Introduction: Politics of Citizenship and Transnational Gendered Migration in East and Southeast Asia
Apichai W. Shipper

Outlawed Children: Japanese Filipino Children, Legal Defiance and Ambivalent Citizennships
Nobue Suzuki

Rethinking Belongingness in Korea: Transnational Migration, “Migrant Marriages” and the Politics of Multiculturalism
Timothy Lim

Marital Immigration and Graduated Citizenship: Post-Naturalization Restrictions on Mainland Chinese Spouses in Taiwan
Sara L. Friedman

Nostalgia, Anxiety and Hope: Migration and Ethnic Identity of Chosŏnjok in China
Wang-Bae Kim

Labour Recruitment, Circuits of Capital and Gendered Mobility: Reconceptualizing the Indonesian Migration Industry
Johan Lindquist

Books Reviews (listed on pp. 6-9)

Copyright © 2010, University of British Columbia
ISSN (print) 0030-851X
Publications Mail Registration No. 07775
ISSN (online) 1715-3379
PRINTED IN CANADA
GST No. R108161779
ABSTRACTS

Introduction: Politics of Citizenship and Transnational Gendered Migration in East and Southeast Asia

Apichai W. Shipper

The concept of citizenship is fluid and constructed. State actors, societal actors, and courts play important roles in the construction and reconstruction of formal, substantive, and differentiated citizenship. The recent arrival of transnational gendered migration from neighbouring countries to East and Southeast Asia challenges pre-existing assumptions about how political communities are defined and how new members should be treated. This introductory chapter proposes an analytical framework to understand the politics of citizenship and transnational gendered migration within the context of East and Southeast Asia.

Outlawed Children: Japanese Filipino Children, Legal Defiance and Ambivalent Citizenships

Nobue Suzuki

Recently, many scholars have studied the burgeoning number of intimate relationships involving global migrations of people. They have demonstrated that cross-border liaisons of mixed nationalities are born not simply out of “love” but also of inequalities and power struggles occurring at crisscrossed intersections of race, ethnicity, gender, class and nationality. Yet, the existing literature on these associations has thus far tended to focus on adult relationships, and studies on children born to these couples continue to be scarce, especially, when children are born out of wedlock to border-crossing parents, the children’s citizenship and other rights complicate the existing social system and may challenge national sovereignty. Based on ethnographic research conducted in the 2000s among children born to unwed Filipino women and Japanese men (JFC), this article details the processes of JFC’s lawsuits against the Japanese state in order to reinstate their once-denied Japanese nationality. It then discusses some of the implications of their defiance to the state power for these children’s citizenships beyond political entitlements by introducing several cases of the experiences of the children who grew up in Japan and those who recently gained entry to their pátria without fathers.
Rethinking Belongingness in Korea: 
Transnational Migration, “Migrant Marriages” and the Politics of Multiculturalism

Timothy Lim

Korean identity—based on a conflation of race and ethnicity—has been generally accepted as an unquestioned fact and closely associated with rights to citizenship and belongingness in Korean society; “non-Koreans” have simply and unabashedly been excluded from membership in South Korea. However, the now three-decades-old surge in transnational migration is beginning to erode the once-solid myth of South Korea’s homogeneity, and with it, the taken-for-granted belief that South Korea is only for Koreans. Moreover, the dramatic increase in international marriages, especially those between a Korean male and a “foreign bride,” bring an added dimension to transnational migration in South Korea, one in which questions of identity, citizenship, and belongingness must be directly addressed. The process of social transformation in Korea will be complex, contingent and profoundly political, involving multiple socio-political actors; increasing tensions along gender, racial, and class lines; and intense debates over the discourse and practices of citizenship, belonging and national identity. This paper argues that transnational migration—both of workers and foreign spouses—has already laid the basis for a significant change in long-held conception of Korean identity and belongingness. This is partly evidenced in the increasingly salient idea that Korea is now a “multicultural society.”

Marital Immigration and Graduated Citizenship: 
Post-Naturalization Restrictions on Mainland Chinese Spouses in Taiwan

Sara L. Friedman

As Taiwan seeks to establish itself as an independent polity in the international community, it simultaneously confronts the problem of how to integrate almost 300,000 marital immigrants from Mainland China. This most recent wave of marital immigration across the Taiwan Strait began in the early 1990s and reached its peak in 2003, stabilizing since then at roughly 10 percent of all marriages annually. Chinese marital immigrants in Taiwan face more onerous requirements for residency and citizenship than any other category of foreign spouse. In the years immediately following naturalization, moreover, they remain barred from civil service employment and have limited family reunification rights. This paper examines these post-naturalization inequalities in relation to 1) broader population concerns that encourage continued restrictions on Chinese immigration; and 2) struggles over how to define the scope of the Taiwanese family and nation. It asks whether, given this environment, Chinese marital immigrants can ever become full Taiwanese citizens, both in terms of juridical status and national incorporation. This question underscores a key tension in Taiwan’s nation-building project: how to integrate immigrants who are racially, ethnically, and linguistically similar but who come tainted by longstanding political differences across the Taiwan Strait.
Nostalgia, Anxiety and Hope: Migration and Ethnic Identity of Chosonjok in China

Wang-Bae Kim

Although the migration of Koreans to Manchuria has a long history, the main influx occurred after 1910 when Korean agricultural peasants and industrial entrepreneurs migrated mostly to the area above the Korean peninsula and Harbin and Shenyang to seek newly emerging economic opportunities. Currently, there are approximately two million people of Korean ancestry living in China with the majority of that population concentrated in the Manchurian region. Recently, a considerable number of ethnic Koreans (Chosonjok), both female and male, have moved away to urban centres elsewhere in China in the midst of rapid urbanization and industrialization. Moreover, after normalization of diplomatic relations between the PRC and South Korea in 1992, some Chosonjok in China have travelled to South Korea as migrant workers, especially young Chosonjok women who have arrived as marriage partners for South Korean men. As the PRC developed economically and its international stature rose, younger ethnic Koreans found themselves faced with more choices. As well, the weak autonomy of civil society within the region has made it difficult to reinforce ethnic Korean identity through discursive means. With the migration and concurrent in-migration of Han-Chinese to Chosonjok villages and cities, many Chosonjok in the formerly homogenous communities are experiencing a loss of ethnic identity and solidarity. This produces a complicated feeling of nostalgia for the past among older Chosonjok and of anxiety and hope for the future among Chosonjok of all ages.

Labour Recruitment, Circuits of Capital and Gendered Mobility: Reconceptualizing the Indonesian Migration Industry

Johan Lindquist

During the last decade there has been a marked shift in the structure of migration from Indonesia with the deregulation of the transnational labour recruitment market after the fall of Suharto and a broader attempt across the region to regulate migrant flows to and from receiving countries in the wake of the Asian economic crisis. In this process, hundreds of Indonesian labour recruitment agencies have come to function as brokers in an increasingly government-regulated economy that sends documented migrants to countries such as Malaysia and Saudi Arabia. Based primarily on fieldwork on the island of Lombok, one of the major migrant-sending areas in Indonesia, the article considers the gendered aspects of this state–market relationship by focusing ethnographic attention on the initial stages of recruitment, as informal labour brokers deliver migrants to formal agencies. Critically, the article describes how capital increasingly flows “down” towards female migrants and “up” from male migrants—i.e., men must go into debt while women do not pay (or are even offered money) to travel abroad—thus highlighting the gendered dimensions of the current economy of transnational migration. More generally, the article argues for a renewed focus on the migration industry as a way of reconceptualizing Indonesian transnational migration in the context of contemporary forms of globalization.
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

APICHAI W. SHIPPER is Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Southern California. He is the author of Fighting for Foreigners: Immigration and Its Impact on Japanese Democracy (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

NOBUE SUZUKI is Professor of Anthropology at Chiba University. She is the co-editor of Men and Masculinities in Contemporary Japan (Routledge, 2003). E-mail: suzuki@L.chiba-u.ac.jp.

TIMOTHY LIM is Professor of Political Science at California State University, Los Angeles. He is currently working on the second edition of his textbook, Doing Comparative Politics: An Introduction to Approaches and Issues (Lynne Rienner, forthcoming, 2010). E-mail: tclim@calstatela.edu.

SARA L. FRIEDMAN is Associate Professor of Anthropology and Gender Studies at Indiana University, Bloomington. She is the author of Intimate Politics: Marriage, the Market and State Power in Southeastern China (Harvard University Press, 2006) and is currently writing a book on marital immigration across the Taiwan Strait. E-mail: slfriedm@indiana.edu.

WANG-BAE KIM is Professor of Sociology, Yonsei University in Seoul. He has studied various subjects on emotion and labour, migration workers and urban studies. Recently he published an article, “From Boot Camp to Bu-bu? IT Surveillance, Patriarchal Familism and Labour Control: South Korean Case Study,” in Inter-Asia Cultural Studies (vol. 10, no. 1, 2009). E-mail: wangbae@yonsei.ac.kr.

JOHAN LINDQUIST is Associate Professor of Social Anthropology at Stockholm University in Sweden. He is the author of The Anxieties of Mobility: Development and Migration in the Indonesian Borderlands (University of Hawai’i Press, 2009). E-mail: johan.lindquist@socant.su.se.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

NOTE: Book Reviews with an (electronic) designation can be found on the Pacific Affairs website: www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca and in the electronic edition of the issue.

Asia General

**Living in a Globalized World:** Ethnic Minorities in the Greater Mekong Subregion. Edited by Don McCaskill, Prasit Leepreecha and He Shaoying.  
*Ken MacLean* 133

**Currency and Contest in East Asia:** The Great Power Politics of Financial Regionalism.  
*Kevin G. Cai* 135

**Institutions of the Asia-Pacific:** ASEAN, APEC, and Beyond. By Mark Beeson.  
*Tsukasa Takamine* 137

**Asian-European Relations:** Building Blocks for Global Governance? Edited by Jürgen Rüland et al.  
*Julie Gilson* 138

**The Politics of Knowledge:** Edited by Saw Swee-Hock and Danny Quah.  
*Robert L. Curry, Jr.* 140

**Ultra-Low Fertility in Pacific Asia:** Trends, Causes and Policy Issues. Edited by Gavin Jones, Paulin Tay Straughan and Angelique Chan.  
*Andrew Eungi Kim* 142

*Lamont Lindstrom* 144

*(electronic)* **Beyond the Final Score:** The Politics of Sport in Asia. By Victor D. Cha.  
*Hyung-Gu Lynn* e1

China and Inner Asia

**Axis of Convenience:** Moscow, Beijing, and the New Geopolitics. By Bobo Lo.  
*Bin Yu* 146

**Technological Empowerment:** The Internet, State, and Society in China. By Yongnian Zheng.  
*Duncan Clark* 148

*Allen S. Whiting* 149

**China’s Transformations:** The Stories Beyond the Headlines. Edited by Lionel M. Jensen and Timothy B. Weston.  
*Kenneth W. Foster* 151

**Resisting Manchukuo:** Chinese Women Writers and the Japanese Occupation. By Norman Smith.  
*Karen L. Thornber* 153

*Michael Tsin* 155

**Culinary Nostalgia:** Regional Food Culture and the Urban Experience in Shanghai. By Mark Swislocki.  
*Josephine Smart* 156
HONG KONG ON THE MOVE: 10 Years as the HKSAR.
Edited by Carola McGiffert and James T.H. Tang; forewords by Ronald Arculli and John J. Hamre. 
*Bernard Luk* 158

DEMOCRATIZATION IN TAIWAN: Challenges in Transformation.
Edited by Philip Paolino and James Meernik. 
*Netina Tan* 160

STRAIT TALK: United States–Taiwan Relations and the Crisis with China. By Nancy Bernkopf Tucker. 
*Robert Sutter* 162

TAIWAN IN JAPAN’S EMPIRE-BUILDING: An Institutional Approach to Colonial Engineering.
By Hui-yu Caroline Tsai. 
*Paul D. Barclay* 164

By Xu Guoqi. 
*Fan Hong* e3

leprosy in china: A History. By Angela Ki Che Leung. 
*David Luesink* e5

Northeast Asia

CLIENT STATE: Japan in the American Embrace.
By Gavan McCormack. 
*Andrew L. Oros* 167

PACIFIC ALLIANCE: Reviving U.S.-Japan Relations.
By Kent E. Calder 
*Andrew L. Oros* 167

JAPAN’S MIDDLE EAST SECURITY POLICY: Theory and Cases. By Yukiko Miyagi. 
*Yuko Nakano* 170

TROUBLED APOLOGIES AMONG JAPAN, KOREA, AND THE UNITED STATES. By Alexis Dudden. 
*Matthew Penney* 172

SORRY STATES: Apologies in International Politics. By Jennifer Lind. 
*Mark Gibney* 174

*Harald Fuess* 175

JAPAN’S OUTCASTE YOUTH: Education for Liberation.
By June A. Gordon. 
*Christopher Bondy* 177

EVALUATING EVIDENCE: A Positivist Approach to Reading Sources on Modern Japan.
By George Akita. 
*Frederick R. Dickinson* 178

KOREA’S DEVELOPMENTAL ALLIANCE: State, Capital and the Politics of Rapid Development.
By David Hundt. 
*Hyun-Chin Lim* 180

KIM JONG IL’S LEADERSHIP OF NORTH KOREA.
By Jae-Cheon Lim. 
*Terence Roehrig* 182

FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT IN POST-CRISIS KOREA: European Investors and ‘Mismatched Globalization’.
By Judith Cherry. 
*You-Il Lee* e7

*Vipan Chandra* e9
South Asia

**India’s Economic Transition: The Politics of Reform.** Edited by Rahul Mukherji. 
*Vernon Hewitt* 185

**The Politics of Postsecular Religion: Mourning Secular Futures.** By Ananda Abeysekara. 
*Neera Chandhoke* 186

**School Health Services in India: The Social and Economic Contexts.** Edited by Rama V. Baru. 
*S. Vivek* 188

**Sikhs at Large: Religion, Culture, and Politics in Global Perspective.** By Verne Dusenbury. 
*Anne Murphy* 189

**An American in Gandhi’s India: The Biography of Satyanand Stokes.** By Asha Sharma with Nandini Sharma; foreword by the Dalai Lama. 
*Lloyd Rudolph* 191

**The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka: Terrorism, Ethnicity, Political Economy.** By Asoka Bandarage. 
*Bruce Matthews* 193

**Four Crises and a Peace Process: American Engagement in South Asia.** By P.R. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema and Stephen P. Cohen. 
*John Harriss* e11

**Rethinking Democracy.** By Rajni Kothari. 
*Craig Jeffrey* e13

Southeast Asia

**The Chinese in Southeast Asia and Beyond: Socioeconomic and Political Dimensions.** By Ching-Hwang Yen. 
*Jemma Purdey* 195

**Globalization, Culture and Society in Laos.** By Boike Rehbein. 
*Jonathan Rigg* 196

**Globalization and National Autonomy: The Experience of Malaysia.** Edited by Joan M. Nelson, Jacob Meerman and Abdul Rahman Embong. 
*Greg Felker* 198

**Party Politics and Democratization in Indonesia: Golkar in the Post-Suharto Era.** By Dirk Tomsa. 
*Paul J. Carnegie* 200

**Gender, Islam and Democracy in Indonesia.** By Kathryn Robinson. 
*Paige Johnson Tan* 202

**The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics.** By Tania Murray Li. 
*Danilyn Rutherford* 204

**Myanmar (Burma) since 1962: The Failure of Development.** By Peter John Perry. 
*Anne Booth* e15

**Forest Guardians, Forest Destroyers: The Politics of Environmental Knowledge in Northern Thailand.** By Tim Forsyth and Andrew Walker. 
*Susan M. Darlington* e17

Australasia and the Pacific Region

**Speaking from the Heart: Stories of Life, Family and Country.** Edited by Sally Morgan, Tjalaminu Mia and Blaze Kwaymullina. 
*Elizabeth Grant* 206
HOLDING MEN: Kanyirninpa and the Health of Aboriginal Men. By Brian F. McCoy. Barry Judd 207


WATER, SOVEREIGNTY AND BORDERS IN ASIA AND OCEANIA. Edited by Devleena Ghosh, Heather Goodall and Stephanie Hemelryk Donald. Susan Russell 211


VANISHED ISLANDS AND HIDDEN CONTINENTS OF THE PACIFIC. By Patrick D. Nunn. Glenn Petersen 217

TELLING PACIFIC LIVES: Prisms of Process. Edited by Brij V. Lal and Vicki Luker. Alexander Mawyer 218


To the Islands: White Australians and the Malay Archipelago since 1788. By Paul Battersby. Chris Ballard e19

Making Dead Birds: Chronicle of a Film. By Robert Gardner; foreword by Phillip Lopate; edited by Charles Warren; designed by Jeannet Leendertse. Richard Scaglion e21
The Myth of Confucian Capitalism in South Korea: Overworked Elderly and Underworked Youth

Ji-Whan Yun 237

Autonomy for Southern Thailand: Thinking the Unthinkable?
Duncan McCargo 261

Regulating Pacific Seasonal Labour in Australia
Therese MacDermott & Brian Opeskin 283

Japan’s Ocean Policy: Still the Reactive State?
James Manicom 307

China, Professional Journalism, and Liberal Internationalism in the Era of the First World War
Timothy B. Weston 327

Falun Gong, Ten Years On
Review Article
Stephen Noakes 349

Books Reviews (listed on pp. 230-233) 359
ABSTRACTS

The Myth of Confucian Capitalism in South Korea: Overworked Elderly and Underworked Youth

Ji-Whan Yun

South Korea has long been regarded as a typical example of Confucian capitalism; the Confucian tradition of elderly support has not only been well preserved but is also highly conducive to economic growth by creating strong collective bonds between Koreans. Nonetheless, the existence of an unusually large elderly workforce and a disproportionately small young workforce, together with poor working conditions for both old and young workers, demonstrates that the assumptions of Confucian capitalism do not hold true in Korea. Explanations have conventionally attributed this problem to external factors that are unrelated to Korea’s industrialization, such as increased life span, the changing quality of education and a shifting value system. This study, however, adopts a new approach that emphasizes the responsibilities of Korea’s unique industrialization. It proposes that the main characteristics of Korea’s development pattern have distorted the supply and demand structure of the country’s labour markets and have caused the current demographic imbalance between the overworked elderly and the underworked youth. Specifically, this study suggests that two characteristics of Korea’s industrialization—crony capitalism and growth absolutism—affect the behaviour of young and old workers, thereby preventing them from realizing the Confucian virtue of support for the elderly through labour markets. This study implies that the affinity between development and tradition is not automatically a given in East Asia but rather is dependent on how development is designed and implemented.

Autonomy for Southern Thailand: Thinking the Unthinkable?

Duncan McCargo

Over 4000 people have died since 2004 in a violent conflict affecting Thailand’s Malay-majority southern border provinces, Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, and four districts of neighbouring Songkhla. Offering some form of autonomy or substantive decentralization to this troubled region might seem like an obvious response to the violence, but the topic has remained largely taboo until recently. Autonomy is seen by Bangkok in essentially pre-Cold War terms, as the thin end of the wedge, which could prefigure an unravelling of the unitary state crafted during the time of King Chulalongkorn. Nevertheless, in recent years a number of senior figures from different positions in Thai society have voiced support for alternative governance arrangements for the deep South. These have included Dr Prawase Wasi, one of the architects of the 1997 constitution, former prime minister Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, former interior minister Chalerm Yubamrung, and a number of academics. Their proposals range from full autonomy for the deep South to a national project of regionalization, as well as the creation of a new ministry to oversee the area. Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva has offered mixed messages on the subject but has indicated sympathy for some form of decentralization. This article argues that despite the controversial nature of such proposals, there is a slowly emerging consensus around the need for a political solution to the conflict. In other words, Thailand is moving towards a post-Cold War understanding of autonomy as a means of preserving rather than undermining the nation state.
Regulating Pacific Seasonal Labour in Australia

Therese MacDermott and Brian Opeskin

In 2008 the Australian government announced a new labour mobility scheme for Pacific workers, with the objectives of meeting seasonal demand for low-skilled labour in the horticulture industry and promoting economic development in Pacific Island countries. Modelled on New Zealand’s Recognized Seasonal Employer scheme, it is a significant departure from Australia’s long-standing preference for permanent migration that is non-discriminatory with respect to the country of origin. Any temporary migration program that draws a workforce from developing countries has the potential to exploit vulnerable foreign workers, but if Australia’s pilot program is to be a success in the long term, it is imperative that seasonal workers from the Pacific are not exposed to that danger. This article examines the many layers of regulation that have been introduced to protect Pacific workers from exploitation, including bilateral intergovernmental agreements, supervision by government departments and use of external advisory bodies. In addition, Australia’s regulatory framework governing workplace relations imposes a range of worker protections through equality laws, occupational health and safety principles, dispute settlement procedures and trade union involvement. To date, the Australian scheme has provided very limited opportunities for Pacific workers. This raises concerns about the long-term viability of this highly regulated scheme and the capacity to move beyond a pilot program to provide sustained opportunities for both Pacific workers and the horticulture industry.

Japan’s Ocean Policy: Still the Reactive State?

James Manicom

In 2005-2006 Japan began asserting the jurisdictional rights to its maritime domain with greater authority than ever before. Tokyo prepared to conduct exploratory drilling in the disputed East China Sea and passed new laws to permit the full realization of Japan’s maritime rights and responsibilities. This activist turn appears to be at odds with most explanations of Japanese strategic policy. Given its preference for strategic evolution, Japan’s sudden preoccupation with the security and administration of its extended maritime zones—the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and its extended continental shelf—following years of neglect is striking. Moreover, this shift has not received a great deal of attention in the literature. This paper argues that Japan’s hesitant, ad hoc and incomplete response to its changing maritime environment can be understood through Kent Calder’s “reactive state” paradigm. While academic discussion of Japanese foreign policy has moved beyond the reactive state debate, Japan’s approach to its ocean policy appears to fulfill both of Kent Calder’s reactive state criteria. This paper analyses Japan’s resistance to the expansion of state sovereignty seaward and explores how this policy inertia was exposed by China’s more active maritime policy. This more assertive Chinese posture triggered the proactive turn in Japan’s ocean policy, which may have negative consequences for regional security.
This article shows that Chinese sensitivity about the way the Western press covers China, a point of obvious relevance today, has a lengthy and rich history. The article focuses on the movement to professionalize Chinese journalism in the late 1910s and early 1920s and on ways in which that movement was bound up in a transnational conversation about journalism reform, as well as in educational institution-building efforts, that flowed from the United States to East Asia. Concentrating on linkages between China, the United States and Japan, the article argues that the effort to transfer American journalistic norms to China was undercut both by the Western-dominated political and economic forces that shaped the flow of information in the world at the time, and by the failure of Western journalism to live up to its own standards insofar as its coverage of China was concerned. Given the rising nationalism in China at that time, such problems proved very consequential. These conclusions are based on an analysis in the last section of the article of Chinese participation in the Press Congress of the World meeting convened in Honolulu, Hawai‘i, in 1921. The Chinese who attended that meeting were among the most Westernized and self-consciously professional journalists in China and, as such, were in a unique position to critique Western journalism practice in China on its own terms.

Falun Gong, Ten Years On

Stephen Noakes

Over a decade after it ran afoul of the Communist Party leadership, touching off a campaign of repression that led to its virtual eradication in China, the Falun Gong spiritual movement has spread across several continents and morphed into a transnational political advocacy group seeking justice and redress for the alleged persecution of its Chinese followers. Exploring a diverse selection of notable books on the subject, this review article enumerates prominent perspectives on Falun Gong’s political significance and suggests its continuing relevance for understanding the durability of authoritarianism in China.
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

JI-WHAN YUN is assistant professor of political science at Kyung Hee University, Seoul, South Korea. His research articles have been published in Korea Journal, Governance, Asian Survey and The British Journal of Industrial Relations. Email: jiwhanyun@gmail.com.

DUNCAN MCCARGO is professor of Southeast Asian politics at the University of Leeds, UK. His most recent book, Tearing Apart the Land: Islam and Legitimacy in Southern Thailand (Cornell, 2008), won the inaugural 2009 Bernard Schwartz book prize awarded by the Asia Society. Email: d.j.mccargo@leeds.ac.uk.

THERESE MACDERMOTT is a senior lecturer at Macquarie University, Sydney, with special interests in labour law, human rights, and gender in the Pacific. Email: therese.macdermott@mq.edu.au.

BRIAN OPESKIN is professor of legal governance at Macquarie University, Sydney. Previously, he was head of the School of Law at the University of the South Pacific in Vanuatu, and deputy president of the Australian Law Reform Commission. Email: brian.opeskin@mq.edu.au.

JAMES MANICOM is currently an Asian Institute affiliate in the Munk Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto. He was awarded his PhD from Flinders University, Adelaide, Australia, in October 2009. Email: james.manicom@utoronto.ca.

TIMOTHY B. WESTON is associate professor of history at the University of Colorado at Boulder and has published The Power of Position: Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1929 (University of California Press, 2004) and the co-edited China’s Transformations: The Stories beyond the Headlines (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007). He is currently preparing a book on Chinese journalism. Email: Weston@Colorado.edu.

STEPHEN NOAKES is a doctoral candidate (ABD) in the department of political studies at Queen’s University and a specialist on Chinese politics. He was a visiting scholar at Fudan University in 2009 and is a frequent advisor to the aid community on civil society and governance issues in the PRC. Email: 9swn@queensu.ca.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE


Asia General


STATUS AND STRATIFICATION: Cultural Forms in East and Southeast Asia. Edited by Mutsuhiko Shima. Eyal Ben-Ari 363


GLOBALIZATION, THE CITY AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN PACIFIC ASIA. Edited by Mike Douglass, K.C. Ho and Giok Ling Ooi. Abidin Kusno e23


China and Inner Asia


WEALTH INTO POWER: The Communist Party’s Embrace of China’s Private Sector. By Bruce J. Dickson. Tony Saich 368

FORTIFYING CHINA: The Struggle to Build a Modern Defense Economy. By Tai Ming Cheung. Richard P. Suttmeier 370


BOUNDARIES AND CATEGORIES: Rising Inequality in Post-Socialist Urban China. By Wang Feng. Katrin Fiedler 374

INEQUALITY AND GROWTH IN MODERN CHINA. Edited by Guanghua Wan; foreword by Anthony Shorrocks. Linda Yueh 375


WU HAN, HISTORIAN: Son of China’s Times. By Mary G. Mazur. John Israel 378

RETHINKING CHINESE POPULAR CULTURE: Cannibalizations of the Canon. Edited by Carlos Rojas and Eileen Cheng-yin Chow.  Alexander C. Y. Huang 382

HERSELF AN AUTHOR: Gender, Agency, and Writing in Late Imperial China. By Grace S. Fong.  Maram Epstein 384

WOMEN PLAYING MEN: Yue Opera and Social Change in Twentieth-Century Shanghai. By Jin Jiang.  Catherine Swatek 386

TAIWAN’S RELATIONS WITH MAINLAND CHINA: A Tail Wagging Two Dogs. By Su Chi.  Scott Simon 387

NEW MASTERS, NEW SERVANTS: Migration, Development, and Women Workers in China. By Yan Hairong.  Ingrid Nielsen e27


Northeast Asia


INTRODUCTION TO JAPANESE POLITICS. 5th ed. By Louis D. Hayes.  Theodore J. Gilman 391

POVERTY AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN JAPAN. Japanese Society Series. Edited by Masami Iwata and Akihiro Nishizawa.  Akihiro Ogawa 393

THE TOKYO WAR CRIMES TRIAL: The Pursuit of Justice in the Wake of World War II. By Yuma Totani.  Greg P. Guelcher 394


CIVILIZATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi. By Albert M. Craig.  David L. Howell 398

MEMORY MAPS: The State and Manchuria in Postwar Japan. The World of East Asia. By Mariko Asano Tamanoi.  Sandra Wilson 400


JAPAN’S WHALING: The Politics of Culture in Historical Perspective. By Hiroyuki Watanabe; translated by Hugh Clarke.  Arne Kalland e31
South Asia

ICTS AND INDIAN SOCIAL CHANGE: Diffusion, Poverty, and Governance. Edited by Ashwanti Saith, M. Vijayabaskar and V. Gayathri. Carol Upadhya 406

SOUTH ASIAN CULTURES OF THE BOMB: Atomic Publics and the State in India and Pakistan. Edited by Itty Abraham. Robert S. Anderson e34

Southeast Asia

DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES IN ASEAN COUNTRIES. By Tulus Tambunan. Rajah Rasiah 408

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: The Struggle for Autonomy. Rev. 2nd ed. By Donald E. Weatherbee. Sorpong Peou 409

POLITICAL ISLAM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Gordon P. Means. Eric Tagliacozzo 411

LEAVES OF THE SAME TREE: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka. By Leonard Y. Andaya. Ota Atsushi 413


DEMOCRATIZATION IN POST-SUHARTO INDONESIA. Edited by Marco Bünte and Andreas Ufen. Jim Schiller 419


JAVANESE PERFORMANCES ON AN INDONESIAN STAGE: Contesting Culture, Embracing Change. By Barbara Hatley. Michael Bodden 422

DEPENDENT COMMUNITIES: Aid and Politics in Cambodia and East Timor. By Caroline Hughes. D. Gordon Longmuir e36


Australasia and the Pacific Region

AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE AGE OF TERROR. Edited by Carl Ungerer. Scott Flower 425

STORMY WEATHER: The Challenge of Climate Change and Displacement. By David Corlett Ilan Kelman 427

ABORIGINES AND ACTIVISM: Race, Aborigines & the Coming of the Sixties to Australia. By Jennifer Clark. Laurent Dousset 428

NATIVE MEN REMADE: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai‘i. By Ty P. Kawika Tengan. Charles M. Langlas 432

HAWAIIN BLOOD: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity. By J. Kēhaulani Kauanui. Eugene Ogan 434

LA FRANCE DANS LE PACIFIQUE SUD: Les Enjeux de la Puissance. By Nathalie Mrgudovic; preface by Michel Rocard. Nic MacLellan 436

INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ISSUES IN THE PACIFIC RIM: Global Imbalances, Financial Liberalization, and Exchange Rate Policy. Edited by Takatoshi Ito and Andrew K. Rose. Enzo Weber 438


JEAN-MARIE TJIBAOU, KANAK WITNESS TO THE WORLD: An Intellectual Biography. By Eric Waddell. Nathalie Mrgudovic 441

STATE OF SUFFERING: Political Violence and Community Survival in Fiji. By Susanna Trnka Sina Emde 443


THE MANAMBU LANGUAGE OF EAST SEPIK, PAPUA NEW GUINEA. By Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, with assistance of Jacklyn Yuamali Ala and Pauline Agnes Yuaneng Luma Laki. Hilário de Sousa e41
Pacific Affairs is delighted to announce the eighth William L. Holland Prize for the best article published in Volume 82 (2009-10) has been awarded to:

Charles Weathers
and
Scott North,

for their article published in Vol. 82, no. 4,

“Overtime Activists Take on Corporate Titans: Toyota, McDonald’s and Japan’s Work Hour Controversy”

Based on a solid foundation of original empirical research, Weathers and North shed new light on the possibilities and the limits of civil society in Japan at the intersection of law, labor rights, and politics. The mobilized array of Japanese and English-language sources includes interviews, court records, presentations at union meetings, NGO reports, policy papers, mass media coverage, and academic works. While their article focuses on two specific lawsuits in Japan against Toyota and McDonald’s, the broader implications for all of Asia and the Pacific stem from the success of the article in highlighting the extent of the challenges involved in the protection of labor rights and the maintenance of a vigilant civil society even in an industrialized democracy.
Charles Weathers is a professor of industrial relations and political economy in the Department of Economics, Osaka City University. His research has focused on wage setting, labour policy making, and women’s and non-regular workers’ issues in Japan. His most recent article is “Shuntō and the Shackles of Competitiveness” in Labor History (2008) and his book (in Japanese), tentatively titled The American Union Movement’s Quest for Revival, will be published in 2010. He is currently conducting comparative research on union activities in the US, Japan and Australia. He can be contacted at <weathers@econ.osaka-cu.jp>.

Scott North is a professor of sociology in the Graduate School of Human Sciences at Osaka University. He is curious about the power of the division of labour. Recent publications include “Negotiating What’s ‘Natural’: Persistent Domestic Gender Role Inequality in Japan” in Social Science Japan Journal (2009) and (in Japanese) “It’s Tough for Men, Too: Work-Family Balance from Men’s Perspective,” in Gender Studies, Muta Kazue, ed., Osaka University Press (2009). He is a contributor to Going to Court to Change Japan: Social Movements and the Law, Patricia G. Steinhoff, ed., University of Michigan Press (forthcoming). He can be contacted at <north@hus.osaka-u.ac.jp>.

Pacific Affairs is proud to recognize this article and its authors, and in so doing, honours the memory of William L. Holland’s dedication to in-depth, engaged, and engaging scholarship.

The article may be viewed at our website: www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca
Interview with 2010 Holland Prize Winners
Charles Weathers and Scott North 455

Routes of Identity: Malay Liverpool and the Limits of Transnationalism
Tim Bunnell 459

Mobility Decision-Making and New Diasporic Spaces: Conceptualizing Korean Diasporas in the Post-Soviet Space
Igor Saveliev 481

The Ascendance of Bureaucratic Islam and the Secularization of the Sharia in Malaysia
Maznah Mohamad 505

Anticipating an Oil Boom: The “Resource Curse” Thesis in the Play of Cambodian Politics
Andrew Cock 525

Book Reviews (listed on pp. 451-454) 547
ABSTRACTS

Routes of Identity:
Malay Liverpool and the Limits of Transnationalism
Tim Bunnell

Rather than focusing on either bounded conceptions of migrant assimilation or unbounded transnational linkages, this paper situates migrant experiences in broader “routes of identity.” In the case of Malay ex-seamen in Liverpool, UK, all of whom are now in their seventies or eighties, this has meant tracing life geographies extending back well over half a century. During the middle decades of the twentieth century when these men arrived in Liverpool, the city was a major seaport with longstanding maritime connections to Southeast Asia and across the Pacific. Drawing upon fieldwork carried out in Liverpool and Southeast Asia between 2003 and 2008, the paper gives attention to four geographical dimensions of the shifting identities of Liverpool-based Malay ex-seamen: (1) the always-already fluid and mobile nature of their identifications which preceded long-distance migration; (2) shifting political geographies of identity (re)formation, particularly the establishment of post-colonial national boundaries which cut across prior modes of identification; (3) historically variable constitutive geographies of long-distance interconnection, most notably the transition from maritime socioeconomic networks to a post-maritime period; and (4) social sites through which individual and collective identities are emplaced. The intention is to sketch these four different dimensions in such a way as to allow them to speak critically to issues of transnationalism and migrant identity beyond the specific case of Malays in Liverpool.

Mobility Decision-Making and New Diasporic Spaces:
Conceptualizing Korean Diasporas in the Post-Soviet Space
Igor Saveliev

Over half a million ethnic Koreans found themselves in the post-Soviet states after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Caught up in the political and economic transformation of these countries, they faced the necessity of constructing their own strategies for survival and resettlement. Briefly explaining the formation of Russian Koreans’ primary diasporas in their historical context and focusing on the diasporians’ mobility in the post-Soviet era, this study will show how the destruction of the constraints of the authoritarian period together with the collapse of the regime itself affects diasporas and enlarges the spaces available to them. Addressing the issue of the diaporians’ relationship to place and space, this article attempts to contribute to the conceptualization of the construction of new diasporic spaces and the discussion of mobility decision making, suggesting that diasporians, who had been long deprived by various constraints of the right to choose their place of residence, have comparatively high mobility and construct newer, much more sophisticated and far-flung diasporic layers.
The Ascendance of Bureaucratic Islam
and the Secularization of the Sharia in Malaysia
Maznah Mohamad

Malaysia’s trend of mounting religiosity should not be seen as merely stemming from political rivalry between its two biggest Muslim parties (UMNO and PAS) but also from another source, its Sharia-aspiring bureaucracy. The hegemony of this religious bureaucracy is based on its power as arbiter of the “right” or official Islam and its oversight over Sharia laws and Islamic public institutions. Insulated from voters’ displeasure and, to a large extent through its strategy of invoking the immutability of Sharia, this bureaucracy has emerged as the lynchpin of Malaysia’s state-driven Islamization. But even as Sharia proponents disavow secularism, the essence of Islamic legal and bureaucratic transformation is closer to a secularized adaptation than to a process of desecularization. Furthermore, as much as the bureaucracy is seemingly unstoppable, it is far from being fully stabilized as it confronts a dissenting section of the Muslim middle class who are also keen to capture the discursive, but highly fortified legal space of “authentic” Islam occupied by this bureaucracy. Ultimately, what surfaces in Islam’s politicization is the contestation between a secularized Sharia bureaucracy and its juridical subjects, rather than a desecularization movement.

Anticipating an Oil Boom:
The “Resource Curse” Thesis in the Play of Cambodian Politics
Andrew Cock

By mid-decade, Cambodia will likely begin production of offshore oil fields containing an estimated 700 million to two billion barrels of oil and significant quantities of natural gas. This long anticipated event has prompted considerable discussion of whether petroleum-derived wealth will be a blessing or a curse. Much of the discussion has been framed through the lens of the “resource curse” thesis. The purpose of this article is to consider how the notion of a resource curse has entered the Cambodian political arena and to examine the questions it has prompted Cambodia’s ruling elite and external actors to ask concerning the management of petroleum resources. Based on a systematic examination of the evolution of government policy, and of external attempts to shape its development, I show how warnings of a “resource curse” have come to be deployed in different ways by reform promoting aid donors, civil society groups, and the ruling elite. The article concludes by noting that while these warnings have helped to highlight risks associated with the rapid exploitation of petroleum resources, little will or capacity exists either domestically or internationally to transcend technical fixes to the pathologies of petroleum revenue wealth and to press for a more transparent exploitation regime.
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

TIM BUNNELL is associate professor at the National University of Singapore. He is jointly appointed in the Department of Geography and at the Asia Research Institute where he leads the Asian Urbanisms research cluster. His current research concerns intra-Asia urban emulation, influence and aspirations. Email: geotgb@nus.edu.sg

IGOR SAVELIEV is an associate professor of history and anthropology at the Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University. He is the author of Imin to Kokka : Kyokutō Rosia ni okeru Chūgokujin, Chōsenjin, Nihonjin Imin [Migration and the State: Chinese, Korean and Japanese Diaspora in the Russian Far East] (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo, 2005) and the co-editor with Pál Nyíri of Globalising Chinese Migration: Trends in Europe and Asia (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). E-mail: saveliev@gsid.nagoya-u.ac.jp

MAZNAH MOHAMAD is currently a visiting senior fellow with the Asia Research Institute and the Department of Malay Studies at the National University of Singapore. She was formerly associate professor at the School of Social Sciences, University of Science Malaysia. Her recent publications include Muslim-non-Muslim Marriage: Political and Cultural Contestations in Southeast Asia, co-edited with Gavin Jones and Chee Heng Leng (Singapore: ISEAS, 2009), and Feminism and the Women’s Movement in Malaysia, co-authored with Cecilia Ng and Tan Beng Hui (London: Routledge, 2007). Email: arimm@nus.edu.sg

ANDREW COCK is a postdoctoral fellow in the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Asia Institute, Monash University. His research interests include politics and business in Southeast Asia, the linkages between agriculture, energy and climate change, and accountability and transparency in resource wealth funds. He is currently finalizing a book manuscript entitled Governing Cambodia’s Forests: The International Politics of Policy Reform. Email: arcock@gmail.com
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE


Asia General


GOVERNANCE AND REGIONALISM IN ASIA. Edited by Nicholas Thomas. Jing Huang 549

TRANSFORMING ASIAN GOVERNANCE: Rethinking Assumptions, Challenging Practices. Edited by M. Ramesh and Scott Fritzen. Andrew Rosser 550


HUMAN SECURITY IN EAST ASIA: Challenges for Collaborative Action. Edited by Sorpong Peou. Geun Lee 559


EAST ASIAN REGIONALISM FROM A LEGAL PERSPECTIVE: Current Features and a Vision for the Future. Edited by Tamio Nakamura. Hiro Katsumata 562

ASIA ON TOUR: Exploring the Rise of Asian Tourism. Edited by Tim Winter, Peggy Teo and T.C. Chang. Chris Ryan 564

EAST ASIAN REGIONALISM. By Christopher M. Dent. Jaewoo Choo e44


China and Inner Asia

CHINA AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER. Edited by Wang Gungwu and Zheng Yongnian. André Laliberté 567

ASSOCIATIONS AND THE CHINESE STATE: Contested Spaces. Edited by Jonathan Unger. Kjeld Erik Brødsgaard 568

DEMOCRACY IS A GOOD THING: Essays on Politics, Society, and Culture in Contemporary China. By Yu Keping. Thomas Heberer 570

451
### Capitalism with Chinese Characteristics:
Entrepreneurship and the State.
By Yasheng Huang.  
*George Lin* 572

### Managed Chaos: The Fragility of the Chinese Miracle.
By Prem Shankar Jha.  
*Dali L. Yang* 573

### State and Society Responses to Social Welfare Needs in China: Serving the People.
Edited by Jonathan Schwartz and Shawn Shieh.  
*Sophia Woodman* 575

### China’s Information and Communications Technology Revolution: Social Changes and State Responses.
Edited by Xiaoling Zhang and Yongnian Zheng.  
*Barrett L. McCormick* 577

By Gordon C.K. Cheung.  
*Andrew Mertha* 579

By Martin K. Dimitrov.  
*Andrew Mertha* 579

### Tourism in China: Destination, Cultures and Communities.
Edited by Chris Ryan and Gu Huimin.  
*Jack Patrick Hayes* 582

### The Chinese Exotic: Modern Diasporic Femininity.
By Olivia Khoo.  
*Katie Willis* 584

By Joel Andreas.  
*Suzanne Pepper* 585

### The Politics of Cross-Border Crime in Greater China: Case Studies of Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Macao.
By Sonny Shiu-Hing Lo.  
*Harold Traver* 587

### Global Shanghai, 1850-2010: A History in Fragments.
By Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom.  
*Samuel Y. Liang* 589

### Hong Kong Mobile: Making a Global Population.
Edited by Helen F. Siu and Agnes S. Ku.  
*Ming K. Chan* 591

### Taiwan, Humanitarianism, and Global Governance.
By Alan Guillard.  
*Gerald Chan* 593

### Modern Tibetan Literature and Social Change.
Edited by Lauran R. Hartley and Patricia Schiaffini-Vedani; foreword by Matthew T. Kapstein.  
*Robert Barnett* 595

#### China’s African Challenges.
By Sarah Raine.  
*Douglas Yates* e48

#### Television in Post-Reform China: Serial Dramas, Confucian Leadership and the Global Television Market.
By Ying Zhu.  
*Yuezhi Zhao* e50

## Northeast Asia

### Business Innovation in Asia: Knowledge and Technology Networks from Japan.
By Dennis McNamara.  
*Michael Carney* 597

### Women and the Labour Market in Japan’s Industrialising Economy: The Textile Industry Before the Pacific War.
By Janet Hunter.  
*Carl Mosk* 598

### Cities, Autonomy, and Decentralization in Japan.
Edited by Carola Hein and Philippe Pelletier.  
*Paul Waley* 601
HISTORY EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:
A Case Study of Diplomatic Disputes over Japanese Textbooks. By Mutsumi Hirano.  
Philip Seaton 602

IMAGINED FAMILIES, LIVED FAMILIES: Culture and Kinship in Contemporary Japan. Edited by Akiko Hashimoto and John W. Traphagan.  
Amy Borovoy 604

THE MODERN FAMILY IN JAPAN: Its Rise and Fall. 
By Chizuko Ueno.  
Barbara Holthus 606

GOING GLOBAL: Culture, Gender, and Authority in the Japanese Subsidiary of an American Corporation. By Ellen V. Fuller.  
Kuniko Ishiguro 608

JAPANESE TOURISM AND TRAVEL CULTURE. Edited by Sylvie Guichard-Anguis and Okpyo Moon.  
Sidney Cheung 610

OTAKU: Japan’s Database Animals. By Hiroki Azuma; translated by Jonathan E. Abel and Shion Kono.  
Cosima Wagner 612

JAPAN’S HOLY WAR: The Ideology of Radical Shinto Ultranationalism. By Walter A. Skya.  
Christopher W.A. Szpilman 613

Peter Clarke 615

SHOTS IN THE DARK: Japan, Zen, and the West. 
By Shoji Yamada; translated by Earl Hartman.  
John Sojun Godfrey 617

Rustin Gates 618

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT IN KOREA: Labour, Capital and the Myth of the Developmental State. 
By Dae-oup Chang.  
Iain Pirie 620

POLITICAL PROTEST AND LABOR SOLIDARITY IN KOREA: 
Jennifer Chun 622

THERE A PETAL SILENTLY FALLS: Three Stories. By Ch’oe Yun; translated by Bruce and Ju-Chan Fulton.  
David McCann 624

THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON JAPAN’S PUBLIC POLICY: How the Government is Reshaping Japan’s Role in the World. Edited by Hiroshi Itoh.  
Richard Leitch e51

Kukhee Choo e54

South Asia

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN SOUTH ASIA: Search for an Alternative Paradigm. Edited by Navnita Chadha Behera.  
T. V. Paul 626

LANGUAGE, EMOTION, AND POLITICS IN SOUTH INDIA: 
The Making of a Mother Tongue. By Lisa Mitchell.  
Chris J. Fuller 627
STRONG RELIGION, ZEALOUS MEDIA: Christian Fundamentalism and Communication in India. By Pradip Ninan Thomas.  

Southeast Asia


SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: Towards a Co-operative Management Regime. Edited by Sam Bateman and Ralf Emmers.  

THE CITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: Patterns, Processes and Policy. By Peter J. Rimmer and Howard Dick.  


TOURISM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: Challenges and New Directions. Edited by Michael Hitchcock, Victor T. King and Michael Parnwell.  

PHAN CHÂU TRINH AND HIS POLITICAL WRITINGS. By Phan Châu Trinh; translated and edited by Vinh Sinh.  

TOURS OF VIETNAM: War, Travel Guides, and Memory. By Scott Laderman.  

DEEPENING DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA?: Direct Elections for Local Leaders (Pilkada). Edited by Maribeth Erb and Priyambudi Sulistiyanto.  

THE STATE IN MYANMAR. By Robert H. Taylor  


FIERY DRAGONS: Banks, Moneylenders and Microfinance in Burma. By Sean Turnell.  

CONFLICT, VIOLENCE, AND DISPLACEMENT IN INDONESIA. Edited by Eva-Lotta E. Hedman.  

BROKERING A REVOLUTION: Cadres in a Philippine Insurgency. Edited by Rosanne Rutten.  

Australasia and the Pacific Region

MORTALITY, MOURNING AND MORTUARY PRACTICES IN INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIA. Edited by Katie Glaskin et al.  


JOURNEYS TOWARDS PROGRESS: Essays of a Geographer on Development and Change in Oceania. By Ray Watters; Edited by Ginny Sullivan.  

PHOTOGRAPHY AND AUSTRALIA. By Helen Ennis.
Interview

with Charles Weathers and Scott North—

Winners of the 2010 Holland Prize for best article

“Overtime Activists Take on Corporate Titans: Toyota, McDonald’s and Japan’s Work Hour Controversy”
published in Pacific Affairs Volume 82

1. Why did you decide to write on the subject?

[North] I apologize for the ad hoc quality of my replies, but we are in the maelstrom of the start of academic year; time is nonexistent. In fact, the harried nature of my own working life and that of the people I see around me, dragging themselves home late at night and then grimly heading back to work again in the morning, was a major motivation for me to become interested in work hours issues. In addition, I have been following cases of death from overwork and the social movement around those cases for more than 15 years. Charles and I have previously collaborated on a couple of short pieces about the same general topics. Our fieldwork with labour groups in Kansai and elsewhere has overlapped as well, so it was natural that we try to pool our resources and write something together.

[Weathers] I had been following the McDonald’s case from the beginning, and realized soon after the court decision that it would make a good article to demonstrate concerns about work conditions, although I had originally been primarily interested in the unions’ activities. I called Scott for general advice, and quickly thought of doing a joint article since he already knew people involved in the Toyota case.
2. Can you distill your central argument?

[North] This piece is a window into the intensification of grassroots labour struggles that is emerging from the long-running disenchantment with how people in Japan are forced to work. It shows how individual cases become vehicles for larger aspirations and critiques of Japan’s labour process, and how various support groups are starting to coalesce into a movement that represents a growing segment of Japanese public opinion. At the same time, the limits of activism are clearly evident: the worst cases, such as those we wrote about, symbolize the suffering of many workers, but in the current economic climate the majority of workers have little time for activism, nor are many secure enough at work to risk aggressive union activity. Dissatisfaction is great, but we are a long way from the tipping point.

[Weathers] To me, it was about how thoroughly the plaintiffs and their supporters won in court and in the media, yet failed to really impact workplace practices. The McDonald’s case was pretty much open and shut; as we noted in the article, the activists knew from the beginning that they would win, though the Toyota plaintiffs had a harder task. Both cases also indicate the strength of corporate influence over worker thinking, a point I wish we had made a little more strongly. Both Takano and Uchino were dedicated company men – and Takano still is, although he also continues to campaign for improvements.

3. What were some of the challenges involved in data collecting?

[North] These small movements and their plaintiffs are open to interviews and they generally seek to publicize their cases. As time goes on, they become very skillful advocates for their causes. Corporations, those that I’ve contacted in regard to karoshi cases, have uniformly refused to comment. That is a problem for the research. But the general position of corporate leaders is not hard to establish. One event that helped give the paper a narrative arc was the move by business leaders and the conservative Abe government to establish an exemption from overtime pay for the majority of Japan’s white-collar employees. As it happened, that attempt shared front-page space with our cases. The bill died when the Abe government collapsed. That gave our story a neat ending, but the exemption is a long-cherished goal of those Japanese leaders who see America as the standard to emulate. It may yet rise again.

[Weathers] Not much for me at least. I did interviews about McDonald’s
Perspective:

Historical Disputes and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The U.S. Role
   Gi-Wook Shin  663

Workers or Residents? Diverging Patterns of Immigrant Incorporation in Korea and Japan
   Erin Aeran Chung  675

Weakness and Gambits in Philippine Foreign Policy in the Twenty-first Century
   Renato Cruz De Castro  697

Understanding Fluctuations in Sino-Japanese Relations: To Politicize or to De-politicize the China Issue in the Japanese Diet
   Linus Hagström
   Björn Jerdén  719

Book Reviews (listed on pp. 659-662)  741

Index to Volume 83 (2010)  847
ABSTRACTS

Perspective: Historical Disputes and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The US Role
Gi-Wook Shin, Stanford University, USA

Unhealed wounds from past wrongs, committed during colonialism and war, have created regional animosity and stunted reconciliation in Northeast Asia. Claiming that continued disputes over historical injustice are not solely an intra-Asian issue, this article explores how the US can facilitate historical reconciliation in the region. It is necessary to recognize that the US played a significant role in dealing with historical issues in the aftermath of World War II. Aside from failing to fully address Japanese war crimes in the Tokyo Tribunal, the US was also pivotal in setting the terms of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, a legal instrument that has been the historical precedent for expunging any sense of Japanese guilt and responsibility. Likewise, the US has yet to formally accept its own actions which could be perceived as “crimes against humanity”: the US atomic and carpet-bombing of Japanese cities. This article advocates a self-critical, self-reflective approach that would involve US acknowledgement of its own responsibility in handling or mishandling of history issues in Northeast Asia. More specifically, the article also evaluates recent proposals for a presidential visit to Hiroshima or Nagasaki as a means of recognizing the human suffering caused by the atomic bombing, and for a new interpretation of the San Francisco Peace Treaty to better enable victims of Japanese war crimes to air grievances. This article supports both proposals but also argues that they must be implemented with caution and within a larger regional historical framework rather than as an attempt to bolster solely US-Japanese relations.

Workers or Residents? Diverging Patterns of Immigrant Incorporation in Korea and Japan
Erin Aeran Chung, The Johns Hopkins University, Maryland, USA

Although Korea and Japan have had to confront rapidly declining working-age population projections, both countries kept their borders closed to unskilled workers from the mid-1980s to the early 2000s, and met labour demands through de facto guest worker programs and preferential policies for co-ethnic immigrants. However, by the mid-2000s, government officials could no longer turn a blind eye to the swelling ranks of immigrants within their borders and announced two contrasting proposals for immigrant incorporation: centralized rights-based legislation that targets specific immigrant groups in Korea and decentralized guidelines that prioritize community-based partnerships in Japan. Instead of resulting from deliberate decision making by either state to manage the permanent settlement of immigrants, I argue that these divergent approaches reflect grassroots movements that drew on existing strategies previously applied to incorporate historically marginalized groups in each society prior to the establishment of official incorporation programs. Migrant workers in Korea made significant inroads in gaining rights largely because of the strong tradition of labour and civil society activism in Korea’s democratization movement. In Japan, grassroots movements led by generations of zainichi Koreans from the 1960s set the foundation for decentralized, community-based strategies for incorporating new immigrants from the late 1980s. Comparing two seemingly similar countries in East Asia, this article explores the divergent patterns of immigrant incorporation in Korea and Japan and the role of grassroots movements in shaping these divergent trajectories.
Asia, this article identifies patterns of interaction between new immigration and existing practices that have shaped relationships between dominant and minority communities and between state and non-state actors.

**Weakness and Gambits in Philippine Foreign Policy in the Twenty-first Century**

Renato Cruz De Castro, De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines

How do resource-starved weak powers adjust to a changing regional system? Looking at the Philippine case, this article examines the direction of the country's foreign policy under the Arroyo administration. Observably, this foreign policy is directed to the generation of external resources that could address the country’s main security challenge: domestic insurgencies. To pursue this internal agenda, the Philippines engages both the United States and China in a delicate balancing act. The government has also jump-started its program of development diplomacy, with directives for its embassies and consulates abroad to promote the country's export trade and to protect the rights and welfare of 8.5 million overseas Filipino workers (OFWs). It also utilizes multilateral organizations to advance its national development objectives. However, the country’s inherent weakness has constrained its ability to exploit optimally the opportunities created by its fluid external environment. In conclusion, the article contends that unless it consolidates its political base and enhances its economic competitiveness, the Philippines will remain a quintessential weak power in the world of the strong in East Asia.

**Understanding Fluctuations in Sino-Japanese Relations: To Politicize or to De-politicize the China Issue in the Japanese Diet**

Linus Hagström and Björn Jerdén, Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden

From the late 1990s to the late 2000s, scholarly literature and media analysis shifted from representing the Sino-Japanese relationship as generally “good,” to portraying it as generally “bad,” and then back to describing it as generally “good” again. This article aims to make sense of what could thus be construed as fluctuations in Sino-Japanese relations and Japan’s China policy, through employing discourse analysis as foreign policy theory. The aim is operationalized by analyzing Japanese China discourse as it has played out in the Diet. The article demonstrates that there is a fault line between a “radical representation,” epitomizing further politicization of a prevalent Japanese sense of insecurity about China, and a “moderate representation,” reflecting de-politicization of the same phenomenon. Furthermore, it shows that in the period examined (a) China has come to be discussed more frequently, and (b) a greater variety of aspects of the relationship have reached the political agenda. Together, these two changes have been conducive in altering the relative position of the two representations. In 2008 the moderate representation was still dominant, but less so than in 1999. The main argument of this article is thus that recent fluctuations in Japan’s China policy—and by implication Sino-Japanese relations—can be understood in terms of an increasingly open Japanese China discourse.
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

PROFESSOR GI-WOOK SHIN is the director of the Shorenstein Asia Pacific Research Center and a Professor of Sociology at Stanford University. His most recent book publications include: One Alliance, Two Lenses: U.S.-Korea Relations in a New Era (Stanford University Press, 2010); Cross-Currents: Regionalism and Nationalism in Northeast Asia (Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University, 2007); and Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia (Routledge, 2006). Email: gwshin@stanford.edu.

ERIN AERAN CHUNG is the Charles D. Miller Assistant Professor of East Asian Politics and Co-Director of the Racism, Immigration, and Citizenship Program in the Department of Political Science at the Johns Hopkins University. She is the author of Immigration and Citizenship in Japan (Cambridge University Press, 2010). E-mail: echung@jhu.edu.

RENATO CRUZ DE CASTRO is a senior professor in the International Studies Department, De La Salle University and the holder of the Ambassador Carlos J. Valdes Professorial Chair in Political Economics. He earned his Ph.D. from the Government and International Studies Department of the University of South Carolina as a Fulbright Scholar in 2001. Since 1994, he has written 60 articles on international relations and security that have been published in a number of scholarly journals and edited works in Canada, the Philippines, South Korea, Malaysia, France, Singapore, Taiwan, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Email: decastror@dlsu.edu.ph

LINUS HAGSTRÖM (PhD, Stockholm University) is an Associate Professor of Political Science and Senior Research Fellow at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs. He is also a Research Fellow at the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities supported by a grant from the Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation. Hagström’s research has appeared in Asian Security, Asian Survey, Australian Journal of International Affairs, European Journal of International Relations and The Pacific Review. E-mail: linus.hagstrom@ui.se.

BJÖRN JERDÉN (MA, Malmö University) is a Research Associate at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs and an incoming PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science, Stockholm University. E-mail: bjorn.jerden@ui.se.
BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE


Asia General

ASIA’S NEW MULTILATERALISM: Cooperation, Competition, and the Search for Community. Edited by Michael J. Green and Bates Gill. Narayanan Ganesan 741


PRESCHOOL IN THREE CULTURES REVISITED: China, Japan, and the United States. By Joseph Jay Tobin, Yeh Hsueh and Mayumi Karasawa. Merry White 744


CONTESTED VIEWS OF A COMMON PAST: Revisions of History in Contemporary East Asia. Edited by Steffi Richter. Bryce Wakefield e64

China and Inner Asia


SOCIALIST CHINA, CAPITALIST CHINA: Social Tension and Political Adaptation under Economic Globalization. Edited by Guoguang Wu and Helen Lansdowne. C. Cindy Fan 750

INEQUALITY AND PUBLIC POLICY IN CHINA. Edited by Björn A. Gustafsson, Li Shi, Terry Sicular. Xiaogang Wu 753

CREATING WEALTH AND POVERTY IN POSTSOCIALIST CHINA. Edited by Deborah S. Davis, Wang Feng. Xiaogang Wu 753

FROM IRON FIST TO INVISIBLE HAND: The Uneven Path of Telecommunications Reform in China. By Irene S. Wu. Milton Mueller 756

CHINA’S RISE IN THE WORLD ICT INDUSTRY: Industrial Strategies and the Catch-up Development Model. By Lutao Ning. Shahid Yusuf 757

GATED COMMUNITIES IN CHINA: Class, Privilege and the Moral Politics of the Good Life. By Choon-Piew Pow. Delia Davin 759

DIASPORIC HISTORIES: Cultural Archives of Chinese Transnationalism. Edited by Andrea Riemenschneider and Deborah L. Madsen. Philip Holden 761

CHINA’S LAST EMPIRE: The Great Qing. By William T. Rowe. Matthew Mosca 768
WOMEN’S MOVEMENTS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY TAIWAN. By Doris T. Chang. Emma J. Teng 769
GAY AND LESBIAN SUBCULTURE IN URBAN CHINA. By Loretta Wing Wah Ho. Travis S.K. Kong e66
CHINA FOREVER: The Shaw Brothers and Diasporic Cinema. Edited by Poshek Fu. Lily Wong e67

Northeast Asia

JAPAN’S PEACE-BUILDING DIPLOMACY IN ASIA: Seeking a More Active Political Role. By Peng Er Lam. David Martin Jones 775
POLITICS AND PITFALLS OF JAPAN ETHNOGRAPHY: Reflexivity, Responsibility, and Anthropological Ethics. Edited by Jennifer E. Robertson. Patricia G. Steinhoff 780
THE SEARCH FOR RECONCILIATION: Sino-Japanese and German-Polish Relations since World War II. By Yinan He. Yoshiko Nozaki 782
THE GROWTH IDEA: Purpose and Prosperity in Postwar Japan. By Scott O’Bryan. Lonny E. Carlile 784
INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY AND THE NEW GLOBAL JAPANESE ECONOMY. By Ruth Taplin. Robert Kneller 786
CULTURAL STUDIES AND CULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN NORTHEAST ASIA: What a Difference a Region Makes. Edited by Chris Berry, Nicola Liscutin and Jonathan Mackintosh. John A. Lent 789
YOUNG WOMEN IN JAPAN: Transitions to Adulthood. By Kaori H. Okano. Dawn Grimes-MacLellan 792


DIASPORA WITHOUT HOMELAND: Being Korean in Japan. Edited by Sonia Ryang and John Lie. Kristin Surak 797

GENDER AND LABOUR IN KOREA AND JAPAN: Sexing Class. Edited by Ruth Barracough, Elyssa Faison. Jesook Song 799

SITINGS: Critical Approaches to Korean Geography. Edited by Timothy R. Tangherlini and Sallie Yea. Hong Kal 800

JAPANESE ASSIMILATION POLICIES IN COLONIAL KOREA, 1910-1945. By Mark E. Caprio. Todd A. Henry 802

THE RED ROOM: Stories of Trauma in Contemporary Korea. By Pak Wón-sŏ; O Chŏng-hŭi and Im Ch’ŏr-u; Translated by Bruce and Ju-Chan Fulton, with a foreword by Bruce Cumings. Christopher Hanscom 804


THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN NORTH KOREA: An Institutionalist Perspective. Edited by Philip H. Park. Jae-Cheon Lim 807

NOTHING TO ENVY: Ordinary Lives in North Korea. By Barbara Demick. Erich Weingartner 809


SOCIAL CLASS IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN: Structures, Sorting and Strategies. Edited by Hiroshi Ishida and David H. Slater. Carola Hommerich 810

THE CULTURE OF COPYING IN JAPAN: Critical and Historical Perspectives. Edited by Rupert Cox. Brenda G. Jordan 811

POP GOES KOREA: Behind the Revolution in Movies, Music, and Internet Culture. By Mark James Russell. Eun-Young Jung 813

South Asia


ACCELERATING GROWTH AND JOB CREATION IN SOUTH ASIA. Edited by Ejaz Ghani and Sadiq Ahmed. Matthew McCartney 816


THE VITAL DROP: Communication for Polio Eradication in India. By Gitanjali Chaturvedi. Svea Closser 819

661
Southeast Asia

AMERICA IN VIETNAM: The War that Couldn’t
Be Won. By Herbert Y. Schandler.  Gary R. Hess  821

THE ART OF NOT BEING GOVERNED: An Anarchist
History of Upland Southeast Asia.
By James C. Scott.  Carlo Bonura  823

SPIRITS OF THE PLACE: Buddhism and Lao Religious
Culture. By John Clifford Holt.  Patrice Ladwig  825

ACROSS THE CAUSEWAY: A Multi-dimensional Study
of Malaysia-Singapore Relations. Edited by
Takashi Shiraishi.  Hussin Mutalib  826

SINGAPORE: The Unexpected Nation. By Edwin Lee;
inroduction by Wang Gungwu.  Kenneth Paul Tan  828

THE BINDING TIE: Chinese Intergenerational
Relations in Modern Singapore.
By Kristina Goransson.  Jason Lim  830

STATE OF AUTHORITY: The State in Society in Indonesia.
Edited by Gerry Van Klinken and Joshua Barker.
Nadirsyah Hosen  832

THE INDONESIA READER: History, Culture, Politics.
Edited by Tineke Hellwig and Eric Tagliacozzo.
Timothy P. Barnard  833

SILENCED VOICES: Uncovering a Family’s Colonial
History in Indonesia. By Inez Hollander.
Suzanne Moon  835

FRIENDS AND EXILES: A Memoir of the Nutmeg Isles
and the Indonesian Nationalist Movement.
By Des Alwi; edited by Barbara S. Harvey.
Michelle Ann Miller  836

COMMUNIST INDOCHINA. By R.B. Smith;
Edited by Beryl Williams.  David G. Marr  e78

Australasia and the Pacific Region

THE NATIVE TITLE MARKET. By David Ritter.
Stephen Grant Baines  839

GLAMOUR IN THE PACIFIC: Cultural Internationalism
and Race Politics in the Women’s Pan-Pacific.
By Fiona Paisley.  Helen Bethea Gardner  840

NATIVES AND EXOTICS: World War II and
Environment in the Southern Pacific.
By Judith A. Bennett.  Paul Shankman  842

IN THE WAKE OF THE BEAGLE: Science in the
Southern Oceans from the Age of Darwin.
Edited by Iain McCalman and Nigel Erskine.
Alexander Mawyer  843

FEAR OF SECURITY: Australia’s Invasion Anxiety.
By Anthony Burke.  Scott Flower  e80

REMAKING THE TASMAN WORLD. By Philippa Mein
Smith, Peter Hempenstall and Shaun Goldfinch.
Caroline Daley  e81
before I knew I would write this particular article. Much of the information was from the mass media or materials made available by activists during interviews or at talks. Writing a joint article greatly eased the burden of information-gathering, especially because we tended to gather different, but complementary, types of ideas and information.

4. What might be some of the policy implications not only for Japan, but other countries in Asia and the Pacific?

[North] Japan has struggled to reduce work hours since the Maekawa Report in 1987. As our paper suggests, the reductions seen on paper are being recouped off the books, which is a win-win for management: they reduce wage costs and look like they are contributing to better work-family balance as they do it. In this atmosphere, workers are likely to become even more dispirited. So one policy recommendation is for government to show, finally, that it is really serious about work hours regulation by increasing the budget for labour standards inspectors. The inspectors I have talked to all complain of their own overwhelming workloads. Japan has pretty good labour laws, but enforcement is weak and penalties are minimal so the costs of karoshi or worker injury can be regarded as a small part of the cost of doing business. There is a lot of soft abuse that travels under the cover of tradition or corporate culture. These illegalities need to be exposed and companies that use them as management strategies deserve to be outed. There is also much that needs to be done to help Japanese workers understand the concept of personal time and to be able to assert their right to it.

[Weathers] It shows how badly Japan is lagging in reform of its employment system, which is increasingly perceived as dysfunctional. Japan has suffered fast rises in unemployment (which is probably undercounted) and low-wage jobs in the past 20 years, and it is well understood that reducing excess overtime would bring the creation of hundreds of thousands of jobs, and relieve the toll on health and families. Yet neither the government nor the mainstream unions have taken serious action. Reform in other areas, like the pay system and equal opportunity, are lagging badly also. I’m not so sure about the rest of Asia, but my impression is that other East Asian countries are also badly afflicted by over-work. Koreans apparently work far longer hours than the Japanese.

To read the full article please go to:
http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/paaf/paaf/2009/00000082/00000004/art00003