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Editorial Note

Dear Readers,

いつもお読みいただき、誠にありがとうございます。
Following a longer-than-expected period of preparation, marked by a couple of setbacks and unforseen changes, we are proud to offer you *Silva Iaponicarum* Fasc. 68/Winter 2022 with a diverse and timely content.
The present fascicle includes three research papers concerning linguistics, architecture, and social studies. José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente conducts a re-evaluation of John Batchelor's Ainu language research, comparing Batchelor's research output against Bronisław Piłsudski's outcomes from roughly the same era. Jose Lorenzo Novenario critically examines the influence of the Japanese Metabolism movement in Singapore. Angela Louise C. Rosario offers insights into the representations of working women propagated by the early post-war media, using the example of the U.S. military newspaper, *Pacific Stars and Stripes*.
This fascicle is also enriched by two book reviews in the fields of historical and sociopolitical studies: Michael Vert's *Samurai: A Very Short Introduction* (reviewed by B.V.E. Hyde) and Jeffrey J. Hall's *Japan's Nationalist Right in the Internet Age* (reviewed by Aleksandra Jaworowicz-Zimny).
Already at this point, we would also like to advertise our upcoming Fasc. 69/Summer 2023, supervised by our editorial board colleague, Dr. Andrzej Świrkowski. It will be thematically devoted to the topic of popular culture of the Taishō and pre-war Shōwa eras.
We are also happy to announce the expansion of our editorial board to include a native-speaking proofreader, Dr. Karli Shimizu (Hokkaido University), and the return of our associate editor, Dr. Aleksandra Skowron, after a period of hiatus.

We wish you a wonderful and intellectually stimulating 2023, filled with successful endeavors, and hope you will keep *Silva* companion throughout.
2023 年が素敵で充実感に満ちた 1 年間になりますように。
We continuously await your contributions and edited volume proposals at silva.iaponicarum.quarterly@gmail.com. The next issue

we are accepting contributions for is Winter 2023. We will await your paper proposals until April 30, 2023, and await full papers until June 30, 2023.
You are encouraged to check our homepage (https://silvajp.web.amu.edu.pl/) on a regular basis for Silva-related updates. We also invite you to visit our Facebook profile (https://www.facebook.com/silvaiaponicarum/).

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RESEARCH PAPERS

José Andrés ALONSO DE LA FUENTE[1]
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"Just for the Sake of Comparison". Some Thoughts on Batchelor's Linguistic Skills and the Validity of His Ainu Language Data[2]

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ABSTRACT

When describing John Batchelor's Ainu language data, it is a trope in the field to dismiss them out of hand due to Batchelor's lack of linguistic training. Some specialists, however, consider such a statement an exaggeration. Whereas it is undeniable that the Ainu texts composed by Batchelor for indoctrination purposes are less than satisfactory, excerpts of oral tradition recorded by him (or under his supervision) are as good as those which have been gathered in more recent times in full agreement with contemporary linguistic conventions. In order to show that this is indeed the case, the author compares the text of an oral composition which has come down to us in two versions: one by Batchelor, the other by Bronisław Piłsudski. It turns out that both versions are virtually the same. Since Piłsudski's linguistic skills have been universally praised (and rightly so), it naturally follows that there exist instances like the present one when Batchelor's Ainu language data must be approached with more respect than it is usually done.

KEYWORDS: Ainu language, language documentation, oral tradition, dialectology, philology

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[2] The author gratefully acknowledges the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and corrections, and the editors for their advice. Responsibility for any errors is, of course, mine alone.

Introduction

It has become a generalized practice that whenever the Ainu language data gathered by John Batchelor (1854–1944)[3], the Anglican English missionary who lived among the Ainu for more than 60 years, is mentioned, there must be a remark to the effect that this language data is faulty, to put it mildly. The most common explanation behind the cautionary statement amounts to Batchelor's lack of linguistic training. While not denying that one needs to approach Batchelor's Ainu language data critically, many specialists seem to agree that such a negative judgement is an exaggeration (see, e.g., Cortazzi 1997: 121–122 or CWBP-3: 795 fn. 387).

This contribution does not seek to restore Batchelor's credentials as a linguist, nor to offer the interested reader a full assessment of Batchelor's contributions to Ainu linguistics. The main goal of this brief contribution is to show that some of the language data published by Batchelor deserve as much consideration as the data gathered by other specialists whose linguistic talents are beyond any doubt. To do so, below the author compares two versions of a text, in origin an oral narration: one by Batchelor, and the other by Bronisław Piłsudski (1866–1918), a famous Polish scholar[4]. To all appearances, the versions were published independently. Those who had a chance to witness the linguistic abilities of both gentlemen unanimously agree that Piłsudski's abilities were superior (see, e.g., Dudarec and Latyšev 2002: 163, 165, where they echo Wacław Sieroszewski's testimony)[5]. Be as it may, both versions turn out to be virtually the same.

The structure of the paper is as follows: first, both versions of the text are introduced as well as the circumstances in which they were recorded and published (§§1–2). Then the author proceeds to the linguistic analysis of the text from a comparative perspective (§3). The fact that Batchelor and Piłsudski worked on two different cultural areas of the Ainu world which, in terms of language, are (were) markedly different, i.e., Hokkaido (Batchelor) vs. Sakhalin (Piłsudski), occupies a significant place in the discussion

[3] Three birth dates can be found in the literature: 1853 (e.g., CWBP-3: 794 fn. 387), 1854 (e.g., AG-II.A: 551), and 1855 (e.g., Cortazzi 1997: 113). Here the author provides 1854 because this is the year that Batchelor himself gives in his autobiographical accounts (see, e.g., 2000: 13 §3).

[4] To the best of my knowledge, this has never been reported, much less discussed, in the existing literature.

[5] Needless to say, it is not the intention of this brief contribution to offer a psychological profile of Piłsudski or Batchelor, or what could have been the relationship between the men (it seems they were on good terms and respectful to each other, see, e.g., CWBP-3: 793 fn. 375).

section (§4). The paper ends with conclusions.

1. Version 1: Bronisław Piłsudski

Piłsudski informs the reader (1912: 96 / 126) that he wrote down the text in January 1903. He took dictation from a 28-years old male called Sisratoka from Taraika, a small settlement in East Coast Sakhalin. It seems that Sisratoka spoke in a way to make things easier for a foreigner (see remarks in 1912: 53/83). Unfortunately, it is no easy task to identify what passages might have been "smoothed" by Sisratoka (but, as argued below, this may be irrelevant to the text under scrutiny).

The original Ainu text and Piłsudski's English translation (verbatim) are reproduced below, neither of which was given a title. Note that all diacritic marks in Piłsudski's original semi-phonetic notation have been removed in Figure 1, for they are irrelevant for present purposes.

Kotankes kotan an. Kunne ajnu utara asipaxci, Kotankes arapexcakeva unʒi nen-an tono ampe nupuri kata an. Utara mokoro, simma utara pajki, suj sirukunne, suj Kotankes-un nispa asin, suj inkara, suj unʒi nen ampe an.	(There) was the village of Kotankes. In the night the people went out (of the house and) from the other side of the river Kotankes (there) was (seen) upon the mountain a luminous thing like a fire. The people slept, the next day the people rose, again the darkness (came), again the rich man of Kotankes went out, again he looked (forth), again a thing like a fire was (seen).
Tani cise oxt ahun, macihi caxcanki kokana. Nea maxneku caxcankihe asinkejke, hokoho kore, sikaxka ne ejajkara. Naxte asin. Neja Kotankes arapexcakene pecika, nupuri kaskene rikin, samaketa rikin.	Now (he) entered (his) house (and) asked (his) wife for a woman's loin-cloth. The woman took out a loin-cloth and gave (it) to (her) husband; (he) made himself an eye-shade (of it). Afterwards (he) went away. (He) crossed the Kotankes river, (came) to the other side (of it), ascended the mountain and ascended near (the luminous thing).

Mavehe jufke, nukarajke, cuf nen an. Nani u, tura san. Kunne neva kajki tono nen an. Cise oxta tura ahun. Nani pirikahno ama, amate suj asinke. Nukarajke, nin cuf na, tono cux na, suj asiri cux na oxta an.	The spirit (thereof was) mighty; when he saw, (it had) the form of a luminary. (He) took (it) quickly (and) brought (it) home. (It was) night, nevertheless (it) was like the day. (He) bore (it) into the house. At that moment (he) put (it) carefully (into a box); having put (it in after some time he) took (it) out. When (he) looked upon (it there), were within (it): one (luminary) like the moon in the last quarter; another, like the sun, another like the new moon.
Taha rehe ne ampe cux-noka-un kani, kamui ranke tane. Tani paxno anike, tani emujke kamui canka hemaka. Tani Kotankes-ta Sitorik-ajnu oxta an. Tan kamui ranke nax-kane utara eucaskoma.	(People) name these: 'the metal images of the luminaries'; behold the things sent down by the gods. At present, all these talismans have definitively lost (their) might. Now they are in the village of Kotankes in (the house of) Sitorikajnu. The people relate thus the tradition about those things, sent down by the gods.

Figure 1. Piłsudski's transcript and translation of Sisratoka's text (Piłsudski 1912: 96–97 / 126–127).

2. Version 2: John Batchelor

Batchelor's version was published as part of his 1924 collection of *uwepeker* (generally, 'edifying stories'), an anthology of texts intended for those who wish to learn the Ainu language. Batchelor explains that "[t]he following lore was written down for me by an Ainu whom I myself had taught to write with the Roman alphabet nearly forty years ago" (1924: [1])[6]. The identity of this collaborator, however, remains unknown.

Batchelor introduces the text (1924: 71) with the following remark: "I was

[6] In this passage Batchelor indirectly refers to his work at the Hakodate school, where he instructed many Ainu how to write their language in the Roman alphabet (see, e.g., Siddle 1996: 127).

some years ago in an Ainu village where a meeting was being held. One of the speakers, a young Ainu woman, gave the following illustration speaking in Ainu and Japanese mixed. The story comes from Saghalien and I give it here as it fell from the lips of a real Saghalien Ainu". Based on this description, it is difficult to assert whether Batchelor wrote it down himself, or, as he claimed in the prologue (see above), one of his collaborators did it for him. The original 1924 publication bears the subtitle "As told by one of themselves", therefore, perhaps it would be best to assume that the text was retold by his no less mysterious collaborator.

Be that as it may, there is no information that could help us to be more specific about the year when the meeting took place, where it happened, or who is the woman that served as a consultant for Batchelor's collaborator. Even worse, it is unclear whether the woman was a speaker of Sakhalin Ainu (SA) or Hokkaido Ainu (HA). Batchelor remains silent on this issue. Likewise, it is unclear what exactly Batchelor meant by "Ainu and Japanese mixed", as the Ainu text provided by Batchelor shows no traces of Japanese whatsoever. As for the true value of Batchelor's remark "fell from the lips of a real Saghalien Ainu", see the linguistic analysis in §3.

Batchelor provides titles for both the original in Ainu and the English translation. Figure 2 shows Batchelor's paragraph numeration and the typo(s) (see §3 for details).

Chup-noka-un-kani.	The Metal with Luminary Forms.
1. Kotankes kotan an. Kunne ainu ashippa-atchi. Kotankes ara pet chake wa unchi nen an to no ambe nupuri kata an.	1. There is the village of Kotankes. At night the people went out. On the top of a mountain across the stream a fiery object shone like the day.
2. Utara mokoro; shimma utara paiki. Shui shirikunne; shui Kotankes un nishpa ashin. Shui ingara; shui unchi nen ambe an.	2. The people slept; the next day they got up. Once more it became dark; again a certain gentleman of Kotankes went out. He looked again; and once more there was the thing like fire.
3. Tane chisei otta ahun. Machihi chakchanke kokana.	3. He now went into the house and asked his wife to lend him an apron.

4. Neia matneku chakchangehe ashinge ike hokuhu kore. Shik-atka ne eyaikara. Naktek ashin. Neia Kotankes ara pet chake ne peichika. Nupuri kashke e-ne rikin. Samaketa rikin.	4. The woman took one out and handed it to her husband. He made for himself an eyeshade with it and went out. He waded to the other side of the village stream. He ascended to the top of the mountain. He came close up to the place where it was.
5. Mawehe yupke. Nukar'ike, chup nen an. Nani uk. Tura san. Kunne ne wa ka iki, to no nen an.	5. The effect was great. On looking at it, it was like a luminary. He took it at once. He descended. Though it was then night it shone like day.
6. Chisei otta tura ahun. Nani pirika no ama. Amatek shui ashinge. Nukar'aige, nin chup na, to no chup na, shui ashiri chup na otta an.	6. He entered the house with it. He put it away carefully. Having put it away he took it out again. On looking at it, he saw in it a waning moon, a sun, and a new moon.
7. Taha reihe ne ambe CHUP-NOKA-UN-KANI. Kanui range ta ne. Tani pak no an ike; tani emuige kamui chanka hemaka. Tani Kotankes ta Shitorek ainu otta an. Tani kamui range nak na ne utara euchashkuma.	7. The name of this object is THE METAL WITH LUMINARY FORMS. It was sent down by the gods. It is in existence now; but its glory has completely waned. It is now in the possession of Shitorek ainu at Kotankes. The people teach us that this object was sent down by the gods.

Figure 2. Batchelor's transcript and translation (verbatim) of the text (Batchelor 1924: 71–73, text nr 38).

3. Linguistic Analysis[7]

In terms of linguistic features, the language of Piłsudski's text (PT) and Batchelor's text (BT) belongs to the Sakhalin group of dialects. This may be

[7] Explanations and references will be kept to a minimum so that the discussion does not deviate from the primary aim of the paper, that is, to show that (part of) Batchelor's Ainu language data deserves (sometimes) serious consideration.

self-evident from the fact that (a) the overwhelming majority of Bronisław Piłsudski's Ainu language data comes from Sakhalin, and (b) Batchelor, in the introductory remark to his text, says that the narration comes from Sakhalin. However, Batchelor showed little concern for dialectal distinctions along his career and his version of the text, as reproduced in the 1924 booklet, looks atypical, to say the least, for a Sakhalin composition.
In Table 1, Piłsudski's and Batchelor's Ainu texts are again reproduced, this time with the tabulation of sentence-like units to make the comparison more explicit.

PT	#	BT
Kotankes kotan an.	1	Kotankes kotan an.
Kunne ajnu utara asipaxci,	2	Kunne ainu ashippa-atchi.
Kotankes arapexcakeva unʒi nen-an tono ampe nupuri kata an.	3	Kotankes ara pet chake wa unchi nen an to no ambe nupuri kata an.
Utara mokoro, simma utara pajki,	4	Utara mokoro; shimma utara paiki.
suj sirukunne,	5	Shui shirikunne;
suj Kotankes-un nispa asin,	6	shui Kotankes un nishpa ashin.
suj inkara,	7	Shui ingara;
suj unʒi nen ampe an.	8	shui unchi nen ambe an.
Tani cise oxt ahun,	9	Tane chisei otta ahun.
macihi caxcanki kokana.	10	Machihi chakchanke kokana.
Nea maxneku caxcankihe asinkejke, hokoho kore,	11	Neia matneku chakchangehe ashinge ike hokuhu kore.
sikaxka ne ejajkara.	12	Shik-atka ne eyaikara.
Naxte asin.	13	Naktek ashin.
Neja Kotankes arapexcakene pecika,	14	Neia Kotankes ara pet chake ne peichika.
nupuri kaskene rikin, samaketa rikin.	15	Nupuri kashke e-ne rikin. Samaketa rikin.
Mavehe jufke, nukarajke, cuf nen an.	16	Mawehe yupke. Nukar'ike, chup nen an.
Nani u,	17	Nani uk.
tura san.	18	Tura san.
Kunne neva kajki tono nen an.	19	Kunne ne wa ka iki, to no nen an.
Cise oxta tura ahun.	20	Chisei otta tura ahun.
Nani pirikahno ama,	21	Nani pirika no ama.
amate suj asinke.	22	Amatek shui ashinge.
Nukarajke, nin cuf na, tono cux na, suj asiri cux na oxta an	23	Nukar'aige, nin chup na, to no chup na, shui ashiri chup na otta an.
Taha rehe ne ampe cux-noka-un kani,	24	Taha reihe ne ambe chup-noka-un-kani.
kamui ranke tane	25	Kanui range ta ne.
Tani paxno anike,	26	Tani pak no an ike;

tani emujke kamui canka hemaka.	27	tani emuige kamui chanka hemaka.
Tani Kotankes-ta Sitorik-ajnu oxta an.	28	Tani Kotankes ta Shitorek ainu otta an.
Tan kamui ranke nax-kane utara eucaskoma.	29	Tani kamui range nak na ne utara euchashkuma.

Table 1. Line-by-line comparison of PT and BT.

BT contains one obvious typo: #25 ⟨kanui⟩ for †kamui. Two other instances, however, could be seen as either typos or inconsistencies by Batchelor (or his collaborator?): #16 ⟨Nukar'ike⟩, in spite of having the correct form later, cf. #23 ⟨nukar'aige⟩, and #29 ⟨nak na ne⟩, perhaps for †nak kane (Batchelor himself gives this form in his dictionary, see 1938: 311 s.v. Nakkane).

In regards to the discrepancy in #29 *tan kamuy ranke* (PT) vs. *tani kamuy ranke* (BT) (translation is the same: 'sent down by the gods'), it is unlikely that this is the case of a typo like in the above instances. There is enough evidence to assume that Piłsudski's notation in #29 faithfully records the (optional, rare) elision of /i/ when this vowel is unstressed and appears between consonants (even across word boundaries)[8], that is, /tanĭ.kamuy/ > [tan.kamuy][9]. Whether Batchelor was aware of this phenomenon, one cannot tell. Had he found such a syncopated form, it is entirely possible that he would have rewritten it in analogy to the other instances of sentence-initial *tani* 'now' (~ HA *tané* < tan-(h)i {DEICTIC-time}, see Hattori 1964: 246 [1], which here should not be confused with the regular *tan* DEICTIC ['here; this']).

Before addressing the most substantial points, a few words are in order regarding the English translations and some other less relevant aspects of the published texts (idiosyncratic spellings, phonetic free-variation), but which are nevertheless of some interest from a comparative viewpoint.

Discrepancies in the translation are minimal, and the primary reason behind the differences is mainly stylistic/idiomatic. Batchelor always strides for texts with literary flavor, whereas Piłsudski follows the original Ainu very close at the expense of elegant prose. See, for example, #3 *unci nen* 'like a fire' (PT) vs. 'like the day' (BT). The word *unci* refers only to fire. Accordingly, this is the only meaning provided even by Batchelor himself in his dictionary (1938: 532b s.v. Unchi). However, Batchelor goes for

[8] The loss of (unstressed) /i/, sometimes /e/, can be observed in a variety of situations, e.g., Vj(#)C > VC, unvoicing between unvoiced consonants under Japanese influence, etc. (for a summary with examples and references, see AG-I.A: 55–56, 73–74 sub §§10c, d, 13g, etc.).

[9] The author would like express my gratitude to one of the anonymous reviewers for his remarks on the first version of this account which was formulated in an unclear manner.

'day', perhaps in an attempt to create a more apt metaphor in English (although in #8 he favors the literal translation: 'like fire'; both PT and BT agree that #19 *to-no nen* means 'like (the) day', which contains a derivate of *to* 'day'). The same logic applies to, among others, #6 *nispa* 'rich man' (PT) vs. 'gentleman' (BT), #10 *caxcanki* '(woman's) loin-cloth' (PT) vs. 'apron' (BT), or #23 *nin cux na* 'the moon in the last quarter' (PT) vs. 'a waning moon' (BT)[10]. While admittedly fascinating, this issue falls beyond the scope of this paper.

The interpretation of Batchelor's ⟨ei⟩ remains elusive (see, e.g., Tamura 2013: 232 = [1981]: 12). The sound – or a group of sounds – indicated by this spelling convention corresponds to regular ⟨e⟩ in other sources, Piłsudski's included (Table 2). Whatever the explanation might be, it seems unrelated to the SA vs. HA opposition, and therefore, it will not be pursued here. The same is valid in the case of the /o ~ u/ alternation in #29, this time not the doing of Batchelor's spelling but a well-known variation across Ainu dialects (see, e.g., AG-I.A: 83 sub §15i).

BT	#	PT	(TEXT) GLOSS
cise	9, 20	chisei	house
pecika	14	peichika	to cross over a river
rehe	24	reihe	name
eucaskoma	29	euchashkuma	teach

Table 2. Vowel discrepancies.

Coming back to the more relevant features, these can be divided according to their nature: phonological, morphological, and lexical.

Two phonological traits clearly set SA apart from HA: (a) debuccalization of certain consonants (/p t k r/) in final position or as first members of a sequence of two (that be either in natural clusters or across word boundaries), and (b) vowel length[11].

[10] As for the translations of #16 *mawehe yupke* 'the spirit (is) mighty' (PT) vs. 'the effect (is) great' (BT), which contains *maw* 'breath, wind, air' (affiliative forms *maw-e* and *maw-ehe*, cf. SA *mawe isam* 'to perish, die out', with *isam* 'not exist', etc.), this reflects Batchelor's reticence to reveal a facet of Ainu beliefs (see, e.g., Ölschleger 1993: 145–148), rather than an effort on his behalf to achieve any degree of literacy. The same is valid for #27 *tani emuyke kamuy canka hemaka* 'all these talismans have definitively lost (their) might' (PT) vs. 'but its glory has completely waned' (BT).

[11] These have been extensively discussed in the literature. The reader is referred to AG-I.A: 19–21 sub §4[.3] and 67-69 sub §13b for a basic presentation of the facts and a summary of the most relevant literature.

Vowel length in Piłsudski's East Coast Sakhalin is a thorny issue which cannot be addressed in detail here.

Debuccalization, however, is clearly noted by Piłsudski with ⟨x⟩ (or ⟨f⟩ when the segment in question is preceded by /u/) or Ø, the latter especially in final position[12]. BT, on the other hand, shows no examples of debuccalization. Table 3 shows a few instances extracted from the two versions of the text.

PT	#	BT	(TEXT) GLOSS
asipaxci	2	ashippa-atchi	(people) went out
arapexcakeva	3	ara pet chake wa	across the stream
oxt[13]	9	otta	in
caxcanki	10	chakchanke	loin-cloth, apron
naxte	13	naktek	thereupon
nani u	17	nani uk	(he) took (it) immediately
amate	22	amatek	to put, place
cuf na ~ cux na	23	chup na	both the moon and...

Table 3. Sakhalin Ainu debuccalization.

From a morphological viewpoint, one of the most salient features of SA is the existence of various strategies to express plurality (see, e.g., AG-I.B: 425–428 sub §101.1, cf. noun plurality on pp. 164–167, esp. 165–166 sub §37, and Nakagawa 2022). For plural argument marking, SA makes use of the suffix V^{o}-*xci* (sometimes -*xsi*), like in #2 *asipaxci* '(they) went out' (here C^{o}-*axci*). This form is based on *asin* SG vs. *asip* PL 'go out' (cf. #13 *asin* or #22 *asin-ke* CAU.SG; see, e.g., Hattori 1964: 243[58], 244[59]) which, as can be easily inferred, already codify action plurality via suffixation of -*n* vs. -*p*. The most notable difference between PT and BT is the lack of *utara* 'group, people, etc.; NOUN.PL' in the same line #2.

As far as vocabulary is concerned, a diagnostic item for the positive identification of SA against HA is *unci* 'fire' (see §3). The word is attested only in SA and the Hokkaido dialect of Sōya (Hattori 1964: 105 [51]), where many speakers of SA were historically relocated in recent times. The most interesting item, however, is #10 *caxcanki* '(woman's) loin-cloth' (or 'apron' in Batchelor's translation)[14]. Although it is traditionally described as

[12] In today's convention all instances are indicated with either ⟨x⟩ or ⟨h⟩ (= [x h uɸ], etc.). The former is here adopted to harmonize with Piłsudski's materials.

[13] PT ⟨oxt⟩ 'in, at' (< otta < or=ta {place=LOC}) undergoes vowel crasis when followed by *ahun* 'enter'.

[14] The etymology of this word is unknown, although there might be a tenuous connection to *cak* 'to (burst) open', since the use of this sort of garment, which serves as a talisman

a lexeme documented only in Piłsudski's materials (see, e.g., Ōtsuka et al. 2008: 17a), Batchelor included it in his dictionary, where, curiously enough, one finds final *-i*, with a spelling partly resembling that of Piłsudski's, rather than *-e*, like Batchelor gave in the text (1938: 68a s.v. Chakchanki).

4. Discussion

The conclusion that PT and BT are virtually the same text is unescapable even after the most cursory examination. It should not necessarily come as a surprise, for oral narrations that, having been recorded on different occasions from different narrators, show striking similarities are not unheard of. Similarities, however, are usually accounted for by invoking geographical proximity. This explanation does not seem to be available in the present case: Piłsudski worked on (East Coast) Sakhalin, whereas Batchelor's main concern was the various Ainu traditions scattered through southern Hokkaido. There are no additional examples of a narration across La Pérouse Strait (which is only 42 km long) with variants whose degree of similarity would be of a comparable magnitude to the one observed here has been reported so far[15].

No evidence supports the assumption that Piłsudski and Batchelor worked with the same consultant or a group of related consultants (e.g., members of the same family, etc.). It is known that Piłsudski managed to gather some linguistic data during his visit to the Hidaka region in the summer (June 20th – September 24th) of 1903 as part of the so-called "Sieroszewski-Piłsudski

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too, is a sign of maidenhood (see definition by Batchelor [1938: 68a s.v. Chakchanki] 'a female's apron. These were formerly made of bark thread', cf. Piłsudski's ethnographic remarks in 1912: 97–98 note 5).

[15] In the 1880s, Batchelor gathered a series of narratives which were published as instalments in the famous *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* between 1889 and 1893. One of these narratives, traditionally known as "Song of a Swordfish", exists in many variants. All of them seem to come from the same region (Hidaka and Horobetsu). Kanturuka, an Ainu from Biratori, recited one version for Batchelor in 1880 (see Batchelor 1889: 123–127, text nr IV). Another version was dictated by Nitani Kunimatsu to Itsuhiko Kubodera in 1935 (see Kubodera 1977: 316–318, text nr 68). When these two versions are compared, only the first four lines turn identical: ⟨Okikurumi / Samai un guru / Utura ine / Repa gusu ariki⟩... (BT) vs. ⟨Okikurmi / Samai-un-kur / u-tura hine / repa kusu arki.⟩... (Kubodera's text). The remaining lines of the song show significant differences in wording and they do not lend themselves to direct comparison, though it is undeniable that both versions stem from the same tradition (cf. Kindaichi 1967-1: 389–397, where BT is compared with another two versions, and the discrepancies start appearing already within the fourth line). Incidentally, this is another of a few examples where Batchelor's Ainu data can be set in contrast with the data supplied by contemporary specialists.

Hokkaido Expedition" (for Wacław Sieroszewki's account of the event, see CWBP-3: 661–699)[16]. As for Batchelor, he visited Sakhalin in 1907 after the Japanese government granted him permission (see, e.g., Batchelor 2000: 145–146). Some of his collaborators, like, for example, his Ainu teacher Penri (Hiramura Penriuku), visited Sakhalin as well (see, e.g., Batchelor 2000: 84). They could have, in theory, provided him with information on SA.

It seems highly unlikely that Piłsudski would have shared language data with Batchelor, or the other way around, as there is no evidence whatsoever to support such an exchange. Likewise, it would be preposterous to suggest that Batchelor could have fabricated his version of the text by "restoring" the non-HA features (mainly debuccalization) present in Piłsudski's version as published in his 1912 book (which Batchelor knew; see, e.g., Batchelor 2000: 62, where he cites from it).

It remains unknown what the extent of Batchelor's knowledge of Ainu dialectology is, although he was most certainly aware of lexical differences between HA and SA (see, e.g., Batchelor 2000: 74, where he provides some examples for the sake of illustration, or his well-known dictionary, which contains many SA forms; see his own remarks on this issue [Batchelor 1938: 16–21] or Tamura 2013: 228–229 = [1981]: 9)[17].

As it turns out, there is no need to resort to plagiarism or falsification as the explanation of the similarities between the two texts. One can make a case that the language in BT represents a mixed dialect. Unfortunately, there are no exact matches to identify it with. However, the possibility that something resembling the language of BT existed is not far-fetched in the least from what is known of Ainu dialectology. Piłsudski himself included three texts in his 1912 book that show traces of HA influence[18]. Two of them were

[16] For the materials gathered in Hokkaido, see the inventory in CWBP-3: 263 and the excerpts that follow (e.g., on pp. 339–341, 343–345, etc.). The whereabouts of some of those materials remain unknown (see, e.g., CWBP-3: 253). Notwithstanding this last caveat, Kotani's remark that "[d]uring his brief stay in Hokkaido [...] Pilsudski did not collect any Ainu materials" (1995: 74) needs to be reconsidered.

[17] When Batchelor and Piłsudski met in Sapporo, the only language they could chat in was Ainu (Batchelor 1938: 3). Unfortunately, one cannot evaluate how fluid, elaborate or in-depth these conversations between Batchelor and Piłsudski were. Based on this fact alone, statements about the homogeneity of Ainu (see, e.g., CWBP-3: 793 fn. 375) or the extension of Ainu dialectal knowledge by Batchelor and Piłsudski are or would seem unwarranted.

[18] This influence, however, is admittedly minimal. In one text, Piłsudski (1912: 161–162 / 191–192) notes the use of the name *Samayekur* (HA) instead of *Yayresupo* (SA), which designates "a certain demi-god". This peculiarity aside, the language of the texts is

recited by a couple who lived for some time somewhere in Hokkaido (Piłsudski 1912: 161–162/191–192, 176/206). More importantly, the consultant who dictated the third text claimed to have learned it in Sōya (Piłsudski 1912: 199/229). This is the same area (the northern tip of Hokkaido) mentioned above in regards to the word *unci*, that is, in the context of a lexical item which, although diagnostic of SA, turns out to be documented in Hokkaido as well due to the later relocation of SA speakers. Thus, there is some room to speculate that the woman with whom Batchelor's collaborator worked came from, or spent some time in Sōya. She may have adopted some features of the original narration in SA (e.g., vocabulary and some morphology) while retaining most of the salient features of her HA native dialect. This would explain, among others, the lack of debuccalization.

Conclusions

The linguistic analysis conducted above shows in no uncertain terms that Batchelor's Ainu language data can be valuable, in some cases at least as much as the language data gathered by other authors whose linguistic skills have never been questioned. In the case under study, since Piłsudski is universally regarded as an excellent linguist, it naturally follows that Batchelor's text, which is virtually identical to that of Piłsudski, must be properly (re)evaluated as a genuine piece of Ainu language.

Nowadays, it is common practice to use Piłsudski's SA language data in works devoted to Ainu linguistics, with no caveats regarding its quality. To claim that this is so only because there is not much material in SA to begin with would be proof of ignorance (and academic malpractice). The Ainu language data collected by Batchelor has never received equal treatment. A second look into it may bring pleasant surprises. The form *asipaxci* discussed above is a case in point – it appears to be documented only in Piłsudski's materials, in the idiolect of Asai Take (Ōtsuka et al. 2008: 11b s.v. asipaxci), and the idiolect of Fujiyama Haru (see, e.g., Fujiyama 1976: 24 [twice])[19]. Thus, there is one additional attestation of it in Batchelor's 1924 booklet[20]. In light of this evidence, careful consideration of the

unmistakably SA: (1) there is systematic debuccalization, (2) use of *-(a)hci* for plural arguments where expected, and (3) presence of lexical items only found in Sakhalin, e.g., *unci* or *mompecisin* 'fingers' (cf. *mompet* 'finger' vs. HA *askepet*, see Hattori 1964: 11 [93]).

[19] As one of the anonymous reviewers kindly reminds me.

[20] To discern why Batchelor spelled it ⟨ashippa-atchi⟩ is beyond the purpose of this brief article. It suffices to say, however, that there is nothing in the word-formation or history

remaining texts seems in order.

Needless to say, one still knows nothing about how good or bad Batchelor's practical knowledge of Ainu was in reality, because the text might have been recorded by an Ainu collaborator. Also, the conclusion reached in this paper should not be taken as further motivation for reevaluating Batchelor's artificial compositions (e.g., his biblical translations), as they are flawed beyond any reasonable doubt (see, e.g., Majewicz 2005: 455a). Those instances aside, the remaining of Batchelor's Ainu language data will have to be approached on an individual basis, and, hopefully, in a more flexible and open-minded manner.

Non-bibliographical abbreviations and conventions

BT	Batchelor's text
Cº	consonant-ending base
CAU	causative
HA	Hokkaido Ainu
LOC	locative
PL	plural
PT	Piłsudski's text
SA	Sakhalin Ainu
SG	singular
Vº	vowel-ending base
{}	linguistic glossing
⟨⟩	original spelling[21]

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of *asipahci* that would account for, or make one expect, the long vowel and geminate consonant that Batchelor's spelling ⟨...ppa-a...⟩ seems to suggest. Asai Take, whose SA idiolect clearly distinguished short from long vowels, pronounced it [aɛipahʧi] (see, e.g., sound recording for Asai 2001: 68, lines 23–24).

[21] Forms in ⟨⟩ are provided only when necessary, otherwise all Ainu forms are standardized (including those from Batchelor's and Piłsudski's materials).

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The Singapore Afterlife (1970–2007) of the Japanese Architectural Movement Metabolism (新陳代謝 / *Shinchintaisha*, 1959–1973)

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ABSTRACT

This paper employs the art-historical and descriptive-analytical methods to discuss the history of Metabolism in Singapore. Firstly, it discusses the conceptual and philosophical underpinnings of Metabolism with recurring themes of organic and technological terminologies to organize the modern city. It then reviews the current literature on Metabolism, emphasizing the contributions made to the analysis of Metabolism as a philosophy and an architectural movement. The paper then uses as examples the buildings which were designed and built in Singapore by Tange Kenzō and Maki Fumihiko. However, the influence of Metabolism was felt in Singapore even earlier through local architects who were inspired by its principles of designing residential and commercial spaces by means of incorporating modularity, communal living, and green urbanism into the design. Finally, the paper reflects on the influence of Metabolism on current green architecture movements in Singapore.

KEYWORDS: metabolism (architecture), Tange Kenzō, Japanese architecture, Singapore architecture, history of Singaporean architecture

...There is a powerful need for symbolism and that means the architecture must have something that appeals to the human heart. Nevertheless, the basic forms, spaces, and appearances must be logical. Designs of purely

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arbitrary nature cannot be expected to last long (Tange Kenzō 1987 Laureate Ceremony Acceptance Speech).

Introduction

Metabolism attained the peak of its popularity in the 1970s, but thereafter, it failed to take root in Japan as a dominant architectural style. However, its proponents continued to design monumental buildings outside of Japan. In the Middle East, there were projects conceptualized for what would become future cities in Bahrain, Qatar, and the UAE; it was similar in Singapore. This paper analyzes the development of Metabolism in Singapore from the point of view of art history. Metabolism is a Japanese avant-garde architectural movement that originated in the middle of the 20th century. It was both radically breaking with traditional Japanese architecture and rooted in Japanese cultural philosophy. It used biological metaphors and scientific terminology to describe its notions of organic architecture.

Metabolism as an architectural movement began in the ruins of post-war Japan. The fire-bombing of Tokyo and many other Japanese cities resulted in the widespread destruction of buildings. The destruction was exacerbated by the wooden nature of many Japanese buildings, which led to the further propagation of fire.

In the aftermath of so much destruction, there was the opportunity to change the architectural landscape completely. A new generation of architects would take up this challenge to remake the landscape, utilizing concepts which reflected new western architectural movements, such as brutalism, while reflecting the unique situation of Japan and its cultural background at the same time. Tange Kenzō, already a prominent architect, collaborated with several other architects who would later become crucial members and proponents of Metabolism, most notably Kikutake Kiyonori, Maki Fumihiko, and Kurokawa Kishō. In preparation for the Tokyo World Design Conference in 1960, discussions coalesced around the creation of a manifesto that would showcase their ideas. This manifesto would put into print not only their architectural designs but also the ideology behind them, rooted in how to solve problems such as Japan's shortage of usable land. The solution that the Metabolists found was rooted within traditional Japanese architectural concepts of change and adaptability, combined with notions of biological processes and evolution. The Metabolists, with this goal in mind, designed structures which would organically grow and could be reformed, remade, and adapted to changing conditions. Initially, the name for this architectural movement was *Shinchintaisha*, which, in essence, meant the continuous exchange of energy and materials between organisms.

It reflected the group's focus on modular and replaceable architecture. However, since this conference was international in nature, it was decided that an English word should be used so that the meaning could be more clearly understood. Eventually, Metabolism, as a direct translation of *Shinchintaisha*, was decided to become the formal name of the manifesto (Ota et al. 2011: 235).

While not formally one of the Metabolists, Tange was a mentor to many of the founding members. At the same time, the ideas of the Metabolists could be seen in the urban redevelopment plan of Tokyo that he presented in 1960. The plan was a radical reconstruction of Tokyo, involving building megastructures and a central highway on top of Tokyo Bay. Along the way, roads would diverge, which would lead to further expansion. Megastructures would serve as both residential and commercial spaces, and these "joint-cores" could be replaced as needed and added to the base towers as the population expanded. While this mammoth example of city planning would never be realized, Tange Kenzō later used this concept in other architectural projects as part of his idea that Metabolism could be adapted from single structures to multiple joined buildings and urban planning.

In Singapore, Tange Kenzō, one of the founding members of Metabolism, was asked to design several buildings which would become the foundation of the Singaporean Skyline. These designs were eventually scaled back and redesigned, becoming symbols of corporate-modernist architecture. However, smaller projects, such as the Golden Mile Complex and People's Park, were designed by local architects inspired by Metabolism but also reflected other styles. This paper searches for a possible history of Metabolism in Singapore, laying a foundation for uncovering the strands and offshoots of Metabolism far from its origin and time.

An important contributor to the history of Metabolism is Koolhaas and Obrist's *Project Japan: Metabolism talks* (Koolhaas and Obrist 2011). Published in 2011, it features many interviews with Architects associated with Metabolism, some of whom have passed on since then. Moreover, Xue and Xiao's *Japanese modernity deviated: Its importation and legacy in the Southeast Asian architecture since the 1970s* (Xue and Xiao 2014) was the first article devoted specifically to the legacy of Japanese Architecture in Southeast Asia. Both articles provided the basis for this essay.

1. Metabolism in Singapore: Spreading Outwards

Quite suddenly, after the dizzying success of 'Expo 70 in Osaka, which broadcast Metabolist ideology and architecture to the outside world, Metabolism reached its nadir. In October 1973, the Oil Crisis began, with

the nations of OPEC embargoing the countries perceived to be supporting Israel during the Yom Kippur War occurring at the same time. Japan, with its ties to both the US and Israel, was deemed to be part of that group. The effects of the embargo were disastrous. The miraculous and sheer growth of the Japanese economy in the latter part of the 20th century required a steady supply of oil to supply it. The Japanese Government and its National Conglomerates, referred to as *Sōgō Shōsha* [2], had invested heavily in the Middle East to guarantee a steady supply of oil, as well as to increase oil production. The embargo hit Japan hard, leading to oil prices increasing by over 217% (Ohno n.d.) after the embargo. For the first time since World War 2, the Japanese economy contracted. The diminishing of Metabolism in Japan became an unintended side effect of the crisis. The movement, which had required the support of the Japanese State Bureaucracy for its projects to flourish, could no longer be sustained as Japan entered in 1974 with a negative growth rate of 0.8% (ibid.), leading into a new economic state of "stagflation"[3]. Contracts for projects inside Japan dried up as a result.

To secure the economy and its own oil supply, Japan engaged in diplomacy with OPEC members despite the warnings of the US. They supplied Middle Eastern countries with Japanese goods and loans. Tange Kenzō and other Metabolists are a part of this trade. Ironically, these countries became a second home for the Metabolists where they could articulate their ideas with the support of the dictatorial rule and strong, oil-backed economies of Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Bahrain, and other Middle Eastern countries (Ota et al. 2011: 591).

[2] General Trading Companies, which traded in a wide range of products and services. They were the successors of the *Zaibatsus* after they were dismantled in WW2. Notable *Shōsha* include Mitsubishi and Sumitomo.

[3] Recession amid inflation.

Figure 1. Concept Plan for Singapore 2001, a development of Concept Plan for Singapore 1971. Source: Vsion 2005. CC BY-SA 2.0

After the second oil crisis of the 1970s and the Iranian Revolution, the instability led Tange Kenzō to focus his attention on Asia, in particular Nepal, Malaysia, and Singapore. In Singapore, he is invited by Lee Kuan Yew, wherein he is shown a map titled "Concept Plan", a long-term plan for 40–50 years which will guide Singapore's land use, infrastructure, and transportation. It is designed to address the needs of Singapore's increasing population, such as the need for housing and commercial spaces for economic growth (Xue and Xiao 2014: 229).

It is here where Singapore's similarity to Japan can be made most apparent: as a Tabula Rasa, a place where the possibility of avant-garde architecture, with themes of impermanence, change, and adaptability, can be realized. Tange helped to plan the development of Singapore's iconic infrastructure, culminating in the construction of the first of five skyscrapers comprising the iconic skyline of Singapore's CBD district.

2. Overseas Union Bank Center, UOB Plaza 1 and 2, City Telecommunications Center (1970–1995)

The Central Business District of Singapore is now an iconic feature of Singapore. Dozens of multinational companies have their headquarters or regional subsidiaries within the glass and concrete skyscrapers, all forming a part of the Singaporean skyline. Besides the thousands of office workers who transit to and from the CBD, tourists regularly visit and stay in hotels in the district; many tourist sites are located in or around it, including the Merlion and the Asian Civilization Museum.

However, in the 1970s, this reality had not yet been finalized. Singapore experienced rapid population growth in the post-war period. The country would need more economic opportunities as well as public housing for its population.

Tange Kenzō was invited by Lee Kuan Yew, the prime minister of the newly independent Singapore, to see the conceptual plan of Singapore. He is invited by the Singapore government to shape the iconic skyline of Singapore. The skyline at its core would consist of five buildings. All in all, it would take over a decade for the first building to materialize, OUB Center. The entire process of construction would not conclude until 1995, as Tange Kenzō was invited to renovate buildings in his own architectural style, as was the case of UOB Plaza 2 (Xue and Xiao 2014: 229).

For a Japanese architect to lead the direction and vision of what the future Singapore will look like may seem like a curious choice for the newly independent Singapore. But the decision to leave many such designs and architectural decisions to foreign firms was a conscious one. Local architects were perceived as not having the experience to design modern architecture, nor were there enough architects at the time to entrust these projects to them. Instead, transfers of technology, technical expertise, culture, and ideas would be facilitated through Singaporeans cooperating with and working for foreign architectural firms. In the 1990s, Tay Kheng Soon, who had constructed the Metabolist People's Park Complex bemoaned this decision: "[On the Singapore government's preference for foreign architectural firms in government building projects] Soon believed that Singapore's young architects would never mature without the experience to deliver their own building theories and creativity, and that the government's indulgence of foreign practices would destroy local historical significance" (Xue and Xiao 2014: 227, 236).

Figure 2. Present-day Singapore skyline. Note OUB Center in the middle, flanked by UOB Plaza 1 and 2 Source: Ong 2006. CC BY-SA 2.0

The construction of both Overseas Union Bank Center (now known as One Raffles Place) and City Telecommunications Center (now known as Comcentre) began in 1980 and was finished in 1986 (OUB Centre Limited 2014). The construction of United Overseas Bank Plaza 1 began in 1992 and was completed in 1995 (National Heritage Board 2009). UOB Plaza 2 had been constructed in 1973, but in 1995 it was reconstructed and renovated in conjunction with the newly built Plaza 1 (National Library Board 2020).
Tange Kenzō, who had the full backing and permission of the Urban Redevelopment Authority, was commissioned to design and construct these four buildings. At the same time, however, his plans for the buildings were also dictated not only by their purpose as headquarters for Singapore's leading banks and telecommunication companies but also by the rapidly emerging popularity of corporate and postmodernist architecture (Ota et al. 2011: 636). Rather than concrete, these skyscrapers would be made of glass and steel. Only a few glimpses of Metabolist's influence on Tange's design can be seen: UOB Plaza 1 and 2 are linked by a large open atrium near the Singapore river. It features a large skylight, and in effect, it functions as a "City Room" as conceptualized by Maki Fumihiko: an urban atrium that allows for different activities and uses of the space to take place simultaneously (Xue and Xiao 2014: 229).

These buildings were not successors to Metabolist Architecture but rather a new phase which left very few traces. On the other hand, Tange was also responsible for designing the Nanyang Technological University. It is there that he was given a freer hand in the design and where Metabolism begins to emerge.

3. Nanyang Technological University (1986)

Nanyang Technological University formally began as the Nanyang Technological Institute in 1981. The land it was on was formerly used by Nanyang University, a Chinese private university. In 1980, the university was merged with the University of Singapore and became the National University of Singapore. NTI was set up in order for there to be a university that could use those grounds. It was only in 1991, with the addition of more schools, that it was renamed Nanyang Technological University (Kusolpalin 2016).

In the 1980s, while working on the skyscrapers of the CBD, Tange Kenzō was also entrusted by the Singaporean Government with the master planning and design of Nanyang Technological University, specifically what was then known as the Yunnan Garden Campus, now commonly known as North Spine. To get an idea of the size and scale related to the design of NTU, it is important to note that the entire NTU campus occupies 0.2% of the land in Singapore. Given the increasing population and land scarcity[4], it was a lot of land area to be delegated to just one university.

NTU is in Jurong West, an hour and a half away by train from the Central District. Given this distance, master planning of the overall expansion of the NTU campus emphasized self-sufficiency and the conception of the campus as a "Mini-City". Additionally, shared spaces between schools were emphasized as a way of maximizing space and efficiency.

This conception cannot be seen more clearly than in the design of the Yunnan Garden Campus.

[4] Singapore has the second greatest population density in the world; most of the population lives on just 7% of the land available.

Figure 3. The Academic Spines of NTU, which branch out from the "servant" spaces of the Campus. Source: Aloysiustwz 2015. CC BY-SA 2.0

The design of the Campus by Tange clearly draws upon his earlier work, from the Plan for Tokyo 1960, Yamanashi Culture Chamber to Shizuoka Press and Broadcasting Centre. What can be seen is the joint-core system applied on a micro-scale similar to the Yamanashi Culture Chamber and Shizuoka Press and Broadcasting Centre. Unlike those projects, however, NTU was not a single building but a large campus that would house many colleges. Metabolism was not just an architectural style to be applied to a single building but to a whole typology of organization. Tange noted that "The building is at once a single spatial type capable of change and growth, and a space established within a three-dimensional communications grid. This is a proposal for both a single building and for urban design" (Lin 2010: 183).

The original design of the 1986 NTU Yunnan Garden incorporated what Tange Kenzō called the "Tree-Trunk Axes" or the "Core and Bridge system". This structural design could be seen in his earlier projects from the 1960s, including the Shizuoka Broadcasting Tower, Yamanashi Culture Chamber, and the mega structural form, in the Plan for Tokyo 1960.

Tange saw this design as a way of not only maximizing space but also creating shared spaces which could lead to collaboration and the infusion of new ideas. The impetus for this design can be described as dividing the space between "served" and "servant" spaces. Like the other designs, the first floor was vacant, with the functional space relegated to the floors above (ibid., 181).

The design consists of core points which contain the "servant" spaces, referring to social spaces, sanitary restrooms, cafeterias, and restaurants. The "served" space branches outward from the core in different directions. It contains educational facilities, classrooms, and laboratories. These "branches" were made so that additional space could expand through unoccupied void spaces which could be infilled. Tange compares this layout to that of a city layout in a two-dimensional space:

> Some plots of land in a city are vacant; others are scheduled for the expansion of existing buildings. We made it possible for people to have the spaces they require within a multidimensional composition... Though it seemed incomplete, the building had an organic unity (ibid., 183).

This basic pattern could be applied from a single building to a network of buildings, all the way to the city level. The megastructure would generate similar buildings, which would grow to take over and lead again to expansion (ibid., 188).

However, just like its earlier predecessors, the construction of this building did not lead to the surrounding development of the campus into similar mega structural forms which establish linkages with each other. Instead, future architectural firms working on successive buildings place them in a compositional form – as related to each other but with no ordered layout. Once Metabolism passed its apex as an architectural style, the remaining structures became outdated, and both the symbolism and functionality of the movement became less effective. In the case of the Nakagin Capsule Tower, it was discovered that because its capsules had been constructed on-site, replacing them would be a far more expensive procedure. Capsules that needed replacement would need to have capsules above and below them also lifted out of position before they could be replaced. The capsules themselves were designed only for single and double occupancy. A modern conventional floor layout would have resulted in at least doubling the amount of usable space (Lambiasi 2022).

Was there a response to Metabolism and its mega-structural form? The answer would come decades later, in the form of the construction of Republic Polytechnic in 2007.

4. Republic Polytechnic (2007)

Maki Fumihiko criticized the structural form utilized by Tange Kenzō and the Metabolists. The structural form and the later group form created and utilized by Maki Fumihiko were both plans for a cohesive building form. But Maki specifically criticized structural form and how it encouraged the emergence and construction of Metabolist Architecture which could only be made possible from the top down, through the patronage and support of financial and political powers. Both in Singapore and Japan, Metabolism was only made possible through bureaucracy and the direct support of their respective governments. Much of the support for Metabolism in Japan came from Shimokōbe Atsushi, a senior bureaucrat and Administrative Vice-Minister of the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism from 1977 to 1979 (Ota et al. 2011: 14). From 1962 to 1998, he drew up and revised the Comprehensive National Development Plan, which included several large-scale construction projects. He played a key role in national development projects in Japan. In 1998, the plans stopped being developed following the criticism of wasteful government spending on public works projects (Japan Times 2016).

Maki Fumihiko developed his group form as a rebuke and criticism of Metabolism. Instead of a megastructure and iconic building with branches in all directions, Maki Fumihiko built his architecture as a collective of buildings linked to each other. Instead of a "tree", Maki employed the metaphor of the interior parts of a cell, all of which constantly shift and yet connect to each other spatially. Maki specifically refrained from making one part of the architecture its focus, instead diffusing its elements throughout the structure (Rakshit 2015).

On March 22, 2005, Tange Kenzō died in Tokyo, Japan. Two years later, Republic Polytechnic's Woodland Campus in Singapore opened. It was designed by Maki Fumihiko, and it is there that the author draws a comparison between Nanyang Technological University and Republic Polytechnic as representatives of their respective forms.

Republic Polytechnic is composed of 11 "Learning Pods" straddling two decks, which Maki refers to as the "Agora" and "Lawn". This design reflects his ideas about spatiality combined with interspersed forms, making efficient use of the space (Cairns, Chee and Jacobs 2014). The underground Agora contains public spaces such as libraries, cafes, and courtyards. The

aboveground Lawn contains green space, bridges, and covered corridors, which become the linkages between the separated buildings. This design helps to create shared spaces between structures while minimizing the flow of traffic between them, so everything is accessible from the center. More importantly, it is a high-density design, which is still able to have green spaces. The 11 Learning Pods have a modular system that allows for different permutations and combinations of labs, facilitator offices, and study clusters (DesignSingapore Council 2009).

Figure 4. Republic Polytechnic Woodland Campus. Source: Republic Polytechnic 2006. CC BY-SA 2.0

Given the recent construction of the building, one cannot foresee how the space will be further expanded in the future. In 2009 it was awarded Design of the Year during the President's Design Award, held by Design Singapore and the Urban Redevelopment Authority. The jury cited the Agora and Lawn as key design features that stood out from an aesthetic standpoint. It also stood out as an efficient use of space which encouraged collaboration:

> Easily the most identifiable innovation in the Republic Polytechnic campus, the Agora is reminiscent of the marketplace in ancient Greece, where goods and ideas were exchanged freely. Envisioned as a democratic, student-oriented and experimental public realm, the Agora is a large, continuous,

> multi-tiered space that encourages cross disciplinary interaction between students and the public, unifying the Learning Pods situated above. Together with the Lawn, the Agora is one of the campus' key design features, and effectively extends the physical learning space beyond the conventional classroom. The Lawn also effectively replaces the greenery displaced by the campus' footprint, thereby camouflaging the bulk of the campus (DesignSingapore Council 2009).

Aside from this, Republic Polytechnic also contains several green features, such as a thermal energy storage system, solar panels, and a waste conveyance system.

While Maki's design has clearly utilized several technological developments that were not present in 1986, the campus of NTU has also been updated to benefit from these features. At present, however, it seems that the Yunnan Garden Campus has reached the limits of its expansion. On the other hand, Republic Polytechnic Campus still has space for expansion, retaining the influence and architectural language of Fumihiko Maki and his conception of "group form" while following its own architectural language.

Japanese Architects are proven to have had a significant influence on Singaporean Architecture, especially its national projects. This influence extended to some of Singaporeans' greatest and most influential architects, such as William Lim and Tay Kheng Soon.

5. People's Park Centre (1970), People's Park Complex (1972), Golden Mile Complex (1973), and Golden Mile Tower (1974)

William Lim, born in 1932, graduated from the AA School[5] in 1955. During those four years studying at the school, he was enticed by his mentors toward the architectural style of Brutalism. Afterwards, in 1956, he was awarded a Fulbright Scholarship to study at the Department of City and Regional Planning at Harvard University in the United States (Lim, Han and Zhuang 2016). Tay Kheng Soon graduated in 1963 from the Singapore Polytechnic School of Building and Architecture, becoming one of the first locally trained architects in Singapore. What they had in common was that both men studied with Maki Fumihiko at Harvard. Their experiences led them to embrace Maki's ideas and form the Architectural Think-Tank Singapore Research & Urban Planning Group (SPUR) in 1964. SPUR drew up proposals for the future of Singapore. One of the SPUR's proposals was the

[5] Architectural Association School of Architecture in London, which is still one of the most prestigious architecture schools in the world.

"Asian City of the Future". Utilizing Metabolist Architecture such as the A-Frame, SPUR integrated residential, commercial, and businesses into one zone (Ota et al. 2011: 637).

During the 1970s, they got an opportunity to put these plans to fruition, starting with the People's Park Center and People's Park Complex in 1970 and 1972, respectively.

Both of these buildings were built with the intention to follow the principles of Maki Fumihiko's "Group Form", where individual buildings would form linkages with each, maintaining overall consistency. Another key feature was the use of "City Rooms", also conceived by Maki, which were indoor atriums designed to hold a variety of functions within them. Their purpose was to replicate not only urbanity but also a bustling street indoors. The People's Park Complex features four of these city rooms, one on top of the other. Both the complex and the center were linked with each other through walkways and corridors, and it was hoped that the building would become the nucleus of further development. However, the direction of urban development did not take into account these structures. During the early 2000s, the old shophouses were rehabilitated, and glass canopies were built to protect shoppers from the rain. As a result, pedestrian traffic shifted from buildings to the outside. Today these spaces are mostly seen as containing immigrant, predominantly Chinese, neighborhoods. Instead of expanding outward, the space has crawled inward instead (Guan 2017).

The Golden Mile Complex was intended to have the design most reminiscent of Metabolist Architecture, featuring the A-Frame seen in "Asian City of the Future". Its location on Beach Road was to facilitate outward expansion towards the east of Singapore, and the building was to be connected with soon-to-be-constructed similar-looking office towers, a so-called "Metabolist Mile". Due to size constraints, only half of the Metabolist A-frame was completed. The ground floor housed a giant rectangular atrium, with the upper levels housing residential units. However, the construction of new highways and metros redirected the expansion of the city, leaving the Golden Mile Complex and Golden Mile Tower isolated. Similarly to the People's Park Complex, they have become home to numerous ethnic migrants to Singapore, most notably Thai immigrants (ibid.).

Conclusion

Until recently, the fate of the buildings described in the paper has been up in the air. The Golden Mile Complex has been facing sell-off and closure for decades. As modern office towers and hotels were being built around it, it had to face the irony that its architecture could not adapt to the changes

around it. Its expansion was not organic, and rather than replicate its style, the following development took inspiration from the architectural trends that were common at the time. However, its fate changed on October 9, 2020. After a two-year study, the URA decided to propose that the building be gazetted as a conserved building for its importance to the heritage of the urban design of Singapore (Ng 2020). A year later, on October 26, 2021, this proposal was finally adopted (Ng Keng 2021). Considering that unit owners within the building were anxious to sell off because of market pressures and the rising cost of land in Singapore, the URA decided to offer incentives to the owners to make the prospect of selling units in the building more attractive to potential buyers. Besides being one of the few buildings not from the colonial era that is being conserved, it also signifies renewed interest in Modernist and Metabolist architecture within Singapore, with even a speculative film about Metabolism being shown at the Red Dot Design Museum (Red Dot GmbH & Co. KG 2020).

While other Southeast Asia countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia also invited Japanese architects for building projects, Singapore was singularly unique in its ability to leverage its bureaucracy and resources to allow these architects to put their ideas of expansion and adaptability into action. But these projects were not always received favorably. The Singapore Indoor Stadium, built in 1989, was criticized for its high cost and the Singapore government's preference for foreign architects over local designs (Xue and Xiao 2014: 234).

The capsules of the famous Nakagin Capsule Tower were estimated to be replaced every 25–30 years (Lambiasi 2022). But ironically, Metabolism could not adapt fast enough to suit rapidly changing times. The said capsules were hard to replace, with the replacement requiring that the capsules above and below them be moved as well. The makeup of cities are known to change completely every 10–15 years[6]. Metabolism's current reputation is regarded as being out of date, cold and inhuman. Despite this, the increasing attention it has received in architectural schools around the world shows that it still has lessons to teach, especially when it comes to modularity and replacement in the service of green urbanism. Architects today may not follow the form of Metabolism, but they certainly take to heart its spirit and themes of change, impermanence, and growth.

Abbreviations

CBD Central Business District

[6] NTU's current Campus Master Plan is also slated to last 15 years.

GRIPS	National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies
NTU	Nanyang Technological University
OUB	Overseas Union Bank
SPUR	Singapore Research & Urban Planning Group
UOB	United Overseas Bank
URA	Urban Reconstruction Authority

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The Representation of Japanese Working Women and the Labor Standard Law of Japan – a Feminist Postcolonial Approach

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ABSTRACT[2]

Since the 1947 Constitution was drafted at the behest of the Allied General Headquarters led by the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP), it is only fitting to scrutinize the media directly under it. One of the policies that should have affected Japanese women's status is the Labor Standard Law. With this Law as a reference point, this paper anchors the SCAP's ideals for Japanese women in terms of labor whilst I look at the portrayal of Japanese women in the 1948 issues of Pacific Stars and Stripes, an unofficial military daily newspaper under the supervision of SCAP. Through the lens of feminist postcolonialism with power and propaganda as a framework, I posit that the images of working women published by *Pacific Stars and Stripes* reinforce the internal contradictions presented by Labor Standard Law, which are accompanied by vivid examples of colonial power plays and the exoticization of Japanese women.

KEYWORDS: Japanese Working Women, *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, SCAP, portrayal, newspaper, Labor Standard Law

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Introduction

This paper analyzes how the Allied General Headquarters led by General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP), the occupiers of Japan (1945–1952), portrayed Japanese women amongst themselves amidst their declaration of support for the emancipation of Japanese women, whereby they included women-targeted policies in the 1947 Constitution during the restructuring of Japan. This idea of emancipating Japanese women came with the belief that they were passive and caged (Yoneyama 2005). One of the policies included in the new constitution is the Labor Standard Law. Using this Law as a reference point, I anchor the SCAP's ideals for Japanese women in terms of labor whilst analyzing the portrayal of Japanese working women in foreign-owned but locally-produced media.

The Labor Standard Law, also known as the Labor Standard Act, ensures the equality of the workplace in its inclusion of protective measures for male and female laborers and is considered "the most significant labor reform affecting Japanese working women" (Nomura 1978: 5). This law eventually became the foundation for future employment policies. During its implementation, SCAP[3] was also publishing the *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, an unofficial daily U.S. military newspaper, in Tokyo, Japan. The newspaper still operates to this day.

Pacific Stars and Stripes brings news regarding activities within the Far East to SCAP's personnel and their families and thus has the capacity to showcase SCAP's framing of Japanese women. I also used this newspaper as the primary visual material in my previous study (Rosario 2022), where I discussed in length the portrayal of Japanese housewives vis-à-vis the supposed emancipation of women by SCAP. There, I argued the importance of looking at the depiction of Japanese women through the lens of SCAP as the institution behind the laws that claimed to improve the status of Japanese women. I found that, due to the ongoing shift from emancipation propaganda to domesticity propaganda at that time, the portrayal of Japanese housewives showed contradictions. The newspaper portrayed them as voters and as working wives. However, at the same time, "many images depict[ed] the housewives' nurturing and subservient side, and reinforce their passivity, obscuring other narratives of women in the country" (Rosario 2022: 1). None of the images inferred that a housewife belonged in any traditional

[3] In this paper, SCAP is used to refer to the Allied General Headquarters, which includes Supreme Commander General MacArthur unless stated otherwise.

male occupation. Thus, analyzing the visual representation of women in a locally produced paper owned by Japan's foreign occupiers is relevant in expanding gender studies on how women are historically viewed and positioned in society.

However, focusing only on housewives gives a narrow image of the newspaper's overall representation of Japanese women. Hence, in this paper, I attempt to go beyond housewives and include *all* Japanese working women that are portrayed in *Pacific Stars and Stripes* whilst considering the existence of the Labor Standard Law. I also extend the analysis of gender dynamics and power among Japanese working women and the West. The extension of this discussion allows for a more holistic approach to how SCAP saw and represented working women. I reiterate the significance of focusing on the newspaper's issues during 1948 because of the implementation of the 1947 Constitution and the shift and transition of SCAP propaganda from liberty to domesticity due to the brewing Cold War (Rosario 2022). However, instead of limiting the scope of data to *Pacific Stars and Stripes*'s images and captions, featured articles of Japanese working women are also included as a form of data to provide more context. The data encompasses 91 images of Japanese working women and nine featured articles wherein I apply discourse analysis. Employing a feminist postcolonial approach, I argue that despite the existence of the Labor Standard Law and numerous images of Japanese working women, they are still often portrayed as characters of nurture, subservience, and inferiority, most especially in terms of power and gender dynamics.

Meanwhile, literature on the Standard Labor Law is relatively scarce and has either scrutinized the contents or the effects of the Law on Japanese women (Nomura 1978; Toyoda 2007; Geddes 1977) or only mentions the Law, preferring to jump immediately to the newer Equal Employment Opportunity Act passed in 1985 (Marfording 1996).

In addition, literature pertaining to the visual portrayal of Japanese women during the Allied Occupation Period also exists. These scholarly works have primarily utilized locally owned and locally produced visual materials. Matsuda (2012) zeroes on the presentation of democracy in Japanese magazines in relation to its presentation of American women as the ideal models for Japanese women. Ochiai (1997) analyzes Japanese women's dominant portrayals in Japanese magazines during different periods. Rosenberger (1996) also touches on the representation of Japanese women but relates it to the SCAP policies – very similar to this paper and my earlier work (Rosario 2022). Focusing on the 1980s and 1990s, Rosenberger (1996) contends that the state (policies) and media (portrayal of Japanese women)

often do not mirror nor reinforce each other. Japanese media, specifically magazines, did not necessarily embody the goal of the state because they are two different entities. Aside from these scholarly works, only Yoneyama (2005) looks at Japanese women during the Allied Occupation from the point of view of Western materials – specifically mainland U.S. media. Yoneyama (2005) argues that the portrayal of these materials helped establish to the world that the U.S. was the savior of Japanese women and served as a guide for Japan. Therefore, another significance of this paper is its contribution to the limited literature on Standard Labor Law and enriching existing works on the visual representation of Japanese women.

This paper is divided into six parts. The first part introduces the background of the study, the existing literature, the scope, and the significance of the topic. The second part focuses on the lens and approach employed in the analysis. The third part fleshes out the discrepancies present in the content of the Labor Standard Law. The fourth part tackles the analysis proper of the images. The fifth part extends the fourth part and includes an analysis of articles featuring Japanese women. Finally, the last part concludes the argument of the paper.

1. Feminist Postcolonialism: Dynamics of Gender and Power

Because the images are derived from the *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, the portrayal of Japanese women naturally comes from the perspective of the West. Inevitably, there are times that Japanese and Western figures are together in one image – with Japanese women having subordinate roles. Therefore, we need to understand how the West constructs its general perspective towards Japanese women and the gender dynamics and power that come with it.

According to Joan Wallach Scott, gender has been one of the ways whereby "political power has been conceived, legitimated, and criticized" (Scott 1986: 1073). Thus, in the analysis of these images, and keeping in mind the power dynamics in gender, I borrow the Feminist Postcolonial Theory to situate SCAP's historical approach to gender as a preeminent institution and contextualize *Pacific Stars and Stripes*'s portrayal of Japanese women. To further understand this approach, I attempt to analyze it in this section.

First, there is the concept of Orientalism. Edward Said (1978) argues that the West, specifically Europe, tends to see Eastern nations, called the Orient, as a monolithic uncivilized group. The West also sets the definition and label for these nations based on its perception and "understanding" of the Eastern culture despite its outsider status. Thus, the Orient is more often than not described as "exotic, the mysterious, the profound, [and] the seminal" (Said

1978: 51). This could be likened to SCAP's treatment of Japanese women as they belong to two distinct categories (race and gender) considered inferior by the colonizer and patriarchal West. SCAP sees Japanese women's plight in Japan as backward but also treats Japanese women with fascination and exoticization. SCAP framed (and saw) it as a mission to help Japanese women (Shibusawa 2006). American women became perfect models for Japanese women to emulate. This relationship between Orientalism and femininity is expounded by Chizuko Ueno (1997: 4), where she states that orientalism "…is a discourse of power, another name given to colonialism which constructs 'the other' as the inferior" and adds: "'woman' is another name given to a land to be conquered". In binary terms, "[w]omen are to men as the Orient [East] is the Occident [West]; and the difference attributed to them as distinctive feature defines their 'otherness'" (Ueno 1997: 3).

Orientalism became the basis of postcolonial theory, except that postcolonialism critiques the representations of the Other – "woman, native, ethnic minority, the Orient" (Burney 2012: 42), which, in the case of this paper, is the Japanese women. Shehla Burney (2012: 42–44) defines postcolonial theory as "concerned with the aftermath of colonialism", and that it "does not simply imply 'after the end of colonialism' but also 'after the era of colonialism started'", and is thus used in many ways, such as "deconstructing how identity is politicized and how the postcolonial subject is created through hegemonic Western lenses". Chandra Mohanty (2003: 67) similarly defines a postcolonial relationship in which "legal, economic, religious and familial structures are treated as a *phenomena* to be judged by western standards"[4]. For example, Western feminism is considered an exemplar. Others are inferior. While Western feminism is not one entity, Mohanty argues that Western feminism treats third–world women, such as Japanese women, as one monolithic oppressed group.

Through this theory, it becomes possible to fully scrutinize the dynamics of gender and power from the lens of *Pacific Stars and Stripes* when analyzing the images that portray Japanese working women (and other present figures).

2. Labor Standard Law

Below is a discussion concerning the Labor Standard Law and the purpose of its contents, which will anchor SCAP's goals in the analysis while briefly tracing its historical relationship to Japanese women's labor.

Even before World War I, one of the few available jobs for women was in a textile factory. Despite the economic prosperity textile factories brought

[4] Emphasis by Mohanty.

to Japan, working conditions proved difficult and sometimes dangerous (Macnaughtan 2005). The only law that catered to women's labor at that time was known as the Factory Law or Factory Act of 1911, which provided special labor protection for women and children, creating legal gender division in labor (Nomura 1978; Macnaughtan 2005). One of its provisions was disallowing women and children to work at night. According to Helen Macnaughtan (2005: 7), it played a significant role in the "motherhood protection" discourse and gender equality discourse in Japan. Therefore, the Labor Standard Law is considered an extension of the Factory Act of 1911 (Maucnaughtan 2005).

To understand some of the provisions included in Labor Standard Law, I list some of the most important articles. Article 3 of the Law states *equal treatment between men and women*, while Article 4 states equal wages for men and women[5]. There is also Article 62, which bans women's participation in the night shift. Articles 63 and 64 prohibit women from working in dangerous occupations and performing underground work, while Article 61 limits the number of hours a woman could take overtime in a day, week, and year. Unsurprisingly, men do not have such prohibitions. Taking note of women's reproductive health, further special provisions in the policy allowed women to have menstrual leaves (Article 67). Women were also guaranteed leaves before and after childbirth if they wished, as per Article 65. One supposed purpose of the Standard Labor Law is to ensure equal treatment, as mentioned earlier in Article 3. However, one could easily see that the inclusion of prohibitions and special provisions is somewhat contradictory and inconsistent.

Overall available literature agrees that the Labor Standard Law is contradictory. Gail Nomura (1978: 144) argues that the Law "in many ways [is] restrictive rather than beneficial" and adds that "the provisions restricted women's working hours, types of jobs allowed to perform, and ultimately women's pay and prestige". Since the supposed protective measures put Japanese women in the same category as minor workers, this curbed women's occupational growth (Nomura 1978). Many of the Articles continued to narrow down and limit Japanese working women's occupational prospects (Nomura 1978), directly contradicting Article 3. Maho Toyoda reiterates Nomura's argument. By observing the impact of the Law on Japan's gender issue, Toyoda (2007) points out that while SCAP opposed some policies to prioritize equal treatment, specific discriminatory provisions under this policy were also pushed by SCAP. For example, during

[5] These are based on: the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Government Section. *Political Reorientation of Japan, v2*. US Government Printing Office, 1949. Emphasis added by author.

the conception of the Labor Standard Law, "SCAP approved the prohibition of night labor (along with other restrictions on women…) as 'essential'" (Toyoda 2007: 71). Ironically, the promotion of equal treatment was also the same argument that SCAP used to dissuade the Japanese government's inclusion of the menstruation policy in the 1947 Constitution despite the "poor working conditions and shortage of basic supplies" in postwar Japan (Toyoda 2007: 71). This contradiction within the Labor Standard Law encapsulates the indecisiveness of SCAP, or its half-hearted effort and (un)willingness to elevate Japanese working women as workers. Parallel to this contradiction is the inclusion of traditional housewives and working wives, as well as the existence of liberation and domesticity in the portrayal of Japanese women, as a reflection of SCAP's shifting propaganda (Rosario 2022). It is likely, therefore, that a similar form of contradiction exists in the newspaper's portrayal of working women.

3. Opportunities and Position as a Japanese Woman

In this section, the main aspects of the portrayal of working women are presented, starting with what is new in terms of occupation. It is followed by the dominant themes of the images – mainly focusing on the present gender and power dynamics and SCAP's ideals anchored to the Standard Labor Law. Using the feminist postcolonial lens, I also pinpoint the Westerner's privileged position, which naturally exposes the exoticization of Japanese women and the roles they portray in the images.

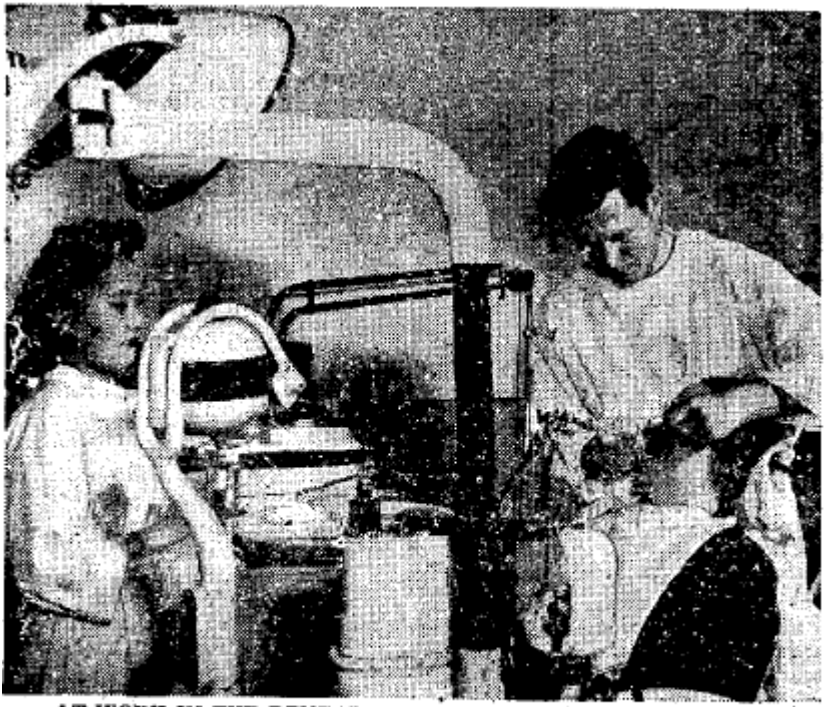
As mentioned earlier, Article 3 was to provide equal opportunities to Japanese women. It would mean that previously male-only occupations became open to Japanese women.

A limited number of images presents this in *Pacific Stars and Stripes*. Figure 1 shows the only picture of a Japanese policewoman in the newspaper.

Figure 1. A Japanese Policewoman with a Baby. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, *Far East Weekly Review*, Page 9, November 14, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

Captioned as "Japanese policewomen were in daily attendance at the court, searching female Japanese spectators before entry to the courtroom – and, in some cases, caring for infant children while their mothers got a lesson in modern history…," [1], the image presents the policewoman as a caretaker. It hints that women do not yet belong in the field – which is normally considered the dangerous part of being a police officer. Instead of fighting criminals and solving crimes, policewomen are doing their duty by serving people in a way that warrants their femininity. The fact that the newspaper chose only this image to represent Japanese policewomen visualizes the tendency of SCAP to undeniably limit Japanese women's opportunities and frame them based on their womanhood. It introduces (and reinforces) motherhood as inseparable from and a part of a Japanese woman's core. This presentation not only diminishes the power and authority usually associated with the police(woman) but also reiterates that Japanese women are still nurturing even if they are to be part of a male-dominated profession. Thus, while the impact of the Labor Standard Law can be seen in terms of occupation, the newspaper's portrayal continues to associate Japanese women with a motherly image.

The following image, Figure 2, presents a Japanese graduate dentist assisting a Western dentist.



AT WORK IN THE DENTAL CLINIC. Maj. Perry W. Bascom prepares a patient's teeth for filling. He is assisted by a Japanese graduate dentist. Although dentures and bridges are made when necessary, Major Perry explains that the treatment of aching teeth and more imperative dental work forbids extensive elective work.

Figure 2. A Japanese Graduate Dentist. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes, Far East Weekly Review*, Page 3, May 14, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

While becoming a dentist is a new opportunity for Japanese women, Figure 2 shows the power difference (superiority of the U.S. and inferiority of Japan or principal–subordinate relationship) and gender dynamics (dominant male vs subversive female) between the Japanese female dentist and the Western male dentist. The Japanese student is presented in the caption as inferior by the word "assisted", inferring the different positions of the two dentists, with the Western dentist depicted as the teacher or leader and the Japanese dentist

portrayed as a student or subordinate. She is pictured with unequal power – made even more evident by her unmentioned name, which contradicts Article 3 of the Labor Standard Law.

One might argue that Japanese women were empowered through labor because of the Labor Standard Law, but it also came with a price – working as an inferior and a subordinate to foreigners, which may also be seen in Figures 3, 4, and 5. Many images in the newspaper convey a similar dynamic between the characters. Elite and high-ranking officials of the Allied Powers and their families came to Japan during its rehabilitation. Because of their position and affluence, they hired Japanese maids to the point that there was a shortage of them [2]. When portrayed beside Westerners, Japanese women are often shown with unequal standing. Figure 3 presents one of the images of a maid depicted with and assisting a Western family.

Arrives In Japan

(Air Force Photo)

Col. C. F. Peterson shows his family their new home at Nagoya AFB. Mrs. Peterson and their son James, arrived in Japan recently. Mrs. Peterson stated: "Japan is not as strange as I anticipated. I am amazed at the large number of people everywhere here. I feel happy to find so many flowers and shrubs that I recognize."

Figure 3. A Japanese Maid Serves a Western Family. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, May 26, 1948. Photo taken by Air Force. Public Domain.

In Figure 4, another servant, a Japanese man, is included in the image. It should be noted that the Japanese woman is still charged with taking care of the children. Women are not depicted in any dangerous occupations.

SAFE AND COMFORTABLE . . . The Engineers build dependent housing.
ALERT FOR ANY EMERGENCY (below) . . . training the soldier.

Figure 4. A Japanese Maid. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, *Far East Weekly Review*, Page 12, April 4, 1948. Photo taken by Signal Corps and Special Forcers. Public Domain.

Welcomed by their maid, Yukiko, T/Sgt. and Mrs. Cecil Bishop and little Larry Lee move into their new home at Grant Heights. Yukiko has already put in several hours work making the place presentable.

Figure 5. A Japanese Maid Welcomes Employers. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes, Far East Weekly Review*, Page 9, January 4, 1948. Photo taken by Signal Corps and Special Forcers. Public Domain.

This dynamic was not exclusive to how the newspaper portrayed Japanese maids. Japanese women who performed clerical jobs were also similarly represented in the images. In Figure 6, a Japanese female operator is shown with a White man as her supervisor. Again, the power difference and gender dynamics in the image are evident. The supervisor is the leader in the workplace – the one who holds authority and knows how the place operates, while the female operator is the learner or subordinate. He knows more about the job, so she should listen to him. Her smile shows that she is happy that he is helping her.

Figure 6. A Technician Instructs a Japanese Operator. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, *Far East Weekly Review*, Page 8, January 25, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

It is the same for Figure 7, where the Japanese woman is a receptionist. Notice that in both images, the Japanese women sit while the White men stand beside them – teaching them how to perform their duties, overseeing their work, or simply towering over them. Figure 7 shows the boss assuming a classic power pose with his hands on his hips. In fact, Japanese working women in the images are more often than not overshadowed by a presence of a larger and more prominent Western figure – similarly to how SCAP positions itself beside Japan as the more knowledgeable of the two. In Figures 6 and 7, men assert their dominance and authority, effectively demonstrating and illustrating the considerable gap between Western men and Japanese women in terms of power and the positions they hold, respectively.

Figure 7. A Japanese Receptionist. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, *Far East Weekly Review*, Page 3, May 23, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

In the newspaper, Japanese working women were also portrayed as entertainers for White people in the form of exoticism. While Figures 8, 9, and 10 may not directly relate to the Labor Standard Law, they exhibit how foreigners sought after (and framed) Japanese women.

For one, the Westerners' fascination with Japanese women's appearance, the kimono, and their delight in Japanese subservience, among other things, were visibly illustrated in the newspaper. Entitled "Many Interesting Sights Await Visitors to Japan", Figure 8 was one of the many images randomly inserted by the newspaper to fill up space within its pages, but also one that had an impact because of its title and setting.

Figure 8. Many Interesting Sights Await Visitors to Japan. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, June 5, 1948. Photo taken by Signal Corps. Public Domain.

It shows a Japanese woman who serves Western military men who are likely part of SCAP. The caption implies that the image was part of the "sights" that one would likely encounter when one goes to Japan. This caption, coupled with the word "interesting" [3], gives an impression that Japanese culture is something unusual, mysterious, and something to be experienced. The newspaper uses an image of a serving Japanese woman to entice its readers to visit Japan. It seems to insinuate that one should experience being served by a Japanese woman – clearly exoticizing her. It also exhibits the power difference and gender dynamics that have persisted throughout images that portrayed Japanese women and Westerners.

The manifestation of the West's fascination with Japanese women is also evident among Western people taking photos of Japanese women, as seen in Figures 9 and 10.

Figure 9. Westerners Flock to Take a Photo of Japanese Women. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes, Far East Weekly Review*, Page 8, May 30, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

The images of Japanese women, most often *geisha* wearing kimonos and standing beside cherry blossoms, became a symbolic representation of Japan in the eyes of foreigners. In Figure 9, one of the photographers directs Japanese women's poses for pictures. The Westerners, male and female, excitedly flock around the Japanese women as they wait to take photos of them. It reiterates the observations of the feminist postcolonial theory wherein the Westerners seek the exotic, the unusual, the mysterious, and the Oriental (Said 1978). The image is similar to how people would excitingly take a picture with an animal at the zoo they saw for the first time – with awe, fascination, and reverence. The same could also be said in Figure 10, wherein a *geisha* mingles with and poses for Western men. The photos show that the men are amused and cannot take their eyes off the *geisha.* Figures 8, 9, and 10 also clearly exhibit the West's treatment of Japanese women as the Other – they are different and peculiar but are to be looked at, admired, and considered unique. The newspaper portrays the *geisha* as alluring and enticing creatures. Per the feminist postcolonial theory, the Westerners' privileged position (as men and the ones in power over Japan) enables them to nitpick and construct symbols or labels to associate with Japanese women.

Figure 10. A Camera Tour with a Geisha. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes, Far East Weekly Review*, Page 8, May 30, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

4. Japanese Working Women in the Featured Articles of 1948 Issues of *Pacific Stars and Stripes*

Usually, the Sunday newspaper included a particular feature article that talks about Japanese people, their practices, and their daily life. It also sometimes elaborates on Japanese working women. In this section, I analyze these articles and their accompanying images in the same fashion as the previous section – by utilizing a feminist postcolonial lens and relating it to the Standard Labor Law whenever possible.

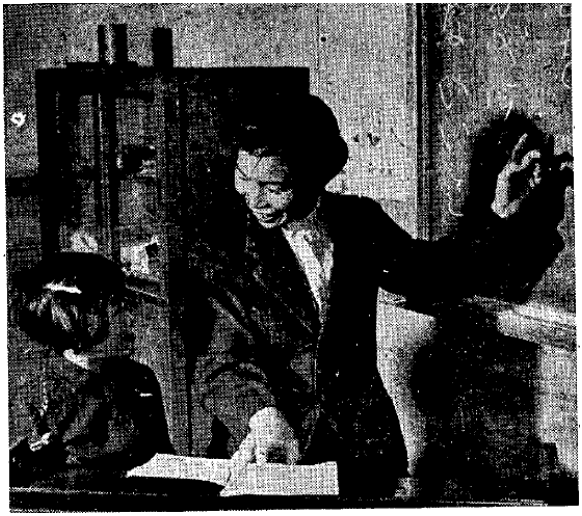


Figure 11. A Japanese School Teacher. Reprinted from Pacific Stars and Stripes, *Far East Weekly Review*, Page 6, April 25, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

According to the feature article accompanied by Figure 11, Mrs. Kuwatani has been teaching for twenty years and has refrained from following her husband's wish – for her to stop working. The newspaper also uses her case to inform readers that Japanese women chose to work even before SCAP directives (Rosario 2022). Notably, the article's author, a Western woman, may have patronized Japanese women.

The article gives a glimpse of Japan's salary system in early 1948. Despite the Labor Standard Law, the gender pay gap seems to persist as "Mrs. Kuwatani's salary amounts to some 3,000 yen a month… [which is] just about [stet] enough to pay for her husband's tobacco ration," while "…[The husband] makes approximately three times that amount…" [4]. The article did not state the occupation of Mr. Kuwatani, but it shows that gender equality in labor is not immediate, even with the promulgation of the 1947 Constitution and the existence of the Labor Standard Law. It also somewhat reflects the continuous presence of hierarchy and gender preference among the positions available for men and women at the time. Japanese men are often granted high salaries because they tend to occupy higher positions than women.

Another article also gives a glimpse of women's salaries at that time. It features a Japanese typist named Keiko, shown in Figure 12, who received

2,300 yen a month. The author gave no mention of men's salary in this occupation. Instead, the article aimed to compare Japanese typists to American ones. It points out that Japanese typists, or female workers in general, are more conservative compared to Americans and prefer quiet places to do their work. The featured article also recognizes that a Japanese typewriter is much harder to master as it is composed of 2,300 characters compared to an American typewriter with 26 letters. Keiko also mentions that the American typewriter is much easier to use than the Japanese typewriter she uses. While the article portrays Keiko as an independent woman – someone who earns her own keep within the bounds of the Labor Standard Law, it also states that Keiko plans only to work until a Japanese "dependable" man asks for her hand in marriage. By displaying her plans after her marriage, the newspaper reiterates Japanese women's position as part-time workers and their default role within the partnership dynamic, wherein she embodies her womanhood as a traditional housewife. Aside from the limited opportunities afforded by the Articles of the Labor Standard Law, this role ingrained in Japanese culture likely contributed to Japanese women's choice of partaking in part-time labor over full-time labor.

Figure 12. A Japanese Typist. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, *Far East Weekly Review*, page 3, February 29, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

The following images concentrate more on the power and gender dynamics between the Japanese and Americans and the fact that, despite the Labor Standard Law, women are continuously depicted within traditional women's occupations.

Figure 13 is another image with an accompanying feature article about Japanese women's salaries. It shows Mrs. Kazuko Tanabe, a famous Japanese hairdresser, with her Japanese customer. The hairdresser has been practicing for 19 years and gets a net of around 1000 yen per month. Like the article accompanied Figure 12, it aims to compare Japanese hairdressers to American ones. According to the author (Tajiri 1948), while Japanese and American hairdressers are alike, "…a noticeable difference in Kazuko's shop and its American counterpart, are the subdued voices of the women, the general air of restraint and Japanese politeness and the lack of hurry and bustle". The article also reveals that Mrs. Tanabe prefers American films over Japanese ones because "they are more mature in approach and technique" (Tajiri 1948). While it may be a small detail, it still gives an impression that the U.S. is superior, even from the Japanese perspective.

Figure 13. A Japanese Hairdresser. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, *Far East Weekly Review*, Page 3, April 18, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

Figure 14. A Japanese Waitress Serves Orders in a Japanese Teashop. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, *Far East Weekly Review*, Page 5, March 7, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

Figure 14 features Machiko, a waitress who gets 2500 yen per month in Chujo teashop. The article states: "[i]t will be seen that Machan [Machiko] isn't very different from the girl who serves us morning coffee in the corner drug-store or the girl at the lunch-counter we unconsciously anticipate seeing every day" [5]. Note that the article addresses her informally as Machan. It frames Machiko as someone younger and familiar to the author. Moreover, the newspaper presents Machiko as an "ordinary" Japanese waitress that is said to be similar to American waitresses. Before the war, Japanese women often poured tea or *sake* for Japanese men. Thus, her work embodies servitude and is considered traditional in nature.

Meanwhile, other featured articles also discuss occupations unique to Japanese women. Figure 15 shows Tazue Kitaide, a finger weaver, wearing a kimono and showing her work, who was featured in an article entitled "Cinderella Story" in the 13 June 1948 issue of the newspaper. The article's title is based on the fairytale of Cinderella. The fairytale is about a poor girl named Cinderella who was maltreated by her stepfamily and whose circumstances improved after meeting and marrying the prince. By using it in the article's title, Everett, the author, suggests that Kitaide's situation is similar. Instead of talking about finger weaving as a skill, it focuses on Kitaide's position as a Japanese woman. The article shows the impact of

American culture on the innocent Kitaide, emphasizing that Kitaide had "never [been] out of her native prefecture" [6], thereby showing America's dominance over Japan. Everett also clearly insinuates that the West could provide a more comfortable lifestyle than Japan. Kitaide was set to go to the U.S. to showcase finger weaving. Everett states, "[o]ne wonders if she [Kitaide] will return to her back-breaking job with quite the same enthusiasm after a longer taste of Western comfort and ease" [6]. This statement emphasizes that Japanese women need Western culture to improve their way of life.

Figure 15. A Japanese Fingernail Weaver Shows Her Work. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, *Far East Review*, Page 7, June 13, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes,* All Rights Reserved.

Figure 16 is another image included in the article. In it, Kitaide is showing Mrs. Marlon Tilton, a Western woman, the hand spindle used in finger weaving. Keeping the power dynamics in mind, Figure 16 is one of the rarer images where a Japanese woman is portrayed as the teacher, and a Western woman is the learner. However, the information provided in the caption also shows that both women's positions eventually reversed as Mrs. Marlon Tilton will be Kitaide's western guide and mentor in the U.S.

THE HAND SPINDLE USED IN FINGERNAIL WEAVING is shown to Mrs. Marion Tilton by Miss Kitaide. Mrs. Tilton will be the Japanese girl's guide and mentor during her visit to the United States.

Figure 16. A Japanese Weaver and Her Western Guide. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes, Far East Review*, page 7, June 13, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

The "Cinderella Story" was followed by another article, entitled "Cinderella Returns" [7], by the same author on August 22, 1948. "Cinderella Returns" features the exhibition of Kitaide's textile work held in the U.S., as shown in Figure 17, and her return to Japan. The accompanying article describes the mystification of Japanese women and Westerners continuous fascination towards them. This time, the article is written from Kitaide's perspective. She states: "One day Mrs. Tilton and I went to a party for the press. Mrs. Tilton asked me to show the Americans how the Japanese bow in greeting. She then asked me to show them how we bow, at the same time opening a fan. Since this is a gesture used only by geisha girls in Japan, I was unable to do as Mrs. Tilton asked. She seemed quite surprised when I refused and told me later she did not know that it was a geisha custom".

Figure 17. Textile Exhibition in New York. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes, Far East Weekly Review*, Page 3, August 22, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

The same article describes her return from the U.S., as shown in Figure 18. It displays Kitaide's new appearance, who is now wearing Western clothing.

Figure 18. Kitaide is Back from the U.S. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes, Far East Weekly Review*, Page 3, August 22, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

Like the previous article, this article does not expound on finger weaving. Instead, it focuses on Kitaide's eagerness and excitement regarding Western culture – which aspects she liked and disliked. Everett's presentation of Kitaide shows that Japanese women are unaccustomed towards American culture. It also acknowledges the existence of Western fashion in prewar Japan and how it resurfaced during its occupation under SCAP. The series of articles on Kitaide successfully frames and reiterates the U.S. as superior to Japan in many ways.

Lastly, Figure 19 shows one of the classes in a Japanese dressmaking college run by Mrs. Yoshiko Sugino, a pioneer in western-style clothes. She abandoned teaching in Japan and studied dressmaking and fashion design in New York. Her classes reconstruct kimonos and turn them into Western-styled clothes. While Mrs. Sugino ran her classes, her husband discontinued his job, became her business manager, and oversaw the overall construction process of the school building. Although both were working, their positions still indicated some traditional gender dynamics. It is also evident in the image that the students are only composed of female students – because weaving is considered a traditional skill of women.

Figure 19. A Japanese Dressmaking College. Reprinted from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, *Far East Review*, page 12, March 21, 1948. Courtesy of *Stars and Stripes*, All Rights Reserved.

Mrs. Sugino and her students aside, the author of the article criticizes Japanese women's bodies. According to the author, "Artistically inclined pupils draw the fashion posters which adorn the walls of the advanced

classrooms. These represent the human form divine in attenuated, streamlined silhouettes—*a rather far cry from the Japanese figure when stripped of its slimming kimono outlines*—tout nevertheless a possible goal, now that *floor-sitting* [stet] and *baby piggy-backing* are slightly on the decline"[6] [7].

The author states that floor-sitting and baby piggy-backing are considered part of traditional Japanese culture and that these activities resulted in Japanese women's "undivine" figure at that time. The Western female author believes that these Japanese traditions are backward and infers that the decline of these practices benefits women's bodies. This is another clear example of Western's fascination toward Japanese women's appearance.

Meanwhile, Japanese women's preference for Western-styled clothes is regarded as progressive – once again, emphasizing the power dynamics between the U.S. and Japan. The author also states: "The eagerness with which the occupation styles are being imitated, the large numbers of little dressmaking emporiums mushrooming up all over the city, and the zeal of young pupils in dressmaking schools all go to prove that the morale-building effect of new clothes plays a vital part in Japan's reconstruction program" [7]. She thereby emphasizes the role of SCAP towards Japan's advancement, which is naturally based on Western standards.

Conclusion

Concerning the Standard Labor Law, the occupations of Japanese women described in the paper reveal that they all adhere to and work within the bounds and praxis of the Law – in a sense that Japanese women are not doing night and overtime work. The portrayal of Japanese working women parallels the contradicting Labor Standard Law. The newspaper presents Japanese women as actively involved in different occupations but with limitations. Japanese working women in the images continued to work in traditional occupations which are commonly associated with or engaged in nurturing, caring, homemaking, and service. The newspaper also depicted and described them as subservient in nature. The only predominantly male-associated occupation at that time was that of the policewoman, and even she was framed as nurturing and caring by the newspaper. Most of the presented women's work could be performed part-time. The newspaper also showed that some Japanese women still valued marriage over career. Thus, while the newspaper indicates acknowledgement and recognition of Japanese women's involvement and learning process in their different

[6] Emphasis added by the author of this paper.

occupations, which lets readers know that Japanese women also exist and work outside the home, the images visibly show how women were still bound to traditional roles within their occupations.

Moreover, the articles hardly portrayed women as someone with equal opportunities as stipulated in the Labor Standard Law. However, this may be simply due to insufficient material and a lack of both sexes' presence in the images.

Law aside, power and gender dynamics were also abundant in the presence of Western characters among Japanese working women. In the images and featured articles, the newspaper has repeatedly portrayed Japanese women in more supportive roles and lower-paid jobs than Western characters, who always clearly held considerably higher and more distinguished positions. For example, many images showed Japanese women as helpers and assistants in the form of maids of Western families living in Japan – a showcase of subserviency and inferiority – and as students or learners on the job – a showcase of subordinacy and inferiority. Japanese women were also a target of Western fascination, and such images bordered on exoticism, wherein the newspaper and Westerners somehow treated them as mere objects. Featured articles sometimes include information regarding the influence and preference of Western culture. The West reigns supreme and judges Japanese culture through juxtaposition with Western culture. The West serves as a benchmark. Anything Western is superior and should be emulated and coveted by Others. Japanese working women are strikingly portrayed as the secondary sex, the Other, and doubly inferior. They are treated as objects of fascination as they are either praised or criticized for their appearance. Most notably, their femininity continues to be emphasized in any position they occupy despite the existence of the Labor Standard Law. Then again, it may also be precisely due to the contradicting provisions of the Labor Standard Law.

Overall, this complex depiction of Japanese working women parallels and reiterates the following established contradictions: the depiction of Japanese housewives as "liberated" but passive working wives (Rosario 2022), the inconsistent contents of the Standard Labor Law, and the SCAP's conflicting and shifting propagandas (from emancipation to domesticity) towards its approach to Japanese women and Japan as a whole.

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REVIEWS

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Review of *Samurai: A Very Short Introduction* by Michael Wert, New York: Oxford University Press, 2021. 120 pp., index.

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Introduction

Not too long ago I reviewed (Hyde 2022) Michael Wert's *Samurai: A Concise History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019). I know that there is at least one other review of it (Neminemus 2022). Mine was more descriptive of its contents; the other was shorter and more critical. Really a very accurate review of Mr. Wert's new book on samurai, *Samurai: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), would be to simply direct you to these two reviews, the reason being that his new book is word-for-word *identical* with his book two years prior. Perhaps I have emphasized the wrong part of that statement: the two books are *word-for-word* identical. There is, literally, no difference between the two. If you want to be particularly pedantic about it, there have been linguistic adjustments to a few clauses within the book, but no more than a dozen in total. It is, in truth, quite disappointing to see both Mr. Wert and Oxford University Press republishing the same material under a different heading.

The only reason I can conceive of as to why they have done this is for the sake of profiteering – selling two books instead of one. Certainly, there is an argument that it was for the sake of reaching a broader audience, and that those who purchase Oxford University Press' *very short introductions* series would not necessarily have purchased Mr. Wert's other book. This is not very convincing, however: there is, fundamentally, very little difference between a book advertised as a very short introduction and one advertised as a concise history; this is patent from the fact they thought it suitable to

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republish the same book under the other heading without any requirement for an alteration in content. This is not to say that a concise history and a very short introduction are essentially the same. On the contrary, an introduction need not be either historical or arranged chronologically, but may choose to be topical instead. Likewise, a history need not cover certain topics and is free to give a broader or narrower account of events as appropriate. There is of course space in which the two meet where texts arranged in a certain manner could be called either a very short introduction or a concise history, but this is quite different from licensing the publication of such a text twice under each of its possible titles.

When I first drafted this review, I intended to accuse Mr. Wert of self-plagiarism. Fortunately, prior to its publication, it has been pointed out to me that the frontmatter of the book confesses that "this book was published in hardcover as *Samurai: A Concise History*", and thus I have been saved that embarrassment. That hardly exculpates them, though, from the charge of questionable or unethical publishing practices for the sake of profiteering. And there is no question that the republication of the book was intended to be misleading: there is no mention in the book's description, front cover, or any marketing material. The fact that, in reviewing this book, it had to be pointed out to me that there is a short line in the frontmatter declaring what I had spotted – which I was only able to because I had reviewed his other book – demonstrates that readers interested in samurai are being misled into buying the same book twice, and I am certain that there will be others who have read *Samurai: A Concise History* and will feel equally deceived upon opening *Samurai: A Very Short Introduction*.

Seeing as the books are almost identical, it will suffice to summarize some of the main comments that reviews of the first book made. Perhaps the most significant point made was that Mr. Wert "cannot seem to decide whether he is a storyteller or a historian". This is because he flipped between objective narrative and opinionated criticism without distinguishing between the two, skewed the image of Japanese history by devoting more space to certain topics than others, and asserted as historical fact positions which are very divergent from what mainstream historians believe. The populist style of writing that he adopted disguised any form of contention, never indicating that, when Mr. Wert was rewriting history, that what was presented was not accepted historical fact. An example of this latter point is Mr. Wert's revisionist account of the Mongol Invasion in which he denies that the kamikaze typhoons happened, ignoring the wealth of scientific and historical evidence for their occurrence. At least in this circumstance, he announces that his account is revisionist, even if he pretends that this

revisionist account is orthodox amongst contemporary historians. In his description of the rebellion of Taira no Masakado, however, he asserts that the insurrection was precipitated by a conflict over land by the Taira, failing to so much as mention that there is a historiographical debate regarding the cause of the rebellion, which may have been an act of revenge for his failure to secure a government post, caused by a dispute between Taira no Yoshikane and Masakado over a woman, perhaps Yoshikane's daughter, or that Masakado and Yoshikane quarrelled over a daughter of Minamoto no Mamoru.

Another issue raised was Mr. Wert's selection of topics. Anybody picking up a book on samurai is almost certainly expecting to read at least something about figures such as Miyamoto Musashi and Sasaki Kojirō, battles such as at Sekigahara, tragic yet poetic rebellions such as the Akō Incident, and samurai "codes of honour" or ethics such as *bushidō*. However, Mr. Wert did not really speak about any of these; the book was a cultural history of a socioeconomic class that at times tries to reveal a thrilling militaristic narrative but failed to include what would constitute the most thrilling parts of it. Likewise, there was no discussion at all about weapons, armour, martial arts, and military tactics, nor was there much explanation of the variety of different sword schools that existed or the modern martial arts that came from them. This will certainly disappoint non-academics, for whom both books are intended, and who will not necessarily expect a cultural history of the samurai class.

Now there is something to be said for the book – or books – and that is that a cultural history of the samurai, although unexpected and, in some respects, disappointing, is in many ways something the general public needs to be introduced to. There are so many misconceptions about samurai and, like western knights in shining armour, it is easy to romanticize and idealize them. However, it is a shame that Mr. Wert became so fixated on dispelling myths that he could not engage with some of the most interesting material about samurai, and it is even more unfortunate that, in trying to correct some public misconceptions, Mr. Wert incidentally introduced new ones in the process, failing to justify himself or make any real reference to the historiographical research that has taken place on various aspects of Japanese history. What is the greatest shame of all, however, is that he decided to do exactly the same thing for a second time in "writing" (republishing) *Samurai: A Very Short Introduction*.

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Review of *Japan's Nationalist Right in the Internet Age* by Jeffrey J. Hall. London: Routledge, 2021. viii + 209.

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The growing visibility of nationalism and right-wing populism has been broadly discussed both by scholars and popular media since the second decade of the 21st century. Great attention was given to the role of digital technologies and social media in the spread of "new" nationalism, even though it cannot be attributed exclusively to these factors. Still, the character of digital technologies and their participatory nature allowed more significant fragmentation of national debates, while the lack of moderation and fact-checking procedures made the online spread of misinformation and extremist views easier than the offline (Mihelj and Jiménez-Martínez 2020). The relationship between the online environment and nationalistic activism has thus become one of the core points in the most recent scholarly literature dedicated to the issues of nationalism. Jeffrey J. Hall's recent publication, *Japan's Nationalist Right in the Internet Age* (2021, Routledge), joins this analysis, focusing on a rather underdiscussed, particularly in the English language, topic – the relationship between online and offline activism of the Japanese nationalist right wing. It is presented on the example of an alternative media outlet Nihon Bunka Channel Sakura ('Japanese Culture Channel Sakura', hereafter: Channel Sakura) and its activist wing, Ganbare Nippon.

To some extent, Hall's publication bridges the gap that seems to be growing in the scholarship concerning the nationalism(s) of Japan. Japanese nationalism has been effectively presented as diverse in its forms, manifested both by the state and in the grassroots form, and in a whole spectrum from militarist nationalism to light, everyday "pop" nationalism (Kayama 2003, Kingston 2016, McVeigh 2004, Sakamoto 2008). Despite this diversity, much attention has been given to *uyoku* – extreme right-wing political activists, often associated with military uniforms, agitation through

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noisy sound trucks, violent protests, and extreme speech. Among still rare English-language publications concerning Japanese online nationalistic discourse, the focus also lies on the so-called *net uyoku* (*netto uyoku*), i.e. Internet users spreading ultranationalist, far-right ideology (Murai and Suzuki 2014, Nagayoshi 2021, Sakamoto 2011). This is where one of the unique aspects of Hall's work is evident. Channel Sakura and Ganbare Nippon, the main objects of Hall's study, represent what the author, following Togo (2010), calls "the assertive conservative right", emphasizing how these groups differ from *uyoku.* Their non-violent nature, no use of sound trucks, as well as criticism towards lawbreaking forms of activism and hate speech (Hall 2021: 19, 40) can be seen as the main differentiation from traditional *uyoku*, a differentiation seemingly crucial for the effectiveness of their activism, as they build "inclusive gathering of conservatives" and cultivate "a non-extremist identity" (ibid., 62). Therefore, Hall's analysis significantly broadens the understanding of Japanese nationalist groups positioning themselves in opposition to *uyoku*. The analysis highlights their rhetoric, as well as the strategies of both online and offline activism, contributing consequently to the broad literature dedicated to modern Japanese nationalism.

The book is based on over a decade-long research, with primary data coming from online media content analysis of Channel Sakura broadcasts. Moreover, Hall used elements of ethnography, engaging in non-participant observation online, on Channel Sakura social media, forum, and website, as well as offline, during the demonstrations organized by the group. The theoretical framework of the analysis draws on sociology, specifically the theory of Strategic Action Fields (SAF) introduced by Neil Fligstein and Doug McAdam. Hill sees Channel Sakura and its dedicated viewers as unified by the shared need to engage in activist campaigns targeting various purposes (SAF). Fields of particular interest to nationalists were described as "fields of contestation", referring to the ongoing debates over the representation of historical events and related international issues still dividing Japanese society. Nationalist voices come as "challengers" to the "anti-Japanese" narratives promoted in mainstream media, represented in Channel Sakura as influenced by "harmful business, religious, or foreign influences" (ibid., 54). In his analysis of Channel Sakura initiatives, Hall puts particular emphasis on "skilled social actors", meaning activists with diverse backgrounds, resources, and competencies that allowed them to create a positive, shared meaning for Channel Sakura viewers, motivating them, in result, to the active persuasion of common goals within the action fields. Therefore, much of the focus in the book lies on the individuals

crucial for Channel Sakura's establishment and development, their abilities, the rhetoric used to reinforce the spirit of community among Channel Sakura's supporters, and specific actions that motivated and encouraged others to act.

The book can be broadly divided into two parts. The first one, consisting of Chapters 2 to 4, is dedicated to the broader background of Japanese postwar nationalism, and the history and main characteristics of Channel Sakura. Hall describes the chronological development and diversity of Japanese conservative right-wing groups in a focused, clear manner, avoiding unnecessary digressions. He refers to a long list of vital readings, allowing interested readers to explore the topic further. Moreover, his relatively short but definitively sufficient overview plays effectively the fundamental role of positioning Channel Sakura against the broader nationalistic context and pointing towards the void that the new medium attempted to fill on the Japanese conservative scene. Channel Sakura is presented as a result of a meeting of three individuals: Tagata Takeo, former kamikaze pilot, Matsuura Yoshiko, a right-wing student activist, a student of the novelist Mishima Yukio and a Tokyo's Suginami ward Assembly member, and, finally Mizushima Satoru, activist filmmaker who became the president of the channel and its most recognized face. Channel Sakura began its broadcast as a satellite television channel in 2004, on the symbolic date of August 15. A crucial step in the development of Channel Sakura was, from Hall's perspective, the decision to significantly expand the viewership through uploading part of its program free of charge on a YouTube channel and, consequently, the change in funding from monthly subscriptions to voluntary donations. The crowdfunding system allowed Mizushima to promote its channel as independent from big businesses and their influences, a "grassroots TV channel of the Japanese people, by the Japanese people, and for the Japanese people" (ibid., 52). Generally inclusive rhetoric, the distance towards extremism, hate speech and illegal actions, as well as cooperation with international activists, including pro-Taiwan independence and Uyghur advocates, enabled the cultivation of "a non-extremist identity" (ibid., 61), attractive to a broader group than more traditional right-wing organizations and different from, and therefore non-threatening towards, pre-existing conservative activists. Hall emphasizes the notion of inclusiveness and community in his analysis of symbols used to create shared meaning for the Channel Sakura community, including references to historical figures, exposition of national symbols, or regular organization of specific activities, like flag marches around the Yasukuni shrine area. Therefore, much of the focus in this part of the book lies on Channel

Sakura's "uniqueness" as an inclusive platform gathering conservatives, specific methods used to achieve this image, as well as strategies implemented to create a shared sense of meaning in the present-day world through the connection to past generations of the Japanese.

Chapters 5 to 8, constituting the second part of the book, present detailed descriptions of case studies selected "because each involved distinctly different types of targets, different types of tactics, and differing outcomes" (ibid., 7). Two chapters describe campaigns launched by Channel Sakura and Ganbare Nippon related to the need for "correction" of "anti-Japanese" historical narratives presented to the Japanese public: the 2009 anti-NHK crusade after the broadcast of a documentary depicting colonization of Taiwan and the 2011 Okinawa campaign to remove mentions of *ianfu* (sexual slaves for the Japanese Imperial Military) and the massacre of civilians from a proposed historical signboard. The third case study analyzes initiatives related to Senkaku Islands, the disputed territory claimed by Japan and the People's Republic of China, and Channel Sakura's attempts to mark the territory as inherently Japanese. In each case, Hall provides detailed descriptions of the issue's background, online and offline actions conducted by Channel Sakura, and results achieved. Particular attention is given to Mizushima as the key "skilled social actor" – his rhetoric and behavior, as well as the meanings he creates. Hall argues convincingly that the grassroots nature of Channel Sakura as a primarily internet medium allows its creators to portray themselves and their viewers as "extreme underdog[s] against powerful leftist and anti-Japanese forces" (ibid., 140) and "patriots acting in place of a government that was not fulfilling its duty" (ibid., 178), capable of achieving results because they act together. The final chapter briefly describes the alleged embezzlement during the political campaign of Tomogami Toshio, one of the main contributors of Channel Sakura, and the resulting split among members. This issue, combined with a growing number of conservative YouTube channels, has led to a greater diversification among viewers and the channels' steady fall in significance. Hall's closing remarks suggest that the circle of Channel Sakura contributors and viewers may be small, but they still manage "to play a significant role in Japan's domestic and international handling of historical and territorial issues" (ibid., 202), actively influencing Japan's international relations.

Hall's book is a well-researched, clearly-structured, detailed, and easy-to-read account of the Japanese "assertive conservative right" internet grassroots medium; it is a valuable reading to anyone interested in Japanese present-day right-wing activism. The author provides a clear theoretical framework that he consistently applies throughout the work. This focus leads

to an interesting overview of conservative rhetoric and symbols used to engage a broader public in their initiatives and present themselves as patriotic fighters for Japanese pride. Hall's discourse also sheds light on the diversification among Japanese conservatives, a topic that still requires more English-language studies.

Still, there are areas where the analysis could be further developed. My major issue with the book is the fact that it does not fully deliver on the "internet" aspect of the phenomenon described. While "the internet age" was placed in the title itself, the exploration of the meaning of the online environment is actually very limited. Hall emphasizes how the internet enables the broad reach of Channel Sakura's broadcasts. He mentions the content and editing of the uploaded videos (see, for example, ibid., 82–83), occasionally providing the number of views or citing comments (ibid., 97). However, these attempts remain extremely limited throughout the book. While discussing an internet phenomenon, Hall heavily focuses on the aspect characterizing traditional media – a linear "broadcaster to viewer" flow of information. While a broad analysis of program reception would be another level of work, probably extending the scope of the research, it is the reciprocal, participatory nature of the internet and social media that allows information to circulate and program creators to engage in direct communication with viewers. However, a bare minimum of audience response analysis leaves the questions of viewers' reactions unanswered. Hall emphasizes that Channel Sakura presented itself as inclusive, far from hate speech, meaning to attract "normal people" (ibid., 62 – with the phrase "normal people" being rather risky without a broader explanation since this intellectual shortcut introduces an arbitral definition of "normal" and "abnormal"). But did their programming also encourage some more extreme voices? Were they critical of Mizushima's "mild" attitude or supported his actions? While the narrative built by Channel Sakura's contributors is clearly stated, a possible overlap of their viewership with more extremist circles remains unexplored except for a brief mention of "cooperation" with an *uyoku* group Nihon Seinensha (ibid., 161).

Moreover, the use of Twitter, named one of the "two major social media platforms utilized by Channel Sakura" (ibid., 201), remains completely unexplored. What type of content was published and shared there, even in the context of the campaigns discussed? Including this aspect in the analysis would highlight the circles of interest and influence represented by Channel Sakura. Hall's focus on the image created by Channel Sakura contributors is not necessarily a bad thing, but if the phenomenon is supposed to be discussed in the context of the digital environment, as the title itself suggests,

the lack of analysis of the audience response and social media engagement limits the potential to really understand the role of new media in the spread of conservative narratives.

These limitations, however, do not change the fact that Hall's book is an important reading recommended to anyone interested in Japanese conservative activism, contested historical narratives, and present-day grassroots movements.

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