

Survival Politics in East Asia: Socio-Environmental Crises and Grassroots Responses

Wednesday 4 March – Friday 6 March 2015, 9:30am – 5:00pm

Seminar Room & Auditorium, Australian Centre on China in the World (Building 188)
The Australian National University



Presented by
ARC Laureate Project-
*Informal Life Politics in the Making of Northeast Asia:
From Cold War to Post-Cold War*
ANU College of
Asia & the Pacific



About the Conference

Survival Politics in East Asia: Socio-Environmental Crises and Grassroots Responses aims to address the bottom-up strategies being pursued by grassroots groups and local communities to confront socio-environmental crises in various parts of East Asia.

Rapid social, economic and political change in East Asia is creating huge and diverse environmental challenges in many parts of the region. Pollution from urbanization and from expanding industrial and mining activities is having particularly severe effects on wide areas of China and Mongolia. Urban overcrowding in some regions coexists with rural depopulation in others. Deforestation for farming and commercial purposes causes environmental damage from North Korea and Sakhalin in the north to the Philippines in the south. All parts of the region are confronted by the uncertain effects of climate change, while human-generated disasters like the Fukushima nuclear disaster in Japan cause ongoing damage to the lives of local citizens.

International organizations and national and local governments devise policies to address these problems, but their policy responses are not always effective, and in some cases state policies may contribute to crisis rather than resolving it. Local residents often find it necessary to take their own action to confront socio-environmental crisis. How do local residents develop the skills and expertise to respond to new environmental and social challenges? How do grassroots responses interact with the policies of local and national governments? What outcomes have they achieved, and what obstacles have they faced? How do local social and cultural circumstances influence the nature of grassroots responses to crisis?

The geographical focus of the conference will be the region including China, Japan, the two Koreas, Mongolia and Taiwan. Our speakers are not only academic researchers but also those with first-hand experience of involvement in local grassroots action in the region.

Important Information

Venue

The ‘Survival Politics in East Asia: Socio-Environmental Crisis and Grassroots Responses’ Conference will take place in the Australian Centre on China in the World (Building 188, Fellows Lane, The Australian National University, Canberra ACT 2601 Australia).

The conference will take place in the Seminar Room on Wednesday 4 March and in Auditorium on Thursday 5 March and Friday 6 March 2015. All meals (morning tea, lunch and afternoon tea) will be held in the Tea Room (Wednesday 4 March) and Lotus Hall (Thursday 5 – Friday 6 March) and are available free of charge to all participants.



Internet

Wireless internet access is available for the duration of the conference. This will be accessible anywhere on campus (including the conference venue) through “ANU-Secure”. Please note that both the login and password are case sensitive.

Login: KOREAINST
Password: korea2015

Program: Wednesday 4 March 2015

9:45 – 10:45 **Keynote Speech 1**

Animism: A Grassroots Response to Socio Environmental Crisis in Contemporary Japan

Dr Shoko Yoneyama, *University of Adelaide*

10:45 – 11:00 **Morning Tea**

11:00 – 13:00 **Panel 1**

Chair: **Prof Hyaeweol Choi**, *Australian National University*

Living Politics: Rethinking the Political in an Age of Disasters

Prof Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Australian National University*

Survival as Citizenship or Citizenship as Survival? Imagined and Transient Political Groups in Urban China

Dr Tom Cliff, *Australian National University*

Religion and Transnational Activism in the Gangjeong Village Anti-base Movement

Ms Lina Koleilat, *Australian National University*

13:00 – 14:00 **Lunch**

14:00 – 15:30 **Film Screening** – *Precipitations*

15:30 – 16:00 **Afternoon Tea**

16:00 – 17:00 **Keynote Speech 2**

Environmental Protection and Social Movement in Tibet Plateau

Ms Arahmaiani Feisal, *Indonesian Artist/Writer/Activist*

Program: Thursday 5 March 2015

9:30 – 11:00 **Panel 2**

Chair: **A/Prof Sally Sargeson**, *Australian National University*

Open the Village: Informal Life Politics in Inner Mongolia
Dr Wuqiriletu, *Australian National University*

The Socio-Economic and Environmental Impacts of Placer Gold Mining on Local Livelihoods in Mongolia: A Case of Study of Zaamar District
Ms Gereltod Dashdendog, *Institute of Geoecology, Mongolia*

11:00 – 11:30 **Morning Tea**

11:30 – 12:30 **Keynote Speech 3**

Provincializing the State: Symbiotic Nature and Survival Politics in Post-World War Zero Japan
Prof Sho Konishi, *Oxford University*

12:30 – 13:30 **Lunch**

13:30 – 15:30 **Panel 3**

Chair: **Prof Byung-ho Chung**, *Hanyang University*

The Moral Economy of Everyday North Korea
Dr Eunjeong Soh, *Australian National University*

Survival and Activism on the Tibetan Plateau: Before and After the Yushu Earthquake. **A/Prof Kathy Morton**, *Australian National University*

Can 'Art' be Informal? The Case for Creative Activism in East Asia
Dr Olivier Krischer, *Australian National University*

15:30 – 16:00 **Afternoon Tea**

16:00 – 17:00 **Keynote Speech 4**

The Crisis and Experiment of the Commons: the New Rural Reconstruction Movement in China
Mr Ou Ning, Chinese Artist/ Film Maker/ Activist

17:30 – 19:30 *Film Screening – Meishi Street 煤市街 (2006, 85min)*

Director – **Ou Ning**

Program: Friday 6 March 2015

9:30 – 10:30 **Keynote Speech 5**

Learning (South) Korea: Thoughts on Risk Society, Violence and Mourning (Over the Sewol Ferry Disaster)

Emeritus Professor Haejoang Cho(Han), *Yonsei University*

Ms Hee-ok Kim, *Haja Centre, Seoul*

10:30 – 11:00 **Morning Tea**

11:00 – 13:00 **Panel 4**

Chair: *A/Prof Simon Avenell, Australian National University*

Returning to the Village: Anti-Nuclear Activism in Gongliao District

Dr Shuge Wei, *Australian National University*

‘Things Fall Apart’: Oceanic Responsibility and Localised Responses during the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Disaster

Dr Adam Broinowski, *Australian National University*

Making Organic Space: The Origin of Organic Farming Movement in South Korea

Mr Yonjae Paik, *Australian National University*

13:00 – 14:00 **Lunch**

14:00 – 15:00 **Keynote Speech 6**

Taiwan’s Anti-Casino Movements: A Tale of Two Offshore Islands

Prof Ming-sho Ho, *National University of Taiwan*

15:00 – 15:30 **Afternoon Tea**

15:30 – 17:00 **Roundtable Discussion**

Chair: **Prof Katherine Gibson**, *University of Western Sydney*

Animism: A Grassroots Response to Socio Environmental Crisis in Contemporary Japan

Dr Shoko Yoneyama,
University of Adelaide

Socio environmental crises that we face today, such as global warming and nuclear disaster, suggest a limit to modern industrial civilisation that carries the risk of self-destruction. While the problem consciousness regarding our civilisation is widespread, issues associated with it are so structural that it is almost contradictory to try to find solutions within existing paradigms, including the knowledge base of the (social) scientific community. Using this theoretical problematic, the paper examines animism as a grassroots response to two socio environmental catastrophes in contemporary Japan: Minamata Disease and the 3.11 triple disaster.

The paper consists of two parts. First, it discusses animism -- the belief that everything in nature, including inanimate things such as trees, mountains and rivers possesses an animating power of spirit, or a soul -- as a grassroots response to the Minamata poisoning. More specifically, the notion of life-world (*inochi no sekai*) by Minamata fisherman, Ogata Masato, and the significance of animism in the literary work of Ishimure Michiko are examined. The second part looks at how re-evaluation of the cultural heritage of animism, reflected in village shrines and festivals, also emerged as an unexpected consequence of the socio environmental crisis of 3.11, and how it helped residents of the disaster-stricken area to re-establish a sense of connectedness to their land: its nature, history, and people.

The paper emphasises the significance of animism vis-à-vis Western-made social science: it addresses the lacuna of the latter, i.e. spirituality and nature. It also discusses the political implications of animism as a grassroots response to socio environmental crises in Japan where animism has often been used as a vehicle of econationalism.

Shoko Yoneyama is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Asian Studies, University of Adelaide. Her research interests include the sociology, politics and philosophy of education, youth, alternative social movements, and catastrophe (especially Minamata and Fukushima)

Living Politics: Rethinking the Political From Ashio to Fukushima

Prof Tessa Morris-Suzuki
Australian National University

In January 1907, a small army of police and construction workers descended on the Japanese village of Yanaka to evict its residents and tear down its remaining buildings. The village stood in the way of a government plan for a reservoir: part of the official response to the massive pollution crisis created by the nearby Ashio copper mine. But sixteen families refused to leave, and went on living in the village, where they were joined by the famous Japanese activist and environmental thinker Tanaka Shozo (1841-1913).

The actions of the Yanaka villagers became the centerpiece of the political and social philosophy which Tanaka Shozo developed in his later years. In this paper, I shall take the

Ashio crisis and the Yanaka villagers' response as a starting point for considering how patterns of informal life politics in modern Japan may suggest alternative approaches to important impasses faced by "post-Cold War" governmental politics. The actions of the Yanaka villagers, I argue, are an early documented example of a form of political action that recurred in response to crisis across the course of the twentieth century, and that continues to take shape in response to contemporary crises including the Fukushima nuclear disaster. The paper addresses some conceptual issues underlying the notion of informal life politics, and explores how its practices have unfolded both in Fukushima and in a cooperative health care project in postwar Japan. Over a century after the eviction of the Yanaka villagers, what possibilities and problems are suggested by a hundred years' experience of "living politics"?

Tessa Morris-Suzuki is Professor of Japanese History and Australian Research Council Laureate Fellow at the Australian National University. She researches modern Japanese and East Asian regional history. Her most recent books include *Borderline Japan* (2010) and *East Asia Beyond the History Wars* (co-authored, 2013).

Survival as Citizenship, or Citizenship as Survival? Imagined and transient political groups in urban China

Dr Tom Cliff
Australian National University

China's long-standing regime of "differential citizenship" (Holston 2008) between rural and urban residents (the infamous *hukou/huji* system) is under constant challenge at the level of practice as well as at the level of elite discourse. But is it the quest for survival, rather than the quest for citizenship per se, that drives enactments of citizenship or attempts to create citizens? This paper examines the complex relationship between survival and citizenship through a longitudinal case study of a rural migrant workers' NGO in peri-urban Beijing.

The practices and aspirations of various actors associated with the NGO demonstrate that survival and citizenship are virtually inseparable: one often follows, or is seen to follow, from the other, in an ongoing echo effect. Particular survival actions can be seen as enactments of citizenship within a political space created, often inadvertently, by the actors for themselves (eg Solinger 1999). Conversely, the availability of foreign funding to "rights defenders" means that attempting to enact citizenship or create it in others is itself a means of individual survival.

Contesting citizenship brings political risk. In this case, the survival strategies taken by the NGO to hedge against such risk cause people with diverse natural loyalties, and who were not initially the targets of the NGO's citizenship-making, to enact citizenship-through-extension-of-citizenship-to-others. The result of this fleeting alignment of citizen consciousness is an enlarged "political group" (Yan Fu 1898) with a particularly high level of political potency. Some implications of these findings are that successful bottom-up political contestation in China is likely to transpire indirectly but not inadvertently, and to involve multiple state and non-state actors playing off against each other or aligning momentarily, by default as much as by design.

Tom Cliff is a post-doctoral fellow at The Australian National University. His current research looks at the role of family, native place, and enterprise in responding to economic uncertainty and social anomie in China. He is currently finishing a book titled *Oil and Water: Being Han in Xinjiang*, to be published by The University of Chicago Press in Spring 2016.

Religion and Transnational Activism in the Gangjeong Village Anti-base Movement

Ms Lina Koleilat
Australian National University

Based on 16 months of ethnographic research conducted in Gangjeong village on Jeju Island, South Korea I investigate in this paper the role of religion in building and maintaining transnational solidarity networks. From the view of a local Catholic community central to the anti-base movement in Gangjeong, this paper asserts the unique role of religion in social movements and its dialectic relation with transnational activism. I analyse the role of this sacred transcendence offered by religious belief both in relation to the anti-base issue and to the dynamics of the movement itself.

Lina Koleilat is a PhD scholar at the School of Culture, History and Language, the College of Asia and The Pacific at The Australian National University. She is the recipient of a 2014 Prime Minister Australia Asia Endeavour Award and her research is partially funded by the Australian Government through the Australia-Korea Foundation of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

Environmental Protection and Social Movement in Tibet Plateau

Ms Arahmaiani Feisal
Indonesian Artist/Activist

The environment in the Tibet Plateau indeed requires special care because its condition will influence ecological balance both at the regional and global levels. Apart from being one of the regions with the richest bio-diversity in the world, the reality is that the Plateau, the largest ice field and the most vulnerable spot on the face of the earth – or as it is also known as the “3rd Pole”, must be able to make all parties to focus attention on it. In addition this Plateau is also referred to as the “Water Tower” of Asia because more than 2 billion people in Asia live from the water that rises in the Tibet Plateau and flows through great rivers such the Yangtze, Mekong, Yellow River, Brahmaputra, Ganges, Indus & Salween. Actually the glaciers and permafrost are now already rapidly melting and often cause floods and mud flows at the river downstream, so this is clearly something that requires careful attention and swift countermeasures. Environmental experts have predicted that if steps are not quickly taken then in 2030 the water sources in the Plateau will dry up!

Furthermore there will be a crisis of clean water that experts predict will strike the world in the next few years. Since 2010 I've been working in Qinghai Plateau with Lamas and monks from Lab Monastery and also with the lay people from 14 villages in Yushu Prefecture. We've been dealing with garbage management, the planting of trees, revival of organic farming

(included revival of barley planting) and revitalization of Nomadic culture and lifestyle by forming the so called Yak Bank. Alternative energy will be our next project though the local government has already introduced solar panel energy system.

Arahmaiani Feisal is an Indonesian performance artist who also employs painting, drawing, sculpture, video, poetry, dance, and installation. The thematic material of her work is diverse, but it often focuses on the oppression of women's bodies by men, religion in modern society, Western commercial imperialism, and global industrialization.

Open the Village: Informal Life Politics in Inner Mongolia

Dr Wuqiriletu
Australian National University

Recent studies of environmental sociology in China reflect the fact that in rural China, villager's activities in response to environmental pollution are often facing a situation of political closure. First, the formal local political authorities are closed to the villagers as a channel to solve their problems. In the cases of environmental disputes, the villager's voices are often rejected by the local political authorities, because of the local government's close connections to the polluting companies. Second, the formal channels through which the villagers access to the knowledge of pollution is closed. The local government does not provide villagers with reliable knowledge of pollution, and in some cases the local authorities even obstruct villagers to understand the hazard of pollution through other channels.

Giving these contexts, to open the closed state of the contaminated village by connecting to the space out of the local political system is crucial for the villagers. Studies suggest that in the current situation, villagers can only practice "self-relief", in which the villagers mobilize violence directly against the polluting companies in order to achieve their goals. However, the aim of this paper is to suggest an alternative perspective for understanding the villager's social practices, so called "informal life politics" that opens the closed status of a contaminated village. In particular, through a case study in rural Inner Mongolia, this paper highlights two aspects of informal life politics. First, this paper examines how the villagers informally work together with the outside world to open the closed dispute structure in a contaminated village. Second, this paper also examines the ways in which the villagers obtain credible knowledge of polluted situation of their villages through non-governmental investigation. By highlighting these social practices, this paper argues that the non-institutionalized informal networks between the village and city, as well as the non-governmental independent investigation on pollution in the village, play an important role on open the contaminated village's closed state.

Wuqiriletu is a PhD Candidate in the School of Culture, History and Language, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific. His research is focused on issues of environmental pollution and grassroots actions in Mongolia, China and Japan. Between 2009 and 2012 he worked as a lecturer at the Toin University of Yokohama; and in 2012-13 he was appointed as a Strategic Research Fellow at the Australian Centre on China in the World.

The Socio-Economic and Environmental Impacts of Placer Gold Mining on Local Livelihoods in Mongolia: a Case Study of Zaamar District

Ms Gereltod Dashdondog
Water Resources & Water Utilization Division
Institute of Geo-ecology, Mongolian Academy of Sciences

This paper presents an analysis of local perception of the socio-economic and environmental impacts of large and small-scale gold mining on illegal miners' livelihood after the opening of the Zaamar goldfield in 1992. Zaamar goldfield is today one of the Mongolia's leading gold mining regions and surface gold mining has been an extreme source of such a conflict between local people and mining company, but mining impacts on local livelihoods often remain unclear.

The purpose of this research is to examine benefits that gold mining brought to informal miners families and communities as well as their opinions about negative mining impacts, in order to identify their imagined strategies to reduce these negative impacts on the environment based on semi-structured interviews. Data was collected from Zaamar district, Tov province where most mining companies are located and interviewees live. This research analyzes survey data with Statistica 6 and JMP 5.1 and conducted interviews with 50 households.

Our results shows that respondents generally agreed that the most negative side-effects of placer gold mining in Zaamar are land erosion, water pollution and air pollution and they are perceived to be the worst consequences of gold mining activities. Gold miners and non-mining community agree that large and small-scale mining is mostly responsible for today's shortage of clean water and loss of natural grassland.

The result indicates an urgent need for information that help large and small-scale miners and non-mining community members cope with both the current environmental problems and root causes of negative mining impacts. The root causes of mining problem lay in mining operations of large and small-scale gold miners-particularly mine owners-and therefore they should be especially targeted.

Gereltod Dashdondog is a researcher at the the Division for Water Resources and Utilization, Institute of Geo-ecology of Mongolian Academy of Sciences. She is currently pursuing master of Environmental Design and Governance study at Keio University, Japan.

Provincializing the State: Symbiotic Nature and Survival Politics in Post-World War Zero Japan

Prof Sho Konishi
Oxford University

This paper considers how anarchist and popular understandings of nature and natural science began to be expressed in intellectual, cultural and social movements in early twentieth-century Japan in a time of devastation, crisis, war and imperialist expansion. After the Russo-Japanese War, or what has been called 'World War Zero,' Japanese had a tremendous *kiki*, a crisis – and therefore opportunity - to engage afresh with the wider world. And the 'world' was

watching with great anticipation what the people of Japan would bring to the world. At this critical moment, a turning point was observable in popular culture, what may be called a scientific turn. The purpose of the paper is twofold: to make sense of this scientific turn, and to explore the various manifestations of the turn that were expected to reorient the course of 'progress and civilization' itself.

Some of the leading cultural trends and movements in early twentieth-century Japan were rooted in and inspired by a popularly embraced 'anarchist science'. Their understanding of nature, of animal behavior, natural evolution and the physics of the universe, provincialized the state. This led the state to such bizarre acts as prohibiting the translation of a study of insects by the entomologist Henri Fabre – which has since become one of the most popular books read by Japanese children in the twentieth century.

Sho Konishi studies modern history, often in transnational perspective. He is the Director of the Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies at University of Oxford, where he is a Governing Body Fellow of St. Antony's College, and a member of the School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies and the History Faculty.

The Moral Economy of Everyday North Korea

Dr Eun Jeong Soh
Australian National University

Why and how do ordinary North Koreans conduct private economic activities? Utilizing the concept of moral economy, I observe that the fundamental motivation and the shared sense of justice behind private economic activities is to prevent dispersal of the family. This motivation is shaped by the memory of the non-ration period (1995-1997), the shift of responsibility to preserve the family from the state to individual households, and "self-reliance" campaign that has opened up spaces of negotiation between the authorities and households on the matters of survival.

The paper is based on oral history of three female defectors from Hyesan city. It suggests that, given the predominant concern, private economic activities tend to be conservative and safety-oriented. More risky and profit-oriented choices are made when an individual is able to establish official connections. Women tend to defect only when they foresee no possibility of holding the family together. I therefore predict that the future stability of the North Korean state depends on the extent to which the state's extraction and the export sector's exploitative economy erode people's ability to preserve family life.

Eun Jeong Soh is a Postdoctoral Fellow in the School of Culture, History and Language at the Australian National University. She researches on everyday life in North Korea with a focus on farming, health care and market trade based on interviews of North Korean refugees.

Survival and Activism on the Tibetan Plateau: Before and After the Yushu Earthquake

A/Prof Katherine Morton
Australian National University

The looming environmental crisis on the Tibetan Plateau throws into sharp relief the complex relationship between modernisation and human survival. In general, the impacts of climate change are most severe on those who have the most to lose in terms of their livelihoods and traditional culture. The ability to adapt, therefore, is of critical importance for safeguarding the sustainability of the ecosystems as well as cultural diversity. The focus of this presentation is upon the role of grassroots activism in promoting creative responses to climate adaptation. It reflects upon the development of Tibetan peoples' organisations over the past decade, and identifies the key strategies and activities aimed at changing policy preferences. In placing a lens on grassroots and national responses to the Yushu Earthquake in 2010, the presentation highlights a critical paradox in local environmental politics: environmental crisis and natural disasters provide a catalyst for change from below as well as control from above. Shifting the balance in favour of greater local autonomy will require broader structural reform as well as changes in the national culture of crisis management.

Katherine Morton is a Senior Fellow in the Department of International Relations, and former Associate Dean for Research at the College of Asia and the Pacific, at the Australian National University. She is a specialist on China's International Relations with a particular focus on transnational security, global governance, environment and climate change, and international norms. Currently, she is writing a book on the likely impacts of China's rising international status upon the evolving system of global governance and is also involved in a major international collaborative research project on 'Climate Change and Transboundary Water Security across the Himalayan-Hindu Kush' with the Chinese Academy of Sciences and other partner institutions throughout the region.

Can 'art' be informal? The case for creative activism in East Asia

Dr Olivier Krischer
Australian National University

The relationship between aesthetics and politics has been the subject of much debate in art and cultural discourse in recent years. The work of Jacques Ranciere in particular has, for some, provided a strong theoretical case for the inherently political nature of aesthetic or creative practices. This paper revisits this issue from the position of informal life politics, using case studies of creative social engagements, including activist forms of art, from Japan and Hong Kong to ask whether, and if so how, creative practices can function as tools or strategies in an informal life politics. By exploring diverse practices—including film and farming—the case is made that 'art' should be expanded to the scope of 'creative practice' to rightly constitute an informal politics.

Olivier Krischer is a post-doctoral fellow at Australian Centre on China in the World, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, where he is working on art as a facet of Japan-China relations in the 1980s-1990s. Recently his work is also concerned with transnational networks of artistic social activism in East Asia.

The Crisis and Experiment of the Commons: the New Rural Reconstruction Movement in China

Ou Ning
Chinese Artist, Film Maker/ Activist

Since China has started the radical urbanization for almost 30 years, the farming lands keep shrinking, the conflict between urban and rural areas keep going, the depopulated rural society is coming to the edge of disintegration. The New Rural Reconstruction Movement led by some Chinese intellectuals is trying to deal with this kind of crisis and find an alternative solution which is different from capital powers, governments, or even NGO. Their experiment of the commons is shaping a new political and economic model in contemporary China.

Ou Ning is an artist, curator, publisher and activist who is running a rural reconstruction project in Bishan Village, Anhui Province, China.

Learning (South) Korea: Thoughts on Risk Society, Violence and Mourning (Over the Sewol Ferry Disaster)

Emeritus Prof Haejoang Cho (Han), Yonsei University
Ms Hee-ok Kim, Principal, Haja Centre

Haejoang Cho will be speaking as a 'native anthropologist' about her whirlwind journey experiencing South Korea's compressed modernity since the 1980's. The discussion begins with the recent 4/16 Sewol Ferry Disaster in Jindo, that has resonated with 9/11 and the 3/11 Disaster in Fukushima. Professor Cho will focus on the split of South Korean public responses into disparate antagonistic groups; those who say to "never forget," and those who urge to "forget and go back to normal life." The discussion will elaborate on concepts of risk society, reflexivity, mourning, and violence in the context of compressed modernity and global capitalism as the lived experiences of people in South Korea.

Haejoang Cho(Han), a practicing cultural anthropologist and feminist, is Emeritus professor at Yonsei University, Seoul. Her early research focused on gender studies in Korean modern history; her current interests and research are in the area of youth culture and post-modernity in the global/local and post-colonial context of modern day Korea.

Returning to the Village: Anti-Nuclear Activism in Gongliao County

Dr Shuge Wei
Australian National University

This paper traces the development of anti-nuclear movement in the Gongliao district. While most literature examines the anti-nuclear movement in Taiwan through the perspective of the state, this paper explores the local villagers' response to the construction of the fourth nuclear power plant in their neighbourhood as well as the intricate relations between grassroots activists and political parties.

Drawing on interviews, newspaper articles and documentary data, it shows that anti-nuclear movement dissolved the factional division in Gongliao but soon involved local activists into partisan struggles between the Kuomintang and the Democratic Progressive Party after the late 1980s. When the DPP failed to scrap the construction of the nuclear power plant after winning the national election in 2000, local grassroots activism suffered a considerable decline.

To revive the local anti-nuclear momentum, the grassroots activists returned to the local community for inspiration and strength. They distanced themselves from party politics and sought to convert the political movement to a cultural event. Instead of appealing for policy change through the formal political channel, they sought to combine anti-nuclear protests with their everyday life and to change the negative image associated with the local people. Their creativity and flexibility turned out to be the key to overcome the decline. Many of the "soft" strategies adopted by the grassroots activists shaped the format and rhetoric of the new wave of anti-nuclear protests in Taiwan after the Fukushima Incident.

Shuge Wei is a postdoctoral research fellow at The Australian National University. She is working on a project entitled *Informal Life Politics in East Asia*. Her research interests include grassroots movement in Taiwan and China, China's international propaganda policy, Chinese media, Sino-foreign relations during the inter-war period, and party politics of the Kuomintang government. Her recent publications include articles in *Modern Asian Studies* and *Twentieth-Century China*. She is a research associate of Shih Hsin University.

'Things Fall Apart': Oceanic Responsibility and Localised Responses during the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster

Dr Adam Broinowski
Australian National University

The Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster is unprecedented in its scale, duration and dispersal of radioactive materials into the ocean, alongside land and air dispersion. In Japan, public attention has been focused on recovery, normalization and return in the areas recognized as affected by radiation contamination. Beyond the practical efforts to resolve problems of leaks and storage, there has been relatively little public discussion of the effects from dumping large amounts of irradiated water into the North Pacific.

Ongoing independent media reports and scientific studies on unusual behaviour of sickened marine and bird life manifesting along coastal areas of the northern Pacific Rim since 2011 appear to differ significantly from officially sponsored studies and policies. Undoubtedly

there is a complex array of sources of causation, yet the priorities of extended sovereign power have ensured that the burden of ongoing releases of radioactive contaminants is 'shared' beyond demarcated zones and territorial borders and across species, ecologies, cultures and temporalities.

Even as mediated narratives seek to minimize disruption to daily operations both within and outside of Japan, it is evident that a threshold has been reached. At this point, considering the conditions, it is becoming clearer that modes that are oriented toward actual immunity as opposed to reinforcing modes which promote false forms of immunity are those more likely to assume adequate responsibility for continuing mutual, collective existence. In this context, this paper will examine whether such modes are enough to properly grasp and respond to the realities being created.

Adam Broinowski is a research fellow in the School of Culture, History and Language in the College of Asia and the Pacific, the Australian National University. His ARC-funded research project is 'Contaminated Life: 'Hibakusha' in Japan in the Nuclear Age'. His book 'Cultural responses to Occupation in Japan: The Performing Body in the Cold War and after' is forthcoming in 2015.

Making Organic Space: The Origin of Organic Farming Movement in South Korea

Mr Yon Jae Paik
Australian National University

The double decline of state and NGO politics contrasts with the relative vibrancy of community activities in South Korea. These activities have emerged in various spheres of life, as people search for modes of communal living based on self-reliance and mutual aid. Organic farming, more often called 'life farming' in Korea, is an important part of those communal self-reliance activities. Accordingly, I ask following questions: What in the nature of organic farming makes it so prevalent in South Korea's communal self-help activities? What does the history of organic farming reveal about the relationship between institutional politics and communal self-help activities in the South Korean context?

I intend to investigate the nature of communal self-reliance activities and their relationship with institutional politics through the history of organic farming in South Korea. Based on the case of *Jeongnonghoe*, the first organic farming community created in 1976, I investigate the tradition of a rural autonomous community in South Korea focusing on (a) the norms of emphasising self-reliant and moral lifestyles, (b) the historical continuity of rural development movement since the 1900s, and (c) the collaboration of intellectuals in Korea and Japan, who were in search of alternative society.

Yon Jae Paik has academic background in Chemistry (BA), Environmental Studies (MA), Business (MSc), and Asian Studies (MA), and professional background in commercial banking. He enrolled as a PhD student in College of History and Language in January 2014 to join Professor Tessa Morris-Suzuki's ARC Laureate Project 'Informal Life Politics in the Remaking of Northeast Asia: From Cold War to Post-Cold War'. Currently, his research interest lies in the contemporary history of rural autonomy in East Asia.

Taiwan's Anti-Casino Movements: A Tale of Two Offshore Islands*

Prof Ming-sho Ho
National Taiwan University

With the resumption of power by the Kuomintang (KMT) in 2008, Taiwan decriminalized gambling on offshore islands. The new law stipulated that tourist casinos could be established as long as they obtained a majority in the local referendum. In 2009 and 2012, Penghu and Mazu held separate referendums on this issue. The two cases were similar in that opponents used local identity to mobilize against the pro-casino local executives; however, the outcomes turned out to be different as the casino was rejected in Penghu and welcomed in Mazu.

This article argues that the anti-casino movements were facilitated by stronger civil society infrastructure and at the same time constrained by denser interpersonal networks. This observation highlights the differing levels of diversity and capacity to launch protest movements of Taiwan's local communities as well as their capacity to launch protest movements.

Ming-sho Ho is a professor at the Department of Sociology, National Taiwan University. He studies social movement, labor and environmental issues. He recently published *Working Class Formation in Taiwan: Fractured Solidarity in State-owned Enterprises, 1945-2012* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).