock us inside a traditional, and dangerous, narrative of war and peace.

Muta Kazue is Professor of Sociology and Gender Studies at Osaka University. She gained her PhD from Osaka University. She is the author of a number of books, including Jenderkazokuwo koete (Gendered family in Japan: From the past to future, Shin'yo-sha, 2006), and Jissensuru feminizumu (Feminist Practice, Iwanami, 2001). Her English publication includes "The New Woman in Japan: Radicalism and Ambivalence toward Love and Sex", in Heilmann (ed.), New Woman Hybridities: Femininity, Feminism, and International Consumer Culture, 1880-1930 (Routledge, 2004) and "The Making of Sekuhara: Sexual Harassment in Japanese Culture, in Jackson (ed.) East Asian Sexualities (Routledge, 2008).

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Beverley Yamamoto (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University) Militarized Masculinity as National Identity

Every year thousands of Australians make the long trip to Gallipoli in Turkey to attend the Anzac Day Dawn Service on April 25th. In recent years, it is not the old, but the young who have been setting out in ever larger numbers on this pilgrimage to the battle ground where so many of their forefathers lost their lives in 1915. For many young Australian, male and female, it is a rite of passage. For Australia, the Anzac story has become the nation's creation story.

While the Gallipoli Landing was a military disaster that saw a terrible loss of life on all sides, the Anzac myth that has grown out of it is 'the most poignant source of Australian imaginings of nation-hood' (AWM, WWI Exhibition Hall). The values that the Anzac soldiers are said to have displayed in Gallipoli courage, mettle, defiant larrikinism, good humour, endurance, mateship and love of country in the face of dreadful odds - are heralded as the 'spirit of Australia'. On the basis of the number of Australians who attend Anzac ceremonies at home and abroad, it would appear that many identity with this militaristic and masculinized construction of national identity.

This paper explores from a gender perspective the meanings layered on to the Anzac story, and asks how selective remembering of a failed military campaign, executed by men whose individual stories are largely forgotten, could emerge as powerful source of Australian imaginings of nation-hood. It considers why this particularly male creation story appears to resonate even more with Australians today, particularly the young, than in the past. Drawing on the WWI and Anzac exhibitions at the Australian War Memorial, insightful discussions with its staff and a reading of the literature on the subject, I will try to make sense of the Anzac myth in the context or our broader study of gender and war memorialization and commemoration.

Beverley Yamamoto

Associate Professor, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University

PhD University of Sheffield

Publications: 'A Window on Trends and Shifting Interpretations of Youth Sexual Behaviour: The Japan Association of Sex Education's '*Wakamono no Sei' Hakusho* Reports from 1975 to 2007' Social Science Japan Journal, 2009) 12(2): 277-284. Translation of and Introduction to Nationalism and Gender by *Ueno Chizuko*, Trans Pacific Press,

Research Interests: gender, sexuality and citizenship issues, especially in the Japanese context.

Panel 5:

'Globalization, Nation-State and Human-Security'

Chair: Yumiko Tokita-Tanabe (GLOCOL, Osaka University)

Junko Otani (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

'Environmental Health in the Time of Economic Growth in China'

Andrej Zwitter (Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen)

'Globalization of Human Rights and Human Security in International Intervention'

Atsufumi Kato (Nanzan University)

'Vietnam, the Ambiguous and the Self-Governance: Failure and Success of the Poverty Reduction Program in a Vietnamese Village'

Kay Warren (Anthropology/Pembroke Center, Brown University)

'Writing the Trafficker: From International Norms to the Prosecution of Transnational Human Traffickers in Particular Times and Places'

Osamu Nakagawa (GLOCOL, Osaka University)

'Conflict and Collaboration among French Farmers under Globalization: A Case from Provence Region'

Hiroyuki Kubota (Hyogo Earthquake Memorial 21st Century Research Institute)

'Three Dimensions of Housing Problems and Housing Movements: Aftermath Restoration, Homelessness and Alternative Lifestyles'

Rie Takamatsu (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University)

'Conflict in Care Work and Emotional Labor in Japan'

Junko Otani (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University) Environmental Health in the Time of Economic Growth in China

In the globalizing world, China enjoys the rapid economic growth to the extent that no other country experienced in the history and receives attentions of international society. However, China faces environment-related health risks to the extent that they have not experienced before in the history and it is also increasingly receiving attentions. Government and people's efforts to reduce poverty have been successful overall yet the conflict rises when pursuing economic growth and, at the same time, considering to prevent environment-triggered health deterioration and to promote sustainable development. Economic growth may lead to the well-being of people, yet, without good health, people cannot enjoy the opportunities for employment, education, and personal fulfillment that economic growth may bring.

In China, the economic transition lifted hundred-millions of people out of poverty. In the shadow, environmental health problems would sink people down to poverty. Priority is given to economic opportunity whereas inadequate regulation and practice of hazardous industries and rapid urbanization, generating health risks due to the exposure to the toxic wastes and products through air, water, and food.

Conflict of interest lies when the tension rises between maintaining high rates of economic growth and curbing pollution. For example, the air pollution in urban areas worsens due to the increase of automobile on roads. Yet the government encouraged the individuals to purchase their own private car, keeping the automobile tax low, to maintain the GDP growth, rather than raising taxes or investing in public transportation, to promote better urban environment. Conflict of interest also appears in disaster response, food industry and so on, when protecting people's health and well-being but when trying to control domestic political order and the state image in the international society.

This paper discusses the environment and health, which have generally been addressed separately in research and policy in local and international context. Tackling China's environment health issues could be approached from health sector, but health sector alone cannot solve the issues. Environment sector within health sector is under-resourced and no incentive to do the extra work. Furthermore, tackling the issues requires involvement of agencies outside the health sector, but the inter-departmental coordination is lacking in the policy system, resulting inefficiency and gaps in the responsibility.

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Books:

"Older People in Natural Disasters", Kyoto University Press & Trans Pacific Press: Australia, 2010. (Japanese edition: Kyushu University Press. Chinese edition: SMC Publishing, Inc. Taiwan.)

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Andrej Zwitter (Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen) Globalization of Human Rights and Human Security in International Intervention

Human rights are more and more globalizing and being considered an universal normative system. At the same time peace keepers and humanitarian actors, whose mandate are more than ever to ensure human rights implementation, realize that these norms are less universal in the field of operation than it might appear on a international policy level. Human security is a bridging concept relating to basic needs, human rights and development. It emerged with the age of globalization in order to respond to new threats and challenges in a multidisciplinary manner. Now that a so called clash of civilizations can be experienced in international interventions it is time to rethink the interrelation of local culture, human rights and globalization.

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KATO, Atsufumi (Nanzan University)

Vietnam, the Ambiguous and the Self-Governance:

Failure and Success of the Poverty Reduction Program in a Vietnamese Village

Since the collapse of the Cold War, Asian socialist states have introduced free-market principles in industrial areas, and have simultaneously reinforced community governance in rural areas.

To survey this mosaic geography of governance, we should pay more attention to small frictions in the hinterland, through which market and state values subtly penetrate into villagers' morality.

Through an analysis of the problems encountered in the selection of candidates for the poverty reduction program in a Vietnamese village, this paper will provide a case study of the emergence of self-governance as an effect of the program's "failure."

Although the program has reduced the gap between the urban rich and the rural poor, it has also been said that the program has failed to reach its intended targets. In fact, the villagers often exploit this program for informal subsidizations. For example, a few candidates are rotated among households that need free health insurance in order to admit a family member to a hospital.

The program's "failure" has strengthened self-governance in two ways. First, the villagers are induced to subcontract for the government in the selection of candidates in exchange for connivance with regard to their activities. Second, the rotation of candidates places pressure on the system and leads to the allocation of the support to subsistence households. Here, market and state values have penetrated the villagers by letting them decide, for example, whether they should leave out a disabled person from the list because his/her family has not adhered to the national family planning program.

It is concluded that the international organizations' ambiguity in the definition of the term "self-governance," the government's flexibility in the implementation of the program, and the impressionability of villagers, which altogether have allowed the program's "failure," are factors that have strengthened self-governance in the village.

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Kay Warren (Anthropology/Pembroke Center, Brown University)

Writing the Trafficker: From International Norms to the Prosecution of Transnational Human Traffickers in Particular Times and Places

What happens when international legal norms are appropriated in particular times and places and used under substantial external pressure to inform court cases? Are international legal norms best understood as an imposition from the global north onto the legal systems of the global south, or is something more complicated happening when national court systems prosecute illicit trade across local contexts from supply to demand countries? This research traces the process of "writing the trafficker" in international law through the 2000 Palermo Accords negotiated in Vienna at the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and through the U.S. global monitoring system which annually ranks countries by evaluating their compliance with international norms. It then considers the dynamics of court proceedings designed to prosecute members of criminal networks operating in Latin America and across the Pacific Rim. The analysis illustrates the important ways that court cases diverge from the representation of the human trafficker in international norms. It also raises important questions about the different ways that victims have been represented in international norms and court cases. At issue is why one set of predator/victim representations has been so powerful in anti-trafficking norms and activist NGOs and a radically different one in the criminal justice system. Also at issue is how the U.S. monitoring system has begun to recognize these issues without fully considering their implications for the more effective interdiction of traffickers.

Kay B. Warren is the Tillinghast Professor in International Studies and Professor of Anthropology at Brown University. She served on the senior faculties of Princeton and Harvard before coming to Brown in 2003. Warren is the new Director of Brown's Pembroke Center which supports advanced research across the humanities and social sciences on transnationalism, critical theory, difference, and gender. She also directed the Politics, Culture, and Identity Program at the Watson Institute for International Studies, where she had a joint appointment with Anthropology, from 2003-2009.

Warren's most recent research on international norms, human trafficking, and foreign aid has focused on Colombia, East Asia, and Washington. Her earlier projects focused on Guatemala and Peru. Warren's wider research agenda has involved multi-sited ethnographic studies of counterinsurgency wars, community responses to violence and peace processes, indigenous intellectuals, the anthropology of multi-cultural democracies, and gender and politics. Warren is currently on leave to finish her new book Legal Norms, Criminal Prosecutions, and Prevention in Global Perspective, which has involved research in Colombia, Japan, and Washington D.C. Among her many published books are Japanese Aid and the Construction of Global Development, edited with David Leheny; Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala; The Violence Within: Cultural and Political Opposition in Divided Nations; and Women of the Andes: Patriarchy and Social Change in Rural Peru co-authored with Susan Bourque.

Osamu Nakagawa (Global Collaboration Center, Osaka University)

Conflict and Collaboration among French Farmers under Globalization:

A Case from Provence Region

This paper examines conflicting relationships surrounding agriculture of Provence region (France), which suffers the effects of globalization of the agricultural market. Author also considers new types of collaborative relationships that can be possible in the present circumstances.

From the beginning of the 20th century, Provence region has been renowned all over the country and abroad as a supplier of fruits and vegetables, but aggravation of international competition in fruit and vegetable market in France put an end to this prosperity, pushing the farmers into very difficult situation that often drove them to abandon their agricultural activities altogether. In these new conditions, relationships between the actors in the sector become conflicting. Three aspects of conflicting relationships are explored in this paper: (1) Relationship between farmers and merchants. Traditionally, farmers in this region themselves marketed their produce in producer's market to shippers (expéditeurs) and wholesalers, who came there to purchase it. But with the development of international distribution system, shippers (expéditeurs) started to buy their merchandise not through producer's market, but via direct contact with farmers. For farmers, this meant that they could not negotiate the prices and that shippers now could impose low prices on them. Farmers describe this situation as 'slavery (esclavage)'. (2) Relationship between farmers. Farmers in the region consider themselves to be 'individualistes' and define their relationships to each other as more antagonistic than amicable. In spite of general decline of agriculture, there were no successful cooperatives in this sector. Survivors attribute the failure of others to the lack of diligence, while the latter wait for the failure of survivors. (3) Relationship between farmers and agricultural workers. Fruit and vegetable production in this region always resorted to immigrant and seasonal workers. With aggravation of agricultural market, working conditions of such workers became harder and many are treated in an illegal way. Labor unions classify the situation as 'exploitation'. Recently, strikes broke out in large-scale farms because of degraded working conditions.

How do people react to this animosity and how do they create collaborative relationships? This paper looks at (1) recent development of AMAP (association pour le maintien d'une agriculture paysanne), a form of Community Supported Agriculture, and (2) more informal collaborative relationships, to examine their possibilities as well as their limitations.

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KUBOTA Hiroyuki (Hyogo Earthquake Memorial 21st Century Research Institute)

Three Dimensions of Housing Problems and Housing Movements: Aftermath Restoration, Homelessness and Alternative Lifestyles

In spite of the United Nation's HABITAT II agreement in 1992, which guarantees safe and affordable houses as basic human rights for all, not a small population in the world is now sleeping in a park, on a street and in front of shatters of a mall. In Japan as well, an increasing number of young people without support from the government cannot afford even the cheapest condominium and have no choice but staying at twenty-four-hour-open internet cafés over nights, because of prolonging recession and unsuccessful socio-economical reformation from 1990's. They are sometimes called "Internet café refugees," indicating the corruption of Japanese "familialistic" (Esping-Andersen, 1999) welfare policies.

Housing problems, however, cannot be simply attributed to the government failure or the brutal capitalism, but complexly composed of multidimensional factors. For example, the housing poverty can be caused not only by house rent surge but also by overprotected tenant rights, resulting that the homeless bizarrely coexist with vacant houses in urban areas. In this sense, squatting (Kraken) in Europe can be interpreted as the movement forcefully bridging this economical and political gap. However, the collective lifestyle within and around squatting indicates its countercultural possibility against the modern isolated individual-family lifestyles.

This paper, then, discusses three different-but-closely-interrelated dimensions of housing problems and housing movements, a) by referring literature studies concerning aftermath restoration from the WWII and the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in Japan, b) by using data concerning conflicts in newly collective and shared lifestyles in Tokyo and Amsterdam (1), and c) by using the framework concerning squatting movement in New York and Amsterdam (Pruijt, 2003). In doing so, this paper illustrates the housing movements as conflicts between 1) the economical dimension demanding house itself 2) the political dimension protecting the housing environment, and 3) the cultural dimension questioning the existing housing cultures.

[Notes] (1) Supported by Osaka University Global COE Postgraduate research subsidies in 2007 [References]

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KUBOTA, Hiroyuki, 2009, "Tanin to Kurasu Wakamonotachi"(Japanese Youth in Shared Household),Shueisha.

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Rie Takamatsu (Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University) Conflict in Care Work and Emotional Labor in Japan

In the aging and aged societies, the increasing importance of analyzing care work has been globally recognized both as a political and an academic issue. Statistically, more than 3,000,000 people in Japan are working in the care sector as nurses, nannies and helpers for older people. Facing a serious shortage of domestic care workers, even the Japanese government finally started accepting immigrant care workers from the Philippines and Indonesia, based on the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) and Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA) in 2000s.

According to recent research on care work, "emotional labor" plays an important role in aggravating and alleviating conflicts in the workplace. Emotional labor is defined as the labor "to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (Hochschild 1983: 7). Taking an example in nursing, quality of care cannot be separate from the emotions of patients cared for by nurses. At the same time, nurses also have to struggle with "feeling rules" imposed by working conditions and the social environment.

Emotional labor is, however, often understood as a psychological concept because of its relevance to emotions. This psychological focus sometimes results in comparatively less concern for sociological factors such as the relationships and the environment in the workplace. This sociological perspective is essential to understand conflicts concerning emotional labor among care workers, especially in globalizing and multicultural societies.

From this perspective, I conducted a survey and some interviews with female and male nurses working in Japanese general hospitals [1] in order to scrutinize what actually affects their emotional labor in relation with sociological factors. Specifically, I empirically extracted Emotional Labor Factors (ELF) composing of "Surface Acting Factor (SAF)" and "Stress from Deep Acting Factor (SDAF), and showed how these two factors are affected by nurses' attribution and working environment such as their economic status, hospital wards, and relationship with their head nurse and colleagues.

[1] This survey was supported by the Postgraduate Research Subsidies of Global COE program in Osaka University in 2009

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M.A.: School of Human Science Osaka University, Sociology (2009)

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 $Research\ Topics:\ sociology\ of\ labor\ and\ work,\ occupational\ sex\ segregation,\ emotional\ labor$

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Film Presentation: 'Cuba Sentimental'

followed by Q&A with director Sachiko Tanuma (Faculty of Human Sciences, Osaka University) and Leonid López (editing assistant, Cuban nationality)

Tuesday 28 September

15:45 – 17:30 (Theater, Harmony Building)

Wednesday 29 September

17:00 – 18:30 (Zernikeroom)

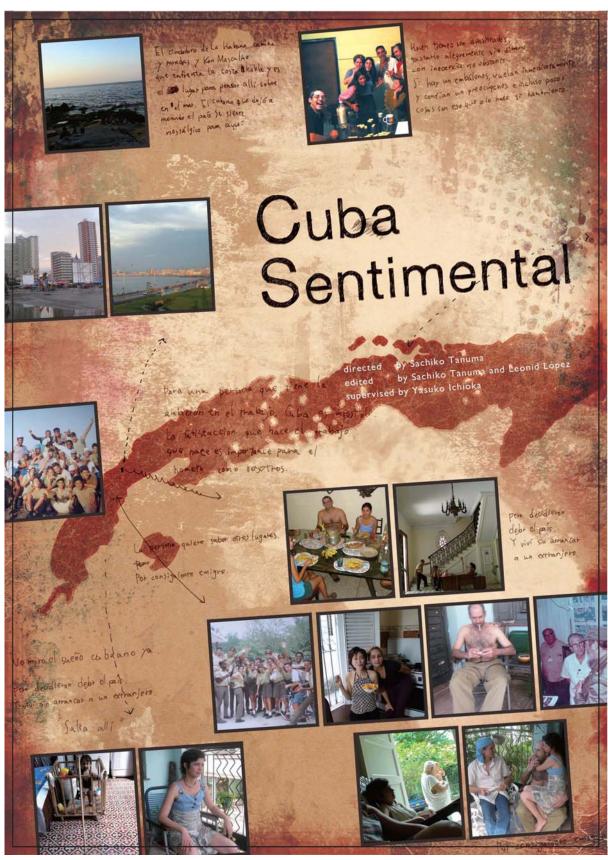
Cuba Sentimental (film 60 min.)

Sachi, then a ph.D candidate of anthropology from Japan, became friends with some Cubans. Since 2004, when she finished her longest fieldwork period, most of these people have left, to wherever they could - England, Spain, Chile, and the U.S.A. Sachi visited them and began to film their life now and showed it to other friends who are now living in a different parts of the world. It made them reminisce about their life back in Cuba and their current life in diaspora.

Those who became part of the diaspora in their late twenties to early thirties have adapted where they are living now, after living in an "experiment" as one of them put it. Nonetheless they have gone through profound shock becoming used to life in a 'capitalist' world.

The shock however, is not so much what those who live in the capitalist world might imagine, such as different economic system, but the sentimental one - of changed friendship and family, and of shifting hopes.

Sachiko Tanuma (Ph.D, Osaka University) is specially appointed researcher of Global COE Program at Osaka University. She is the co-editor of "Anthropology of Post-Utopia" (2008, in Japanese) and edited and contributed to a special edition ('Rethinking "the Visual") of the journal Conflict Studies in the Humanities (2010, vol.2). She has done extensive fieldwork in Havana, Cuba since 1999, and has written and filmed on people's sentiments toward the struggle of daily life under the revolution.



Flyer/Poster of 'Cuba Sentimental'