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The Sultan/Datu Images in Maguindanaon Folktales as a means of Cultural Identity

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Abstract

Basically, this study endeavored to ascertain the ideal attributes that could make an exemplary *Maguindanaon* ruler. It also aimed to probe what these reveal of *Maguindanaon* political organization and cultural identity through analytical criticism. The findings of this study were obtained through the use of Joseph Campbell's Heroic Archetypes as well as the socio-cultural approach in literary criticism. The folktales included were selected based on their apparent portrayal of the *Sultan/Datu* images. The vital analysis done on the selected folktales clearly showed that the *datu/sultan* (ruler) mostly portrayed were the noble ones who play superior or extreme concept of a leader who use their power in order to oppress people of lower rank in their kingdom. Nevertheless, there were also ruler character portrayed with generosity, openhandedness, humility and piety that are basically intended to serve as identities of ideality worth emulating.

Keywords: Sultan And Datu Images, Maguindanaon Political Organization, Maguindanaon Cultural Identity

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Introduction

In societies like the Maguindanaon, the ancient *Datu* or *Sultan* reaped the benefits of superior political organization and some contacts with many Islamic kingdoms that blossomed in the archipelago in the wake of Majapahit's declines. The *Sultan* and *Datu* have normally been regarded by the *Maguindanaon* as their "heroes". The situation in which the "hero" at society finds himself is as important as his personality and his actions. The leader neither behaves in a vacuum, nor is he an entirely free individual. He acts in a milieu which has been shaped by the past and the success or failure of his career must, "to some extent, depend upon his individual response to historical and cultural forces which he encounters (Ileto, 1971).

The reflection of the *Datu/Sultan's* images and attributes in some selected *Maguindanaon* folktales can be of use in building better government administration and in the reconstruction of policies basing on the earlier experiences of our ancestors. These factors may possibly play a crucial role in the quest for lasting peace in Mindanao. Since these folktales portray their lifestyles and worldviews, these will provide cultural understanding and appreciation of our individual differences (Demetrio, 1975).

The following *Maguindanaon* folktales were strictly examined through the use of socio-cultural criticism and the Joseph Campbell's study on world myths. Through extensive analyses, the researcher looked into the facets of the folktales by answering guide questions such as the portrayal of the *datu/sultan* images, their inclusion to the measures of an exemplary ruler set forth and the disclosure that these *Maguindanaon* folktales reflect in *Maguindanaon* political organization and self-identity.

I. *Abunawas, the Intelligent Farmer*

In the kingdom, there lived a farmer named *Abunawas*, who productively and patiently worked on his land to have a good harvest. Upon hearing it, the wicked *datu* plotted a story against *Abunawas* so he could confiscate and own the crops of *Abunawas*. The *datu* blatantly accused him of burning the house of his neighbor. During those times, people's submission to their ruler was so extreme that everything the *datu* said was believed without a need for any evidence. The accused man, of course, denied it knowing that the *datu* was trying to fabricate story against him, yet because it was the word of the *datu*, it was treated irrevocably true. In return, the oppressed man gathered strength to materialize his revenge through his wit.

The *datu's* attitude was clearly unjust but people had to submit blindly without questioning the words of the *datu* as they were regarded as the laws that people ought to follow whether against their will or not. This justified his lack of conscience. As a *datu*, he was understood to be belonging to the elite class, yet it was so ironical how he managed to oppress men of lower status in the society. He never seemed contented of his title and wealth entitled of a *datu*. He almost had everything yet he still wanted to deprive his people who experienced a kind of hand-to-mouth living.

The *datu* was clearly portrayed as someone wicked. However, it depicted the typical way the people ought to regard their *datu*. A ruler is a ruler, and no other *raison d'être* could rupture the truth. As a result, the poor *Abunawas* just accepted the providence.

However, he thought of a way to awaken the realization of the wicked *datu* in a more diplomatic manner. When the *datu* asked why was he tying the sacks of rice on just one side of the horse, he tended to draw similarities between himself and the horse who was unrightfully burdened of things with unbalanced weight, such as the *datu*'s accusation of him with a crime totally fabricated. He tried to do it in a more subtle way.

The image of the *datu* apparently fell on the category of archetypal fool hero. The images of *datu* portrayed to belong in this category all fell on their common denominator, and that was the matter-of-fact actions which were all centered to their fanaticism at seeking to enjoy life only for their own sake. They all dreaded the inability to survive and so they tended to play tricks and deprived their helpless and pitiful constituents, who by themselves aimed at improving their status through their own perseverance. An archetypal hero's virtues are joy and freedom. As observed in the story, the *datu* lacked this thing called conscience and was still able to enjoy while there was a man he knew to have been deprived unjustly by him. He only cared for himself which was a disgusting truth about this *datu* reflected in the story.

II. *Abunawas, The Magician*

Sultan image is portrayed in an apparent manner, though the story actually focused on the protagonist, *Abunawas*. The king was treated here as the villain of the story because he was involved in so many actions which held up the triumph of the protagonist, *Abunawas*.

"*Abunawas, the Magician*" gave an insight of a *datu* who was at first deeply well-liked for his humility and word of honor. It was manifested in the scene where he went into the grave of the dead man, *Abunawas*, crying and announcing to the people that he was forgiving him for all his previous sins. Later on, he had known that the man played trick on him, for he was allowed a small hole for minimal breathing and so he did not really pass away. The *datu* could not do anything for he has already given his forgiveness and this manifested his regard for having a word of honor. When his daughter's ring was stolen, he announced that whoever could find it would be married to her daughter, and luckily, it was *Abunawas* who had garnered the proffer. Despite his being benevolent, there was also an instance where the *datu* had shown his wickedness, and that was when he knew that it was actually *Abunawas* who had stolen the ring. He became very mad and so ordered his men to burn down the house of *Abunawas*, with his daughter not being spared although she knew nothing about it. The *datu* punished without exception. From there we could conclude that he was, in one way or another, abusive of his power.

After knowing about it, *Abunawas* plan to outwit the *datu*. He plotted different stories in order to materialize his plans against the *datu*. The *datu* was given an identity full of pride. As shown in the story, it was a very pompous deal to him when someone attempted to step on his *maratabat* (pride). When he knew that the wealth of *Abunawas* came from his selling of the ashes of his burned house, the *datu* foolishly ordered his men to burn all the houses thinking that he could also gain wealth from it. Same as when he ordered all his men to kill all the carabaos and sell them to the market. *Abunawas* had successfully managed to manipulate him all throughout the story. It was the *datu* who appeared to have gone crazy in the minds of the people. His

insecurity reigned and so he did things stupidly just to assure *Abunawas* could not get on top of him.

The *datu*'s character absolutely fell on the category of archetypal magician hero. His being an archetype was determined by his responses to the circumstances in the story. His zeal of transforming himself led him to do silly and truly irrational things. He did not want *Abunawas* to be wealthy because it was truly a threat on his *malatabat* (pride) as a ruler. Therefore, he tried some ways to transform himself to a more sophisticated one. He idiotically imitated the fabricated stories of *Abunawas*. As an archetypal magician hero, his fear was assuming evil sorcery. His task was to align himself with the cosmos. He did not allow his ordinary people to destroy the certain status he played in the society. His personal virtue was personal power. As shown in the story, the people grew mad about the foolish decisions of the *datu*, however, due to his possession of personal power, the people were afraid to protest even if what the *datu* did was clearly unjust.

III. *Baladek*

The story "*Baladek*" profoundly illustrated the social milieu of great peculiarity in one of the settings of the story. It was the unusual thing to hear in the olden days that a woman ruled the kingdom. As shown in the story, the ruler was *Putri Madanding*. Prior to her introduction in the story, the character of *Baladek* played a major role. Later in the story, he assumed the throne of this woman ruler. Hence, his character would be given more details in analysis.

The story revolved around the adventure of this man who believed that wisdom was a treasure that would make him good. Thus, he planned to leave for his quest for wisdom. On one of his journey, he met a man named *Angyas* who taught him the wisdom by which in the later part of the story brought him to the fulfillment of his quest.

His character's quest for wisdom was instigated by his aspiration for himself and his mother a life that was worth recognition in his society. As he left for his journey, he could already prophesize the good things that he could bring to his life and the good name that he could establish for his family. His being a typical son of a poor family wore out strong motivation in his mind to ameliorate their state. He persevered day and night to meet his fortune. The enthusiasm for wisdom flaming in the heart of *Baladek* became his sole impetus despite some odds. He decisively set out on a journey in pursuit of wisdom and self-discovery leaving behind his mother.

His willpower and assertive character had one day brought him to the place, a path that could soon develop his personality into a more dignified and prominent one. The story reached its climax when he arrived on a place where the ruler was an old maid.

This was a peculiar society that allowed a woman to govern. Among the other stories, this folktale had actually broken the societal dictate that only men can have the right to rule. As pictured in the story, he was beautiful but proud and remained unmarried because of her high standard. No one has ever yet fulfilled her promise which was that whoever wished to court her had to undergo an intricate task, a sort of all-or-nothing task. Whoever would survive would absolutely win her, if not, he would lose his life

in vain.

Baladek, upon hearing this, took all the risk to proclaim himself as a suitor. He must have to kill a snake as bulky as a coconut trunk. This trial did not tear his personality into pieces but rather helped him build more confidence in himself. *Baladek* faced such challenge bravely and eventually defeated the obstacle. This event turned him into a more sophisticated and eminent persona after proving his ability to those around him which made him win over the lady *sultan*. As a result, the lady *sultan*, after having him as his husband, relinquished her throne to him and *Baladek* became the sultan of the kingdom.

The road to wisdom he took attributed him a characterization that furthered his portrayal as a hero aiming to win. His character was observed from the very beginning of the story as someone who desired nothing but winning. He imposed firm discipline on himself and showed valor to run against weakness. This fact entailed Campbell's description of an archetypal warrior hero. His fervor for wisdom made him go over in search for wisdom and his fortune, due to his fear to be in line with the weak. This justified his actions like his leaving behind his beloved mother to avoid stagnation. When he was faced with his dragon or main obstacle, such as his challenge to kill a snake as large as a trunk of a coconut trunk, his courage had helped him to do it with all his might. He envisioned fighting for what matters. His archetypal warrior hero attributes strengthened his personality to reach his major goal. He triumphantly achieved valor and good reputation for himself and his mother by means of his being a strong-willed person.

IV. How the Town of *Tacurong* Got its Name

The story unambiguously presented a figure of a *datu*. In the story, the *datu* played a heavy role making the whole story revolve around his personality and experiences.

The *datu* depicted in the story was held to be very popular. He was told to be fond of women and so he had many wives. However, it was a tongue in cheek that despite his many wives, he only had one daughter who would be the major determinant of his providence and actions throughout the story. The story mainly revolved around the *datu's* treatment of her daughter. For him, the daughter was beyond any valuable thing he had and so he became exaggeratedly, excessively protective of the princess.

The *datu's* love for her daughter was tested when one day, he went on a journey, and her daughter was left behind her, yet he made it sure that everything would be under his control. His daughter was not allowed to go out her room or he would all punish the servants. His strong-willed character provided him confidence that nothing was going to happen to his daughter, and so he left for his journey. However, his daughter did otherwise neglecting what his father had ordered. When he came back, he discovered that the princess whom he dearly loved was drowned on the well. He got furious but he could not do anything because nothing could bring back the life of his daughter. This incident could have torn him into pieces; however, he tried to act sturdily.

The character of the *datu* apparently fell on the category of the archetypal lover hero. After all the travails and experiences he had, his character, in the end remained rigid

and passionate. He accepted his fate, the loss of his precious daughter without maiming or hurting others. As a lover hero, he strove to gain bliss through the series of action he performed in the story. His keenness of women was undeniably a revelation of his seeking for bliss that he could only have through taking many wives. Another was when he got only one daughter despite having many wives. This daughter eventually turned out to be the center of attraction in the *datu*'s life; in short, she had become the love of his life after her wives. He valued this love more than anything else. When he was faced with major trial or obstacle such as the loss of her daughter, he accepted it resolutely without reprimanding the servants who were with the princess while he was away. He did things to solve his problems without putting tint into his figure as a ruler. He was truly zealous and dedicated to this commitment.

V. *Subekat*, The Philosopher

The story showcased an emblem of a near-to-perfection image of a ruler. The story revolved around his encounter with a man named *Subekat*, and how this man tried to outwit him.

In the kingdom, a *datu* named *Abed* was absolutely influential. His words were treated as the law and so he had full control of his people. He attained a much idealized status in his career as a *datu*. He was sincerely loved and faithfully followed by his subjects after showing his ideal traits as a leader. He was an image of a fully authoritative *datu*. One thing that was very amiable about him was his concern for the needy. As a *datu*, he made it sure that he could attend to the needs of his kingdom's subjects. From time to time, he roamed around to check his people in their houses just to see if they have food to feed their hungry stomachs. Throughout the story, he had no other mission but the realization of his task. The needs of his people might not have been addressed to him directly, yet his character was always at their side to extend help. Another manifestation of his being an ideal ruler was his habit of leading the townspeople every day in prayers. He easily noticed when someone was absent and it so happened that one "*luhur*", he noticed the absence of someone and learned that it was *Subekat*, the Philosopher.

His character as a *datu* was put into the ideal. His people regarded him or looked up to him like someone who stood in a pedestal. This integrity the *datu* have shown seemed to be abused by *Subekat* when one day, he planned to outsmart the *datu*.

The character of the *datu* absolutely fell on the category of archetypal ruler hero. His actions were all motivated by his desire to create order. As a ruler, he did everything in order to sustain his kingdom and avoid chaos which unfortunately happened to be the greatest fear of an archetypal ruler hero like him. His devotion to his career enabled him to execute several actions such as attending to the needs of the people in his kingdom. His dedication was to the extent that his mind was very futuristic to worry about the few remaining lands for the next generation. To take full control in his kingdom was his main task, like he noticed when someone was absent every time he led his people in prayer. His character had shown total commitment to his accountability.

The story presented an ideal image of a *datu*. Among the other images in the other stories, his attitude stood out to be the emblem of a ruler worth emulating. He was the

best in such a way that he cared for the needy and he enjoined his kingdom to do good and forbid evil. As a result, he was highly regarded with reverence and became well-loved by his people.

VI. The Legend of the Narra Tree

The story presented a life of a pitiable *datu*. Though the story contained some supernatural elements, however, it nevertheless portrayed a figure of a *datu* which played a major role in the story. The story revolved around this single character.

The story apparently narrated the personality and experience of *Datu Sidungan*. He was presented as a *datu* who had borne so many burdens for what he was. Physically he had two golden horns that grew in his forehead. Because of this, the people called him “*Sidungan datu*” instead of “*Datu Sidungan*”. This attitude of the people towards the *datu* manifested that they lacked reverence to their ruler. According to them, “*Sidungan datu*” was what fitting for him more because of his two horns. As his name suggested, the word “*sidung*” in Maguindanaon language means “a horn”. The two horns affected his career as a *datu*. He tended to withdraw from people in the society. This showed that despite the people’s bullying of him, he seemed to accept it as part of himself, apart from how a *datu* was expected to respond to this circumstance.

The character of *Datu Sidungan* was portrayed as something pathetic for though he was a ruler himself, he was slighted and avoided by the people, because of his appearance. It added to his misery not to gain the attitude the respect of the people who were supposed to regard him as a ruler.

These travails and experiences had developed his character being a recluse. It became his habit to wake up early and seclude himself. He often went into his favorite praying nook, stayed there all day, fasting and praying that his horn finally his horns were removed from his head. Because of his strong faith, God has granted his major wish. After his last bow, his horns were removed from his forehead.

The character of *Datu Sidungan* clearly fell on the typical category of an archetypal creator hero. From the onset of the story, it is discernible that the *datu* strove hard for his desire to gain identity. That is the main quest of an archetypal creator hero. His seclusion of himself was the manifestation that he lacked confidence and faith in his own identity. The presence of his horns which became the object of the people’s suspicion can be said as the major cause of it. He isolated himself and performed several worship acts to ask God to remove his cause of misery. All of these were done by him to self-create or gain identity. When he was faced with his “dragon”, he claimed it as a part of himself. His being an archetype is justified with his response. When he was oppressed because of his identity, he accepted it and act in a more diplomatic manner. This proved his self-acceptance. Though he had all the means to do so, he did not create a way to fight back against those people who treated him differently. He valued fully the essence of individuality and vocation such as going alone in his favorite praying nook.

The story portrayed the image of a *datu* who possessed a characteristic that cause people’s impertinence. Nonetheless, he played a kind of a ruler who knew how to compromise and sustain patience despite everything. He was an image of humility. He

did not use his power as a *datu* to maim or hurt other people who despised him.

VII. The Poor Man and The *Datu*

This story presented a wicked image of a *datu* who played trick on one of the poor men in his kingdom. The *datu* was presented as villainous, taking advantage of the people's regard of respect.

This *datu* started the story when he sent for a poor man to have a talk with him. The *datu* feigned affection into the condition of man, telling him that he was sent for to be asked how the *datu* could help him with his needs. This instance showed the character of the *datu* acting like a saint in front of the people, but having a hidden motive which was expected to be in favor of his own personal interest. His character was presented as someone who was an opportunist on his power and title. In a society, it is very rare to find a person refusing a *datu's* request especially something that is presented to be favorable on his part. The *datu*, as presented in the story, showed great confidence that the man could not gather any might to decline whatever he asked of him. To add spice to the plot devised carefully by the *datu*, he presented it in a way it could seem favorable on the part of the poor man. As a result, the poor man was easily persuaded and did not falter to accept the offer of the *datu*.

As a ruler, the *datu* was presented in a way that it went against the supposed attitude expected of him. In reality, he sheds crocodile tears to the condition of the poor and pretended to be extending help. Instead of alleviating his people's poor condition, as he was mandated to do, as part of his responsibility, he otherwise showed to be lacking of compassion. This added to the poor man's misery.

The character of the *datu* apparently fell on the category of archetypal fool hero. The *datu's* propensity to enjoy life had reached to the extent that he became selfish, and thinking only of his own benefit. He failed to realize his responsibility as a ruler. This is what an archetypal fool hero does in myth after myth as shown by Campbell. All his actions are triggered by his fear of being not alive. When faced with an obstacle, he plays trick on it, such as his outsmarting the poor, helpless man.

VIII. The Story of *Lindongan*

The story narrated was a very short one; however, it did not fail to portray a certain image of a *datu* who played a major role in the event of the story. It revolved around the people's response on his attitude as a ruler and the way he ruled his kingdom.

The *datu* portrayed ruled over the kingdom of *Dzapakan* somewhere in *Zamboanga del Sur*. His name was *Sultan Anwar Uddin*. He was described in the story to be a very sadist and totalitarian leader. His cruelty reached to the extent that he treated his people like animals. They were coerced to give and pursue everything he wanted. Because the *datu's* actions were horribly unbearable, the people were all obliged to submit fully out of their fear, however, some of his kingdom's subjects gradually vanished from his kingdom to run away from the cruelty and despise of the ruler. They ended secretly settling to another place where they could avoid the tyrannical ruler. These people decided to call the place "*Lindongan*" which means hide-out. His character clearly fell on the category of an archetypal fool hero, whose main

concern was to enjoy life for his own sake. In the story, it could be probable to think that he was just playing authoritative image or terrorizing his people in order to get what he wanted. He thought of it as some kind of a coping mechanism or a sort of over compensation, by which he as ruler found ways to have full control of his kingdom through having a sadist image and so the people would absolutely fear him. His being an unjust and spiteful leader might just be tolerated by his weakness as a ruler. He treated it as a cover to a hole in his personality. Deep inside, an archetypal fool hero fears of not being alive. He fears that he cannot gain the total submission of his men and so he tended to act in such a way he could exhaust forced reverence from his subjects.

Conclusions

The selected *Maguindanaon* folktales revealed these archetypal characters. These archetypal characters basically match the folktales of other nations, both in their structures and the presence of archetypes based on the study of Campbell. Mostly, the typical *datu/sultan* (ruler) portrayed were the noble ones who played superior or extreme concept of a *datu* role by using their power in order to oppress people of lower rank in their kingdom. Nevertheless, there were also ruler character portrayed with generosity, openhandedness, righteousness, humility and piety which were basically intended to serve as identities or ideals worth emulating.

The following conclusions are further formulated after a close scrutiny of the texts:

1. Some impending values have been put by the Maguindanaons on their literature which profoundly serve as a means of bequeathing cultural values from generation to generation. These folktales were able to give insights on both positive and negative qualities of a *datu*. These positive qualities serve as measurements of the ideal by which their relevance can be evaluated in the present times. The negative qualities, on the other hand, could serve as a strong wakeup call and a lesson for the next generation.
2. Leaders are liberated individuals and they are compelled to act in a setting molded by the past.
3. Basically, the success and failure of the leaders' career, to some extent depend upon their individual reactions to cultural forces.
4. The portrayal of these *Sultan/Datu* images in the selected folktales can be of great use in building a better government administration and in the reconstruction of policies. The portrayal of the *Maguindanaon* lifestyles and worldviews in these folktales could provide cultural understanding and appreciation of our individual differences and cultural values that could play a crucial role in the quest for lasting peace in Mindanao.

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Resource

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Too Exotic to Enchant? How the Femme Fatale was sent on Retreat

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Abstract

In their latest movies of Japanese adaptations, Spike Lee, Adam Wingard, and Rupert Sanders all display the *femme fatale* in the discourse of patriarchy and female empowerment. She is portrayed as a complex figure, entangled in power, desire, femininity, self-determination and deception. She is the downfall of the hero. Once dominating countless oeuvres in Japanese productions, the femme fatale disappeared in Japanese films from 1930s through the 1990s and did not return in contemporary cinema. I propose that the end of the femme-fatale scenario ultimately began in Japanese popular culture in that she is now transformed into a western figure in a foreign land where she fears to tread. This papers demonsrates how the types of the *modern girl* and the *meiji school girl* are present in manga originals and how western producers transform them into femme fatales with potent sexuality and destructive power. The productions under discussion include *Death Note*, *Ghost in the Shell* and *Oldboy*.

Keywords: Femme Fatale, Adaptation, Female Empowerment, Japanese Cinema American Cinema, Media Studies, Cultural Studies

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Too Exotic to Enchant? How the *Femme Fatale* Was Sent on Retreat”

Whilst over the past years an increasing awareness of gender stereotypes has been plaguing Hollywood, following the #MeToo campaign with famous actresses exposing harassment and sexual abuse, the film industry is making slow progress towards gender equality in movies – slow because the numbers are still showing a staggering absence of women in important positions in directing, writing and cinematography. At the same time, there is a record high number of female protagonists in the 100 highest-grossing films of 2019 (compare Broom, 2020, o.S.). The position of women in cinema is thus clearly in undergoing change. Linked with questions surrounding empowerment and victimization that have been evoked again over the past few years is the question of women’s sexuality, which seems almost inseparable from this broader context.

No other figure than the femme fatale gives a more vivid portrayal of women, sexuality and power in popular culture. She is one of the most resilient character types in her repeated portrayal in Hollywood. Because of her powerful role, she also informed a feminist understanding of contemporary cinematic art and thereby obtained a key role in the discourse of patriarchy and female empowerment. Because of her firmly defined representation, she speaks simultaneously to conservative anxiety and to feminist aspirations for influence.

The question that motivates this paper arose in a cross-cultural American and Japanese context. How is the femme fatale modified in transnational adaptations? Whilst research has been done on the incorporation of the figure of the femme fatale from US movies into Japanese media by Yoko Ima-Izumi, I will instead direct the gaze to how producers like Spike Lee or Rupert Sanders portray the femme fatale in their adaptations of Japanese movies.

From Noir to Modern Cross-genre Depictions: Development of the Femme Fatale

Although I will be discussing movies from the last ten years, the femme fatale figure is primarily associated with the noir movies of western cinema of the 1940s and 1950s, where the term originated. Hanson and O’Rawe (2010, p.2) even go so far as to state that the link between the femme and noir can be read in many ways as a tautological one: if a film has a femme fatale, it is a film noir, and in order to qualify as a noir, the femme is indispensable.

Noir became a prominent reference point for the femme fatale, who nevertheless resists a clear definition. Julie Grossmann (2009, p.22) suggests that the femme fatale is constructed around several characters who then became and defined the role. Some of the iconic movies that she names are *The Maltese Falcon* (1941) with Mary Astor, *Double Indemnity* (1944) with Barbara Stanwyck and *Out of the Past* (1947) with Jane Greer. The femme fatale in these movies relates to femininity, sexuality, danger and deceit. Yet, the figure underlies a flexibility that continues to make her suitable in a commercial setting, ranging from a theme in pop music of stars such as Rihanna or Britney Spears, to lingerie brands and beauty products (Demarchelier, 2009).

In the context of cinema, the femme fatale also saw a strong revival in the erotic neo-noir era of the 1980s and early 1990s of Hollywood. Later, her appearance can be traced across different genres, such as thriller, action and horror (Farrimond, 2017). More contemporary pieces with genre mixes, but still with a considerable portion of noir heritage, would be Verhoeven's *Basic Instinct* (1992), Lynch's *Mulholland Drive* (2001) or Scorsese's *Shutter Island* (2010). Movies such as Edel's *Body of Evidence* or de Palma's *Femme Fatale* (2002) combine the empowerment of the figure with commodified sexuality. Despite their flexibility and multiple influences, the ambivalence between these two characteristics is prominent. The femme fatale might therefore be understood, as suggested by Stacy Gillis, "not as an archetype, but as a constellation of tropes and characteristics emerging from concerns about women and power" (2005, p.84). By moving beyond noir, she transcends genre limits and can instead stand between several film genres (Neale, 2000, p.163), with an increasing number of movies working with subgenres, offshoots or genre mixes.

My understanding in the given context is that the femme fatale is marked by the parameters of potent sexuality, destructive power and exoticism, while her powers usually rely on eroticism and she becomes the downfall of the hero. Last but not least, she is experienced through and manifests herself by her Otherness.

A Byproduct of Westernization?

As the term of the *fatale* woman originated in western cinema, her exoticism becomes even more evident on a world stage. With regards to Japan and Japanese media, the influence of the silent movies of the 1920s becomes relevant. To promote the modernization of the country's cinema, American silents were intensely studied and actresses were introduced into Japanese film, whereas up to this point female roles had been represented by male actors in Japan, the *onnagata*, in Japanese Kabuki plays. While actresses have a longer presence on the Western stage, they represent a hard-won claim in Japan which allowed for another significant change (Turim, 2007, p.133). A further outcome was the depiction of "modern girls" informing a westernized representation of women in Japanese cinema and society. Actresses such as Greta Garbo or Marlene Dietrich, who were well reviewed, can be seen as role models for this type of figure that incorporated eroticism and otherness (Suzuki, 1992, p.403ff). Turim (2007, p. 135) calls the modern girl "an icon for the embrace of the West," but also "a figure of a symptomatic anxiety of influence" (p.138). In the late 1940s and 50s another wave of Americanization swept through Japan and brought the femme fatale to screen. One of the most famous examples for this phenomenon is Princess Wakasa in *Ugetsu Monogatari* (1953), who had the power to captivate men with her sexuality.

Apart from exceptions such as Wakasa, however, neither the "modern girls" (*moga*) nor the "meiji schoolgirl" (another type of figure discussed below) reached the status of the femme fatale. The "anxiety of influence" that Turim addresses indicates why the femme fatale figure was not completely rejected, but also not completely embraced. The "modern girl" and the "meiji schoolgirl" did not reach the potent sexuality, the destructive power and the exoticism of the western femme fatale. More recent movies of the 1980s and 90s seem to support this thought: while post-feminism and neo-noir sparked a revival of the femme fatale throughout the West, the same development cannot be perceived in Japanese cinema. As Yoko Ima-Izumi (1998,

p.128) notes, the “Japanese” femmes fatales” largely do not reach the potential to trigger a man’s doom. He underlines this by reference to several Japanese remakes of *Yotsuya Ghost Story*, with the latest version in the 1990s, or *One Summer with Aliens* from 1988. He also picks out the theme of Japanese remakes of Hollywood productions such as *Wuthering Heights* by Yoshishige Yoshida in 1988 (Ima-Izumi, 1998, p.138). All these movies have in common that the male protagonist is saved from the effects of the femme fatale, who usually appears as a ghost. Portraying her as an otherworldly creature and not a real person reduces her power while heightening her otherness. In a sense, the fatal women can be seen as too foreign to establish herself as a permanent figure in Japanese cinema.

This is further underlined by the figure of the “meiji schoolgirl” related to the Meiji period (1868-1912), upon whom many westernized female characters, quite often the same as the figure “modern girl” or the “taishou new woman” of the Taishou period (1912-1926) were based. “Westernized” is used in this context from far more than a cultural perspective. The type of the Meiji schoolgirl prevents a simple binary view of a “Western” or “Japanese” figure, especially as not all changes in the depiction of Japanese women in cinema can be seen as a result of Western influences. Yet, this character type distinguishes itself by appearance (Western-influenced hairstyles and dresses), behaviour (speech habits) and ways of thinking (relationship to the opposite sex) that is perceived as evoked by the West and is considered to be assimilationist towards the West. Her otherness thus is a notion produced by Western otherness itself. A historical backdrop to the appearance of the Meiji schoolgirl is the modernization of women’s education through sending girls to private mission schools. This initiative served the cultural and national progress in the late 19th century, with the aim of establishing parity between Japanese women and their Western counterparts. Nobuko Anan (2016) states in his research on contemporary Japanese women’s visual arts: “Due to early association with Western influences, female students tended to be seen not only as the educated ‘westernized’ women who advocated women’s rights, but also as those who could move freely between the Western and Japanese cultural spheres.” Thus, the schoolgirl became a recurring figure in media and a culturally hybrid femme fatale. She also heralds the departure from the character type of the beautiful woman, the “bijin” – a courtesan-like literary character that was popular before the modern era.

Retrieving the ‘Hidden’ Femme Fatale from Japanese Originals

As mentioned, researchers such as Yoko Ima-Izumi laid the groundwork for analysis of the incorporation of the femme fatale motif in Japanese film, and how it follows the pattern that she is either a ghost or an “unreal” woman of some other sort. As the story develops, she is either defeated or becomes a benevolent protector of the male protagonist. Yet, in my research on Japanese media and their transformation into US productions, I encountered the figures, or adapted versions, of the Meiji schoolgirl and the new woman in several pieces. These adaptations of manga or anime into US movies are more than derivative of the original. The phenomenon of adaptation suggest that the story is the core denominator that is transported across media and genre changes (Hutcheon, 2006, p.10). Yet, technical constraints of different media will obviously shift the focus to different parts of that story (Gaudreault & Marion, 1998, p.45). In transnational adaptations, place and language frequently change, which leads to further changes in the story. For Hollywood, Hutcheon (2006, p.147)

observes that transculturation is strongly connected to what she calls the Americanization of a work. Interestingly, what can be encountered now is a reintroduction of the femme fatale in Hollywood movies that originated in Japanese media. Films such as *Ghost in the Shell* with star actress Scarlett Johansson¹ show that the American film industry has become aware of the Japanese cult of manga and anime. Recent film adaptations of *Battle Angel Alita* and *Death Note*, with potentially further US productions of *Akira* and *Naruto*, underline this trend.

While it is not surprising to find adjustments in the narration of the US movies, some particularly remarkable changes in the character design are noticeable, which I call the rebirth of the femme fatale in the US version from “hidden” or hybrid femmes fatales in the Japanese template.

***Oldboy* – Creating a New Femme Fatale Character**

Looking at recent productions from the 2010s onwards, this figure can be found with varying prominence in *Oldboy* (2013), *Ghost in the Shell* (2017) and *Death Note* (2017). The first *Oldboy* movie by Korean producer Park Chan-wook in 2003 is often referred to as a benchmark in cinema for post-noir. The dark style of cinematography was picked up by Spike Lee’s reinterpretation of the manga in 2013, which is often understood as a direct remake of Park’s film. Due to Lee using narrative elements of the Korean version, many differences between the manga original of the 1990s by writer Garon Tsuchiya and Lee’s movie are created. In the manga, hero Shinichi Goto is kidnapped and locked up for a decade for unknown reasons. Upon his release, the story follows his mission to uncover the motive behind his imprisonment. Lee’s *Oldboy* is already orientated along the revenge plot that Park introduced in his twist of the story. Protagonist Joe meets his daughter once he is released but does not recognize her. As planned by the antagonist, he falls in love with her and she becomes his downfall. Tsuchiya instead presents restaurant employee Eri, who saves Goto when he has no place to stay. A first impression of her is that she is kind, naïve and positive. Her design follows the child theme that is a typical characteristic of female figures in Manga. The power relation between the two is further established by Goto sitting on a chair in Eri’s apartment while she is kneeling on the floor. While Goto uses Eri’s first name to address her, she calls him “Mister.” At the end of this first night’s encounter, Eri will offer Goto to spend the night with him. When the latter initially refuses, Eri begs him to sleep with her (Chapter 3, p.69).

¹ Choosing Scarlett Johansson as the main actress will be discussed in regards of the role of the femme fatale. Her role in the movie though caused a casting controversy with the media criticizing the production for “whitewashing”.



Fig. 1: First encounter between Eri and Goto (Chapter 3, p. 69)

With her request, Eri takes on an inferior role, which also gives the impression that she does not know how to deal with her own sexuality. This is resolved two pages later: Eri was a virgin (“I wanted to lose this sad virginity! [...] I am so happy that I have lost it to a nice guy like you!” Chapter 3, p.74). Eri’s oblivion stretches further than sexuality into the realm of lacking empowerment. Goto does not involve her in his fight against the antagonist. When Eri becomes the villain’s target, he brings her into hiding, from which she is released upon the triumph of Goto at the end of the story. Dominance and submission, power and lack of power in the manga are clearly split between Goto and Eri.

Lee already gave the character of Eri a different touch by the incestuous relation that is created between Joe and his daughter Mia. Mia is a sexually far more potent and experienced character. This puts her into a position to seduce Joe and take on the role of an equal counterpart in the sexual relationship. In a motel with a read label, the camera puts her femininity in focus before Joe sleeps with her. Her character originally starts off in the role of the ‘healer’ and then changes into the role of the ‘love interest’ in a Hollywood manner. Due to her innocence, however, she never reaches the status of a fully developed femme fatale. Interestingly, next to her, the new figure Haeng-Bok is introduced in the US movie, who fits the profile of a *fatale* woman much better. Before the antagonist is even introduced, she is the one who captivates Joe. Before he loses his consciousness, she lures him by her dazingly sexual appearance. The sexual attraction is one-sided, however, as she uses her appearance only as a weapon. Once Joe joins her under her umbrella, he is doomed to two decades of imprisonment. As an assassin, she is a powerful female character whose charms cost Joe 20 years of his life.



Fig. 2: Official poster and Haeng-Bok's appearance in the movie

Haeng-Bok thus gains a key role in the movie that does not have an equivalent in the Manga. This is underlined by her adorning official posters of the movie. The color scheme of red and black and the highly sexualized appearance that is also maintained in the movie clearly place her in the realm of the femme fatale. *Oldboy* thus serves as an example of not only altering the female main character, but also creating a new character to include elements of the femme fatale persona in the movie.

A Female Cyborg as a Blend of Femme Fatale and Classical Heroine

In *Ghost in the Shell*, Rupert Sanders introduces the femme fatale through his choice of actress for the main character Motoko. The original manga is heavy on text so as to analyze law enforcement and technology from a philosophical perspective. In the movie, this information is pushed into the background to give room to the visuals and the characters, which shifts the focus away from the narration and towards the main character and her design. Motoko, played by Scarlett Johansson, is a full cyborg. She fears that she may not even have a human consciousness. The search for the truth behind this question drives the plot. The trope of the female haunting “ghost,” as known from *Ugetsu Monogatari*, is used here in an adapted way. Her potentially former human past is incorporated by her “ghost” that lives in the cyborg body. With this, the integrity of body and mind is disrupted. For Sanders, this element serves to introduce the femme fatale through the actress Scarlett Johansson. The disembodiment of the actress’s body can be traced through many of her previous roles. One of her oldest roles is in Brian De Palma’s *The Black Dahlia* from 2006. In the role of Kay Lake, she is framed in a Marilyn Monroe-styled way that elevates her to the status of a sex symbol. The deceptive nature of the femme fatale is not only displayed in this movie, but also in Jonathan Glazer’s *Under the Skin* (2013), in which Johansson portrays a seductive alien in human disguise. In *Her* (2013), the actress is a disembodied artificial intelligence and in *Lucy* (2014), she becomes a superhuman consciousness. In all these films, Johansson is thus playing the recurring role of the otherworldly femme fatale. It is a type of femme fatale that works in and through complicated depictions of the actress’s body. Hence Johansson’s former movies qualify her as a “perfect pick” for her role as Mokoto. Not only does she become the classical hero of the story, but she also transports her trademark otherworldly femme fatale into the movie. For her role to work, the production relies on previous

knowledge of the audience about Scarlett Johansson's earlier roles. In *Ghost in the Shell*, her character is portrayed in nothing but a suit that makes her appear almost naked. Thus it is made clear that body and mind are neither a union nor inseparable. This othering is a trait of the archetypal femme fatale who has the potential to shift and be mutable. Johansson's costume, therefore, goes far beyond naked sex appeal. Her former roles allow the introduction of the femme fatale persona that is absent in the manga.

“Throw down your guns” – The Femme Fatale in the High School Scenario

Lastly, the *Death Note* movie features a dangerous femme fatale that is developed out of the figure of the schoolgirl. This type still radiates an unbroken attraction in manga that was introduced for the first time through the meiji schoolgirl and became a recurring theme in countless oeuvres. The plot of *Death Note* follows Light Yagami, who uses his brilliant mind to become a vigilante murderer when he takes ownership of a so-called Death Note that gives him the power to kill. At the end of the first volume of the manga, the female love interest Misa Amane is presented. With her blond hair and short clothes, she clearly features attributes of a successor type of the modern girl. Apart from this appearance, Misa is often displayed in school uniform, as she clearly still goes to high school.



Fig. 3: Collage of Misa's first depiction in Chapter 25

The backward blowing hair and active arms in the right panel suggest that she is moving purposefully through the crowd. Initially, by following her own plans, she causes problems for Light. Inscriptions such as "Sexy Dynamite" in her room (see Chapter 29) underline that she is a dangerous figure in *Death Note*. Once she has met Light, though, **Fig. 4: Light and Misa**



she immediately falls for him (Chapter 30).

Slowly, Light uses her feelings to turn her into a tool for his purposes, while her love for Light becomes her own downfall. After his death, Misa can no longer handle the world and commits suicide a year later, her abandonment ultimately leading to self-

destruction. In the archetypal sense of the femme fatale, Misa starts off as a threat to Light who always gets himself into situations that impair or endanger him. At the same time, this is not a femme fatale in the classic sense as she is ‘tamed’ within the first chapter after her introduction and becomes Light’s minion.

In Adam Wingard’s movie, almost the opposite development can be observed. His female character Mia is also immediately portrayed as a femme fatale. She is even introduced before the audience has a chance to gaze at the protagonist for the first time when she is enthroned over her other cheerleading comrades. Appropriately, the camera takes a worm’s-eye view, which shows Mia looming against the background of a bright, yet cloudy sky. Her posture looks particularly tough due to the arms akimbo compared to the other two girls next to her. Right after her acrobatics, she takes the liberty to steal herself away to smoke a cigarette, which again is a very prominent marker for the femme fatale figure. This is underlined by the music of the song “Reckless” by the band “Australian Crawl” which asks the listeners “to throw away their gun.”



Fig. 5: Mia from a worm’s-eye view and with a cigarette (1:50 min)

Her act is closely watched by Light, who clearly admires and falls for her. Mia is not only very attractive, but she is also standing out compared to the other students in Light’s surrounding. In the course of the narration, Mia takes an antagonistic position. A first hint at this in the film is when Light says: “Do you think I’m crazy?” and Mia replies: “I don’t think you’re crazy enough. We could change the world” (25:50). Obviously, she is seeking power. By deceiving a love-struck Light, she almost succeeds in claiming the Death Note for herself and killing Light. Throughout most of the movie, she is secretly betraying him and works on his doom.

Mia relies on the Japanese new girl type as represented in Misa from the manga original, which is why she is placed in a high school setting. Starting off from this

character, Mia soon sets herself apart from the original template, however, by developing far more destructive traits. She uses her femininity against the protagonist, she emanates otherness compared to her surrounding, and she induces Light's downfall. Despite the story ending with her death, she puts Light into a position that critically exposes him to law enforcement and seals his defeat. Wingard thus manages to transform the hybrid femme fatale of the manga into a fully developed femme fatale modeled on a noir genre-mix.

In summary, while the presented contemporary mangas are a dead-end for the femme fatale, it is through the adaptations that she finds her way back into the story – either in the form of a new character, the actress herself, or the transformation of a harmless character into a femme fatale who emits potent sexuality, destructive power and an otherness that might be perceived as too foreign in the cinema of Japan.

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***Protests in Hong Kong
from Confucianism to Levinas's Substitution***

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Abstract

2019 was a tumultuous year for Hong Kong. Protests began in June, sparked by concerns about the extradition bill, but with time, larger demands have emerged: the withdrawal of the extradition bill, for officers to step down, an inquiry into police brutality, amnesty for arrested protesters, and free elections. The call for Hong Kong independence has also increased, supported by activist Edward Leung, who was sentenced to six years in prison for charges of social unrest in 2016 and who continues to be prominent a role model for protesters. This paper focuses on protests from 2014 to 2019 in Hong Kong, which obtained the most international newspaper coverage since 1997, when the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong from Great Britain was reverted to The People's Republic of China. To understand the development of these protests, this research will use phenomenological methodology to analyse how Confucianism and Levinas's substitution influence Hong Kong Chinese protesters, the majority of which are millennials and post-millennials from Generations Y and Z. Since Generations Y and Z grew up with the Internet and their lives have been deeply influenced by digital culture, empirical evidence will be provided in this paper in order to show how Confucianism functions as the social-culture background of young protesters while Levinas's substitution functions as the motivation for the movement's continuity.

Keywords: Post-colonialism, Levinas, Substitution, Confucianism, Protests in Hong Kong

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Introduction

Hong Kong is a Chinese society, which was under British colonial rule for 155 years (Carroll, 2007). In 2014, the Umbrella Movement broke out and it was the first time that the Central Business District in Hong Kong was blocked by protesters after the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997. It was triggered by the White Paper on 'One Country, Two Systems' policy issued by The Information Office of the State Council in Beijing on 31 August 2014, which suggested that universal suffrage is not fully democratic, as candidates of the chief executive were to be pre-selected by Beijing (Lahiri, 2019). Five years later, another series of large-scale protests occurred in reaction to the introduction of the extradition bill. In addition to the longer duration of these protests, violence used by police and protesters also escalated, which had previously been unacceptable among most Hongkongers in 2014, regardless of the actors.

To understand the development of the protests from 2014 to 2019, this research will use phenomenological methodology to analyse front-line Hong Kong Chinese protestors, who are mostly from Generations Y and Z, grew up with the Internet and whose lives have been deeply shaped by digital culture. This Paper will study how Confucianism functions as the social-culture background of young protesters while Levinas's substitution functions as the motivation for the movement's continuity with empirical evidences.

Chinese philosophies have been practised in most Hong Kong Chinese families, even during the colonial period. Confucianism was among all the most popular since it was used by the government as an ideology to rule. After the transfer of sovereignty, the influence of Confucianism even increased, as the first chief executive of Hong Kong Tung Chi Wah mentioned that his ideal government is based on a Confucian practising paternalistic rule (Lau, 2002). Moreover, the concept of hierarchy and Mandate of Heaven in Confucianism are being emphasized in Chinese related subjects in Hong Kong education as well as by governmental authorities, which could reveal how Confucianism has been manipulated as a sociocultural factor to condemn protesters' behaviour.

To articulate ways of being ethical during protests, protesters re-contextualized Confucianism after 2016 as front-line protesters faced increasing risks of injuries, imprisonment, and even death and were especially impacted by the imprisonment of pro-Hong Kong independence activist Edward Leung. In this particular moments of the protests, the concept of substitution by Levinas can be applied to explain and describe the attitude of most protesters from Generations Y and Z, as well as the continuity of the movement itself.

Confucianism in Hong Kong before 2014

Historically, Confucianism has been transformed from ethics to political ideology since the Han Dynasty. Hence, the colonial government and the current government keep this ideology and have been using it to stress the importance of certain elements of Confucianism, which are hierarchical relationships and the Mandate of Heaven, so as to maintain social stability. These concepts are not only being found in the vocabulary of authorities, but also in Hong Kong's education system.

According to Confucianism, there are five primary human relationships (五倫)—ruler to subject, father to son, elder brother to younger brother, husband to wife and friend to friend. This concept has been advocated to enforce the hierarchical relationships in society since the mid-Tang Dynasty in Chinese imperial examinations, which was organised by the State for people who wanted to work in the state bureaucracy (Lam & Phillipson, 2013). As a result, people who could pass the examination would also be those who supported the regime. Such an examination system was adopted in education and Chinese related subjects, which included Chinese Languages in HKCEE (Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination), Chinese Language and Culture in HKALE (Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination), Chinese History and Chinese Literature in both HKCEE and HKALE, and blended well with the British examination system. Even after the reform of the examination system in 2012, combining HKCEE and HKALE to HKDSE (Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education Examination), there are still three readings on Confucianism out of twelve compulsory readings starting in 2015 (Membership of the Curriculum Development Council Committee on Chinese Language Education, 2015).

In the context of the five relationships in Confucianism, the structure is very important and the concept of family structure is often used in official political discourse. In light of Chinese tradition, it is a national taboo to address the name of the sovereign directly, while ‘grandfather’ is regarded as the person who has the absolute authority in the family. For these reasons, since the change of sovereignty on 1 July 1997, pro-China media have been using ‘grandfather’ to describe China and ‘being held in our ancestors’ arms’ when it comes to the topic of the handover of sovereignty. Kinship was also emphasised in the 2014 White Paper’s description of the transfer of sovereignty as a ‘return to the motherland’ (South China Morning Post, 2014).

To further legitimize the authority of the government, governors are often seen as ‘parental officials’ (Fumu Guan 父母官) and people governed by officials as ‘children-people’ (zimin 子民) respectively under Confucianism and the patriarchal system (Cao, 2018). The current chief executive of Hong Kong Carrie Lam still uses this concept, such as in a TV interview shortly after the outbreak of the anti-extradition bill protests, in which she likened Hong Kong protesters to her two sons and said she, as a ‘mother’, could not give in to her ‘wayward children’ (Sham-Shackleton, 2019). Terms related to kinship have been used in China for over the last two thousand years, but it is no longer acceptable in Hong Kong since people should have the power to elect their own government representatives.

Moreover, kinship has also been used to raise the sense of belonging of Hongkongers to China as, since 2004, the Hong Kong government has started a video campaign in Cantonese, with the national anthem as background music. The first video stressed the importance of bonding among individuals, family, and the state (Information Services Department of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 2004), and videos from this campaign were played daily on all TV channels before the news report, mainly in the evening around 6:30 pm to 7 pm (Information Services Department of the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 2005), which has the highest viewership, according to the local, social practice.

In addition to the five relationships, the Mandate of Heaven (Tianming 天命) is another very important element in Confucianism being used in political discourse to legitimize the single authority in China, as defines the relation between human and heaven (Baogang, 2003), which means the destiny of oneself is closely combined with heaven and one accesses the Mandate of Heaven or improves their destiny through a moral or ethical act. The emperor, or government, is usually regarded as the ambassador sent by heaven that people have to obey. Despite her Catholic background, Carrie Lam still also evoke this interpretation of Confucianism, such as when she tried to persuade members of the Election Committee to vote for her in the 5th chief executive election in 2017 by claiming that she was urged by God in a dream to run for election campaign (Apple Daily, 2017).

Strong belief in destiny and the Mandate of Heaven stigmatized social movements to a certain extent, because when a social movement gets radical, the government could easily name it a revolution to give grounds to suppress it. ‘Revolution’ in Chinese is formed by two characters: to change (革) and fate (命), which violate the concept of the Mandate of Heaven, as revolution is regarded as an action to overthrow the regime. However, Mencius (孟子) also pointed out that the will of people defines the Mandate of Heaven, which means that the head of the government could be changed or overthrown over time. Yet, it is difficult for people to determine when the government is losing its legitimacy, losing its Mandate of Heaven.

Umbrella Movement in 2014

The Umbrella Movement was triggered by the White Paper issued on 31 August 2014 in Beijing and it started with student strikes that began on 22 September 2014 with a banner stating ‘self-determination’ (命運自主) on the main stage of the student strike (Figure 1), located next to the government building. The phrase ‘self-determination’ was condemned by the Chinese government, which accused the protesters that they were not only advocating Hong Kong independence, but also trying to violate the Mandate of Heaven as well as destroy the close ‘family ties’ between Hong Kong and China. A week later, riot police attempted to clear the demonstration area by throwing tear gas and using pepper spray, which in return drew more demonstrators to the protest (McCarthy, 2014).



Figure 1: Main stage of the Umbrella Movement, photo from Internet

The movement lasted for 79 days, which included one official meeting between student leaders and officials held on 21 October. Lester Shum, one of the student representatives who was 21 years old at that time, described the generation of protesters, which was awakened by tear gas on 28 September 2014, as being chosen by time to safeguard their freedom and rights, just like Carrie Lam and other previous government officials (South China Morning Post, 2019). Here we can especially see that the Mandate of Heaven also has a certain level of influence on Generation Y.

Nevertheless, the influences of Confucianism on the Umbrella Movement did not play a significant role in comparison with other previous social movements, especially like the annual 4 June candlelight vigil or the annual 1 July demonstration. In my opinion, it is because the movement was led by student leaders from Generation Y, who grew up with the Internet and received the highest education since the colonial period. With the Internet, they could easily access information about other social movements from other countries, for example like the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan earlier the same year as the Umbrella Movement, during which the Taiwanese parliament was occupied by students from Generation Y for days.

In addition, three months before the Umbrella Movement, funding for the controversial Northeast Development Plan was granted by the Finance Committee, which exposed structural violation of the democratic system in Hong Kong since the funding was granted before local town planners had vetted the development plan (Cheung & Chong, 2014). Moreover, the chairperson of the committee, who was elected automatically in the functional constituency without receiving any votes, used his power to limit the duration of debate surrounding the bill itself. Following the discontent of demonstrators, student leaders of the Umbrella Movement decided to form an external force to stop the proposed universal suffrage bill that the chief executive candidates have to be nominated by a nominating committee, composed of 1,200 members.

Confucianism after the Umbrella Movement

While many considered the Umbrella Movement ended without any success, despite the fact that the bill was not passed, views on Confucianism have since been changed in two ways.

Since the bill did not pass because the pro-establishment parties did not enter the voting hall on time and many felt that it was pure luck that led to the withdrawal of the bill rather than any actual actions taken by the pan-democratic parties, young people were especially disappointed with the established pan-democratic parties and experienced politicians, which led to the rise of a variety of new political organisations. The political party Hong Kong Indigenous was among the most radical of this new political direction and was in the spotlight for introducing 'localism' into the mainstream, which also had a great influence on the protests in 2019. More to this point, localist parties also deconstructed the manipulated hierarchical discourse of the government by stating that the People's Republic of China was founded later than the establishment of Hong Kong. As a result, they refused to use 'grandfather', 'motherland', or other vocabulary referring to kinship when they addressed the Chinese regime.

During the Umbrella Movement, several civic education courses and workshops took place in the occupied area, but they focused mainly on Western political theories and philosophies while Chinese philosophies were absent, since most people considered them corrupt. On account of that, localists started to re-contextualize Confucianism after the Umbrella Movement. ‘I have never heard of putting a sovereign to death’ (未聞弑君也)¹ (Mencius) is being more frequently used by localists to legitimize social movements, which the Chinese and Hong Kong government regarded as seditious by the government. Thereafter, there are also increasing numbers of scholars using Confucianism to justify protesters or reactions of protesters. Prof. Chung-yi Cheng used Confucianism and Taoism to interpret ‘water’ as a metaphor of the protests in 2019. On one hand since water means flexibility according to Taoism, it could then be used to describe the flexibility of protesters, whereas in Confucianism, water can be used to describe the one’s virtuousness and resilience in the face of difficulties (陳, 李, 吳, & 薛, 2019).

‘I,’ responsibility and ‘the other’ according to Levinas

Levinas’s works lie between philosophical traditions and Judaism, which to him is the understanding of being rather than a religion. According to Levinas, human beings as social animals will inevitably have interactions with one and other, which indicates ‘the other’ important for transcendence. There are various levels of transcendence, as stated by Levinas, in accordance with different levels of social engagement. The bonding of oneself with the other begins with eye contact whereas the facial expression of the other forms the first transcendence, as the will to account for oneself is interrupted. The next transcendence takes place when one talks with the other and dialogue begins.

At the same time, ‘I’, for example, discover my responsibility to the others at the moment of encounter, according to Levinas, and taking responsibility in this context means doing things that ‘I’ did not intend to do, as it is against ‘my’ own will, the will for ‘myself’ (Levinas, 1983). Levinas argued that this responsibility is infinite, which in an expanded view implies one would die for the other instead of killing the other, using one’s life to substitute the other. To Levinas, we do not choose to be responsible, but we become responsible when we think of the others, for the ‘I’ accounts for the other.

Edward Leung and Levinas’s substitution

Edward Leung, a member of Hong Kong Indigenous, became the first localist who ran for office in the Legislative Council (LegCo) election after the Umbrella Movement, even though it was just a by-election. During his election campaign, a conflict between the police and civilians who wanted to buy street food from hawkers, which is a custom during the Lunar New Year in Hong Kong, took place on the second day of Lunar New Year in Mongkok. Even though Leung tried to de-escalate

¹ This phrase points out that regicide does not exist when the sovereign is not ruling with kindness (仁), such that he shall be considered as ruffian rather than sovereign.

the situation by separating the crowd and the police in the first place, the situation became uncontrollable. The crowd started to throw bricks at the police and a police officer shot in the air. Later that the night, Leung was arrested, accused of taking part in a riot and for assaulting a police officer.

A few months after the conflict, he lost the by-election with the third highest amount of votes, which indicated that over 60,000 people wanted change by voting for a candidate outside of the conventional political spectrum. After the election, he claimed that he would not go away as he had voters who agreed with his political thinking (Standnews, 2016). Three months later, Leung was banned from running for office in the next LegCo Election due to his pro-Hong Kong independence view. Nonetheless, he gave his endorsement to another candidate, who shared a similar view, to run for election (Sataline, 2016). Given the charges after the conflict with police in Mongkok, he knew that the maximum sentence would be ten years of imprisonment. After the election, he left for Harvard University for a research position, where some of his supporters expected him to seek political asylum, since his charges were based on Public Order Ordinance in Hong Kong, which is a copy of the Public Order Act 1986 in Great Britain, an act considered as unjust by Glanville Williams because of its unclear definitions as well as its heavy sentences and excessive punishment measures.

Leung however returned to Hong Kong for his trial and was sentenced to six years in jail for taking part in a 'riot' (Cheung K., 2018). According to his testimony, the moment he decided to stay in Mongkok despite the intense atmosphere was because it reminded him of his responsibility to people who support his political thinking (Cheung K., 2018).

Even though Levinas did not specify which responsibility he was referring to, there are two different types of responsibilities in a society bound by a social contract. The first one related to social movements would be civic responsibility, which includes involvement in volunteerism and community service and interests in politics, in order to promote moral and civic renewal, so that we can move toward a more cohesive and humane society (Ehrlich, 2000). The second one would be legal responsibility: to face and to accept the court's judgement and sentences when one breaks the law.

According to *Citizen News* in 2019, there were 91 persons arrested, among them 26 persons were released after investigation, while 3 skipped bail and sought political asylum from different countries. Although Edward Leung did not die for anyone specifically, his act of returning to Hong Kong from the US to face trial with an expected long sentence fulfils the requirements of Levinas's substitution, as, following his arrest, many other protesters in the incident were not arrested. It is also a popular belief that Leung is substituting the future of Hong Kong with his own, as his imprisonment may encourage more people to participate in future protests in the face of injustice, so as to postpone the time of Hong Kong becoming an authoritarian city.

Protest against the extradition bill since June 2019

The imprisonment of Leung indeed had a great impact on Hong Kong, for Leung was seen by some as a young person with lofty ideas but turned out to suffer for

generation Y and Z. Some of his supporters even suggested that ‘Hong Kong does not deserve Edward Leung’ before the social movement against the controversial extradition bill in June, allowing extradition to China, which violate the promised ‘one country, two systems’ stated in the Sino-British Declaration by damaging the independent judicial law system in Hong Kong. Ever since the protests started in June 2019, Leung has been seen as a spiritual leader, with his campaign slogan in the election being ‘Liberate Hong Kong, Revolution of Our Time’. He also wrote an open letter from prison to encourage protesters to continue to fight, asking them to try to not to be dominated by their hatred despite their anger about the current social situation (Leung, 2019).

The idea of using one’s individual future to substitute for a different social collective future has been widespread. A significant example occurred on 1 July 2019 on during that year’s Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Establishment Day. A massive demonstration took place on that day, while the Hong Kong officials were dressed up to celebrate at the official cocktail party. Later that night, demonstrators stormed into the legislative council to issue a manifesto, raising 5 demands to the government: a complete withdrawal of the extradition bill; retraction of the characterisation of protest as ‘rioting’; the release of arrested protesters; an investigation of police brutality; and the stepping down of chief executive Carrie Lam (Westcott, Yeung, Griffiths, Hollingsworth, George, & Marsh, 2019). A few hours after entering LegCo, there were rumours about police forcibly clearing the building by midnight and that protestors who occupied the site might be charged with participating in a riot. Brian Leung, who published ‘Hong Kong Nationalism’ in the Hong Kong University student union journal *The Undergrad* in 2014, who is now as a PhD candidate at the University of Washington, took off his mask and gave a speech urging other protesters to stay, so as to prevent lawmakers from entering the hall and taking a vote on the extradition bill the next day. In his speech, he said, ‘if we lose in this movement, the upcoming ten years will be the darkest time of Hong Kong.’ Although he mentioned the future of Hong Kong, he was referring to the future of Hongkongers in this sense.

As the time was getting closer to midnight, confusing information was spread via the Internet. Local News agencies including *Apple Daily* and *Standnews* reported that the last four remaining protesters in the LegCo building wrote their wills and were ready to sacrifice themselves. One reporter said that a protester was willing to sacrifice his future in order to give a better one to his children (Apple Daily, 2019). However, a few minutes before midnight, some of the protesters who had remained outside of the LegCo ran inside and carried those last four protesters out. In a live interview broadcasted by *Standnews*, one protester said they were risking their own safety in order to protect those remaining protesters because they had begun to worry about their safety while watching live streaming news on their fellow protesters’ channel on Telegram (Standnews, 2019).

Resonating with Levinas’s writing that the experience with the other will influence the ‘I’, Levinas’s substitution is specifying the moment of decision-making, with a third person or the other in sight. Not surprisingly, thanks to the Internet, the other is no longer limited to who we met in person, because we can see the others’ facial expressions or know the thoughts of the others by watching videos or photos online. Judith Butler mentioned in her presentation ‘A Politics of the Street’ for the Spring

2012 Wall Exchange lectures that the body could be the site of a transmitted history without physically experiencing what the other had experienced. As a result, the widespread distribution of photos and videos on the Internet also became the drive forcing behind protesters continuing to protest as well as the reasons for them to escalate the very way of protesting itself, so long as the protesters' demands are not met (Figures 2 and 3).



Figure 2: Police used violence against unarmed citizens in a shopping mall on 14 July 2019. Conflicts between police and protesters occurred after a demonstration, when police tried to arrest protesters who had gone to New Town Plaza, a nearby shopping mall. Due to the excessive use of violence, many protesters as well as people who had not attended the protest were injured, discussion on police brutality increased after this day. Photo from the Internet



Figure 3: Gangsters attacked travellers in a railway station on 21 July 2019 in the evening. Police stations were closed and emergency calls to the police stations were rejected, resulting in excessive violence and many unarmed travellers being severely beaten in the station. Mistrust of Hong Kong Police Force has intensified thereafter. Photo from the Internet

Conclusion

Social movements, protests, and demonstrations are about civic renewal, to make our society a more cohesive and humane one. After the Umbrella Movement in 2014, Hongkongers' mistrust of the government grew and there was rapid change in society—the deconstruction of the hierarchical relationship in Confucianism used by the government; as well as the re-contextualisation of Confucianism and the introduction of Levinas's substitution in the wake of Edward Leung's imprisonment.

Thanks to digital technology, there is a higher circulation of information, which has without a doubt facilitated deconstructing the Hong Kong government's manipulation of Confucianism, which was executed in education and political discourse since the colonial time. On account of the imprisonment of Edward Leung in 2018, digital technology also has assisted in increasing the occurrence of substitution, becoming a popular idea among protesters since 2019. Risking ten years of imprisonment in exchange for ten years for the social collective became an example of substitution, such that individuals sacrifice their own liberties so that others can further enjoy freedom and rights. Substitution and the desire for a democratic system explain the escalation of the protests. However, the proposed National Security Law in June 2020 and the increased authority of the police force increase the risks that protesters face in Hong Kong, such as life imprisonment or extradition to China, and add uncertainties to the future of Hong Kong. Yet, I believe the resistance will not dwindle in a short period of time, due to the increased number of hearings of arrested protesters and the spread of protesters' testimonies, as Levinas mentioned in *Alterity and Transcendence* 'the very relationship with the other is the relationship with the future.'

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***Social Innovation and Local Activators in Brownfields Recycling in Europe.
What is the Effect on the City and Territory?***

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Abstract

Throughout the last decades, more and more attention has been given by scholars and practitioners to social innovation and the reactivation of neglected resources. In Europe, at the regional and municipal level, many innovative redevelopment policies and projects have been promoted to recycle these spaces and create an impact at the local scale. Starting from the analysis of the state of the art and the comparison of 11 European experiences of brownfields recycling, the study investigates these creative centres and how their actions and activities affect the places producing socio-cultural, economic and spatial impacts. The study has the purpose to explore and illustrate the impacts on the place and to understand the role of social enterprises as drivers of social innovation and urban development. The research adopts qualitative and comparative methods. Considering the analyses carried out, the research aims to observe how the recycling process can affect the city and its surroundings. In conclusion, the research may constitute a specific contribution to the existing body of knowledge and provide the basis for future researches, collaborations and practical guidelines for the socially innovative recycling of disused resources in urban–rural contexts.

Keywords: socialinnovation, localresources, brownfields, territorialimpacts

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Introduction and methodology

In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in social innovation and its territorial implications. Researchers have shown an increased interest in defining the concept, and the role of local stakeholders and activators. A considerable amount of literature has been published on the meaning of social innovation (Caroli, 2015; Moulaert et al., 2005; Phills et al., 2008, Neumeier, 2012; Marra et al., 2015;). A large and growing body of literature has investigated about the socio-cultural dimension of innovation (Tekin & Tekdogan, 2015; Zarlenga et al., 2016) and its role in social entrepreneurship (Borzaga & Tortia, 2008; Matei & Matei, 2012; Lisetchia & Brancu, 2014). Many researchers have argued that social innovation is not just a new solution, it is a novel solution to a social problem that is more effective, efficient, sustainable, and work better than existing practices and therefore bring measurable improvements for the population (Moulaert et al., 2005, Phills et al., 2008; Tepsie, 2012). Other studies have highlighted the importance to include different typologies of stakeholders in the social innovation processes, such as associations, public and private institutions, and local community at various spatial scales (Maiolini, 2015; Moulaert et al., 2005). In different studies, researchers examined the role of social innovation in developing new forms of entrepreneurships and new business models. The social enterprises are non-profit entities whose goal is to create services and products that respond to a territorial problem and bring social benefits (Neumeier, 2012; Maiolini, 2015; Marra et al., 2015). In Europe, there are many experiences of social enterprises that reactivate neglected local resources with social innovative activities. The present study explores the European panorama to identify the characteristics of social innovation in the recycling of a disused resources. The adopted methodology was focused on the analysis of the state of the art and the study of experiences through comparative and qualitative analyses in order to observe the impacts in the territories. The selected cases are examples of brownfield regeneration where social enterprise affect the urban context with socio-cultural and economic impacts. The study has the purpose to explore and illustrate the 11 cases of brownfield recycling and to analyse the positive impacts of this process. In this regard, the present paper aims to evaluate how social innovation in productive assets recycling affects the territories. Considering this purpose, the wide literature around social innovation and the role of social enterprises were analysed.

Social innovation in productive assets recycling in Europe

Contemporary Europe is more and more influenced by episodes of social innovation and recycling of underused sites. Its territories are places of regeneration and innovation whose ambition is to define new pathways for local inhabitants and administrations. The findings show a huge network of experiences that want to innovate and create places of art, creativity and social interaction. The common objective is to satisfy social and territorial needs, with new activities and services for the urban settlement and its community.

Starting from the analysis of the state of the art many relevant examples of productive assets recycling were selected. The paper is focused on the analysis of 11 cases located in different European nations:

- Caos in Terni (Italy);
- Cascina Cuccagna in Milan (Italy);

- ExFadda in San Vito dei Normanni (Italy);
- Knos Manufactures in Lecce (Italy);
- Kulturfabrik in Esch-Sur-Alzette (Luxembourg);
- Periferica in Mazara del Vallo (Italy);
- Schlachthof in Bremen (Germany);
- Spinnerei in Leipzig (Germany);
- Ufabrik in Berlin (Germany);
- Valle Salado de Añana in Salinas de Añana (Spain);
- Verkatehdas in Hämeenlinna (Finland).

The study was based on the effects of the reactivation of these neglected areas, and the role of social enterprises as activators of local development. All these examples were former productive sites (see Table 1), such as slaughterhouses (Schlachthof, Ufabrik), productive houses (Ex Fadda, Cascina Cuccagna), quarries or former factories where cotton, baize and celluloid were produced. They are located in urban and rural-urban areas, since their industrial and productive origin, in general they are in peripheral locations.

From the comparative analysis emerges that all these cases promote a better use of local resources giving rise to a structural impact able to innovate the place overtime. Each of these examples positively affect the territory in which they lie through co-designing activities, social inclusion, community involvement, artistic and cultural events as mean of transformation (Scaffidi, 2019). They are places driving innovation, in which people live and cooperate, and as such, benefit from local activities, new services for the whole urban context. Considering the local impacts, the findings show four main impacts based on culture and education, social issues, economic creativity and spatial development. All these cases are considered creative centres improving the urban surrounding, creating new spaces, building networks, developing international projects and attracting new people, as permanent or temporary inhabitants and tourists.

In this regard, Table 1 illustrates the different activities promoted by the social enterprises. All these cases have many elements in common. Regarding the cultural dimension, it is possible to observe the organisation of festivals and international projects (e.g. Ufabrik, Schlachthof, Periferica, Valle Salado, Verkatehdas), exhibitions (Caos, Spinnerei, Periferica, Verkatehdas, Knos manufactures, Kulturfabrik) and the development of new offers, sport initiatives, dance and cooking classes, like Spinnerei, Ufabrik, ExFadda, Cascina Cuccagna and Schlachthof. All these centres pay great attention to different forms of art, with many activities related to literature, music, theatre, cinematography (e.g. Schlachthof, Kulturfabrik, Knos manufactures, Verkatehdas, Spinnerei) and many of them also offer educational supports for kids, like the summer camps organised by Caos in Terni, educational activities by Kulturfabrik in Esch-Sur-Alzette, non-formal education by Periferica in Mazara del Vallo and specific cultural courses for children, discovering the saltworks in Salinas de Añana (Valle Salado). These centres, indeed, aim to build an active community that improve the quality of life, responding to social problems such as the lack of specific offers for the local inhabitants by municipalities, local administrations and institutions. The findings show a general positive impact on the place that improve the local context, attract new investments, new collaborations and economic creativity. These centres become places for innovative initiatives, but also locations

for new enterprises, like shops, bars, restaurants, schools etc. They are places for new forms of communities, meeting places for artists, associations, local inhabitants, that support the socialisation of young people, offering social activities for elderly, kids and family. These centres promote the participation of the local community in their activities, they contrast the emigration of the young generation, braking social distances, increase the quality of life, by creating new services for the different generations. In this direction, the findings illustrate the presence of collaborative spaces (e.g. Spinnerei, ExFadda, Schlachthof, Knos Manufactures), family networks (e.g. Ufabrik), social pedagogy services (e.g. Schlachthof). This innovative and creative experiences define alternative paths for future development in Europe. Furthermore, these cases encourage the recycling of neglected and underused spaces, like productive sites, and promote the recovery and the sustainable development of the assets considered as local resources. The spatial development is also highlighted by the positive influence in the urban context and its surroundings. The findings show indeed a general positive impact on the place that improve the territorial context, attract new people, innovative and international networks. The analysed experiences are characterised by the presence of a social enterprises whose ambition is to develop social benefits for the place by creating innovation in cultural, economic, social and spatial dimensions. Considering these aspects, the paper confirm that social enterprises have a relevant role in the recycling of neglected assets promoting new collaborative and creative spaces.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the paper illustrates a general framework of social innovation in productive sites recycling in Europe, highlighting the impacts in the local context. According to Moulaert et al., (2005), Doherty et al. (2014) and Matei and Matei (2012), Caroli (2015) social innovation strengthen economies, facilitates cross-cutting paths, encourages social involvement and interaction, develop the local territory and new social benefits. Considering these cases and used validation analysis, these findings provide insights for future research about social innovation and the evaluation the socio-cultural and spatial impacts in neglected sites reactivation in Europe. As such, the research presented here is not considered a final report, but it aims to provide a contribution to the existing body of knowledge regarding social innovation in brownfields recycling.

CASES		Location	Nation	Context	Resource typology	Cultural	Social	Economic	Spatial
		Ufabrik	Berlin	Germany	Urban	Celluloid fabric	Family network or volunteer, Neighbourhood and Self-help Centre, social participation	Shops, bars, restaurants, guesthouse, sale of services	Sustainable development and ecological construction, building recovery
		Schlachthof	Bremen	Germany	Urban	Slaughterhouse	Social pedagogy, collaborative space	Pub, sale of services, cultural magazine	Design and planning workshops, building renovation, redevelopment of part of the city
		Kulturfabrik	Esch-Sur-Alzette	Luxembourg	Urban	Slaughterhouse	Meeting places for artists, associations, local community	Brasserie, restaurant, lounge bar	Sustainable development, building recovery
		Verkatehdas	Hämeenlinna	Finland	Urban	Batze factory	Meeting places for artists and local community	Restaurant, bar	Building renovation, sustainable development
		Caos	Terni	Italy	Urban	Siri Chemical factory	Meeting places for artists, association, local community	Events and services	Sustainable development, building recovery
		Cascina Cuceagna	Milan	Italy	Urban	Productive house	Meeting places for local community, family network	Restaurant, bar	Building renovation, sustainable development
		Ex Fadda	San Vito dei Normanni	Italy	Rural-urban	fine factory	Meeting places for association, local community, collaborative space	Bars, sale of services	Building renovation, sustainable development
		Knos Manufactures	Lecce	Italy	Urban	Metalmehanic factory	Meeting places for artists, association, local community	Bars, sale of services	Sustainable development, building recovery
		Periferica	Mazara del Vallo	Italy	Urban	Tuff quarry	Meeting places for artists, association, local community, collaborative space	Restaurants, guesthouse, sale of services	Sustainable development, local recovery
		Spinnerrei	Leipzig	Germany	Urban	Cottonmill	Meeting places for artists, association, local community	Shops, bars, companies, events and sale of services	Building renovation, sustainable development
		Valle Salado	Salinas de Añana	Spain	Rural-urban	Saltworks	Meeting places for local community, children offers	Shops, sale of services and products	Sustainable development, recovery
Reactivated resource									
Activities/Impacts									

Table 1: Comparative analysis. The 11 European experiences of social innovation in brownfield recycling.

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***Modern Japanese Girls Flying into the Sky: Gender Norms and Aviation Fashion
in the 1920s***

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Abstract

This paper examines how aviation refashioned women's clothing and the female gender norm in Japan in the 1920s. Central to this refashioning were female aviators who fought against gender inequality with the very system of patriarchy. I will first shed light on Katherine Stinson, an American aviatrix who came to Japan in 1916. She performed barnstorming of the *furisode*, a traditional Japanese garment for young women. The performance, I suggest, helped change Japanese women's ideas of female bodies. Furthermore, pioneering Japanese female pilots contributed to the shift in female clothing. By examining newspapers and magazines, this paper argues that female gender norms in Japan were significantly refashioned by the air-mindedness of female pilots who changed the, beforehand exclusively, male realm of air space.

Keywords: Gender studies, Girlhood Studies, Japanese Studies

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Introduction

In 1952, the year of the end of the US occupation of Japan, the Japan Women's Association of Aviation (JWAA) was founded. It presented a milestone in Japanese aviation history. The sky was hitherto a predominantly male sphere. During World War II, men alone became soldiers and flew into the sky. Most women (except for nurses and "comfort women") stayed at the home front. Japanese women could not fight on the war front because of the Military Service Law enacted in 1927¹, and there were no female military pilots. Even so, when peace came, women decided to fly planes, and they established the JWAA. Some members had flown planes before the war. Historians such as Hiraki Kunio, Kano Mikiyo, and Matsumura Yuriko have significantly recovered the history of prewar Japanese female fliers. However, their research remains mostly biographical. They narrate a story of pioneer female fliers such as Hyodo Tadashi, who became the first aviatrix in Japan. Historians laud the historical significance of female fliers because these audacious women deviated from traditional female gender norms.

This essay is less interested in how they departed from gender norms than how Japanese women aviators refashioned literally, or ideologically, such norms. I will examine the development of women's aviation in the 1920s that significantly created a new nexus between the female body and speed. Specifically, I will analyze the photographs and images of newspapers. The air-minded age helped refashion female gender norms in patriarchal Japan.

Katherine Stinson and Flying in *Furisode*

The first airplane flight in Japan took place in 1910. In the 1910s, girls did not have the opportunity to ride planes because the aeronautic field was a military and male sphere. This changed when American barnstormers came to Japan for air shows. According to the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* dated March 12, 1916, when Charles Niles, an aviator, came to Japan for exhibitions, a school girl sent a blood-sealed letter to ask him to give her a ride on Niles' plane. girls in general did not think that they wanted to fly a plane themselves.² When the aviatrix Katharine Stinson arrived in Japan in December 1916, however, their mindset changed radically.

Katharine Stinson performed aerial acrobatics and became widely known as a flying "school girl" because she looked young, wearing ribbons in her hair. She somehow looked more Japanese than Westerners. Newspapers and magazines noted that she looked like a Japanese school girl because she wore Western clothes and boots that were schoolgirls' uniform fashion in Japan at that time. She was immensely popular among Japanese schoolgirls. Many girls went to see her performance in various places throughout Japan and sent letters as her admirers. The episode that fascinated Japanese girls the most was that she performed her flight in the *furisode*. *Furisode* is a

¹ An old Japanese law that imposes mandatory military service on male Japanese citizens. It was enforced on December 1, 1927.

² Joseito ga Kesshosite Chugaeri Shigan [The Girl Who Sent The Blood-sealed Letter to Get on the Plane]. the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* dated (1916, March 12) the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*. p. 5.

long-sleeved kimono for unmarried women, so the *furisode* was (and still is) recognized as a girl's symbolic garment. The Japanese media used to claim that females were not suitable for flying precisely because of their kimono garment. The *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, dated February 10, 1916, carried a picture titled *Hone no Oreru Onna Dojo Hiko* [Troublesome female plane riding]. The picture shows a woman being carried by a man into the cockpit. She could not climb into it by herself because she wore a kimono. The female kimono was a hindrance to flying. Stinson proved that the garment had nothing to do with aeronautic skills. Her flight in *the furisode* was hence important in changing the Japanese girls' mindset. Katharine's flight was a crucial trigger in propelling girls' air-mindedness into the sky. However, in the end, *the furisode* did not become an aviation outfit. Girls had to wear pants-type pilot suits, which meant breaking the gender code in fashion.

Pants-style Fashion in Female Culture—Pilot Suits

Women's clothes did not change easily. In the 1920s, women dressed in Western clothes were dubbed "modern girls" and criticized by male critics and writers. However, interestingly enough, after the Great Kanto earthquake disaster occurring in 1923, women began to be allowed to wear Western clothes. This was because people realized that kimonos would not let them move quickly and freely when the earthquake occurred. Hence, the Western clothes were justified as they permitted freedom of movement to ensure women's lives and survival, which was more important than gender decorum in the case of a disaster. Public opinion agreed with women wearing Western clothes. The *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* dated December 6, 1923, observed that Japanese women wearing Western clothes increased in number after the disaster and they learned to walk in western clothes. According to an article of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* dated September 21, 1924, a wife of the principal of a girls' school recommended girls wearing Western clothes.³ Western clothes thus began to be recognized as wardrobe for Japanese girls. The safety of life was more of a priority than classic femininity. Western clothes for women and girls gained credibility in the public sphere thanks to the Great Kanto earthquake.

A similar historical factor enabled changes in school girls' fashion. When school uniforms were introduced into Japanese girls' schools, they often included a *hakama* or jumper dress. Initially, in the late nineteenth century, school girls wore kimonos, but in 1899, students in a girl's school in Tokyo began to wear *hakama*, which is a traditional Japanese long-skirt type clothing because it allowed freedom. Such freedom was indispensable for the health of girls (Namba, 2012, pp. 143-149). Girls' bodies were an apparatus to support a patriarchal system. Girls would become mothers and needed exercise to stay healthy. *Hakama* was initially for aristocracy, so some opposed that girls wore *hakama* as a school uniform. However, teachers and the minister of education endorsed it because they thought that girls would need more physical exercise. Therefore, *hakama* spread in girls' schools throughout the country. *Hakama* gained credibility, replacing the classic image of aristocracy, and it refashioned the way girls moved, at the turn of the twentieth century.

³ Shinsai no Nigai Keiken kara Yoso to natte Sono Koka o Toku Miyata Shu Fujin [A Wife of Mr. Osamu Shu, Explains The Benefits Of Wearing Western-Style Clothing After The Disaster]. (1924, September 21) the *Tokyo Yomiuri Shimbun*. p.11.

In the 1920s, girls' school uniform once again changed and girls began to wear a jumper dress. In 1919, when a school in Tokyo adopted a jumper dress, there arose some controversy. However, people finally accepted Western-style uniforms because they allowed freedom of movement, and they were more economical than Japanese *hakama-style* uniforms. Scholar Namba Tomoko (2012, pp. 143-149) observed that it was troublesome to mend Japanese style uniforms. Mothers had to mend or wash clothes when their daughters damaged or soiled them. Maintenance was difficult, and mothers did not like *hakama* uniform for their daughters. Additionally, *hakama* was tied tightly at the waist, and occasionally, girls fainted when they exercised hard. Gradually, the Westernized girls' school uniform spread in the 1920s.

During the 1920s, when school girls changed to Western-style uniforms, pants-style fashion alone did not spread, although they allowed more freedom of movement than jumper dresses. According to scholar Murakami Nobuhiko (1956, p. 196), in 1930, school girls skied in skirts. In 1929, the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* carried a photograph of a skiing class. In the picture, school girls wore skirts even in snow.⁴

Nevertheless, pants finally made inroads into women's spheres via aviation. Skiing and climbing in pants did not spread, but a pants-style pilot suit was accepted. Some female pilots wore a pants-style pilot suit, but they were not criticized as unwomanly women for that. Murakami claims that flying was connected with the army, so women's pilot suits were justified. However, there is more to this story. Women were allowed to wear pants-style pilot suits to protect their female bodies from a male gaze, not just to keep safety on the plane. The kimono was too tight to handle planes, and western skirts were too short to cover the legs. Female pilot Nishizaki Kiku (1975, p. 46) recalls in her autobiography that when she wore a skirt in aviation practice, she was teased about her legs by male colleagues and was nicknamed "neri-chan" after her "feminine" legs. She was heavily shocked and turned to pants. Female pilot Kibe Shigeno (1953, p. 14) said in the magazine *Katei Yomiuri* that she had to wear pants not to be looked down as female in the male gendered aeronautic realm. It was inconvenient for her to be a womanly woman in the aeronautic field in the 1920s. Additionally, sometimes they would have to evacuate a plane with parachutes, so skirts were not suitable for flight. Skirts and kimonos, female clothes in Japan, lost their power in the aeronautic realm.

Owing to their unique status, female pilots succeeded in paving the way for the acceptance of the pants-style female image.⁵ Women's aviation pants gained credibility through a double process of women seeing other women wearing pants and female pilots in pants being seen by other female pilots.

Female pilots in pants were favorably viewed as long as they supported patriarchy. Within that constraint, they were exempt from criticism even when they wore unwomanly clothes. An article of the *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun* in 1916 introduced a

⁴ Akakura no Yuki wa Ni-shaku, Kappatsu ni Shizun Kitaru [Snow in Akakura piled up 2 meters, Season for Skiing Has Come]. (1929, December 28). The *Asahi Shimbun*, p. 2.

⁵ Nishi, M. (1975). Koyoku to Takukon no Ki [Autobiography of Nishizaki Kiku]. pp.46-47.

Japanese female pilot, Nanchi Yone, who trained in the United States but wanted to get married and be a wife. She was not criticized even when she wore pants-style pilot suits because, as the article suggests, she abided by patriarchal logic. Moreover, magazines for younger ladies and those for girls presented female pilots in a favorable light with a story that suggests that they were good daughters who would obey fathers (and then husbands, in the future).⁶ *Shojo no tomo* (Girls' Friend) featured the first female pilot in Japan, Hyodo Tadashi, telling the reader that she was a good girl who dearly loved her father, in 1920.⁷ The magazine focused on the bond between the daughter and father. Female pilots in pants who were good daughters were not criticized but admired by the people.

It was dangerous for women in the air to behave as they did as women on the ground. As mentioned above, Nishizaki Kiku was made fun of for her feminine legs. They did not have to dress to be recognized as women in the air. In fact, early female aviators were expelled from the aeronautic circle the moment they fell in love with men and were criticized by the media as a "woman." Both Hyodo Sei and Nanchi Yone had to give up flying because of gossip with men.⁸ Ironically, to eliminate their womanliness and protect themselves from harsh criticism, they had better wear pants-style suits in the air, if not on the ground, so that they would not be recognized as the weaker sex.

Pilot pant-style suits played an important role in refashioning girls and ladies' norms. Finally, more girls and ladies began to fly by gliders in the 1930s with jump suits.

Conclusion

In 1937, the glider club of the Japan Aeronautic Women's Association was established. The club practiced like an army, and women were allowed to fly a glider in the air.⁹ Female pilots and their unique pants-style had been approved in public by the 1930s.

During wartime, the aeronautic field became male-gendered and female air-mindedness was suppressed, the air-mindedness of females did not vanish. When the war ended, the JWAA was founded by women aviators who contributed to refashion women's gender norms in the prewar period, and who were now determined to make the sky gender equal.

⁶ Joryu-hikoka no Muko-erami [Female Pilots Finding Her Future Husband]. (1913, October 28). The *Asahi Shimbun*, p. 3.

⁷ Chichi no Ato wo Tsuide Aoki Sora e [Flying Into the Sky to Tread in Father's footsteps]. (1920, March). *Shojo no Tomo* [Girls' Friend], 13. Tokyo: Jitsugyo no Nihon sha. pp.18-24.

⁸ Yuriko, M. (2013). *Ojosan Sora wo Tobu* [Ladies Flying Into the Sky]. Tokyo: NTT Shuppan. pp.155-170.

⁹ Otabe, Y. (2007). *Kazokuke no Joseitachi* [Ladies Who were in Court Noble]. Tokyo: Shogakukan. pp.155-170.

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Annotation and Reading Practices: The Tale of Genji and the Kakaisho

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Abstract

My paper will shed light on the heretofore understudied but important critical work entitled *Kakaisho*, which is an earliest annotated edition of Murasaki Shikibu's *The Tale of Genji*. The *Kakaisho* was written by Yotsutsuji no Yoshinari in the late medieval period. I will argue that this critical annotated edition significantly changed the ways in which one read *The Tale of Genji*. The *Kakaisho* is characterized by its abundant comments on historical facts to interpret the story. In modern scholarship, historical facts are assumed to serve as precedents that the author Murasaki Shikibu drew on in creating events in the novel. However, my paper shows that the *Kakaisho* as an annotated edition of *The Tale of Genji* does not explain past events in their pastness, but instead creates a connection between reader and text and historical event, linking past and present within and without the text. The *Kakaisho* invites us to not only read *The Tale of Genji* in a way that is different from the way modern scholars read the text, but to critique our own practice of reading.

Keywords: *The Tale of Genji*, *Kakaisho*, historical narrative

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Introduction

The Tale of Genji, by Murasaki Shikibu, is the most famous Japanese classic novel and the world's oldest existing novel by a woman. My paper sheds light on the heretofore understudied *Kakaisho* (c. 1368), the earliest annotation of all the volumes of *The Tale of Genji*, written by the scholar Yotsutsuji no Yoshinari (1325? –1402) in the late Middle Ages. This text is characterized by its abundant commentaries on historical facts to interpret the story. In modern scholarship, historical facts are assumed to have served as precedents that Shikibu drew on in creating the events in the novel. Yet, interestingly enough, some of the historical events that the *Kakaisho* makes note of in order to add context to *The Tale of Genji* actually took place after Shikibu's death. How are we to make sense of this?

This paper reconceptualizes the relation between fiction and history. Yoshinari read *The Tale of Genji* in a way that is different from the way modern scholars approach the novel as a fiction. Rather than reading the novel as fiction, Yoshinari's *Kakaisho* arguably mutated the fictional story into a history through the act of annotating, linking past events that appear in *The Tale of Genji* with the present time of the author. For Yoshinari, annotating was no simple act of providing commentary or explanatory notes to better understand the original text. Rather, it was a literary practice of rereading and rewriting the classic novel *Genji* into a historical text of his own.

The *Kakaisho* and Historical Precedents

The *Kakaisho* provides comprehensive annotations on the historical events in *The Tale of Genji*. Traditional *Genji* scholarship such as Tamagami (1966), Shimizu (1966), and Shimzu (1960) has typically understood the events annotated in the *Kakaisho* as historical precedents that Shikibu drew on when creating her own fictional story. However, some events that the *Kakaiso* furnishes in its explanatory notes could never have been sources for the fictional events in *The Tale of Genji* because in actuality they took place after *The Tale of Genji* was written. Hence, in no way could these events have inspired Shikibu. Although we assume that history precedes fiction, not vice versa, Yoshinari's *Kakaisho* creates a discrepancy in the chronology.

Though it may sound unlikely to modern literary scholars, the *Kakaisho* fused the genres of history and fiction. Yoshinari accomplished this fusion by using *junkyo*, a practice common in the Middle Ages from the end of the 12th century to the end of the 16th century. The term literally means to follow precedents that function as standards. In medieval aristocratic society, acting according to precedents was standard for approved behavior and was an important protocol. Deviating from precedent or creating the unprecedented was socially and psychologically unthinkable. Yet, despite—or rather because of—this protocol, there were situations where it became possible to create something unprecedented, precisely by claiming that one was following his or her own precedents. Existent historical records tell us that sometimes people even used events that in the strict sense of the word had never been precedents, claiming that they were “equivalent” to precedents, if not precedents themselves.¹

¹ See, for instance, Toin Kinkata, *Entairyaku* (14th century) and Sanjyonishi

Yoshinari also uses this practice of *junkyo*. As mentioned above, some historical events that the *Kakaisho* notes to add context to *The Tale of Genji* took place not before but after the novel was written. Let us consider one example from chapter 33, entitled “New Wisteria Leaves” (“Fuji no Uraba”), in which Genji is promoted to the status of Honorary Retired Emperor (equivalent to Retired Emperor). Genji had been born to Emperor Kiritsubo and to a low-ranking concubine. The emperor gave him the surname Minamoto, which meant he was removed from the line of succession and was reduced to the rank of subject. Even so, in chapter 33, Genji attains a rank equivalent to that of a retired emperor and his glory reaches its peak (Murasaki, 2001, p. 570).

The *Kakaisho* cites four historical precedents for Genji’s appointment as Honorary Retired Emperor: Kusakabe no Miko, Toneri Shinno, Shiki no Miko, and Koichijoin. In historical actuality, the first three men were posthumously given the title because their children were enthroned as emperor. These men were not emperors themselves but, as fathers of the newly enthroned emperors, they were promoted to Honorary Retired Emperor after their deaths. But this is not the case with Genji, who is designated Honorary Retired Emperor while he is still alive. Among the four historical precedents cited in the *Kakaisho*, only Koichijoin could have served as a precedent for Genji, because, Koichijoin, like Genji, became Honorary Retired Emperor during his lifetime despite never having been an emperor. Yet here we encounter a chronological problem as this event took place in 1017, about fifteen years after *The Tale of Genji* was written.

Indeed, a significant number of such post-*Genji* historical annotations appear in the *Kakaisho*, inviting us to wonder about the reasoning behind such a practice. Rather than compiling an annotated edition that is subordinate to the original novel *The Tale of Genji*, in the *Kakaisho* Yoshinari fused historical facts with the original text to create his own original work of history. The citations of both pre- and post-*Genji* incidents enable Yoshinari to expand historical space and time so that the past comes to contain the events of *The Tale of Genji*. Through this style of annotation, the *Kakaisho* re-creates *The Tale of Genji* as a historical text. Put another way, the *Kakaisho* historicizes *The Tale of Genji* and makes the novel a kind of historical “precedent,” using the practice of *junkyo*, or following precedents that function as standard—this is in spite of the fact that *Genji* is a fiction, hence cannot serve as a historical precedent in the strict sense of the word.

At this point, it is instructive to observe that post-*Genji* historical incidents in the *Kakaisho* are taken primarily from the era of Emperor Gosuzaku within the decades following the completion of *The Tale of Genji*. The fictional events depicted in *The Tale of Genji* were—so history proved—later materialized into fact, and thus became actual precedents, just as Yoshinari’s *Kakaisho* had presented them to be.

The *Kakaisho*’s reading of the relationship between *The Tale of Genji* and history is not as farfetched as it may first appear. Circumstantial literary evidence points to people in the Middle Ages actually reading *The Tale of Genji* as a history. For instance, In *The Tale of the Heike*, an epic, it is written that some people “recalled the ancient romance of Prince Genji and went out to wander along the shores of Suma

Sanetaka, *Sanetakakoki* (15th century).

and Akashi” (Kitagawa, Tsuchida & Seidensticker, 1975, p. 297). Further circumstantial evidence can be found in other *Heike*-related works in which characters conceptualized *The Tale of Genji* as an ideal world coterminous to their own.² The *Kakaisho* accomplishes this historicizing by way of annotation and the practice of *junkyo* (Yoshimori, 2003).

The *Kakaisho* became an object of criticism in the early modern period as new annotations of *The Tale of Genji* were produced. Scholars such as Keichu, Kamo no Mabuchi, and Motoori Norinaga did their own historical research and pointed out the *Kakaisho*'s historical inaccuracies—and this attitude has generally continued on into the present.³ This comes as no surprise, given the widely held assumption that the *Kakaisho* cites historical events as “precedents” that Shikibu drew on in creating the fictional events in the novel, though, as I have discussed, the *Kakaisho* in fact uses *The Tale of Genji* as its precedent through the practice of *junkyo*. In any case, as a result of these critiques, the *Kakaisho* has long been neglected in literary history.

The *Kakaisho* is no typical annotation of *The Tale of Genji* and is very different from other works from the Middle Ages. Take for instance an annotation by Ichijyo no Kaneyoshi, entitled *Kachoyosei* and compiled in 1472. Scholars have often observed that the two annotations—despite their relative temporal closeness—make a contrast in terms of their contents and interpretations. Unlike the *Kakaisho*, this text notes few historical events to give context to *The Tale of Genji*.

To illustrate this point, I want to return to the aforementioned chapter in which Genji is promoted to the rank of Honorary Retired Emperor. The *Kakaisho* is interested in translating this fictional event into a precedent and thus a part of the historical record. By contrast, the *Kachoyosei* is not interested in the world outside the text. The reading by the *Kachoyosei* is entirely dissociated from history and reads this episode only in terms of *mifu*, that is, as a reward given to Genji. This reading is certainly tenable, because Shikibu clearly indicates that the promotion in status was simply a matter of reward in the novel: “Although [Genji] enjoyed the same emoluments and so on as a Retired Emperor, he did not insist on the degree of ceremony proper to one, and he kept his train discreet despite the high regard in which he was universally held” (Murasaki, 2001, p. 586). The reading of this event in the *Kachoyosei* is certainly reasonable and entirely different from the *Kakaisho*'s annotation, which makes the latter even clearer as a peculiar practice. This shows how Yoshinari's unique approach allowed the author to accomplish a rewriting of *The Tale of Genji* as history.

Conclusion

As I have discussed, the *Kakaisho* reads *The Tale of Genji* as a story coterminous to historical actuality. When considering this alongside the practice of *junkyo*, we can see that this reading had interpretive power during the aristocratic period in Japan. However, with the demise of the aristocratic society, the *Kakaisho* lost its power, and history and the narrative of *Genji* were dissociated. This accounts for the interpretive

² See, for instance, *Angen onga no ki*, *Takakura in shokaki*, and *Kenreimoninukyonodaibu shu*.

³ Keichu, *Genncyu-syui*, Kamo no Mabuchi, *Genjimonogatari-Shinsyaku*, Motoori Norinaga, *Genjimonogatari tamanoogushi*.

differences between that arise in the short period from the *Kakaisho* to the *Kachoyosei*. There is clearly a fault line between these two texts. The latter sees *The Tale of Genji* as an object of analysis and reads it as a literary work that is closed and self-contained.

This paper has argued for the reevaluation of the *Kakaisho*. Yoshinari recreated *The Tale of Genji* as a historical narrative through *junkyo*, a practice that lent the text interpretive power. Thereby, the *Kakaisho* produced an entirely new reading of *The Tale of Genji*, which is different from *The Tale of Genji* that we think we know. Considering the *Kakaisho* in this framework, we might begin to call into question our presumed dichotomy between fiction and history in literary studies. In the end, the research on annotation in the Middle Ages challenges us to rethink our own reading practices in the present.

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*Analysis of Storytelling in Folklore Studies: Japanese Emigrants to Geomun-do
(Port Hamilton), Korea, and Their Psychic World*

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Abstract

The storytelling of informants that researchers encounter in fieldwork serves as an important research material in folklore studies. This paper addresses knotty questions that emerge in using storytelling and vernacular narrative as materials in folklore studies: that is, how to analyze stories without reducing them into pieces of objective information that are valuable only to researches; and how to recover the internal psychic world and subjective thoughts from an oral or vernacular tradition. This paper examines as a case study Port Hamilton, or Geomun-do, where Japanese fishers began to emigrate in the end of the Edo (Tokugawa) period and formed Japanese settlements till World War II. I consider the ways in which women's stories afford an insight into their psychic world that was formed as Japan underwent rapid changes in the prewar, wartime, and postwar periods.

Keywords: Folklore Studies, Narrative, Psychic World Of Informant

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Introduction

When researchers encounter storytelling by informants during fieldwork, the narratives serve as important research materials in folklore studies. Storytellers are by no means simply informants who provide indigenous information to researchers who come from outside. Rather, they are themselves mobile subjects, accumulating lived experiences while moving temporally and spatially across communities and relocating residences over time. This paper addresses the knotty questions that emerge when we use storytelling and vernacular narratives as materials in folklore studies: that is, how can we interpret stories without reducing them into pieces of objective information that are valuable only to researchers? And how can we recover their internal psychic worlds and subjective thoughts from oral or vernacular traditions?

In this paper, I choose as a case study Port Hamilton, or Geomun-do, a small group of islands in the Jeju Strait off the southern coast of the Korean Peninsula, where Japanese fishermen began to emigrate at the end of the Edo (Tokugawa) period and formed Japanese settlements, which remained in place until the end of World War II. I will examine the storytelling and narratives by women who were born and lived in Geomun-do until they were repatriated to Japan after the war. I consider the ways in which women's stories give us insight into their psychic worlds that were formed as Japan underwent rapid changes in the prewar, wartime, and postwar periods. By doing so I will make a case for interpreting storytelling by informants as a process, where we must examine the complex interplay between the informant and the narrative, and between the personal and the public.

How can we analyze people's psychic worlds through narratives, in particular oral narratives, which are gathered as materials in folklore studies?¹ In this paper, I am using the term "narrative" to mean an outward expression of the internal process through which otherwise distinct or seemingly mutually unrelated life experiences of oneself and others are integrated into a story. The act of narrating one's life is an act of connecting the present to the past, integrating these temporalities into subjective reality, and reconstructing experience into a story or what Noboru Miyata terms "folk facts" (Miyata, 1990 259) in order to convey it to others. Narrative is not detached from context, but constitutes part of the historical, social, and political situations surrounding those who narrate. In addition, the act of speaking connects the present time to the past time, integrates it, and reconstructs it as a story (Iwamoto, 2003) based on "subjective reality" (Gurjewitsch, 1990 13). The above point is important for the purposes of my paper. Traditionally, folk studies have analyzed narratives on the premise that the relationship between informants and the space that they inhabit is stable and fixed throughout their lifetime. However, this is not always the case. Informants are often mobile subjects crossing borders, moving between different living spaces, different social groups, and different nation-states (Shinohara, 2003). Indeed, this was the case for the late Reiko Hori, the informant I take up in this paper whose life was marked by movements back and forth between Geomun-do,² a group of islands off the coast the Korean Peninsula and Japan.

In what follows, I will analyze a narrative by Reiko, a granddaughter of the first Japanese fisherman, who settled in Geomun-do in 1905, emigrating to the islands with his family from Yutama village, Yamaguchi Prefecture, on the main island of Japan. Many other Japanese fishermen followed in his wake, migrating to the islands

to form a Japanese settlement. Reiko was born and grew up in Geomun-do before going to school on mainland Japan for several years. She spent the bulk of her youth living in Geomun-do, occasionally visiting Yutama village, her grandfather's hometown, until she was permanently repatriated to Yamaguchi Prefecture at the end of World War II. Later on, she made several visits to Geomun-do.

The spiritual world in Narrative

The trajectory of Reiko's life was marked by mobility, and her stories also underwent multiple stages of reflection and development as a result of her interactions with others, including folklore researchers like me. I conducted over 50 interviews with Reiko in Yutama village, over about 100 hours, in order to collect her narratives. This paper focuses on one of her narratives. As Reiko told me, it was a ghost story about the captian of a carrier ship in Geomun-do, which was told and retold to children on summer nights in Yutama village after the war ended. Reiko herself heard this story from her father, who had integrated fragments from various people's experiences into the narrative. Present the purposes of the study and provide background for your work.

The elements in the beginning of Reiko's narrative are primarily taken from the real-life experiences of the (unnamed) wife of a captain of a small carrier ship in Geomun-do, whom Reiko did not know personally. Reiko's oral story begins with the death of the captain whose wife, left alone, thinks that she will go back to her hometown on mainland Japan with the cremated bones of her husband. However, due to the low temperature of the fire in the open-air crematorium, the corpse was not completely burned. The wife leaves parts of this half-cremated body behind, taking a box containing only the bones with her to her lodging at an inn on the island. She puts the box in a bay window in her room on the second floor. Later, when she finally does board the ferry bound for mainland Japan, she leaves the box behind for some unknown reason.

From this point on in Reiko's narrative, the wife disappears and instead the box takes center stage, propelling the narrative forward. In addition, Reiko's narrative also begins to integrate the stories of other people—sons or cousins of the inn owner, who were not directly related to either the wife or the captain. Here, I will reproduce this part of her narrative as it was told to me, which I have translated in English:

On a summer day, the inn owner's family thought of sleeping in that room. The sons or cousins of the owner hung a mosquito net and slept in it. In the middle of the night, they heard a clicking sound. It was a sound like someone scratching a tatami mat with their nails. The men in the room disregarded it and tried to sleep. There was a spooky atmosphere, and they started to say, "Something is strange." ... The sound moved.... Then they thought, "Ugh! It's at our feet." Suddenly they were unable to move. When their body became free of whatever was gripping them and they looked toward the bay window, they dimly saw a charred captain sitting there. They screamed and ran away.... But their parents didn't believe them....

The narrative's integration of other voices and people do not end here. Reiko's narrative then incorporates the story of her own father, who saw the box at the Inn on Geomun-do. As Reiko narrates it, her father, having heard the foregoing story of the

box from the sons or cousins of the inn owner, sought to confirm the truth. Reiko continues her narrative thus:

So, this time my father went there with older men. Nothing happened in the daytime. There was only a box containing bones in the bay window. Then, at night, when they went to sleep within the mosquito net a clicking sound started and it moved around the net. The sound stopped when it reached their feet. They were unable to move, when something came inside the mosquito net. It was obviously a ghost.

Reiko finally incorporates even herself, a speaking subject, into the community that the story creates—a community that is indicated by the pronoun we. She says:

For the captain's soul, we thought we had to hand the remains over to the wife who had fled to Japan, but since her whereabouts were unknown, I took them to a temple in Geomun-do and asked a priest to chant a sutra....

Reiko's narrative begins and ends with the wife, who was the originator of the personal story that eventually became a collective narrative. As she finishes her narrative, Reiko even changes its theme and tone from a haunting spiritual story to an entertaining story with a laugh that she shares with listeners. By way of ending, she says:

The wife, by the way, was not weak-hearted but a free-spirited woman. She must have thought, "I can't live with such a ghost," and left for Japan all alone.

Reiko thus ends her story with laughter. Her narrative contains a wealth of social, historical, and cultural information. Yet the most interesting and instructive thing about the story is what it says about folk narrative. Reiko's ghost story is the epitome of folk narrative. It is composed from experiences of many people, such as the inn owner, young men, relatives, and a priest, and her own father, all of whom come into contact with the dead captain and/or his wife. The captain is dead and yet is said to cohabitate the islands with living people on Geomun-do; his existence is interwoven with people's life experiences, and as a result his and his wife's experiences are mixed with the experiences of others and integrated into a single story. This narrative became an oral tradition and was inherited by the descendants of the generation of Japanese who had first come to the islands. This tradition is not something handed down by society in a fixed location, as the narrative becomes mobile when the informants or storytellers eventually leave the islands and move across space and time.

Conclusion

From the example of Reiko's case study, several key points about folk narrative become clear. Folk narrative is polyphonic, containing life experiences of multiple people. The formation of narrative entails not only those who lived together in a certain community, but also informants who had relationships with them in the past, and even dead people whose presences are felt and recognized in the present living space. In such narratives, the existence of previous generations and of the dead is affirmed by the living, and these figures affect the lives of the living, creating new experiences and practices. The spirits of the dead are recognized as inhabiting the

same space-time as the living, thus linking the past to the present. Through such processes, a personal story tells the story of an entire community, and hints at its relationship with the larger society (mainland Japan) that it is a part of. Such stories can be seen as introspective narratives in folklore.

Folklore studies must involve the unfolding of such relationships. If this ghost story were interpreted only as information, it would have little to offer us. However, if we understand the storyteller's relationship to the narrative as I have demonstrated in this paper, we can begin to recover part of the psychic world of the story and see a more complex interplay between the personal and the public in the telling of the narrative. In Reiko's narrative, the unburied bones of a dead sea captain that were left behind on Geomun-do function as a symbol of an important part of the life that Reiko and the other residents of the islands left behind—the life that still haunts them—as they were repatriated to Japan after World War II and forced to leave their homes. In the end, what is important in folklore studies is not so much what the storyteller has to say. Instead researchers need to understand the position of the storyteller and how personal relationships and public events are integrated into narrative.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Reiko Hori, the informant of this paper.

Footnotes

1 The people who live in the changing times of prewar, wartime, and postwar are called "Traditional Subjects" (Takakuwa, 1994 33)

2 Geomun-do is located 127 degrees east of the Korean archipelago and 34 degrees north latitude. For historical researches on Geomun-do, see Nakamura (1994), and Choi (1994).

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Understanding and Promoting Gender Diversity Among Senior Faculty at the University of Tokyo: A Student Action Project

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Abstract

Despite active efforts by the University of Tokyo (UTokyo) to promote women's academic career development, the ratio of females remains low throughout the UTokyo community. In particular, the large drop in gender diversity from student level (20% female undergraduates) to senior faculty (8% female full professors), suggests the existence of a “leaky pipeline” along the academic hierarchy. In March 2019, a team of 9 UTokyo students initiated a Student Initiative Project (SIP) to support ongoing efforts within UTokyo to promote gender equality. The objectives were: (i) to understand causes and solutions for low female faculty rates, and (ii) to foster a change in campus culture via gender mainstreaming. The methodology included interviews of female and male researchers at UTokyo, followed by feedback to two Executive Vice-Presidents and the Office for Gender Equality. In parallel, a trilogy of interactive workshops involving panel discussions and documentary screenings were delivered to over 40 UTokyo students and faculty. This paper provides an overview of major findings from the project. Key lessons learnt are that: (i) the leaky pipeline is caused by intersection between gender and wider systemic issues such as job precarity for young faculty; (ii) solutions can be achieved through synergies with top-level university priorities such as international research ranking targets; (iii) student-led initiatives offer an effective means of supporting institutional change on gender equality.

Keywords: Gender Equality, Higher Education, Leaky Pipeline, Student-Led

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1. Introduction

The University of Tokyo (UTokyo) is actively promoting women's participation at both student and faculty levels. Promising efforts to support women's academic career development include the UTokyo Vision 2020 “Fostering Diversity” initiative (Gonokami, 2015) and the UTokyo Future Society Initiative (UTokyo, 2017). Figure 1 shows some of the major ongoing gender equality (GE) initiatives at UTokyo.



Figure 1: Major gender equality institutions and projects currently active at UTokyo.

However, the ratio of females remains low throughout the UTokyo community, including among undergraduate students (19.3%) and full professors (7.8%) (UTokyo, 2018), as shown in Figure 2.

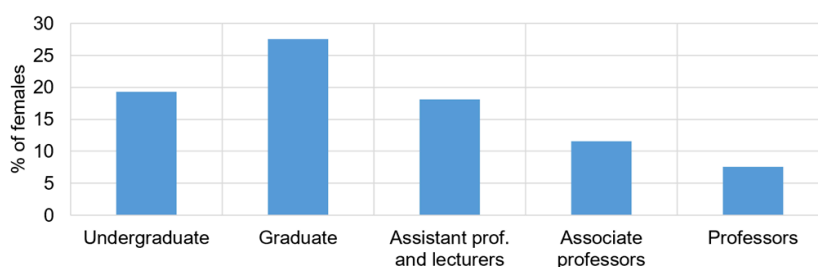


Figure 2: Ratio of females along the academic hierarchy at UTokyo (UTokyo, 2018; UTokyo, 2019).

On one hand, gender imbalance among teaching staff in tertiary education is a systemic issue in Japan, as can be seen in Figure 3. On the other hand, gender ratios among full professors differ between leading Japanese universities, as shown in Figure 4, suggesting that there is still room for improvement at UTokyo even on a domestic level.

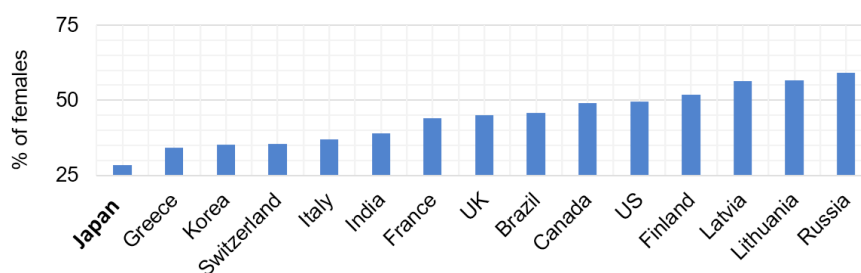


Figure 3: Ratio of female teachers in tertiary education by country (OECD, 2020).

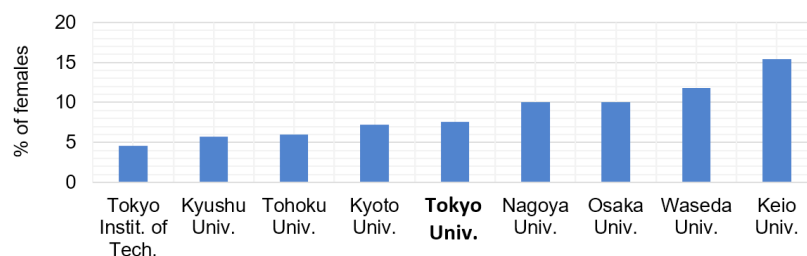


Figure 4: Ratio of female full professors in major Japanese universities (Tokyo Institute of Technology, 2019; Kyushu University, 2019; Tohoku University, 2018; Kyoto University Gender Equality Promotion Center, 2019; UTokyo, 2018; Nagoya University, 2019; Osaka University, 2019; Waseda University, 2018; Keio University, 2019).

A 2017 econometric (non-peer-reviewed) study by Shibayama and Geuna (2017) attempted to identify the main contributors to the present low levels of female researchers in Japanese academia, specifically in the fields of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM). The large-scale study tracked the career paths of over 100,000 Japanese PhD holders who graduated between 1985 and 2005. On one hand, cohort effects were found to play one role in explaining the lower rates in STEM of senior female researchers compared to PhD holders. In other words, the combined effects of (i) the time delay between graduation with a PhD and promotion to senior researcher level, and (ii) the increase in the proportion of female STEM PhD graduates over time, means that the ratio of female senior academics has lagged behind the pool of junior researchers.

On the other hand, the proportion of female researchers actively continuing academic research after PhD level has not increased in step with the rate of female graduates. In fact it has reduced in some fields, such as science, where the odds ratio (i.e. likelihood of a female researcher leaving an active research position compared to an equivalent male counterpart) was around 2 at the time of the study. This study, though not focused specifically on UTokyo, suggests there is a leaky pipeline of female researchers in Japanese academia. The expression “leaky pipeline” refers to a phenomenon where the ratio of women gradually decreases between entry-level and senior positions, due to barriers against employment and promotion (OECD, 2012). In the context of this study, senior faculty are defined as tenured researchers with a permanent research contract provided by UTokyo.

The objective of this work is to evaluate the causes of the leaky pipeline at UTokyo, and to propose concrete and actionable solutions to improve the situation. To the authors’ knowledge, no prior investigations have examined the leaky pipeline phenomenon at UTokyo. Another original feature of this work is that it was fully initiated and led by students, as part of a UTokyo Student Initiative Project (SIP).

This paper is organised as follows. Section 2 presents the student initiative framework within which the study was conducted. Section 3 explains the interview-based research and development method, followed by key insights gained on causes and solutions for the leaky pipeline of female researchers at UTokyo. Section 4 introduces outreach activities for gender mainstreaming conducted within the project, in response to findings in Section 3. The paper concludes in Section 5 with perspectives for improvement and further extension of the study.

2. Student action project

One original feature of this project is that it was fully initiated and conducted by students, within the framework of the Global Leader Program for Social Design and Management (GSDM) at UTokyo (GSDM, 2020). GSDM is one of 62 Programs for Leading Graduate Schools (JSPS, 2015) offered at 33 Japanese universities, funded until FY2019 by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). GSDM's SIPs provide graduate researchers (mainly PhD students) with mentorship and funding to launch multidisciplinary initiatives of their design, with the purpose of reframing and addressing cross-cutting social issues.

This one-year SIP consisted of 9 students from 6 countries and 5 graduate schools, including 5 female and 4 male members, spanning Master's and PhD levels. The main advantages of this diverse membership were access to a wide variety of stakeholders within the university, and complementary skillsets and time schedules. The project timeline is shown in Figure 5.

The SIP consisted of two streams: (1) research and development (R&D), and (2) outreach. In the R&D stream, the emphasis was on analysis of causes of the leaky pipeline and development of solutions, mainly via interaction with mid-career or senior academics and executive decision-makers at UTokyo. In the complementary outreach stream, the focus was on sharing findings from the R&D stream, receiving feedback, and raising awareness of GE with a wider audience, including non-UTokyo students as well as external organisations. The method adopted and results obtained in the two streams are now presented in more detail.

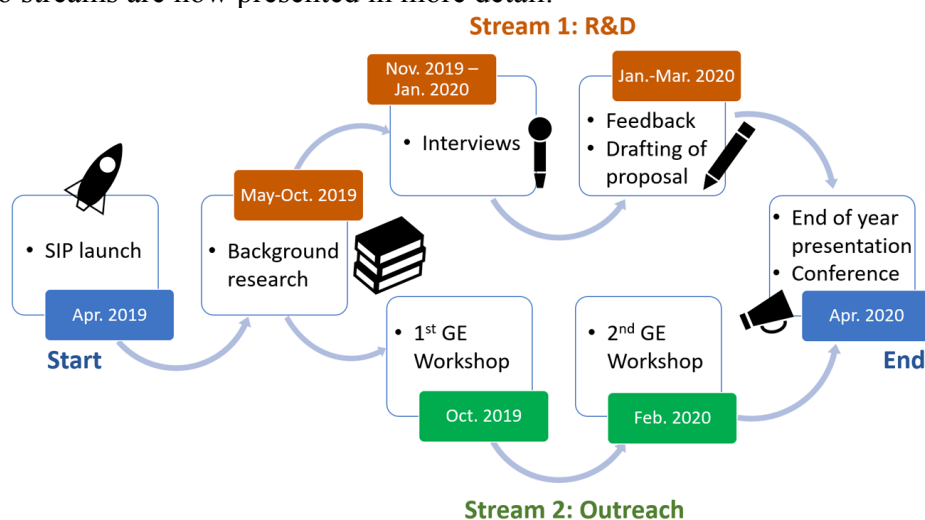


Figure 5: Project timeline.

3. Research and development

The research and development stream formed the main part of this project, and consisted of three steps as shown in Figure 5: (i) background research on GE in academia, (ii) interviews along the leaky pipeline, and (iii) feedback from key stakeholders at UTokyo in order to draft proposals for improving the situation. The methodology adopted and results obtained in each of the three steps are briefly summarised in this section.

3.1 Background research

In order to build capability on GE at UTokyo, our SIP team mobilised three main resources: a literature review on GE in academia; stakeholder mapping around GE within the university; and consultation with the UTokyo Office for Gender Equality (2020). The literature review was accompanied by: completing online training courses on GE offered by UN Women (2020), attending the 3rd Gender Symposium of the Engineering Association of Japan (EAJ) (2020), and joining the GE team at the 2019 Forum for Leading Graduate Schools (2019). The main outcomes of this step were: improved understanding of who to consult with on gender issues within UTokyo, and what questions to ask. This knowledge was used in the next step.

3.2 Interviews along the leaky pipeline: Identification of causes

In order to evaluate causes and solutions for the leaky pipeline of female researchers at UTokyo, an interview-based approach was adopted. Seven researchers, spanning the length of the leaky pipeline (1 full professor, 1 associate professor, 1 assistant professor, 1 project associate lecturer, 3 PhD students) were chosen as interviewees. The small sample size was mitigated by sampling from multiple graduate schools, as well as including a combination of female (6) and male (1) researchers.

The questions centred on two main topics: in your opinion, what are the main causes of the leaky pipeline? And what are the most promising and realistic solutions? The interviews were recorded (when permission was granted by the interviewee) and transcribed. The most frequently recurring keywords and themes were extracted and used to identify five main causes of the leaky pipeline at UTokyo.

The results are summarised in Figure 5. In the figure, the causes are ranked from highest impact (cause 1) to lowest impact (cause 5). This ranking is based two factors: the mention frequency of the causes in the interview transcripts; and their qualitative severity, estimated by the interviewees. One important finding is that the causes often overlap with systemic issues within the university, as will be discussed.

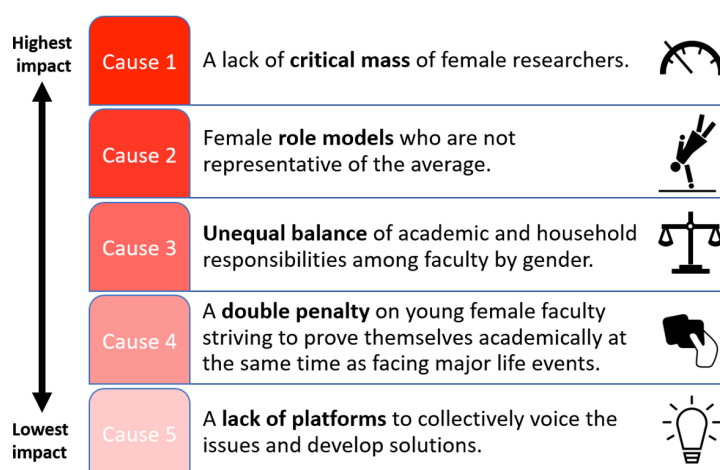


Figure 5. Top 5 causes of the leaky pipeline of female researchers identified in our SIP.

The relation between each cause and outflow from the leaky pipeline can be summarised as follows:

- Cause 1: A lack of critical mass of female researchers is apparent along the entire academic hierarchy (see Figure 2), but is especially pronounced at senior level. The low proportion of senior female research leaders contributes to the leaky pipeline in three main ways, by: (i) limiting career consulting and networking opportunities for junior female researchers, with a potential negative impact on promotion; (ii) making it difficult to reduce (potentially unconscious) bias and discrimination (for example, we were told of a robotics laboratory at UTokyo adorning robots with pink colours during an open day in order to attract new female researchers); and (iii) limiting the number of “realistic” female role models who are representative of the average (related to cause 2). This cause has high impact because it is connected to all subsequent causes.
- Cause 2: Female researcher role models who are usually given the most attention at UTokyo are not representative of the average. Consider the case of a female researcher who is on maternity leave. She would be hailed as a “super-woman” role model if she promptly responds to work-related matters even during the days just after childbirth and returns to full-time work very quickly. This relatively narrow conception of a role model does not provide room for the inevitable and natural variability between individual experiences of childbirth. An equally dedicated female researcher may simply not be able to return to work immediately after childbirth given her health and family conditions. As a result, female researchers may experience impostor syndrome when comparing themselves to exceptional cases. In addition, peer pressure (associated with Japanese cultural norms of endurance and not letting one’s work unit down) may be exerted by colleagues on female researchers who take longer maternity leave.
- Cause 3: Female researchers are more likely to be responsible for a greater share of household work than their male colleagues. Among our interviewees, no female researchers had a househusband, while they reported that most of their male colleagues were supported by a housewife. Our female interviewees stated that they are responsible for at least 50% of household-related tasks, which may include housework, and caring for elderly family members. On one hand, overwork is a systemic issue at UTokyo, related to the lack of highly-skilled administrative support staff for academics, as well as heavy reliance on paperwork and time-consuming administrative procedures. On the other hand, intersection with patriarchal gender norms means that female researchers are more likely to experience increased pressure on their academic time schedules, placing them at a potential disadvantage for research output.
- Cause 4: There is severe competition at UTokyo for tenured positions and young researchers aiming to acquire a tenured position are expected to produce significant amounts of research output, which often requires them to be fully dedicated to their work around the clock during early career years. This timing usually coincides with major life events like pregnancy for female researchers who decide to start a family. This is another example of intersection between gender and systemic problems which affect all UTokyo researchers. The university provides a relatively short maternity leave called “ikukyu” (alongside state-provided maternity

leave) to non-tenured faculty, usually lasting around 3 months depending on the contract (UTokyo Office for GE, 2018). As a result, female researchers may face psychological or regulatory pressure to exit their job if requiring unexpectedly long maternal leave. In addition, researchers who avail of maternity leave may face less favourable assessment for promotion, since drops in academic output due to major life events are usually not considered during performance evaluations.

- Cause 5: Despite the number and variety of GE initiatives at UTokyo (see Figure 1), their cross-linkage remains low. Moreover, due to restricted budget and human resources, the scope of the Office for Gender Equality is limited: for example at present, there are no dedicated services for career counselling, or for provision of practical advice for work life balance (related to cause 3). This is one reason for the current slow progress on improving GE.

After the interviews and post-processing, the findings were shared with key UTokyo decision makers in order to receive their feedback. This involved discussions on the relationship between university policy and causes of the leaky pipeline, in view of developing solutions.

3.3 Feedback to and from key stakeholders: Development of solution proposals

In the final step, meetings were held with two Executive Vice-Presidents of UTokyo, one professor in the Graduate School of Public Policy, and two representatives from the Office for Gender Equality in order to formulate concrete and actionable solution proposals.

The top five priorities identified are summarised in Figure 6. In the figure, the solutions are ranked from highest impact (solution 1) to lowest impact (solution 5). The ranking is based on the number and impact of the causes addressed by each solution. Each solution is linked to several of the causes identified in Section 3.3, as shown via the icons in the right-hand column, which also appear in Figure 5.

Each solution is presented in detail below, including its: (i) justification, (ii) expected benefits, (iii) method of implementation, and (iv) major challenges.
















		<i>Causes addressed:</i>				
Highest impact ↑ ↓ Lowest impact	Solution 1	To create a synergy between UT’s research ranking goals and hiring of foreign female full professors.				
			CRIT. MASS	R. MODEL	W-L BALANCE	PLATFORMS
	Solution 2	To extend childcare leave (育休) for non-tenured female faculty.				
			CRIT. MASS	W-L BALANCE	DBL. PENALTY	
	Solution 3	To end all official meetings before 6pm.				
		R. MODEL	W-L BALANCE	DBL. PENALTY		
Solution 4	To provide a compulsory gender awareness course for all students and faculty.					
		CRIT. MASS	R. MODEL	PLATFORMS		
Solution 5	To consider using the “Toward Daiversity” logo to represent and unify action on GE at UT.					
		CRIT. MASS	PLATFORMS			

Figure 6. Top 5 solutions for the leaky pipeline of female researchers identified in our SIP.

- Solution 1: To create a synergy between UTokyo's research ranking goals and GE, via hiring of foreign female full professors.

(i) At present, GE is not given high priority status at UTokyo, as mentioned in Section 3.2. Therefore, cultivating links with top priority items is important to catalyse change. Since UTokyo is a research university, one strategy is to emphasise the mutual benefits which GE will bring both to members of the UTokyo community, and to the university's international research rankings. Based on our discussions, increasing hiring of foreign female full professors (especially from the US and Europe) may benefit UTokyo's research performance in two ways. Firstly, by providing a web of contacts at world-leading universities for international collaborations. Secondly, by increasing the proportion of senior female research leaders. Both points may boost UTokyo's position in modernised international research rankings, one of which now provides options to compare universities' performance on the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Times Higher Education World University Rankings, 2020), including goal number 5: GE (although UTokyo is not yet on the list of participating institutions).

(ii) Foreign female researchers are (usually) not imbued with gender bias related to Japanese cultural baggage, and are therefore more likely to challenge established norms. The three main expected benefits within the UTokyo community are therefore: reduction in gender bias among senior decision makers, bolder leadership on promoting GE, and an increase in positive role models for junior researchers. On the other hand, a great deal of research indicates that diversity within a group may actually increase conflict within the group members, unless the group has an environment that embraces diverse voices (Kravitz, 2006). Therefore, a co-requirement is to develop an enabling environment for diversity, which may not currently exist at UTokyo.

(iii) In order to increase hiring of foreign female researchers at UTokyo, an attractive offer is required. Potential measures could include providing: language and childcare support, research assistants, and stimulating research opportunities. In some regions such as Scandinavia, the proportion of female researchers in areas like science is already near parity (UNESCO, 2019), which means that one option is gender blind recruitment on merit. On the other hand, hiring for domestic female researchers should continue to include affirmative action (which has been supported by UTokyo since at least 2009 (UTokyo GE office, 2009)), due to the present lack of critical mass.

(iv) GE initiatives at UTokyo suffer from limited budgets, which may also impact overseas recruitment. Therefore, one option is to focus on hiring researchers who value non-monetary qualities of UTokyo such as novel research themes.

- Solution 2: To extend childcare leave for non-tenured female faculty.

(i) As mentioned in cause 4 in Section 3.2, maternity leave provided to non-tenured junior faculty is usually 3 months, potentially causing outflow of female researchers from the university. However, since UTokyo has authority over this policy, it can feasibly be changed.

(ii) Expected benefits include reduced early contract termination by junior female faculty, as well as reduced uncertainty for human-resources and laboratory colleagues. In turn, this may contribute to ending a vicious cycle of female researchers being seen as less stable academic “investments” by supervising laboratories, facilitating promotion.

(iii) In order to meet individual needs, the maximum childcare leave period should be extended from the current level and allocated to suit non-tenured faculty members’ needs on a case-by-case basis. At present, childcare leave is only available for female researchers, and extension to male researchers should also be considered to account for changing family roles.

(iv) However, a change in policy is not enough, and should be accompanied by a shift in attitudes (e.g. peer pressure and role models) in order for female faculty to avail of more flexible childcare leave periods.

- Solution 3: To end all official meetings before 6pm.

(i) UTokyo has officially discouraged official meetings from taking place beyond regular office hours since at least 2009 (UTokyo, 2009). However, in practise official meetings are regularly held at and beyond 6pm. On one hand, this creates a time burden for all faculty members, regardless of gender. On the other hand, late official meetings may specifically exclude female researchers. Indeed, as mentioned in cause 3, female researchers are more likely to be responsible for the majority of household tasks than their male colleagues, which may include collecting children from public nurseries, most of which close at or around 6pm. Therefore, female researchers are more likely to miss out on important developments in their faculty or department, which may negatively impact research opportunities and promotion.

(ii) Expected benefits are a reduced time burden on all faculty members, and greater flexibility for all members of the UTokyo community to effectively combine research and household life, contributing to a change in role models.

(iii) One method is to transition from simply discouraging late meetings, to enforcement. For example, two options are: creating “nudges” such as posters asking researchers to reconsider if a late official meeting is essential, and (online) log-books requiring researchers to keep a record of their meeting times.

(iv) Convincing full professors to adopt the new policy is expected to be the biggest challenge. With their positive leadership, junior faculty are likely to follow.

- Solution 4: To provide a compulsory gender awareness course to all students and faculty.

(i) As suggested in the introduction, the long-term aim of this project is to increase the proportion of female members of the UTokyo community, and to create a self-sustaining environment which encourages diversity. However, in the absence of a critical mass of female researchers, educational policy provides a short-term means to change campus culture towards respect for diversity. Although courses on harassment are provided to all new students entering the university, and to faculty when changing

academic positions, at present there are no compulsory courses on GE. While courses on harassment are self-evidently important, they do not address potentially underlying issues such as discrimination and bias. This is important, as ironically the low proportion of female researchers means that male researchers may not be aware of gender-related issues mentioned in Section 3.2, and may therefore not appreciate the extent of the problem nor be able to recognise (let alone acknowledge, call out, and change) harmful attitudes.

(ii) Expected benefits are reduction of unconscious bias, among both male and female researchers. Moreover, if UTokyo is seen as actively promoting GE, other effects could include attracting more female researchers (including foreign female full professors) to the university, as well as encouraging other leading Japanese universities to boost their GE efforts.

(iii) At present, a pilot course is being developed by a female Japanese professor in conjunction with the Office for Gender Equality. One priority is to allocate more financial and human resources to this promising project.

(iv) For now, the pilot course will not be provided to faculty members. One challenge is how to meaningfully incorporate gender awareness-raising into their already busy schedules.

- Solution 5: To consider using the “Toward Daiversity” logo to represent and unify action on GE at UTokyo.

(i) In order to increase progress towards GE at UTokyo, greater linkage between existing initiatives (see Figure 1) is required (see cause 5). Our proposal is to introduce a logo to act as a visual and unifying umbrella device for GE at UTokyo.

(ii) Expected benefits include greater visibility of and interlinkage between GE efforts at UTokyo.

(iii) Our SIP team has designed and manufactured a candidate logo, which will be made available to the UTokyo Office for Gender Equality. We hope the Office will use the logo in two ways: as an eye-catching symbol for official endorsement of existing initiatives on GE at UTokyo, by granting usage permission to relevant parties; and as an awareness-raising device distributed during GE events on campus. The logo can be found on our SIP webpage (Towards Gender Equality at UTokyo, 2020).

(iv) One challenge is to strike a balance between coordination of individual GE activities in view of raising their collective impact, and respect for the distinct nature of each initiative.

After completion of the causal analysis (Section 3.2) and development of solution proposals (Section 3.3), our team sent a 10-page letter to UTokyo President Makoto Gonokami¹ in March 2020 summarising our findings and urging him to consider our recommendations. It is noteworthy that several of our recommendations overlap with

¹ In this paper, Japanese names are written with the given name ahead of the surname.

the output of prior work by Toyoizumi (2017) on methods to reduce the gender gap in the Japanese research community. Unfortunately, the timing coincided with the COVID-19 crisis, which understandably changed university priorities. Although we are still waiting for a response, we are currently exploring other pathways for concrete implementation of our recommendations. In addition, our outreach activities have enabled us to share our findings with a wider variety of stakeholders within and beyond UTokyo, creating new partnerships.

4. Outreach

The R&D stream of the SIP focused on a relatively narrow group of researchers and university stakeholders. On the other hand, one recurring finding in Section 3 is a lack of awareness of GE issues within the UTokyo community. In response, a three-part series of outreach activities was conducted in order to share our findings, promote discussion on gender-related issues among both male and female students and faculty members, and contribute to gender mainstreaming.

The three-part workshop consisted of a sequence of discussion sessions, around two hours each, following the progression shown in Figure 7. More detail can be found on the SIP website (Towards GE at UTokyo, 2020).

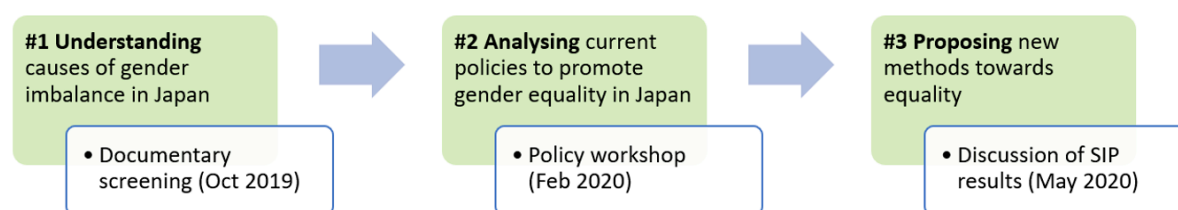


Figure 7. Sequence of three workshops in the “Gender Series” of discussion sessions.

The first event, “International discussion on shaping gender in Japan”, aimed to raise awareness of GE issues specific to the Japanese context, via a documentary screening and a panel discussion with members of the UTokyo Office for Gender Equality. Participants (students and faculty members) were divided into three brainstorming groups, and the two outputs were: brief definitions of GE in Japan today; and identification of the main factors influencing GE. The second event, “Gender-balanced decision making: policy vs reality”, encouraged participants to move beyond understanding into analysis and reaction via development of policy proposals. Finally, in the third event we held a discussion between several of our interviewees, faculty members in the School of Public Policy and Institute for Future Initiatives, and GSDM stakeholders in order to share our SIP findings and develop a roadmap for the next stage of our project.

Over 60 students, faculty members, and employees of NGOs and public interest organisations joined the “Gender Series”, contributing to fruitful discussions. Several participating organisations have offered to partner with us as we extend the SIP this fiscal year, with potential for a lasting legacy. Multiple students, both male and female, reported feeling empowered after joining the workshops, which was an extremely rewarding outcome, and one participant has joined the SIP team. These results demonstrate that beyond inspiring, outreach can also translate into concrete action.

5. Conclusions

In this work, a student action project was initiated to identify causes and develop solution proposals for the leaky pipeline of female researchers at the University of Tokyo. The main findings can be summarised as follows:

- Five main causes were identified through an interview-based method. The overarching cause is a lack of critical mass of female researchers. Most causes involve intersection between systemic issues which affect all UTokyo researchers, such as severe competition for tenured positions and overwork, and gender-specific issues such as major life events related to childbirth.
- Five promising solutions were developed by consultation with key executive university stakeholders, and recommendation proposals were sent to the President of UTokyo. The main recurring theme is the need to develop linkage between top university priorities, such as UTokyo's international research ranking, and GE. Based on this work, one potential high-impact method is gender-blind recruitment of foreign female full professors, alongside continued affirmative action for domestic researchers.
- Given that one key problem identified was a lack of awareness, a series of three interactive workshops were held to promote discussion on GE between members of the UTokyo community. The workshops' lasting impact, which includes establishing new partnerships on promoting GE at UTokyo, shows that student-led initiatives offer an effective means to support institutional progress on GE.

The most significant limitations of the present work are: the absence of quantitative analysis of causes of the leaky pipeline at UTokyo, as well as for separation of cohort and leakage effects; and the small sample size of interviewees. In addition, more investigation is required into the relationship between the current gender ratio among senior faculty at UTokyo, and the equilibrium gender ratio with equal access and opportunities for males and females. It is conceivable that when all female researchers are given equitable opportunities to pursue a career in academia at UTokyo, the gender ratio at senior (and junior) level could remain below 50%, and yet be considered a gender-equal outcome. Such considerations are important when setting long-term targets for GE. Finally, in future work, this student action project will shift from development of recommendations to concrete implementation.

The main implications of this study are that:

- An equitable academic environment benefits both university executives, students and faculty members, regardless of gender.
- Looking beyond higher education, Japanese societal needs are set to raise demands for effective work-life balance by the female workforce, to combine contributions to the declining national birth rate and to the shrinking economy. A larger number of projects similar to the present initiative are required to effectively prepare for this societal shift.

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A Study on Agricultural Production and the Vicissitude of Settlements in Japanese Colonial Period-A Case of Kaohsiung Settlement in Taiwan

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Abstract

In the past, traditionally agricultural farming methods usually followed family members in Taiwan. To get cheaper crop materials, the Japanese government changed the way of agricultural production by capitalism in Japanese Colonial Period. The role of farmers changed gradually in the market mechanism, return to the complete producer in the market from producer, processor and salespeople. After the invention of changing structure of production and capitalist, the workforce lost balance. The Japanese government wanted to make up for Taiwan 's workforce through immigration policies, get the shock from immigrants and worker, then changed Kaohsiung Harborside Settlement by immigration indirectly. This research studied by a geographic viewpoint, case analysis by historical data review, historical map, and statistical data in Dazhu Vil of Kaohsiung Harborside Settlement. Presenting changes in life support space and settlement area through Penghu immigrants in Kaohsiung. Data showed that the settlement location of Penghu immigrants was closely related to the development of Kaohsiung City. They usually chose on the edge of the city and living areas, changed life support way method accompanied by Southward Policy, and the composition of the migrant settlements was formed by the regional relationship of Penghu. The appearance of Kaohsiung Harborside Settlement mainly composed of regional immigrant settlements.

Keywords: Immigration, Dazhu Vil, Family Farming, Life Support Areas, Penghu

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Introduction

*All along, Kaohsiung impression with chimney on the skyline.
What did look like before in Kaohsiung ?*

The composition of the city is to form a spatial appearance through people and settlements, people living in the city cannot feel the existence of space that must be defined by activities and events. To study the way people lived in the past in Kaohsiung that location of settlements, the way of subsistence, and economic activities through the changes in agricultural structure during the Japanese occupation. Penghu immigrants in Kaohsiung in Japanese Colonial Period as a research object, analyze the impact of agricultural changes on settlements by selecting settlement locations and transition processes, defining the settlement space by life support and religion that reinterpret Kaohsiung through agriculture.

Because of the policy during the Japanese Colonial Period, the settlement position will be affected by life support way and economic behavior that be the key to choosing location. Then after a stable life, religion becomes the center of residents' lives, and also connected with people and their emotions in the settlement, finally forming a settlement space, especially important for immigrants. When immigration left home who also brought religion to the new settlement that enshrine at home. After immigrant life was settled which built the temple and continued the emotions of the original settlement.

The research used agricultural data analysis during the Japanese colonial period, and then reconstructed the settlement changes in Kaohsiung from 1895 to 1945 through GIS. Finally, through agricultural data, the amount of agricultural land, and crops, the analysis responded to the research issues.

Changes in the structure of Agricultural Production through Capitalism

The Japanese government increased rice production by repairing agricultural facilities in 1908, at the same time, the original living crops are crowded out that production volume reduction. Capitalism affects farmers' lives and changes economic behavior that from self-sufficient agricultural production to commercial production, also affect farmers' farming projects by Government of Taiwan policies, farmers must obtain food and life supplied through the market. In other words, production and sales are controlled by the market, and the workers is hired through salary. The main income is owned by capitalist plutocrat who become the market control mechanism in Taiwan, at this time the biggest plutocrat is the Japanese government.

透早就出門，天色漸漸光，受苦無人問，行到田中央，
行到田中央，為著顧三當，顧三當，不驚田水冷霜霜。
炎天赤日頭，悽悽日中單，有時踏水車，有時著搔草，
希望好日後，苦工用透透，用透透，曝日不知汗那流。
日頭若落山，功課才有煞，不管風抑雨，不管寒抑熱，
一家的頭嘴，靠著稻仔大，稻仔大，阮的過日就快活。

《Rural Song》 write words : CHEN,DA-RU · 1937

From the traditional Taiwanese song "Rural Song" that is close to a representative work of a farmer life, you can feel the farmers life and work hard every day before the sun rises. Farmers want to improve their lives.

Presenting the life of farmers through songs. In the past, Taiwan’s agriculture was based on family farms during the Early Period of Japanese. The agricultural production method is self-sufficient that with rice and sweet potatoes as subsistence production crop, agricultural production methods are self-sufficient, with rice and sweet potatoes as live crops, and limited production, only for farm family, in addition to this, sugar production becomes economic crop that important economic sources for farmers. Economic crop and subsistence production crops are collaboration relationship that not competition, the cultivated area has not decreased or increased between 1899 and 1900.

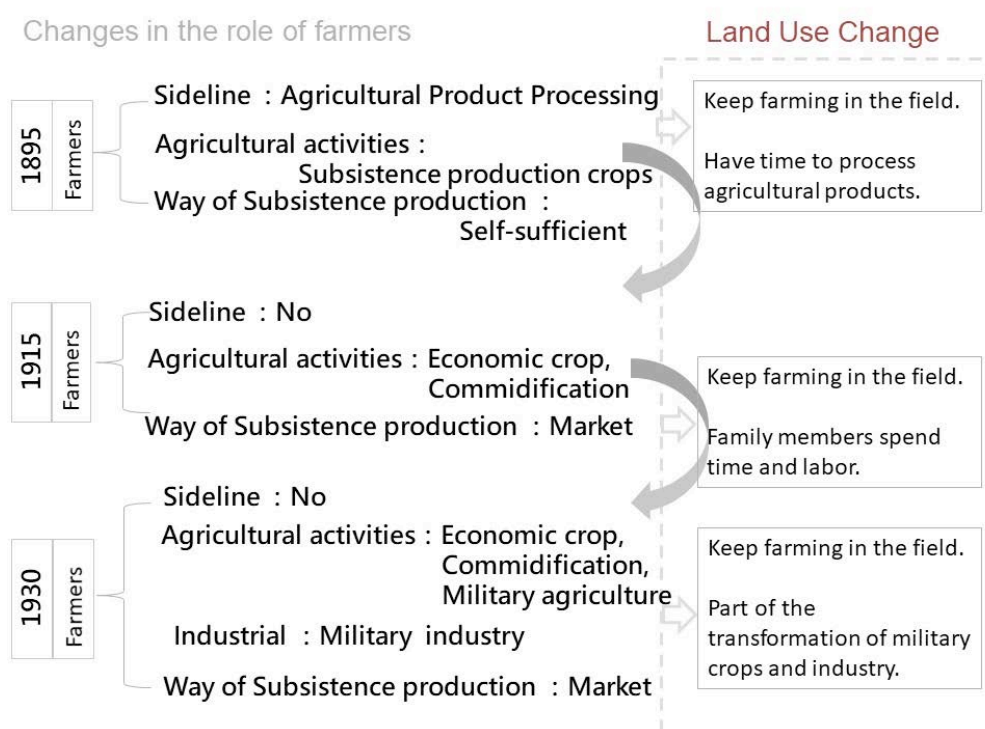


Figure 1: Changes in the role of farmers.

The Japanese government’s policy to intervene in production methods through capitalism in Taiwan began "industrial Japan, agriculture Taiwan.", industrial transformation also affects production methods, In the past, farmers farmed in family farms. Workers were family members and farmed near their homes. In addition, the land was owned by them. At this time, farmers have multiple roles, being producers, processors and sellers. At the same time, it can also affect the market price. In addition to farming, processing agricultural products in spare time who can increases income and self-sufficient. Farmers change their lives to get extra income through processing; Because capitalism changed the way of production, the government of Taiwanese acquired land, restricted the area of agricultural raw materials, farmers became workers, and the role of farmers changed into producers, living through salary that to buy food in the market through cash, which causes changes in land cultivation

and farmer population, and restricts development and changes to settlement spaces. Taiwan’s lack of workers due to industrial transformation.

Changes in the Role of Workers and Immigrant

The Japanese government conducted an agricultural survey in 1919. In order to maintain agricultural development in Taiwan, the Japanese government proposed several issues for Taiwanese agricultural workers: (1) supply of agricultural workers; (2) balance of cultivated land and agricultural workers; (3) employment relationship; (4) the mode of adjustment between workers and immigrants; (5) the salary of agricultural workers; (6) the control of worker resources.

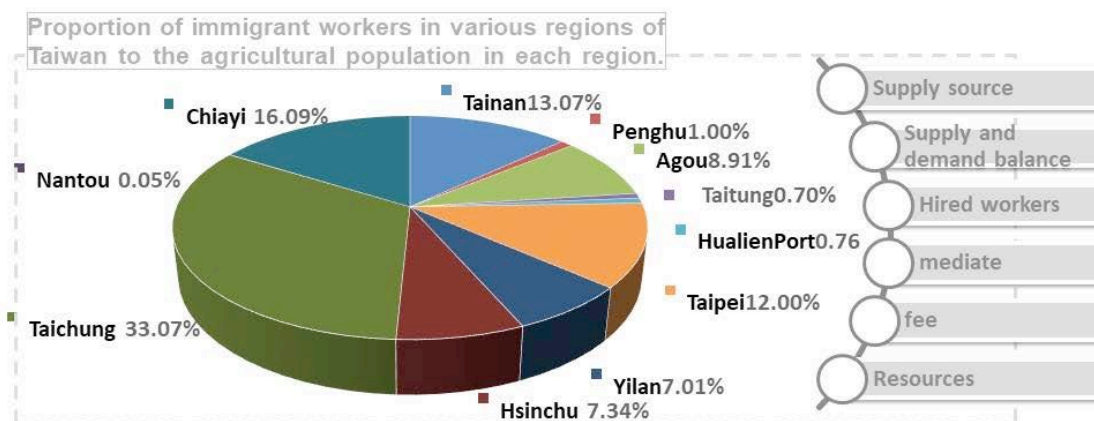


Figure 2: Proportion of immigrant workers in various regions of Taiwan to the agricultural population in each region.

Adopted immigration policies by the Japanese government that supply and hired of workers, and resources. In 1915, the total number of agricultural in Taiwan was 1,362,529, Full-time agricultural workers accounted for 85.31%, and sideline agricultural workers accounted for 14.69%, Proportion of immigrant workers in various regions of Taiwan to the agricultural population in each region in 1915. the most workers in Taichung, Chiayi and Tainan that immigrant workers are non-residents.

Table 1: Employment of agricultural workers in 1919.

	Farm operator		Family farm		Workers	
	Number of people	Percent	Number of people	Percent	Number of people	Percent
full-time	345,029	29.68%	350,666	30.17%	466,504	40.13%
Sideline	176,385	87.26%	0	0%	25,752	12.73%

Statistics on Taiwan’s Immigrant and emigrate in 1919. From the tabulation, the worker of Agou and Tainan is mainly from Penghu, with a total of 9,596 people

working in Taiwan, therefore, Penghu Department formulates immigration policies that it conducts immigration control.

Table 2: Statistics on Taiwan 's Immigrant and emigrate in 1919.

Immigrant Emigrate	Taipei	Yilan	Taoyuan	Hsinchu	Taichung	Nantou	Chiayi	Tainan	Agou	Hualien Port	Immigrant total
Taipei	0	303	1343	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1688
Yilan	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	195
Taoyuan	1086	0	0	1451	340	272	0	0	0	0	3149
Hsinchu	62	32	262		671	420	178	8	188	15	1994
Taichung	0	0	0	26	0	889	280	0	6	0	1202
Nantou	0	0	0	0	133	0	8	0	0	0	141
Chiayi	0	1	0	0	14	0	0	217	21	0	258
Tainan	0	0	0	10	1	0	520	0	2503	28	3062
Agou	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	247	0	243	667
Penghu	0	0	0	0	959	0	1919	2879	2879	480	9596
Emigrate total	1167	336	1605	1487	2119	1581	2905	3351	5597	766	

Agricultural Changes and Subsistence Production Space Changes in Kaohsiung Harborside Settlement

After the Meiji Restoration, Japan changed from agriculture to industry. In 1890, the population was concentrated in cities. Workers chose industries to work, resulting in reduced agricultural production and food shortages. In order to solve the problem of shortage of subsistence production crops, the Japanese government opened imports in 1900, government of Taiwan forces Taiwanese farmers to plant rice, while considering the demand for sugar and southbound policy, changes in sugar production, traditional sugar making requires a lot of workers and a lot of time. Therefore, the construction of new sugar factory was established in 1900, and the sugar industry policy was promoted in 1902 to increase sugar production. Sugar production has become an industry for Taiwan's industrial development, many subsistence production crop fields are converted to sugarcane, then ensure the supply of raw materials in sugar factories, the raw material area is divided. Then in 1903, the Japanese could not adapt to Taiwanese rice, so rice improvement was carried out.

The Japanese government conducted a land survey that to control land in 1905. At this time, the Japanese government positioned the industry in Taiwan as "industrial Japan, agricultural Taiwan", and became a colony for supplying agricultural raw materials. In 1908, in order to increase rice output, construct irrigation facilities, and provide subsidy policies, the agricultural production of workers in the agricultural survey accounted for 86.37%, and the source of agricultural workers was provided by immigrants.

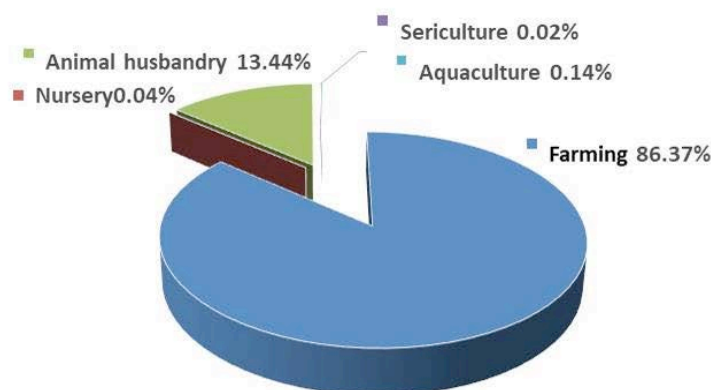


Figure 3: Workers' job categories in 1919.

Immigrant agricultural worker have to rotation crops who more than two crops, The Penghu Immigrant agricultural worker went to Tainan and Agou who doing farming, rice cultivation, sugarcane cultivation, The sugarcane cultivation become the main job of immigrants about 80%, Immigrant agricultural workers in regions have become workers supply for capitalist sugar factories and family farms.

Table 3: Statistics on Penghu agricultural workers immigrant for work item in 1919.

District Item	Taichung	Chiayi	Tainan	Agou	Taitung	Hualien Port	Immigrant total
Farming	97	192	289	289	49	49	965
Rice cultivation	97	192	289	289	49	49	965
Sugar cane cultivation	765	1535	2301	2301	382	382	7666

Great Depression in 1920, Japanese rice prices fall, unbalanced agricultural production and demand and overproduction of rice. In order to balance the price of rice, Taiwan farmers were required to reduce production, and then sugar production was also excessively produced in 1926, government of Taiwan banned the construction of irrigation facilities in 1937, while encouraging farmers to plant military crops and military supplies produce. Entered "Industrial Taiwan, Agricultural Nanyang" in 1940.

The first phase of the construction of the Kaohsiung Harbor and the opening of the railway were opened in 1908. Sugar, rice and economic crops were transported to the port through the railroad and shipped back to Japan. In cooperation with local consortia, the salt land was reclaimed into land, and then the second phase of the harbor was carried out. After the completion of the construction of the Kaohsiung Harbor, the Japanese government purchased the land in Kaohsiung Shihjia for the use of military supplies industry due to the demand for war supplies, and produced military supplies products, and the construction of the power plant was completed in 1938. Kaohsiung entered the industrial age.

Table 4: Kaohsiung development process and industry stage.

Age	event	Industry stage	Crop category	
1895s	Japanese Colonial Taiwan.	Agriculture	Subsistence production crops	Agriculture
1900s	Insufficient by living crops in Japen.	Agriculture	Subsistence production crops Economic crops	
1901s	Set up a new sugar factory in Qjaotou.	Agriculture Agricultural processing	Subsistence production crops Economic crops	
1904s	Railway completed to harbor.	Agriculture Agricultural processing	Subsistence production crops Economic crops	
1908s	The first building port project was initiated.	Agriculture Agricultural processing	Subsistence production crops Economic crops	
1912s	The first building port project was finshed.	Agriculture Agricultural processing	Subsistence production crops Economic crops	
1913s	Acquired land that converted it for military use in Shihjiaand.	Agriculture Agricultural processing	Subsistence production crops Economic crops	
1920s	Rice prices fall.	Agriculture Military agriculture	Subsistence production crops Military crops	Industrial
1938s	Production expansion and power plant construction completed due to war.	Agriculture Military agriculture Military industry	Subsistence production crops Military crops Military products	
1939s	Industrial production exceeds agriculture.	Military industry Industry	Subsistence production crops Military crops Military products	

This tabulation show the relevance of Kaohsiung's industrial development process and subsistence production crops. It can also be seen that the key to industrial transformation is through Japanese policy. Area of study which Dazhuli, and belongs to the Tainan Hall in 1904, includes 19 settlements, now Sinsing Yancheng Cianjhen Lingya Sanmin Cianjin and Fongshan Dist. Dazhuli covers all urban and farmland areas in Kaohsiung, close to the sea area through cultivation and fishing

This study analyzes the development status of Kaohsiung Harborside Settlement agriculture from the "Agriculture Statistics Book" from 1899 to 1912, After 1913, the statistical data range of the Kaohsiung State Statistics Book was different from 1899 to 1912, Therefore, it cannot be used as a basis for analysis and comparison after 1913. and The first building port project was finshed and start industry in 1912, so Kaohsiung 's initial agricultural pattern was based on agricultural statistics before 1912.

From the analysis of land use, the paddy field area is maintained at 30%. The use of agricultural land occupies the most important part of Dazhuli by the historical map of 1904. Dazhuli agricultural professional and part-time demographics from 1896 to 1910, and the number of farmers decreased due to natural disasters in 1905.

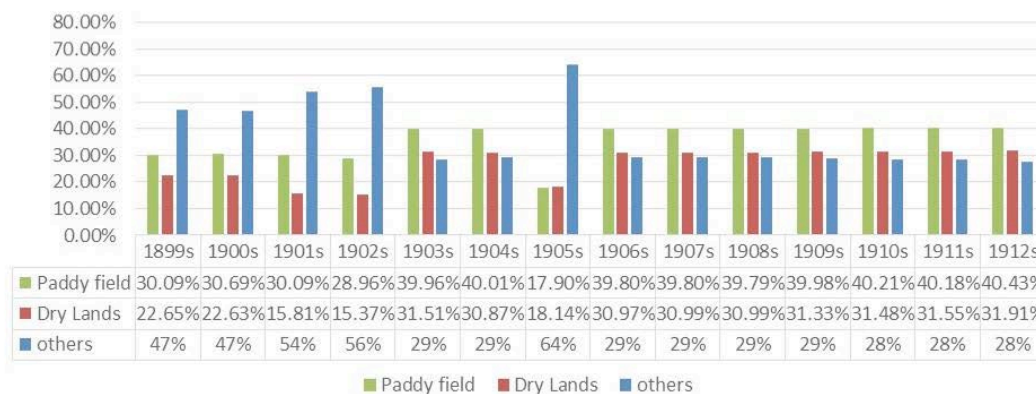


Figure 4: The land use pattern of Dazhuli changed from 1899 to 1912

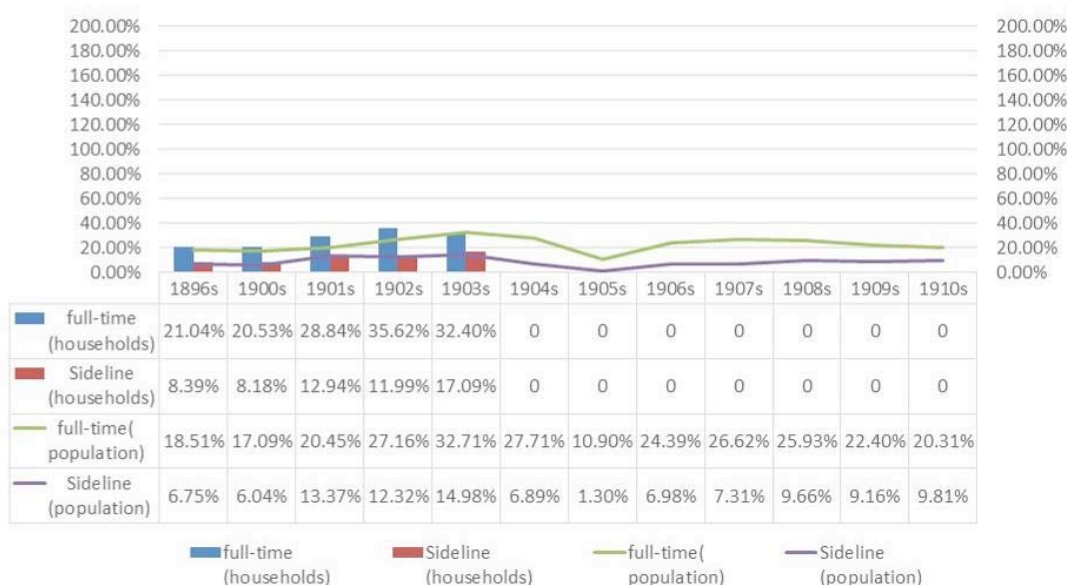


Figure 5: Dazhuli agricultural professional and part-time demographics from 1896 to 1910

Dazhuli agricultural professional and part-time demographics from 1896 to 1910, and the number of farmers decreased due to natural disasters in 1905. According to historical documents, sugar cane, sweet potato, rice, beans, peanuts, sesame planting area. Distinguish into subsistence production crops and maintenance crops, the rice produced at that time was not used subsistence production by Taiwanese farmers, but was exported to Japan.

It shows that the agricultural production structure cannot support the family by means of self-sufficiency. It needs to rely on economic crops by the market or use work get salary. Agricultural production is no longer the only way to subsistence production.

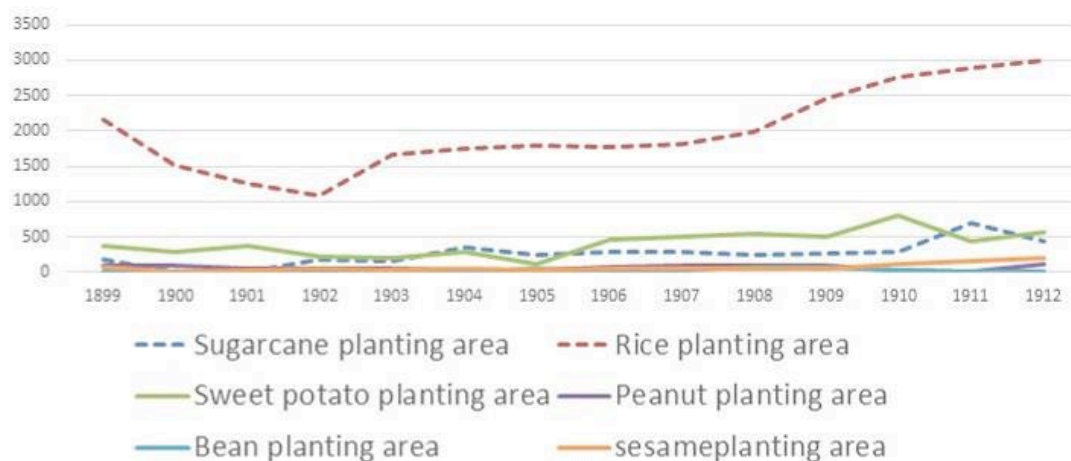


Figure 6: Trends in cultivated area from 1899 to 1912 that economic crops and live crops

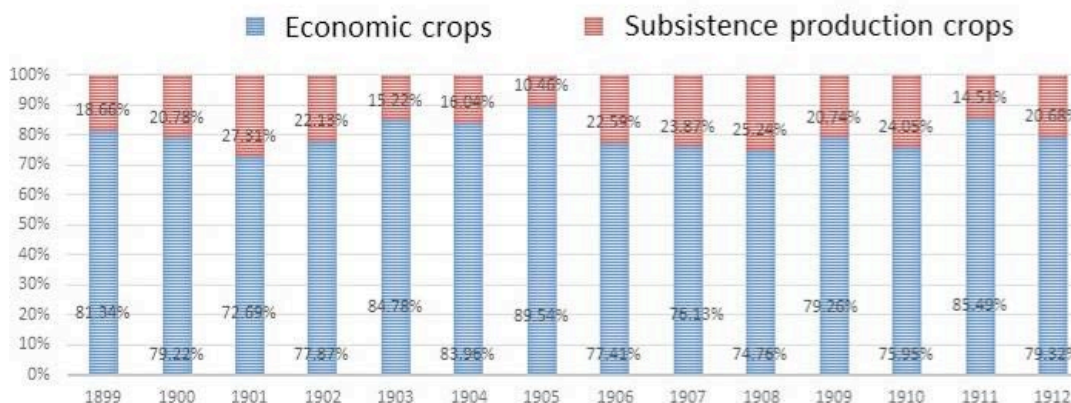


Figure 7: Percentage of Dazhuli agricultural economic crops and subsistence production crops from 1899 to 1912

From the historical map of 1904, it can be seen that the settlements mainly gathered along the edge of the agricultural area. Through the traffic route in Dazhuli in 1904, it can be seen that the settlements are mainly adjacent to the path, which does not have much impact on the dependence of the main and secondary road. The settlement is still near the Subsistence production farmland.

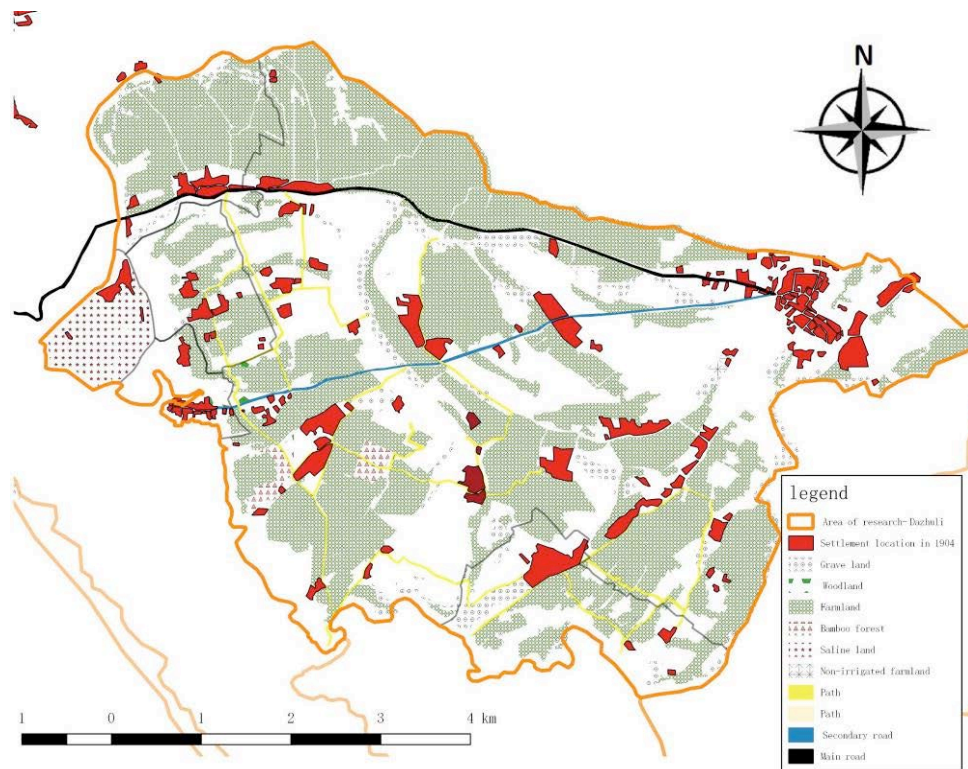


Figure 8: Dazhuli land use with historical map in 1904.

Draw the settlement area with a historical map of 1924, Showing expansion, and the position does not reduce the area of farmland, but expands in the area of non-farmland and surrounding settlements, At this stage as natural expansion of settlements.

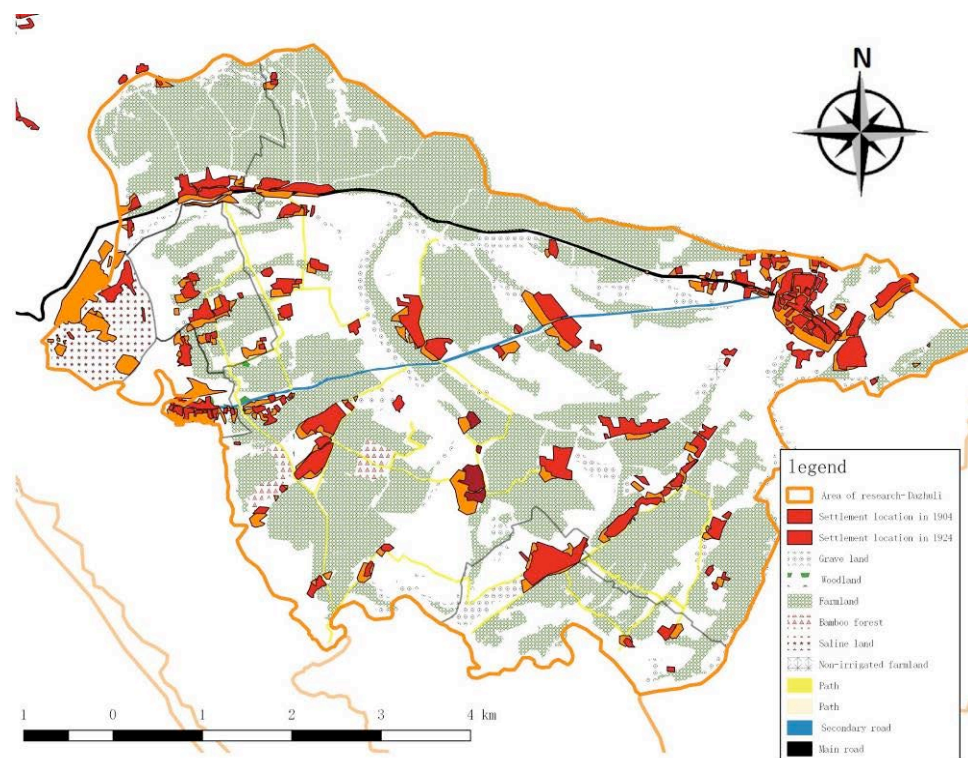


Figure 9: Dazhuli land use and settlement with historical map in 1904 to 1924.

The water supply system was completed in Dazhuli in 1915, in addition to the settlement turned to the irrigation area and expanded.

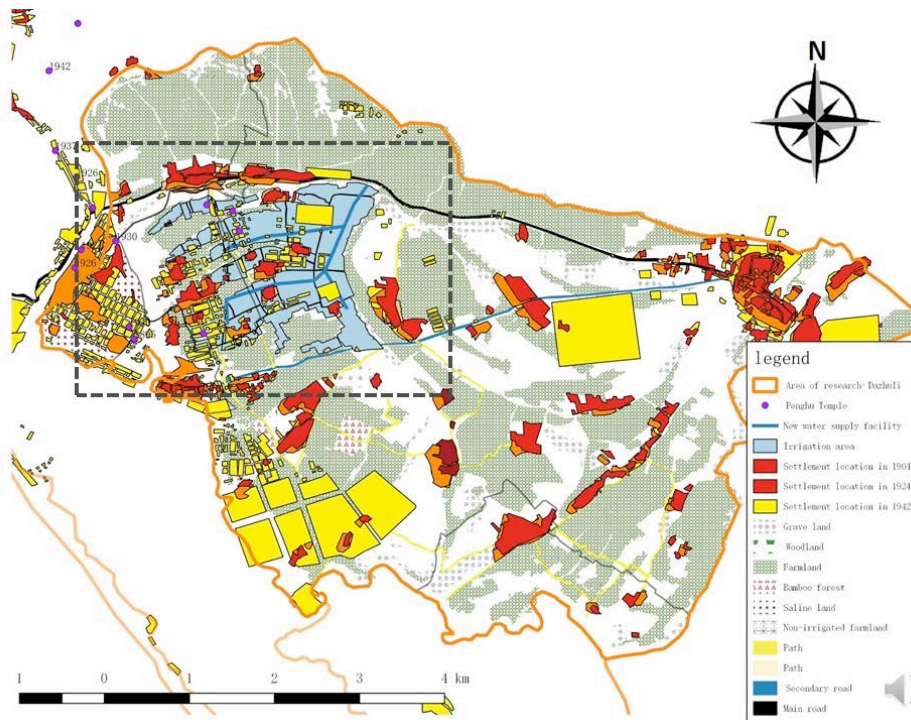


Figure 10: Dazhuli land use and settlement with historical map in 1904 to1942.

Then it can be seen that the settlement expansion pattern has covered the area that was originally farmland. The artificial expansion by urban planning intervention and war needs, And close to major and minor road expansion.

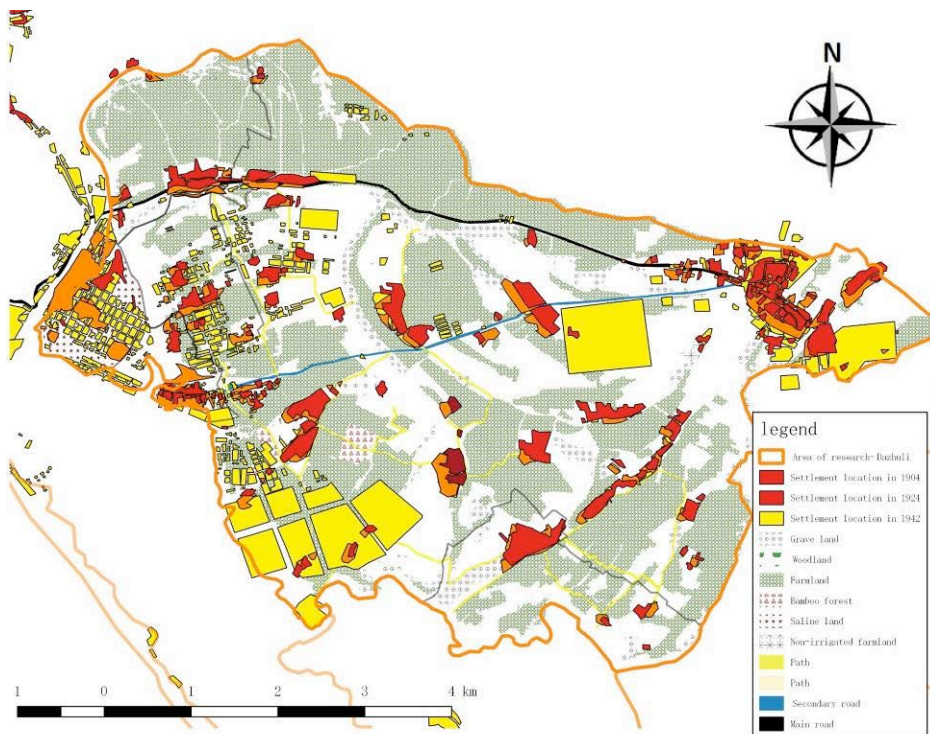


Figure 10: Dazhuli land use and settlement with historical map in 1904 to1942

Immigrant Working Population Chooses Settlement Location

The Japanese government started the construction of the Kaohsiung Harbor in 1899, so it required a lot of workers, and many people from Penghu came to work, which made many Penghu people come to work to fill the worker that harbor construction project and the basic construction in Kaohsiung.

Penghu documentation was recorded in 1893, Penghu has a small land area and a large population, but also because of the climate. Affecting the development of agriculture and fisheries, Penghu's lack of land area affects the survival of residents, causing Penghu residents to become immigrants.

Penghu literature records in 1960, residents became seasonal migrants due to monsoon relations. Later, in order to maintain subsistence production, Penghu residents became permanent immigrants in Taiwan. Therefore, control immigration in Penghu by decree restrictions were issued.

Taiwan Daily News article In 1907, Penghu government solved the problem of overpopulation and insufficient agricultural land by encouraging residents to migrate to Kaohsiung or Taitung. The cumulative number of immigrants over 3,000, accounting for 24.19% of the total growing population, Kaohsiung has become immigration location for immigrants from Penghu.

Government of Taiwan formulates incentive policies that encourage Penghu residents to emigrate, including adjustment of administrative areas, sea routes and traffic vessels. At the same time, Penghu has included in the scope of Kaohsiung, caused an increase in the immigrant population during Japanese Colonial Period. Penghu immigrants were originally seasonal immigrants who went to Kaohsiung in winter and returned to Penghu twice every year, immigrants send their salaries home in Penghu, and later immigrants settle in Kaohsiung and become permanent immigrants. In the past, the construction of Penghu immigration temples was carried out by the people in Kaohsiung, and these temples were all from Penghu, and were divided into many small temples from the main immigration temples and among the settlements of immigrants. Therefore, the development of immigrant settlements can be studied through immigration temples, and settlements people religion lean on temples. In addition to the location and expansion of settlements can be studied through immigration temples. According to the literature review, a total of 19 temples built during the Japanese Colonial Period in four areas are from Penghu.

From Tseng Shui-ping "Transition of Social Space Structure from Village Temples to "Urbanized Immigration Temples" in Taiwan: Penghu Immigrants and Immigration Temples in Kaohsiung City as a case" In 2005, Penghu immigrants were divided into four stages in Kaohsiung, The first stage is the migration of fishermen to the sea area in Kaohsiung, the second stage is the development period in Hamasen, the third stage is the development area in Yancheng, the migration is mainly harbor workers, and the fourth stage is the formation of the Penghu community. In order to clarify the relationship between the location of Penghu immigrant settlements and the structure of agricultural production in 1895-1945, an attempt was made on the geographic information system to perform nesting through Tseng Shui-ping paper that analysis of immigrant settlements was conducted through expansion and location.

Table 5: Information about the Penghu Immigration Temple created by Kaohsiung in 1895-1945.

No.	District	Temple	Build	Deities	Location	Derived from
1	Yancheng	Wenwu Temple	1921s	文衡聖帝 孔子	No. 170, Fuye Rd., Yancheng Dist.	澎湖紅木埕(朝陽里)武聖廟
2	Yancheng	Willing Temple	1926s	保生大帝	No. 220, Daren Rd., Yancheng Dist.	澎湖後寮威靈宮
3	Yancheng	Wenwang Temple	1930s	溫府王爺	No. 8, Ln. 12, Xinghua St., Yancheng Dist.	澎湖人攜帶香火來祀
4	Yancheng	Willing Temple	1940s	保生大帝	No. 64, Bizhong St., Yancheng Dist.	澎湖雞母塢(五德)威靈宮
5	Yancheng	Sengdi Temple Japanese Colonial Period- Shoushan Temple	1896s	文衡聖帝	No. 32, Gongyuan 2nd Rd., Yancheng Dist. (Built the park in 2009)	澎湖豬母水(山水)
6	Gushan	Xuanwen Temple	1942s	玄天上帝 溫府千歲	No. 33, Ln. 701, Jiuru 4th Rd., Gushan Dist.	澎湖外垵溫王殿
7	Gushan	Zhuling Temple	1926s	朱府千歲	No. 1, Aly. 14, Ln. 168, Gushan 2nd Rd.	澎湖雙頭掛(興仁)懋靈殿
8	Gushan	(Wenwu) Chenghuang Temple	1937s	文武城隍	No. 223-3, Gushan 2nd Rd., Gushan Dist.	鄭清一口述祖先生前行善被封為城隍而奉祀
9	Gushan	Shenggongma Temple	1941s	聖公媽	No. 80-18, Gushan 2nd Rd., Gushan Dist.	澎湖吉貝人創廟
10	Gushan	Baohua Temple	1928s	阿彌陀佛(佛堂)	No. 272, Cuihua Rd., Gushan Dist.	澎湖洪敏定祖母(隘門人)創建
11	Singsin	Mingsheng Temple	1941s	文衡聖帝	No. 123, Nantai Rd., Xinxing Dist.	澎湖菓葉聖帝廟
12	Singsin	Zushi Temple	1924s	清水祖師爺	No. 68, Zhongshan Rd.	澎湖文澳祖師廟
13	Cianjin	Wensheng Temple	1935s	文衡聖帝	No. 272, Chenggong 1st Rd.	澎湖豬母水(山水)上帝廟
14	Cianjin	Fufeng Temple	1912s	萬府千歲	No. 167, Ruiyuan Rd., Qianjin Dist.	澎湖林投鳳凰殿

From the map in 1904, the location of the original settlement in 1904 and the location of the Penghu Temple built in 1895. It can be seen that the location of the Penghu Temple is a remote area and also maintains a certain distance from the original settlement.

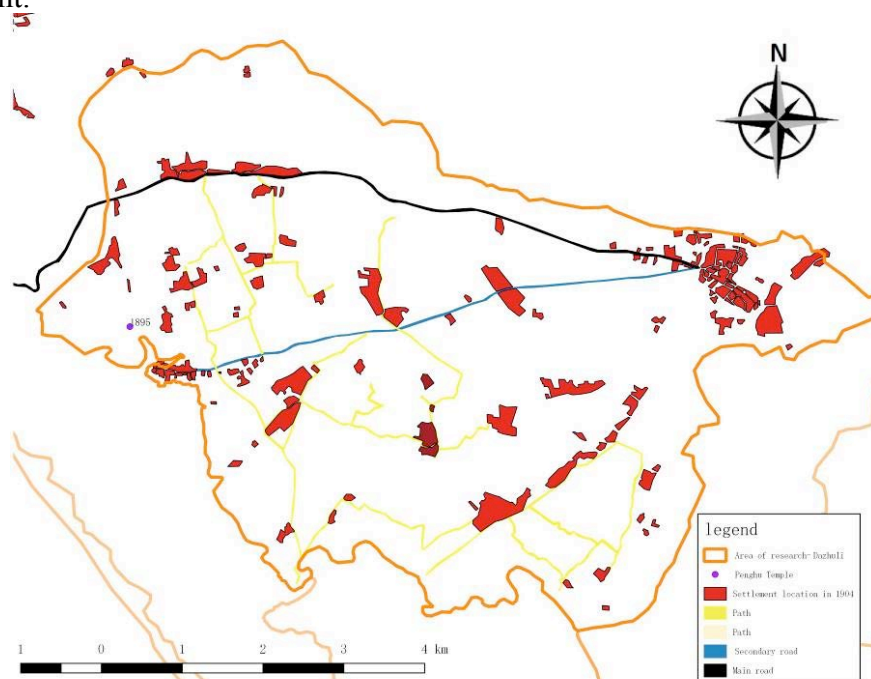


Figure 11: Dazhuli settlement and Penghu Temple map in 1904 .

The Penghu settlement was mainly located in a remote area and on the edge of the original settlement and around the secondary road in the historical map of 1924. At this time, the expansion mode is a natural expansion.

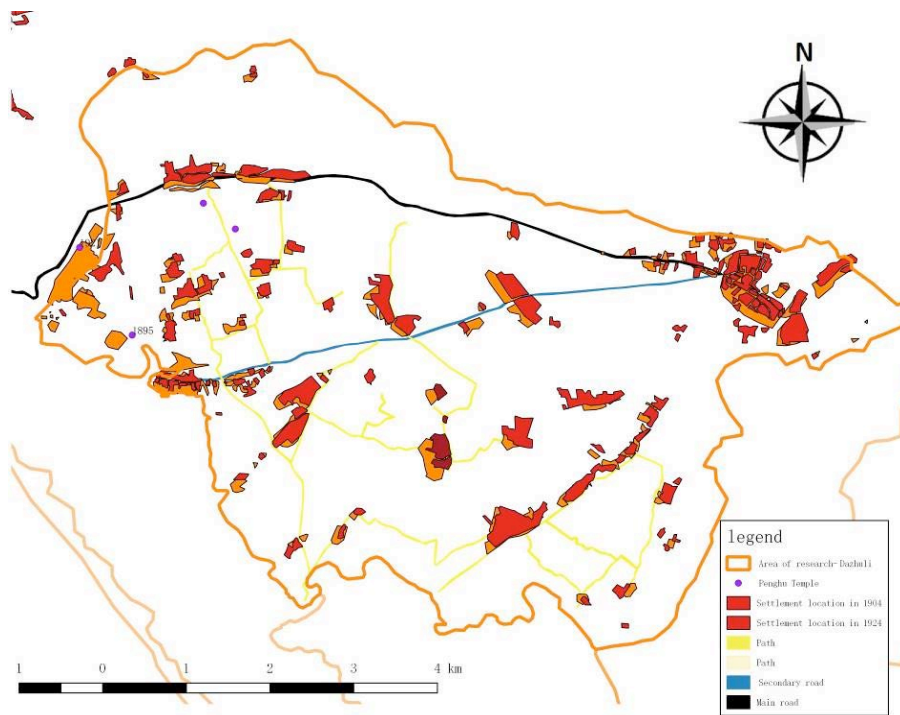


Figure 12: Dazhuli settlement and Penghu Temple map in 1924 .

The settlement expansion pattern has covered immigration settlements, and has gradually formed the expansion pattern of urban planning, not in a natural expansion way through the historical map of 1942.

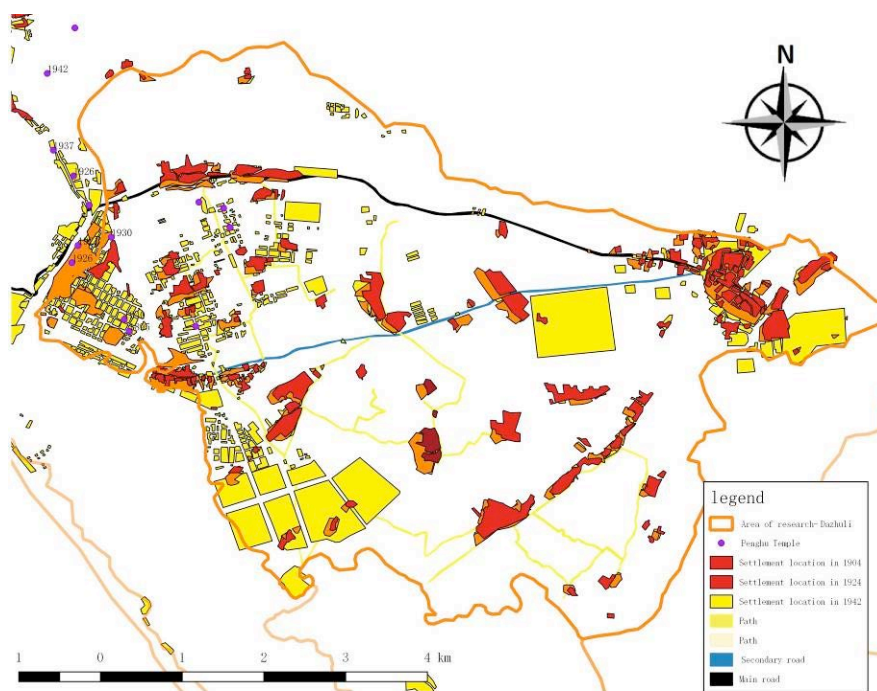


Figure 12: Dazhuli settlement and Penghu Temple map in 1942 .

The location of Penghu temple is still based on the context of Kaohsiung economic development. The location of the Penghu Temple in the Cianjin District is still remote, and it is on the edge of the crops that support the subsistence production. It was settlement type gradually formed until 1942. Yancheng became relevant to Kaohsiung economic center. Penghu immigrants moved from agricultural worker to business and industry in 1930; Gushan became a Penghu immigrant to Kaohsiung due to the development of industry in 1917. And The water supply system in the emerging area was completed, increasing the farming area. Penghu immigrant settlements appeared in 1924.

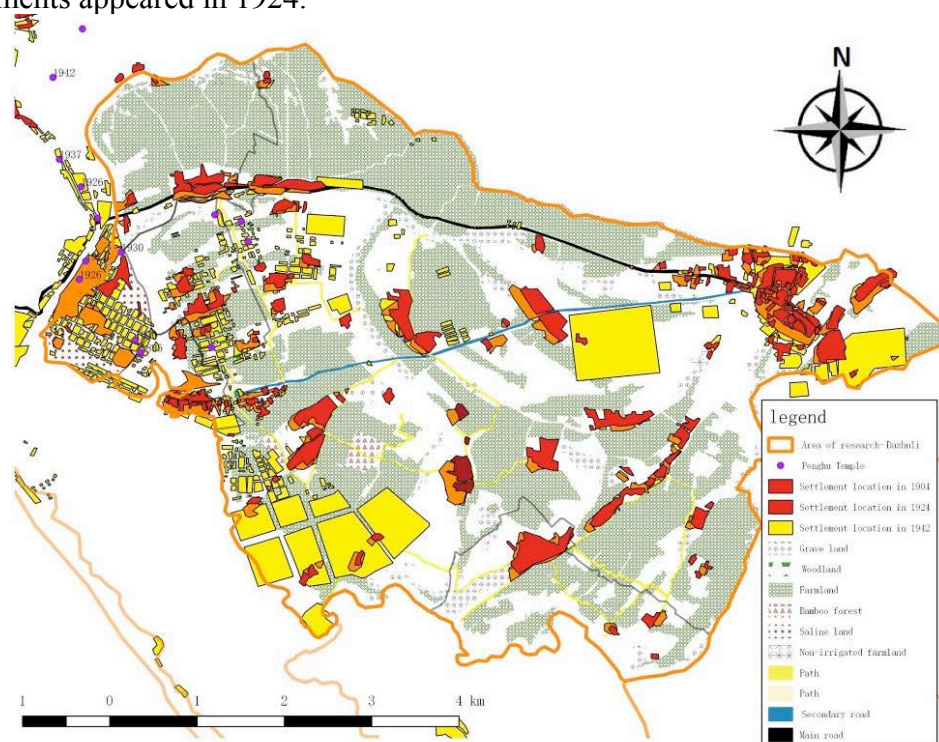


Figure 12: Dazhuli settlement and Penghu Temple map in 1904-1942 .

Conclusion

The special settlement pattern is through the change of agricultural production process, the increase of agricultural irrigation facilities, which affects the increase of irrigation area, so the subsistence and economic space will also be reduced, and the way of subsistence is changed by the reduction of farmland area and agricultural workers methods. Immigrant settlements choose settlement locations and traditional settlement expansion methods through industrial transformation, thereby reflecting the impact of industrial changes on the stage of city development.

Capitalism intervened in traditional agricultural production in 1895 to 1920, farmers were originally producers, processors and sellers, and had returned to producer, at the same time, the Japanese government issued fertilizers, seedlings, restricted planting projects and schedules. The self-sufficient production method has become a thing of the past, it takes a lot of workers to produce to provide supplies to Japan. The workers are insufficient in the original Taiwan, and it has become an immigrant job opportunity.

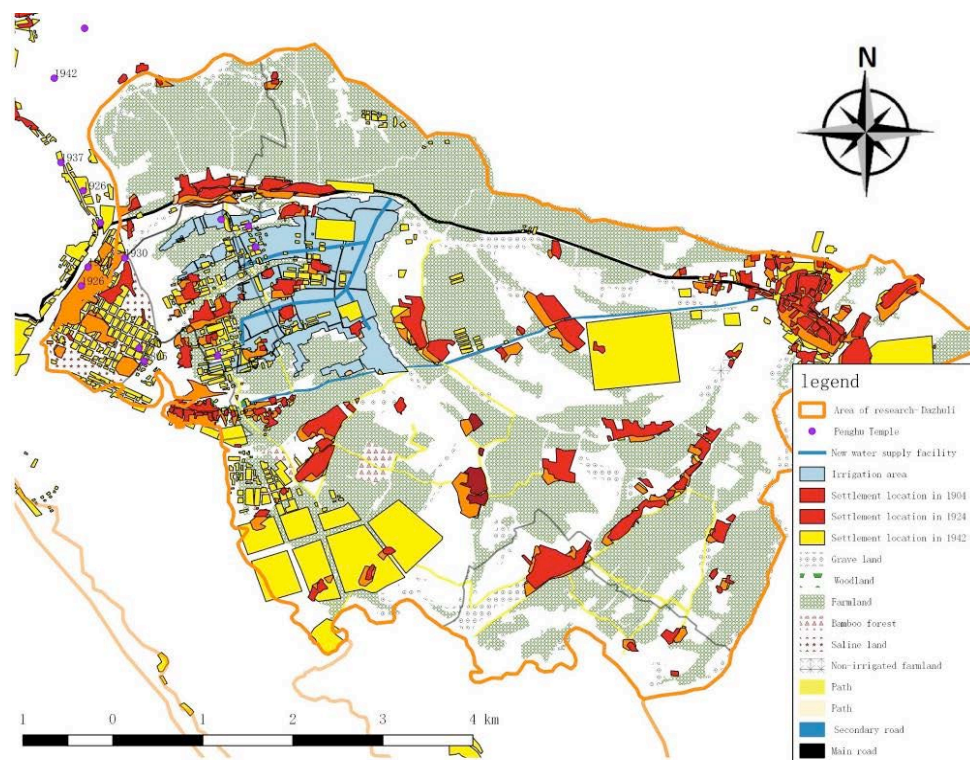


Figure 13: Dazhuli settlement and add a new water supply system (Dagangpu Irrigation System) in 1915

The following is divided into three parts to make a conclusion: The first 1895-1920s Capitalism changes the mode of agricultural production, and requires a lot of workers. Second 1921-1940s Industry transformation, "Agricultural Taiwan, Industrial Japan" changed to "Industrial Taiwan, Agricultural Nanyang", immigrants choose emerging industries. Third Kaohsiung harborside settlement, the original settlement is located in subsistence production, and continue to expand near main road. Immigrant settlements are located in edge or remote areas in 1904. The original settlement expanded that cover and mix settlement of immigrants. The change of settlement is both repelled and fused in Kaohsiung.

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