

Connections in Friction: Socially Engaged Art in East Asia in Transnational Contact Zones

by

Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History of Art, Design, and Visual Culture

Department of Art and Design

University of Alberta

© Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon, 2022

Abstract

This dissertation examines socially engaged practices by contemporary Korean and Japanese artists who address current transnational issues in East Asia, drawing on discourses across subaltern studies, postcolonial theories, memory studies, and inter-Asia studies. When an artist travels to a specific site, geographically distant from the artist's own nation but related to it over a certain issue, what kind of relationship is generated between the artist and the local participants at the site? How does the artwork produced from these encounters present the relationship and the issue, and what effect does the artwork generate? Ultimately, how does an artwork contribute to or complicate a transnational issue? To think through these questions, I use the concepts of "contact zone," the "site" in site-specific art, socially engaged practice, and transnationalism. Each chapter explores artworks in the context of a particular transnational issue and the history of the social practice of art that developed in each nation, from the 1960s in Japan and from the 1980s in South Korea. The Introduction outlines key concepts, such as the notion of contact zone and transnationalism, transnational issues discussed in the dissertation, and socially engaged practice in East Asia in relation to the global trend of the "social turn" that emerged in the 1990s and flourished throughout the 2000s. Chapter 1 discusses South Korean artist collective Mixrice's representation of and collaboration with migrant workers from Southeast Asia in South Korea, examining Mixrice's work in relation to Minjung art and post-Minjung art, South Korea's socially engaged art in the 1980s and the 2000s. Chapter 2 discusses the possibilities and limitations of visual art in the debates between Japan, South Korea, and Vietnam over contested memories and official apologies over wartime atrocities. Case studies examine IM Heung-soon's multimedia works that represent of Korean veterans of the Vietnam War and Vietnamese victims

of sexual violence, as well as Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung's bronze statues, which play pivotal roles in grass-roots activism seeking an official apology from Japan for its military sexual slavery during the Asia-Pacific War, whose victims are euphemistically known as "comfort women," and from South Korea for its soldiers' civilian massacres and sexual violence during the Vietnam War. Chapter 3 examines Japanese artist Koki Tanaka's experimental workshops involving participants reflecting on a community embracing conflict after disaster and exercising meaningful empathy for distant others. This case studies focuses on Tanaka's 2017 *Skulptur Projekte Münster* and his 2019 film on *Zainichi Koreans*, ethnic Korean residents of Japan, in relation to the Japanese Fluxus artist practice in the 1960s and the social turn in Japanese art after the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami. The Conclusion compares relationships between the artists and the participants in each chapter, borrowing from the concepts of allies and accomplices, terms that have been recently redefined during online activism and social justice movements. Examining the quality of each artist's relationship with their participants created in the contact zones, I relate their work and my critical arguments discussed in the chapters to discourses surrounding inclusion politics and transformative social change of today.

Preface

This dissertation is an original work by Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon. The research project, of which this dissertation is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name “Connections in Friction: Participatory Art of East Asian Artists in Contact Zones,” No. Pro00083833, 2018.

Parts of chapter 2 have been published as Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon, “Contested Memories, Precarious Apology: The Vietnam War in Contemporary Korean Art,” *Asian Studies Review* (December 2020), <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10357823.2020.1852176>, and Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon, “The Sonyōsang Phenomenon: Nationalism and Feminism Surrounding the ‘Comfort Women’ Statue,” *Korean Studies* 43 (2019): 6–39.

Acknowledgements

I am fortunate to have been surrounded by exceptionally supportive people. Foremost among these are my co-supervisors, Professor M. Elizabeth Boone and Professor Natalie Loveless, who are my models as critical thinkers and empathetic educators. Professor Boone's expertise in transnational studies and Professor Loveless's expertise in art as social practice and her participation on the cutting edge of contemporary discussions of social justice broadened and refined my perspectives. Their rich insights and critical vision shaped this dissertation. My second reader, Professor Hong Kal, offered me her astute criticism and constant encouragement. My research in Korean studies and the art and visual culture of East Asia is indebted to her work and advice. What I learned from these three members of my supervisory committee is not limited to academic training; they showed me how to create an inclusive and caring community and how to be a supportive supervisor and colleague. My gratitude to them is incalculable.

I must also note my gratitude to my exam committee members. Professor Ming Tiampo and Professor Susanne Luhmann offered invaluable suggestions, critical observations, and encouraging comments on my dissertation. Professor Joan Greer set the tone for my defense in that, prompted by her lead acknowledgments, we all began by acknowledging our positionalities from which we reflected on my work together. Thanks to Professor Greer and the committee members, my defense was an extraordinary experience, weaving together our positions, research, and pedagogy.

The faculty members and staff at the Department of Art and Design at the University of Alberta offered one of the most excellently inclusive and supportive environments. Professors Lisa Claypool, Walter Davis, Lianne McTavish, Steven Harris, and Sean Caulfield stood as models for me as academics and teachers. Dawn McLean and Blair Brennan made me feel

always welcomed and cared for.

I would like to also thank Professors Mark Cheetham, Elizabeth Harney, Jordan Bear, Jenny Purtle, Christy Anderson, Kenneth Bartlett, and Janna Eggebeen, for encouraging me to pursue an academic career during my undergraduate and master's programs at the University of Toronto. Their teaching inspired me to pursue a PhD in art history and a career in academia.

Scholars in various fields have offered me boundless support. Professor Jooyeon Rhee tirelessly offered constructive suggestions during the process of publishing my two articles, which became part of this dissertation. Professor David Hundt, Professor Abidin Kusno, and Dr. Tomoe Otsuki also offered their feedback and enormous support on my research. I also thank Professors Ahn Yonsun, Chae Young-Gil, Cho Younghan, Choi Haeree, Lee Na-young, and Lim Ji-hyun, as well as Dr. Koh Ji-hye, Dr. Jang Soo-hee, and Dr. Yoon Bo-young for their support and suggestions.

I am grateful to the artists and activists discussed in this dissertation for their interviews and follow-up communications. Especially, I thank Cho Jieun, Kim Seokyung, Kim Eunsung, IM Heung-soon, Koki Tanaka, Mahbub Alam, Ku Su-jeong, Chun Mihoa, and Kwon Hyunwoo.

My research involved multiple on-site research visits to China, Germany, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, supported by generous fellowships and scholarships from both Canadian and Korean institutions, as follows: Queen Elizabeth II Graduate Scholarship; Doctoral Fellowship of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; University of Alberta President's Doctoral Prize of Distinction; Graduate Travel Award of the Faculty of Research and Graduate Studies at the University of Alberta; Junior Fellowship of the Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies at the Seoul National University; and International Researchers Residency program at the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea (MMCA). I thank

Heejung Park, Lisa Shin, and Manho Kim for their generous support during and after my MMCA residency in Changdong, Seoul. Professors Natalie Loveless, Sheena Wilson, Sean Caulfield, and Steven Hoffman also supported me, via graduate research assistantships, which offered me invaluable research, administration, and curatorial experience.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Suzanne Needs, Steven Kuntz, and Dr. Joanne Muzak, for reading numerous drafts and providing thoughtful suggestions at various stages of the writing of this dissertation. You are my lifelong writing teachers. I am grateful to my students in the courses Twentieth-Century Art in East Asia, in 2017, 2018, and 2020, and Art as Social Practice, in Summer and Fall 2021. I learned so much from them while they learned from me. My colleagues in the History of Art, Design, and Visual Culture, Yifan Li, Anran Tu, Meining Wang, Somayeh Noori Shirazi, Banafsheh Mohammadi, Brandi Goddard, Alexandra Duncan, Misa Nolic, and Jacques Talbot, deserve my thanks for their collegiality during the seven years of my PhD research.

I thank my family. My parents always showed their trust in me. My sister, Katie, deserves all my thanks for keeping me grounded outside the world of academia. My brother, Ohjun, provided me with accommodation in Germany and was once my travel buddy. And my cat, Mandu, reminded me to take a break and recharge, by jumping up on my keyboard and offering purrs and headbutts. I feel so privileged to be surrounded by so much care and support. My deepest thanks.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Preface.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Table of Contents.....	viii
List of Figures.....	x
Romanization of Asian Languages and Names.....	xix

Introduction: Contact Zones, Art after the Social Turn, Transnationalism, and Contemporary Art in East Asia.....1

Research Question.....	1
Contact Zones and Friction.....	5
Art after the Social Turn and Socially Engaged Art.....	9
Precursors of the Social Turn.....	10
Art in/after the Social Turn.....	15
a. Community art.....	15
b. Participation, Dialogue, and Social Welfare.....	18
c. Site.....	21
Art in East Asia after the 1990s.....	23
Transnationalism.....	26
Transnational Relationships between East Asian Nations.....	32
Contemporary Art.....	36
Chapter Outline and Methods.....	38
Concluding Comments.....	44

Chapter 1. Collaborating with Migrant Workers from Southeast Asia:

Mixrice's <i>Return</i> (2006) in the Context of Minjung Art and Post-Minjung Art.....	46
Abstract.....	46
Introduction.....	47
From Minjung Art to Post-Minjung Art.....	54
The Minjung Movement and Minjung Art.....	54
The Emergence of Post-Minjung Art.....	67
Mixrice and Migrant Workers, 2002–2006.....	75
Friction and Contradicting Desires: Murals and Photographs of <i>Return</i>	79
Murals.....	80
Photographs.....	86
Collaborators or Coauthors? Migrant Workers in the Comics of <i>Return</i> and Mixrice's Later Works.....	91
Conclusion.....	100

Chapter 2. Representing Contested Memories and Precarious Apology:

The Vietnam War in Contemporary Korean Art (2006–2016).....	104
Abstract.....	104
Introduction.....	105
Contested Memories of the Vietnam War in Korea.....	112

IM Heung-Soon’s <i>This War</i> (2009) and <i>Reborn II</i> (2018)	117
<i>This War</i> (2009)	117
<i>Reborn II</i> (2018)	121
Precarious Apology: Kim Seokyoung and Kim Eunsung’s <i>Vietnam Pieta</i> (2015–2016)	128
Theories of Apology.....	130
Conditional Apology: Japan to South Korea.....	134
Conditional Apology and Suspended Apology: South Korea to Vietnam.....	139
<i>Vietnam Pieta</i> in Đà Nẵng, Jeju, and Seoul.....	143
Vietnam War in Korean Museums.....	148
Conclusion.....	151
Chapter 3. Living Inclusively after Disaster: Koki Tanaka’s <i>Provisional Studies: Workshop #7 How to Live Together and Sharing the Unknown</i> (2016) and <i>Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)</i> (2018)	154
Abstract.....	154
Introduction.....	155
Passive Empathy vs. Empathetic Unsettling.....	159
Japanese “Disaster Art” before and after 3/11.....	165
Disaster Utopia and Disaster Dystopia.....	179
<i>Provisional Studies: Workshop #7 How to Live Together and Sharing the Unknown</i>	185
Awakening the Site’s History: The Workshop.....	185
Discordance, Tension, and Action: The Exhibition.....	191
<i>Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)</i>	199
Zainichi Koreans and Hate Speech Rallies.....	199
Sharing Postmemory and Unsettling Empathy.....	202
Conclusion.....	209
Conclusion: Connections in Friction in Disturbance Regimes	211
Allies or Accomplices.....	213
Epilogue.....	220
Figures	229
Introduction.....	229
Chapter 1.....	232
Chapter 2.....	247
Chapter 3.....	254
Conclusion.....	275
Bibliography	277

List of Figures

Introduction

Figure 0.1. Exhibition view of *Mass and Individual: The Archives of the Guyanese Mass Games*, 2016. Curated by Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon and Wonseok Koh. Photo by Bara Studio.

Figure 0.2. Yunjoo Kwak, *Triumph of the Will*, 2006. One photograph of the series. Lambda print, 123 × 200 cm. Image courtesy of the artist.

Figure 0.3. Unknown photographer, a page from the 1984 Mass Games Photo Album (Performers holding fans), 1984. Photographic prints on an album, 38 × 31.5 cm. Allied Arts Unit, Georgetown, Guyana. Photo by the author, 2016.

Figure 0.4. Unknown photographer, *Untitled* (Performers holding fans and flags in the 1990 Mass Games), 1990. Chromatic photographic print, 8 × 12.5 cm. Allied Arts Unit, Georgetown, Guyana. Digital photo by Kim Kyung Ho, Asia Culture Center, Gwangju, South Korea, 2016.

Figure 0.5. Kimsooja, *A Needle Woman*, 2005. 8 channel video installation, silent, 6:33 loop. Stills from Tokyo (Japan), Shanghai (China), Mexico City (Mexico), London (England), Delhi (India), New York (U.S.), Cairo (Egypt), Lagos (Nigeria). Image from the artist website.

Chapter 1

Figure 1.1. Mixrice, exhibition view of *Return*, Gwangju Biennale, 2006. On the wall: Three black-and-white mural paintings (5 × 10 m), twenty-three chromatic photographic prints (50 × 70 cm). On the bench: a book, a set of four postcards (21.0 × 29.7 cm), and an imaginary world map (21.0 × 29.7 cm). Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

Figure 1.2. Mixrice, the first mural of *Return*, 2006. Acrylic, gouache, and ink on wall, dimensions variable. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

Figure 1.3. Mixrice, the second mural of *Return*, 2006. Acrylic, gouache, and ink on wall, dimensions variable. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

Figure 1.4. Mixrice, part of the third mural of *Return*, 2006. Acrylic, gouache, and ink on wall, dimensions variable. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

Figure 1.5. Mixrice, photographs of *Return*, 2006. Chromatic photographic prints, 50 × 70 cm. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

Figure 1.6. Mixrice, photographs of *Return*, 2006. Chromatic photographic prints, 50 × 70 cm. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

Figure 1.7. Mixrice, photographs of *Return*, 2006. Chromatic photographic prints, 50 × 70 cm. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

Figure 1.8. Mixrice, *Return*, 2006. Installation detail of the imaginary map (open: 21.0 × 29.7 cm), the book including comics and text (dimensions unknown), and a set of four postcards (21.0 × 29.7 cm) (from left to right) placed on the crafted bench. Image courtesy of the artists.

Figure 1.9. Lim Ok Sang, *The Earth IV* (a.k.a. *Land 4*), 1980. Oil on canvas, 104 × 177 cm. Image from the artist's website, accessed February 12, 2022.

Figure 1.10. Oh Youn, *Marketing I – Scene of Hell*, 1980. Mixed media on canvas. 131 × 162 cm. Private collection. Image from Kwon Chong-sul, “Gungnip Hyeondae Misulgwan: Talsingmin, Inyeom, Jeonjaeng, Minjuhwa... Hyeondaesa Gwantonghaneun Asiaui Geupjinjeog Yesul” (MMCA: Colonialism, ideology, war, democratization... Progressive Arts of Asia that penetrate the contemporary history), *Minjungui Sori* (Voice of minjung), February 7, 2019.

Figure 1.11. Unknown artist, *Gamno Taenghwa* (a.k.a. *Gamno-do*) (Nectar Ritual Painting; Painting of Buddha Giving a Sermon), 1681. Seoul, South Korea. Image from Cultural Heritage Administration of the Republic of Korea, accessed February 12, 2022.

Figure 1.12. Kim Bong Jun, *Mansang Chunhwa* (tr. ten thousand figures and a thousand pictures), 1981. colour on silk, 200 × 250 cm. Image from Kim Bong Jun, “Heungeul Modu Pogwalhaneun ‘Sinmyeong’ Iyamallo Areumdaumui Bonseongida” (Spiritual joy that embraces all excitements is the nature of the aesthetic), *Pressian*, September 13, 2021.

Figure 1.13. Diego Rivera, *History of Mexico: Mexico Today and Tomorrow*, 1935. (detail, South Wall) Fresco, 749 × 885 cm, Palacio Nacional, Stairway, Mexico City. Photo by Dirk Bakker, collection of Detroit Institute of Art. Image from ARTstor, February 12, 2022.

Figure 1.14. Seongnam Project, the first page of the brochure (total four pages) introducing the exhibition *Seongnam Modernism* (October 16–November 4, 1998) and *Seongnam and Environmental Art* (October 19–25, 1998). Designed by Park Yong-seok. Image from Art Space Pool, accessed December 1, 2021.

Figure 1.15. flyingCity, *The Power of Chunggyecheon*, part of *Chunggyecheon Project*, 2003. Digital print, 100 × 447 cm. Image from Shin, “Art in the Post-Minjung Era Urbanism, Public Art, and Spatial Politics,” 260, Plate 14.

Figure 1.16. Claes Oldenburg, *Spring*, 2006. Steel, cast aluminum, aluminum; painted with acrylic polyurethane, 21.3 m high × 5.5 m diameter at base of sculpture. Cheonggyecheon Stream, Seoul. Photo by Jaebum Kim, 2021. Photo courtesy of the photographer.

Figure 1.17. Mixrice, *Untitled*, part of *Return*, 2006. Chromatic photographic print. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

Figure 1.18. Mixrice, *Opening the Present, Butwal*, part of *Return*, 2006. Chromatic photographic print. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

Figure 1.19. Mixrice, *Messages to Dhaka* (frontispiece and page 1), part of *Return*. 2006. A seven-page black-and-white comic strip printed in the book (p. 14–20). Art Space Pool Archive, Seoul, South Korea. Photo by the author, 2018.

Figure 1.20. Mixrice, *Messages to Seoul* (left: frontispiece, right: p. 5), part of *Return*, 2006. Black-and-white comic strip, originally printed in the book (p. 23–31). Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

Figure 1.21. Mahbub Alum (dir.), *Returnee*, 2009. 22 minute film. Video still of Masum and his family, from KMDb (Korean Movie Database), accessed December 1, 2021.

Figure 1.22. Mixrice, part of *The Illegal Lives*, 2010. A multimedia installation including stage props, photographs, and video documentation of the stage play “The Illegal Lives,” directed by Jahangir Allam, dimensions variable. Image from Kim Miryun, “21-segi sanghwangjuui yesul?” (Twenty-first century art of the Situationists International?), *Newsmin*, July 6, 2013.

Figure 1.23. Mixrice, *500 Men, Games and Free Gifts: 1 pack of Q-tips, 1 pack of napkins, 1 pen, 1kg of sugar, 1 photo frame and 1 pack of potatoes*, 2010 and 2018. Single-channel video, (7min 40sec), 4 light panels, dimensions variable. Image from Park, “Our Rootless Journey of Life, Mixrice,” *The Artro*. May 28, 2019.

Figure 1.24a and 1.24b. Mixrice, *The Imaginary Map*, part of *Return*, 2006. C-print on paper, 21.0 x 29.7 cm. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

Chapter 2

Figure 2.1. Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, *Vietnam Pieta*, 2016. Bronze sculpture on marble podium, 90 × 90 × 180 cm. Gangjeong Peace Center, Jeju Island, Korea. Photo by the author. The letters inscribed in the podium mean *Vietnam Pieta* and the last lullaby (*Lời ru cuối cùng* in Vietnamese, *Majimak jajang-ga* in Korean).

Figure 2.2. IM Heung-soon, installation view of two videos: (left) *Short Dream I II*, 2008/2009. Photo-based single-channel video, 14 min 26 sec; (right) *Reborn II – One Day a Man Came to Me Claiming Himself as a Reincarnation of a Fallen Soldier*, 2018. At the exhibition *Voiceless – Return of the Foreclosed*, SeMA. Photo by Kim Sang-tae. Image available at the artist blog, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://blog.naver.com/imheungsoon/221302072624>.

Figure 2.3. IM Heung-soon, frontispiece of *Ireon Jeonjaeng* (This War), 2009. Book, 25 × 16.6 cm. Image from Asia Art Archive, accessed February 12, 2022, <https://aaa.org.hk/en/collections/search/library/im-heung-soon-this-war>.

Figure 2.4. IM Heung-Soon, *The Miracle of the Han River*, 2008/2018. Video installation aluminum plate, paper box, wire, dimensions variable. Installation view at SeMA 2018. Image available at the artist’s website, accessed December 1, 2021, <http://imheungsoon.com/the-miracle-of-the-han-river/>.

Figure 2.5. The image of the Santa Claus installation at Đà Nẵng Air Base. *Vietnam War Diary 1964–1975*, ed. Chris Bishop (London: Hamlyn, 1990), 139. Photo by the author.

Figure 2.6. IM Heung-Soon, *The Donuts Diagram A. part of a series of Donuts Diagrams*, 2008. (left) Surveys on Dispatching Troops (privates) to the Vietnam War in 1989; (right) Reasons for participating in war (in interviews of 2004–2008). C-print, 87.5 × 122 cm. Image from IM, “Dear Heung-Soon.” *Trans Asia Photography Review* 3, issue 1 (Fall 2012), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0003.102>.

Figure 2.7. IM Heung-Soon, *The Donuts Diagram B. part of a series of Donuts Diagrams*, 2008. c-print, 87.5 × 122 cm. (left): Spatial distribution of the war wounds. After the Fierce Tiger’s Operation 5 in the Vietnam War, 1966; (right): Reasons for participation in the Vietnam War (in interviews of 2004–2008). Image available at IM, “Dear Heung-Soon.” *Trans Asia Photography Review* 3, issue 1 (Fall 2012), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0003.102>.

Figure 2.8. IM Heung-Soon, *Short Dream I II*, 2008/2009. Photo-based single-channel video, 14min 26sec. Image available at Àngels Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain, accessed December 1, 2021, <http://angelsbarcelona.com/en/artists/im-heung-soon/projects/short-dream/521>.

Figure 2.9a. IM Heung-Soon, *Reincarnation*, 2015. 2 channel video installation, HD video, 23min 34sec. Installation view at MoMA PS1, 2015. Image available at Àngels Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain, accessed December 1, 2021, <http://angelsbarcelona.com/en/artists/im-heung-soon/projects/reincarnation/514>.

Figure 2.9b. IM Heung-Soon, *Reincarnation*, 2015. 2 channel video installation, HD video, 23min 34sec. Video still. Image available at the artist’s website, accessed December 1, 2021, <http://imheungsoon.com/reincarnation/>.

Figure 2.9c. IM Heung-Soon, *Reincarnation*, 2015. 2 channel video installation, HD video, 23 min 34 sec. Video still. Image available at the artist’s website, accessed December 1, 2021, <http://imheungsoon.com/reincarnation/>.

Figure 2.10. Michelangelo, *Pietà*, 1497. Marble sculpture, 69 × 76.7 × 174 cm. St. Peter’s Basilica, Rome. Image from Wikimedia Commons, accessed February 12, 2022.

Figure 2.11. Käthe Kollwitz, *Pietà*, 1938. Patinated bronze sculpture, 36.8 × 28 × 39.1 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Canada. One of a series of bronze casts titled *Pietà*, 1937–1939. Image from the National Gallery of Canada, accessed February 24, 2022.

Figure 2.12. Tomiyama Taeko, *Gwangju Pieta*, 1980. Lithograph, dimensions unknown. Gwangju Museum of Art, Gwangju, South Korea. Image from Park Ho-jae, “Il Jakgaga Saegin ‘5wol Gwangju’ <Tomiyama Taeko> Jeon Yeollyeo” (Opening of the exhibition *Tomiyama Taeko*, the Japanese artist’s prints of “Gwangju in May”), *Pressian*, December 21, 2018.

Figure 2.13. Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, *Pyeonghwauwi Sonyeosang* (Statue of a Girl of Peace), 2011. Bronze sculpture on the marble podium, 180 × 160 × 136 cm. Original statue,

studio view before installation. Photo courtesy of the artists.

Figure 2.14. Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, *Vietnam Pieta*, 2015. Installation views. Bronze sculpture, 32 × 32 × 50 cm. The Đà Nẵng Museum, Đà Nẵng, Vietnam. Photo by Kwon Hyun Woo, 2016. Image from Kwon Hyun Woo's facebook, accessed December 4, 2018.

Figure 2.15. Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, *Vietnam Pieta*, 2015. Bronze sculpture, 32 × 32 × 50 cm. The Đà Nẵng Museum, Đà Nẵng, Vietnam. Photo by the author, 2019.

Figure 2.16. Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, *Vietnam Pieta*, 2015. Bronze sculpture, 32 × 32 × 50 cm. The War and Women's Human Rights Museum, Seoul, South Korea. Photo by the author, 2019.

Chapter 3

Figure 3.1. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies: Workshop #7 How to Live Together and Sharing the Unknown* (hereafter, *Provisional Studies*), 2017. Action and workshops, installation of the video documentation in four rooms, booklet, installation of photographic prints (dimensions variable). Photo by Henning Rogge, the 2017 Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany, Image from *Skulptur Projekte Archiv*, 2017.

Figure 3.2. Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)*, 2018. 3 single-channel video on monitor (colour, sound), 3 single-channel video projection (colour, sound), two-channel video on monitors (colour, no sound), inkjet print on paper, UV-ink on craft paper, inkjet on wallpaper, movable walls, second-hand sofas, carpet. Dimensions variable. Production photo. Image from Aoyama Meguro, Tokyo, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 3.3. Kenji Yanobe, *Sun Child*, 2011. Fibreglass reinforced plastic, steel, neon, others. 620 × 444 × 263 cm. Fukushima, Japan. Image from Taylor Dafoe, "This Giant Sculpture of a Child in a Hazmat Suit Was Meant to Inspire Hope—Then People Got Creeped Out," *Artnet*, August 30, 2018.

Figure 3.4. Takashi Murakami, *500 Arahat*, 2012. (detail) Acrylic on canvas mounted on board 302 x 10,000 cm. Private collection. Image from Daisuke Kikuchi, "Takashi Murakami: The 500 Arhats," *Japan Times*, November 3, 2015.

Figure 3.5. Takashi Murakami, *Lion Peering into Death's Abyss*, 2015. Acrylic, gold leaf and platinum leaf and gold on canvas mounted on aluminum frame, 150 × 300 cm. Image from "Leo Looks into the Abyss of Death," *Arthive*, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 3.6. Koki Tanaka, *A Piano Played by Five Pianists at Once (First Attempt)*, 2012. Collaboration and video documentation (57 min). The University Art Galleries, University of California, Irvine, 2012. Video displayed in Tanaka's exhibition *Abstract Speaking: Sharing Uncertainty and Collective Acts*, the Japan Pavilion, the 55th Venice Biennale, 2013. Image from the University Art Galleries, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 3.7. Koki Tanaka, *A Haircut by 9 Hairdressers at Once (Second Attempt)*, 2010. Production still. The project was produced for the “Nothing related, but something could be associated,” Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, 2010. Video displayed in Tanaka’s exhibition *Abstract Speaking: Sharing Uncertainty and Collective Acts*, the Japan Pavilion, the 55th Venice Biennale, 2013. Image from “Koki Tanaka,” Tanaka, Aoyama Meguro, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 3.8. Koki Tanaka, *A Pottery Produced by 5 Potters at Once (Silent Attempt)*, 2013. Production still. Video produced for *Abstract Speaking: Sharing Uncertainty and Collective Acts*, the Japan Pavilion, the 55th Venice Biennale, 2013. Image from “Koki Tanaka,” Aoyama Meguro, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 3.9. *Architecture Possible Here? Home-for-all*, 2012. The Japan Pavilion, the 13th Venice Architecture Biennale. Curated by Toyo Ito, with participation of architects Kumiko Inui, Sou Fujimoto, and Akihisa Hirata and photographer Naoya Hatakeyama. Photo by Nico Saieh. Image from Basulto, “Venice Biennale 2012.”

Figure 3.10. *Architecture Possible Here? Home-for-all*, 2012. (Study model detail) The Japan Pavilion, the 13th Venice Architecture Biennale. Curated by Toyo Ito, with participation of architects Kumiko Inui, Sou Fujimoto, and Akihisa Hirata and photographer Naoya Hatakeyama. Photo by David Basulto, ArchDaily. Image from Basulto, “Venice Biennale 2012.”

Figure 3.11. Koki Tanaka, *Abstract Speaking—Sharing Uncertainty and Collective Acts*, 2013. Installation view, the Japan Pavilion, the 55th Venice Biennale. Photo by the artist. Image from “Koki Tanaka,” Aoyama Meguro, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 3.12. Koki Tanaka, *Precarious Tasks #1: Swinging a flashlight while we walk at night*, 2012. Collective acts, photo documentation. Idogaya, Yokohama, September 29, 2012. Image from “Koki Tanaka,” Aoyama Meguro, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 3.13. Koki Tanaka, *A Behavioural Statement (or, An Unconscious Protest)*, 2013. Collective acts, photo documentation. The Japan Foundation, Tokyo, October 5, 2012. Image from “Koki Tanaka,” Aoyama Meguro, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 3.14. WAWA, cover of *WAWA Newspaper* vol. 16 (September 2016), the final edition. Image from Woo, “United to be Dispersed,” *Archives of Asian Art* 69, no. 2 (2019): 61.

Figure 3.15. Ikeda Manabu, *Meltdown*, 2013. Acrylic ink on paper mounted on board, 122 x 122 cm. Chazen Museum of Art. Madison, WI, United States. Image from the Chazen Museum of Art, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 3.16. Akira Tsuboi, *The Morning Sun That Should Have Come*, 2011. Oil on wood panel, collage. 117 x 191 cm. Image from the artist’s website, accessed February 18, 2022.

Figure 3.17. Koki Tanaka, *Dialogue in the Public (JR Yamanote Line, Tokyo)*, 2012. Public talk, documentary leaflet, duration: about one hour while a train goes around Tokyo, October 30,

2012. Photo by Keigo Saito. Image from Tanaka, *Selected Projects Vers. 1*, 40.

Figure 3.18. Hi Red Center, *Yamanote Incident*, 1962. Happening. Photograph by Murai Tokuji. Image from Claudia Siefen-Leitich, “About Hi-Red Center and the Yamanote Line Incident,” *Desistfilm*, April 11, 2020.

Figure 3.19. Koki Tanaka, *Dialogue in the Public (JR Yamanote Line, Tokyo)*, 2012. (detail) Public talk, documentary leaflet, duration: about one hour while a train goes around Tokyo, October 30, 2012. Photo by Keigo Saito. Image from Tanaka, *Selected Projects Vers. 1*, 40.

Figure 3.20. Koki Tanaka, *Untitled*, 2007. Action, photo documentation. Fourteen-metre raft made from scrap materials. Participants: Ken Sasaki, Motoi Murabayashi, and Koki Tanaka. Image from “Koki Tanaka,” Aoyama Meguro, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 3.21. The Play, *Current of Contemporary Art*, 1969. Happening. Styrofoam raft. Yodo River, July 20, 1969. Photo by Higuchi Shigeru. Image from Mark Jarnes, “The Play Since 1967: Beyond Unknown Currents,” *Japan Times*, October 18, 2016.

Figure 3.22. Aerial view of the Aegidiimarkt, Münster. Photo by Christian Wolff, 2017, Image from Google Street View, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 3.23. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Photographic documentation of workshop Day 1. Cooking Wartime Recipes. An empty shop, Aegidiimarkt, Münster, Germany. Image courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.24. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Photographic documentation of workshop Day 1–2. Overnight Stay at Aegidiimarkt. Gym, Aegidiimarkt, Münster, Germany. Image courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.25. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Photographic documentation of workshop Day 2 (Rolf and JoAnn filming Ahmad’s lecture). Dialogue about Globalization and Community with Ahmad Alajlan. Gym, Aegidiimarkt, Münster, Germany. Image courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.26. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Photographic documentation of workshop Day 3. How to React (Politically), facilitated by Kai van Eikels. Parkhaus Aegidiimarkt, Münster, Germany. Video still from Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017, accessed May 16, 2021.

Figure 3.27a (left) and 3.27b (right). Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Photographic documentation of workshop Day 8. Interview in a Car, facilitated by Andrew Maerke, Parkhaus Aegidiimarkt, Münster, Germany. Images courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.28. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Photographic documentation of the workshop Day 8. Reflective Dialogue on How to Live Together. An empty shop, Aegidiimarkt, Münster, Germany. Image courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.29. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Installation view, Skulptur Projekte

Münster, Germany, 2017. Photo by the author.

Figure 3.30. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Installation view, Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany, 2017. Photo courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.31. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Installation view, Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany, 2017. Photo courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.32. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Installation view, Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany. Photo courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.33. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Installation view, Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany. Photo courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.34. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Installation view in the forecourt, Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany. Photo courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.35a and 3.35b. Suzanne Lacy, Annice Jacoby, and Chris Johnson, *The Roof Is on Fire*, 1993–1994. Performance with 220 students, Oakland, CA. Image from the artist website, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 3.36. Hi Red Center, *Shelter Plan*, 1964. Happening, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo. Selected video stills by Motoharu Jonouchi, video transferred from 16 mm film. Namjun Paik and Yoko Ono being measured and observed by Hi Red Center artists. The Nagoya City Art Museum, Japan. Image from Midori Yoshimoto, “Fluxus Nexus: Fluxus in New York and Japan,” *Post*, July 9, 2013.

Figure 3.37. Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)*, 2018. Five chapters, an Epilogue, and an Appendix. Image from “Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)*,” Migros Museum of Fine Art in Zurich, Switzerland, 2018. Exhibition brochure.

Figure 3.38. Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories*, 2018. Installation view of chapter 2 video, with enlarged photographic print of a Zainichi Korean school mounted on a movable wall. Migros Museum of Fine Art in Zurich, Switzerland, 2018. Image courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.39. Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories*, 2018. Production still from single-channel film, 4K, 16:9, with colour and sound, 78 minutes. Image from “Koki Tanaka: *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)*,” Pia Arke, Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, Bouchra Khalili, Alexander Ugay: *Dust Clay Stone*,” *e-flux*, October 28, 2020.

Figure 3.40. Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories*, 2018. Family photographs installed on seven movable walls. Migros Museum of Fine Art in Zurich, Switzerland. Image courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.41. Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories*, 2018. Installation view of Letters from Woohi to Christian and from Christian to Woohi. Migros Museum of Fine Art, Zurich. Image courtesy of the artist.

Figure 3.42. The cover of Koki Tanaka et al. *Vulnerable Histories (An Archive)*, 2018. Image from “Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories (An Archive)*,” JRP Editions, accessed February 16, 2022, <https://migrosmuseum.ch/en/products/koki-tanaka-vulnerable-histories-an-archive>.

Conclusion

Figure 4.1. Mixrice, *Underground Tunnel*, 2010. Dialogue log, acrylic wall drawing, dimensions variable. Image from the artist website, accessed February 20, 2022.

Figure 4.2. Mixrice, *Underground Tunnel*, 2010. (detail) Dialogue log, acrylic wall drawing, dimensions variable. Image from Mixrice et al. *Badly Flattened Ground* (Seoul: Unknown publisher, 2010), 94.

Figure 4.3. Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, *Pyeonghwawi Sonyeosang (Statue of a Girl of Peace)*, 2011. Colour on glass-reinforced fibre, 180 × 160 × 136 cm. Aichi Triennale, Nagoya, Japan, 2019. Photo by the artists. Image from Daylor Dafoe, “Facing Public Threats Over a Sculpture, Japan’s Aichi Triennale Censors Its Own Exhibition About Censorship,” *Artnet*, August 5, 2019.

Figure 4.4.a and Figure 4.4b. Koki Tanaka, *Assembly*, extended project of *Abstracted/Family*, 2019. Performative event. Toyota Municipal Museum of Art, Nagoya, Japan. Aichi Triennale 2019. Photo by Shun Sato. Image from “Screening/Assembly: *Abstracted/Family*,” Aichi Triennale 2019’s official website, accessed February 28, 2022.

Romanization of Asian Languages and Names

For English romanization of Asian languages, I follow the systems that are most commonly used in academia today. I follow the pinyin system (1975) for Chinese-English romanization and the Modified Hepburn system (as currently used by the Library of Congress) for Japanese-English romanization. For Korean-English romanization, I follow the New Romanization system (2000).

As for the order of surname and given name of Asians, the family name precedes the given name, and this is how it is usually presented, even in English-language contexts (e.g., Kim Dae-jung, Abe Shinzō) as per the *Chicago Manual of Style*, seventeenth edition (8.15: Chinese names; 8.16: Japanese names; 8.17: Korean names). Persons of Chinese, Japanese, Korea, and Vietnamese origin living in the West, however, invert this order. For those artists and academics who practice in North America, I use their first name prior to last name, following the North American standard (e.g., Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon).

For non-English pronouns or terms with existing English translation, I provide the English term in an enclosed bracket, followed by the original word in English romanization. For non-English terms without existing English translation or English title, I provide my English translation in an enclosed bracket with *tr.*

In keeping with these romanization systems and the *Chicago Manual of Style*, for the names of people and organizations, I follow the preferences of these people and organizations. For the English titles of artworks, I follow the artist's preference.

Introduction: Contact Zones, Art after the Social Turn, Transnationalism, and Contemporary Art in East Asia

Research Question

How does art address transnational issues that stem from antagonism and conflict within a nation or between nations? This question, which encapsulates my dissertation topic, developed from my previous research and an exhibition project that examined how art and visual culture shape and promote the idea of a nation. The project explored the Guyanese Mass Games, a spectacle of visual and performing arts staged in the Co-operative Republic of Guyana (hereafter Guyana) aided by artists from the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (hereafter North Korea). In 1979, in the midst of the Cold War, North Korean visual and performing artists visited Georgetown, the capital of Guyana, upon the request of a Guyanese political leader. These North Korean artists learned about Guyana’s culture and history and then taught their Guyanese counterparts how to stage the kind of Mass Games that were already being performed in Pyongyang. Thousands of artists and young performers staged the Mass Games in Georgetown from 1980 to 1992 as part of the annual National Day celebrations. This foreign spectacle sparked debate, antagonism, and ethnic and political conflict in Guyana, contradicting starkly with its dominant messages of building a peaceful postcolonial nation of prosperity and solidarity.¹ Despite or perhaps because of the richness of the conflict, the encounter between the

¹ For more discussion on the Guyanese Mass Games, see Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon, *Mass and Individual: The Archive of the Guyanese Mass Games*, exh. cat. (Seoul: Arko Art Center and Korea Arts Council, 2016); Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon, “Guyanese Mass Games: Spectacles That ‘Moulded’ the Nation in a North Korean Way,” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 20, no. 2 (2019): 180–203.

artists from the two countries resulted in the new visual culture of the Guyanese Mass Games, which incorporated elements of Guyana's national and the Caribbean's regional culture into the North Korean artform.

Using a rare archive of the Guyanese Mass Games that I borrowed from Guyana, I curated two exhibitions on this topic in 2016, first in Canada and then in South Korea. The first exhibition, *Mass Games: Nation-Building Spectacles in Postcolonial Guyana and North Korea*, displayed archive materials in the atrium of University of Alberta's Rutherford Library (April 15–June 24, 2016). The second exhibition, *Mass and Individual: The Archive of the Guyanese Mass Games*, was held at the Arko Art Centre in Seoul, South Korea (October 21–November 27, 2016), co-curated with Wonseok Koh (Fig. 0.1). The Seoul exhibition displayed the archive as the focal point and surrounded it with the work of contemporary artists who presented work that spoke to the legacy of the body politics, the coexistence of individualism and collectivism, and the pursuit of national identity in the time of transition for the two postcolonial nations.² For example, Kwak Yunjoo's series of photograph *Triumph of the Will* (Fig. 0.2) portrays female dancers performing a Korean fan dance, a group choreography performed by women holding a fan in hand and dressing in *hanbok*, traditional Korean dress from the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1897).³ Kwak's photographs highlight the collective identity spectacularized by the splendor of

² The contemporary artists featured in the exhibition are An Jungju, Jeon Junhoo, Kwak Yunjoo, Noh Suntag, Diana Yoo, Polit-Sheer-Form, George Simon, and Philbert Gajadhar.

³ Although it is widely known as a Korean traditional dance, Korean fan dance is, in fact, an invented tradition. The Korean Fan dance was created as a solo dance by Kim Baek-bong and Choi Seung-hee in North Korea around the time of the Korean War (1950–1951). It was promoted as a traditional art in South Korea during the military regime of Park Chung-hee (in office 1963–1979) to be staged at international events from the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City. For more discussion on the Korean fan dance, see Kim Yeonghui et al., *Hangukchumtongsa* (The history of Korean dance) (Seoul: Bogosa, 2014), 352; Choi Haeree, "Jogukgwa Minjogeu Wihan Chum" (Dance for the fatherland and the people of the nation), *Minjog Mihag Yeonguso Symposium* (Research association for the national art aesthetics symposium), May 24, 2018.

identical hairdos, facial expressions, and *hanbok* of the dancers, all of which inculcate nationalism by highlighting the unity and harmony of the people. I displayed Kwak's photographs with photographs of a fan dance performed by Guyanese youth during the Guyanese Mass Games (Fig. 0.3 and Fig. 0.4) as an index of cultural exchange between North Korean artists and the Guyanese artists, inviting viewers to contemplate and question art and visual culture that represent the nation.

Throughout the research and exhibitions, I examined how collaboration between artists from disparate cultural and geographic backgrounds generated sociopolitical conflict and cultural hybridization. In my 2019 article in *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, I argued that the Mass Games illustrated the postcolonial and anti-imperialist struggles of the socialist regimes in the Global South in the Cold War context. The artistic and cultural exchanges between Guyana and North Korea were part of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), which fostered solidarity among the nations of the Global South as a way of decolonizing and de-imperializing. The NAM also attempted to challenge the Cold War world order, in which the First World and the Second World, names that reflect Western European and North American centrism, led by the United States and the Soviet Union, respectively, maintain power over postcolonial nations.⁴

⁴ Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: The New Press, 2007); Charles K. Armstrong, "Juche and North Korea's Global Aspirations," Working Paper #1, *North Korea International Documentation Project* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2009); Afro-Asian Networks Research Collective, "Manifesto," *Radical History Review* 131 (May 2018): 176–82; Kwon, "Guyanese Mass Games." The NAM was initiated by the gathering of political leaders of twenty-nine countries in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955, known as "the Asian-African Conference." Those who led the NAM also suggested and shared strategies for independence and nation-building movements, which spread in Asia and Africa after the end of the Second World War. These nations had been grouped as the Third World, as the French demographer Alfred Sauvy coined the term *le tiers monde* in the 1950s, having in mind the Third Estate, an imaginary status created by the French Revolution as a qualification of citizens of the new era. The term was widely circulated after the publication of the socialist George Balandier's article in 1956 "*Le 'Tiers monde': Sous-développement et développement.*" The current accepted terms for these

Ultimately, this research gave me insight into how to view collaborative, cross-border, creative projects, and how to engage with transnational perspectives to explore visual and performing arts in postcolonial nations, which, in turn, led to my dissertation topic: contemporary art created by East Asian artists who address transnational issues involving participants in sites abroad. When an artist travels to a specific site, geographically distant from the artist's own nation but related to it over a certain issue, what kind of relationship is generated between the artist and the local participants of the site? How does the artwork produced from these encounters present the relationship and the issue, and what effect does the artwork generate? Ultimately, how does an artwork contribute to or complicate a transnational issue? To think through these questions, I use the concepts of "contact zone," the "site" in site-specific art, socially engaged practice, and transnationalism.

This dissertation examines four East Asian artists' and artist collectives' works as grounded in the social practice of art of their specific nations. Chapter 1 discusses South Korean artist collective Mixrice's representation of and collaboration with migrant workers from Southeast Asia in the 2000s. Focusing on the works by film-based artist IM Heung-soon and sculptor duo Kim Seokyoung and Kim Eunsung, chapter 2 examines representations of contested memories of the Vietnam War and artists' and activists' call for official apologies for Korean soldiers' civilian massacres and sexual violence against Vietnamese women. Chapter 3 explores Japanese artist Koki Tanaka's collaborative workshops and films that reflect on post-disaster communities and antagonism against ethnic minorities. Each chapter analyzes these case studies in relation to the global trend of socially engaged art and the history of art as social practice that developed in each nation—namely, South Korea's Minjung art (*tr.* art of *minjung*; art of the

nations are *Global South nations, non-aligned nations, or developing countries.*

common people) in the 1980s and post-Minjung art in the mid-1990s to the present in chapters 1 and 2, and Japanese art after the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami in relation to Japanese Fluxus groups of the 1960s and Japanese Neo Pop artists in the 1990s and the 2000s in chapter 3. Drawing on postcolonial theories, subaltern studies, and memory studies, each chapter examines human rights activism for migrant workers, contested memories and apologies over past atrocities, and transnational empathy and solidarity formed after disasters.

This introduction clarifies my key concepts, starting with the notion of the contact zone in anthropology. Applying the concept of the contact zone to the concept of site drawn from site-specific art, I will outline theories of the social turn and socially engaged practice in the 1990s through the 2010s and briefly explain socially engaged art practices in East Asia. Using the concepts of transnationalism and transnational relationships in East Asia today, I then introduce the topics of the next three chapters: the representation of and collaboration with migrant workers from Southeast Asia in South Korea, contested memories of the Vietnam War in South Korea and calls for apology for wartime atrocities, and transnational empathy and solidarity with minorities in the aftermath of disaster in Japan.

Contact Zones and Friction

The notion of the contact zone was first developed by the literary scholar Mary Louise Pratt, in her 1991 essay “Arts of the Contact Zone.”⁵ Pratt defined the contact zone as a “social space where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relation of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many

⁵ Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” *Profession* (1991): 33–40.

parts of the world today.”⁶ Pratt developed the notion to analyze the sociocultural complexities produced in Cuzco, Peru, by the Spanish conquest, that appeared in the illustrations in a letter written by the Andean Indigenous man Felipe Guamán Poma to King Philip III of Spain in 1613. The illustrations, Pratt argues, “construct a new picture of the world, a picture of a Christian world with Andean rather than European people at the center of it,” and this transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone.⁷

Drawing on Pratt, the anthropologist James Clifford highlights travel as an important catalyst for creating a contact zone, where the encounter between disparate cultural entities takes place.⁸ Clifford’s use of travel is not limited to bourgeois aesthetic experience but includes displacement and similar experiences.⁹ In his 1992 essay “Travelling Cultures,” Clifford suggests that travel should be understood as “a term of cultural comparison,” which conveys its association with historical taintedness, gendered and racialized bodies, class privilege, and other unjust social issues.¹⁰ He also argues that, upon an anthropologist’s visit, a local community turns into a contact zone in which a certain level of cultural interaction develops between the anthropologist and the inhabitants.¹¹

Clifford emphasizes reciprocal interactions in the contact zone. For example, when cultural observers visit a local site, they often find themselves the objects of observation surrounded by curious eyes (such as “the omnipresent kids who won’t leave them alone”).¹²

⁶ Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” 34.

⁷ Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” 34–36.

⁸ James Clifford, “Travelling Cultures,” in *Cultural Studies*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg et al. (New York: Routledge, 1992), 96–116; James Clifford, “Museums as Contact Zones,” in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 188–219.

⁹ Clifford, “Travelling Cultures,” 110.

¹⁰ Clifford, “Travelling Cultures,” 110.

¹¹ Clifford, “Travelling Cultures,” 98.

¹² Clifford, “Travelling Cultures,” 98.

Clifford suggests that interactions occur mutually between the visitors and those visited, and certain power relationships exist between them. Developing this idea into “uneven reciprocity” in his 1997 book *Routes*, Clifford defines museums as contact zones in which colonial power is perpetuated by the institution’s act of collecting Indigenous artefacts and then inviting Indigenous people to the museum, a showcase of colonial booty that has been categorized based on the colonial worldview.¹³

Pratt’s and Clifford’s use of the concept of contact zones provides a model to understand the site of interaction of two different entities of cultural and historical backgrounds. Their notion of contact zones assumes that the interaction between the two entities generates tensions that reflect the complexities of their cultures, histories, and power relationships. Building on this idea of tension at the heart of the notion of a contact zone, the ethnographer Anna L. Tsing proposes the term *friction* for these moments of encounter, which she defines as “the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across differences.”¹⁴ Tsing suggests reading the forest landscape of marginalized global peripheries as social, a terrain of personal biography and community history.¹⁵ Although Tsing does not use the term “contact zone,” preferring, simply, “zone,” she cites Clifford’s *Routes* in explaining her definition of friction. Drawing on Clifford, Tsing emphasizes the importance of cross-cultural and long-distance encounters in forming everything we know as culture. Tsing argues that “friction reminds us that heterogeneous and unequal encounters can lead to new arrangements of culture and power.”¹⁶ The effect of these encounters across differences can compromise or empower the local residents

¹³ Clifford, “Museums as Contact Zones.”

¹⁴ Anna L. Tsing, *Friction: Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 4.

¹⁵ Tsing, *Friction*, 4.

¹⁶ Tsing, *Friction*, 5.

of minority communities.¹⁷

Furthermore, basing himself on Pratt's notion of the contact zone, Indigenous sound studies scholar Dylan Robinson also highlights the unequal power dynamics of such encounters implemented in Canadian museums and the Canadian art scene.¹⁸ In Canadian museums, as he notes, Indigenous culture is often seen through a Western ethnographic perspective, which is only capable of digesting art that "fits" into the Western paradigm of art.¹⁹ In this system, Indigenous materials and intangible culture are fragmentarily filtered through the database created from a Western ethnocentric perspective.²⁰ Certain forms of art that are not found in any Western settler canon, such as performance by throat singers and experimental vocalists, are understood in a way that add diversity to pre-existing Canadian cultural assets.²¹ He argues that Canadian museums' pursuit of inclusion politics in relation to Indigenous art and music tends to reinforce the settler-colonial values of the enrichment provided by multiculturalism, which only satisfies settler Canadians' hunger for "enhancing awareness."²² Robinson emphasizes the structural inequality that underpins inclusion politics, and he provides a critical perspective from which to examine the representation of local participants in the art projects discussed in this dissertation.

Pratt, Clifford, Tsing, and Robinson offer insights for approaching art projects that use the contact zone as a way to generate an encounter between local participants and foreign artists, acknowledge pre-existing conflicts, stimulate a discourse, and integrate the encounter into art

¹⁷ Tsing, *Friction*, 6.

¹⁸ Dylan Robinson, *Hungry Listening: Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sound Studies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2020), 2, 158.

¹⁹ Robinson, *Hungry Listening*, 8.

²⁰ Robinson, *Hungry Listening*, 158.

²¹ Robinson, *Hungry Listening*, 8.

²² Robinson, *Hungry Listening*, 2, 5, 158.

displays. Foreign artists' visits to local sites and their interaction with locals can generate friction, as this interaction involves an encounter between differences in culture, history, gender, race, class privilege, and the collective memory of a community or nation. This dissertation analyzes artworks created as an outcome of such encounters.

Art after the Social Turn and Socially Engaged Art

Since the 1990s, there has been a surge of interest in using collaborative, participatory approaches to creating art, variously known as connective aesthetics, new genre public art, relational art, and dialogic art.²³ Claire Bishop gave this trend an umbrella term: *the social turn*.²⁴ As a politically charged practice, socially engaged art can turn the viewer's attention to specific social issues, help formulate a discourse, and even impact policies to support socially marginalized communities. Using collaborative, participatory practices, socially engaged artists seek to contribute to social change through their work's aesthetics, ethics, and methods.²⁵ While socially engaged artists were still a minority in the 1990s, their numbers have grown. Indeed, in

²³ Suzi Gablik, "Connective Aesthetics," *American Art* 6, no. 2 (1992): 2–7; Suzanne Lacy, *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art* (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1995); Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, trans. Simon Pleasance and Fronza Woods (Dijon, France: Les Presses du Réel, 2002); Claire Bishop, "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics," *October* 110 (Fall 2004): 51–79; Grant H. Kester, *Conversation Pieces: Community and Communication in Modern Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

²⁴ Claire Bishop, "The Social Turn: Collaboration and Its Discontents," *Artforum* 44, no. 6 (February 2006), <https://www.artforum.com/print/200602/the-social-turn-collaboration-and-its-discontents-10274>.

²⁵ Pablo Helguera, *Education for Socially Engaged Art* (New York: Jorge Pinto Books, 2011); Shannon Jackson, *Social Works: Performing Art, Supporting Publics* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship* (London: Verso, 2012); Nato Thompson, "Living as Form," *Living as Form: Socially Engaged Art from 1991–2011*, ed. Nato Thompson (New York: Creative Time Books, 2012), 16–33; Leanne Schubert and Mel Gray, "The Death of Emancipatory Social Work as Art and Birth of Socially Engaged Art Practice," *British Journal of Social Work* 45, no. 4 (2015): 1349–56.

curator Nato Thompson's words, socially engaged art is now "ubiquitous."²⁶ Thompson provides an overview of socially engaged art practices in a variety of locations from the 1990s and throughout the 2000s, opening up debates around public space, participation in civic society, and the ethics of representation.

Practices of socially engaged art emphasize the following elements: the creation of experiences for viewers and participants rather than tangible art objects; the duration and process of artmaking rather than a focus on outcome (the art object); the empowerment of participants rather than celebration of an individual artist's creativity; and art's capacity to trigger social change, by the artist addressing certain social issues in the artwork and/or delegating that power to a socially disenfranchised community. This section outlines the precursors of the social turn prior to the 1990s and the theorization of post-1990s art as social practice. Instead of providing extensive examples of artists and artworks, or curators and exhibitions, I focus on key thinkers' theorizations of art as social practice.

Precursors of the Social Turn

Prior to the social turn in the 1990s, there had been artistic practices or movements in art that pioneered socially engaged art in various locations, referencing and influencing each other transnationally. Several of the most-studied examples in East Asia are Japanese Dadaist group Mavo (1905–1931), China's New Woodcut Movement (1930s–1940s), and South Korea's Minjung art (1980s). These art groups and movements exemplify art practices in which artists closely intervene in social and political issues.

The Mavo artists established the ground for performance and "anti-art" tendencies by

²⁶ Thompson, "*Living as Form*," 19.

incorporating painting, book illustration, and architectural projects, such as reconstructing a barrack demolished during the Great Kantō earthquake in 1923.²⁷ Mavo was founded by Murayama Tomoyoshi, an artist, playwright, and novelist who studied in Europe, where he experienced a growing community of rebels, cross-genre artists, and visionaries.²⁸ Gennifer Weisenfeld calls Mavo as an attempt to integrate art and life and transform Japanese art in response to the rise of industrialism.²⁹

China's *xīn mùkè yùndòng* (New Woodcut Movement) in the 1930s and 1940s presented the struggles of workers and peasants against class suppression during the Republican Era (1912–1942) and battle scenes against the Japanese Imperial Army. Aided by the inexpensive and easily circulatable nature of the medium, the movement was led by Lu Xun, a writer and educator who believed that art, literature, medicine, and science should contribute to alleviating the suffering of the people.³⁰ Lu Xun also organized the *German Woodcut Exhibition* in Shanghai (1932), along with other woodcut exhibitions featuring works of artists abroad, and sponsored publication of the German printer Käthe Kollwitz's anthology in 1936.³¹ Meiqin Wang finds the roots of China's contemporary socially engaged art in the New Woodcut Movement.³² According to Wang, the activist practice was continued by “artists as intellectuals,” who strived to inculcate patriotism during the second Sino-Japanese War (part of the Asia-

²⁷ Gennifer Weisenfeld, “Designing after Disaster: Barrack Decoration and the Great Kantō Earthquake,” *Japanese Studies* 18, no. 3 (December 1998): 229–46.

²⁸ Alexandra Munroe, *Japanese Art after 1945: Scream against the Sky* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 149; Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905–1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

²⁹ Weisenfeld, Introduction to *Mavo*, 1–8.

³⁰ Meiqin Wang, *Socially Engaged Art in China: Voices from Below* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 4.

³¹ Julia Frances Andrews and Kuiyi Shen, *The Art of Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 82.

Andrews and Shen, *Art of Modern China*, 82.

³² Wang, *Socially Engaged Art in China*, 4.

Pacific War and World War II) and the “artists-turned-cultural workers during the Maoist era,” who established *xīn guóhuà* (the new national art), depicting important moments and people of China’s socialist revolution using oil painting—a medium that was then considered modern and revolutionary.³³

Artists of Minjung art in South Korea (1980s) represented those oppressed under the military dictatorship, foreign intervention, and colonial legacy, and their struggle for democracy and independence from foreign political power. Minjung artists developed their aesthetics from traditional paintings and architectural elements found in Buddhist temples and Shamanic shrines, while referencing China’s Woodcut Movement and Mexican Muralism. Led by *Los tres grandes* (the big three)—José Clemente Orozco, Diego Rivera, and David Alfaro Siqueiros—artists of the Mexican Mural Renaissance (1920–1940s) combined pre-Hispanic mythology, political propaganda, and social critique of post-revolution Mexico in their murals.³⁴ According to Ra Won Sik, Minjung artist Oh Youn, who established woodcut prints as a prominent genre and medium in Minjung art, regarded Mexico as a postcolonial nation similar to Korea and learned from the revolutionary spirits of the Mexican muralists; he was also deeply impressed by José Guadalupe Posada’s prints.³⁵ Soyang Park evaluates Minjung artists as the artists who presented

³³ Wang, *Socially Engaged Art in China*, 4. Coined by Cantonese artists in the 1910s, the term *xīn guóhuà* originally referred to paintings that employ the realism of *yōga* (oil painting), which means “Westernized Japanese painting” using oil on canvas. During the 1950s nationalistic campaign of the Chinese Communist Party, which commissioned artists to depict “the key moments in its path to victory,” artists developed their own Chinese style for oil painting and repurposed *xīn guóhuà* to depict the national visual iconography in realism using oil on canvas. Julia F. Andrews, “Traditional Painting in New China: Guohua and the Anti-Rightist Campaign,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 49, no. 3. (August 1990): 557; Andrews and Shen, *The Art of Modern China*, 142–44.

³⁴ Alejandro Anreus, “Los Tres Grandes: Ideologies and Styles,” in *Mexican Muralism: A Critical History*, ed. Alejandro Anreus, Robin Adele Greeley, Leonard Folgarait (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 37–55.

³⁵ Ra Won Sik, “80nyeondae Misurundongui Seongchal” (Reflection on the art of the ’80s), *Misulsegae* (Art world) (December 1991): 148–53.

budding interests in postcolonial social and cultural studies in their work, sharing solidarity with “the Third World” in resistance against the Western hegemony.³⁶ While the Japanese Mavo artists expanded their practice to include design and architecture, the artists of the above-mentioned movements in China, Mexico, and South Korea focused on figurative representation of the suffering of the oppressed people during corruption of social elites and political turmoil.

In contrast, activist practice in the so-called West developed conceptual and dematerialized practices as found, for example, in US activist art, the Situationist International (SI), and Joseph Beuys’s social sculpture.³⁷ Conceptual art is divorced from the aesthetics of *l’art pour l’art* (art for art’s sake), the idea that the intrinsic value of art should be judged on its form, independently from the social, political, and moral values of its subject matter.³⁸ This refusal of the utilitarian use of art emerged to counteract the emphasis on art’s ethical values promoted in academia in the early nineteenth century, and it influenced the development of formalist art criticism that promoted the autonomy of art in the postwar United States.³⁹ US activist art developed alongside the civil rights movement (1955–1968), anti-US protests against intervention in the Vietnam War (1955–1975), second-wave feminism, and AIDS activism.⁴⁰

³⁶ Soyang Park, “Forgetting and Remembering in Postcolonial South Korea: The Minjung Politics and Art of the 1980s and 1990s,” *Korean Association of History of Modern Art* 18, no. 18 (December 2005): 66.

³⁷ Bishop, “Introduction” and “Participation and Spectacle: Where Are We Now?” in *Artificial Hells*.

³⁸ Hilary Morgan, “Art for Art’s Sake,” *Grove Art Online* (2003), accessed 19 Feb. 2022. An advocate of “l’art pour l’art,” the French novelist Théophile Gautier claimed, “Nothing is really beautiful unless it is useless; everything useful is ugly.” in the preface of his novel *Mademoiselle de Maupin* (1835).

³⁹ Morgan, “Art for Art’s Sake.”

⁴⁰ Nina Felshin, *But Is It Art? The Spirit of Art as Activism* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1995); Gregory Sholette, “New from Nowhere: Activist Art and after, a Report from New York City,” *Third Text* 45 (Winter 1999): 45–56; Jennifer González and Adrienne Posner, “Fracture for Change: US Activist Art Since 1950,” In *A Companion to Contemporary Art Since 1945*, ed. Amelia Jones (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 212–30.

Conceptual art inherited activist art's spirit of art as social practice in the form of dematerialized practice, as theorized by Lucy Lippard and John Chandler.⁴¹ Lippard defined conceptual art from 1966 to 1972 as the work in which "the idea is paramount, and the material form is secondary."⁴² Analyzing conceptual art that critically engaged with the anti-Vietnam War movement, civil rights movement, women's liberation movement, and counter-culture, Lippard demonstrated that art provided creative and critical interventions in societies.⁴³

In Europe, the collective of artists, radical intellectuals, and anarchists called the Situationist International (1957–1972) heralded artistic intervention in society, calling for art's intervention in everyday life. In the SI manifesto, *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967), Guy Debord promoted radical experimental practices to achieve a total utopia.⁴⁴ Debord criticized capitalism for colonizing society through the propagation of televisual images of bourgeois pleasure created through material abundance as if it were everyone's desire.⁴⁵ In totalitarian regimes, propaganda images and films also created a society of spectacle in which ideological intimidation and bureaucratic coercion were hindering total utopia. Debord suggested that radical and experimental art can intervene in "the society of spectacle" by making a "situation" that would precipitate a clash between revolutionary potential and the systems in power.⁴⁶ The SI's strategy of intervention laid the foundation for the radical artist practice called "interventionist,"

⁴¹ Lucy Lippard and John Chandler, "The Dematerialization of Art," *Art International* 12, no. 2 (February 1968): 31–6; Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972* (New York: Praeger, 1973).

⁴² Lippard, *Six Years*, vii.

⁴³ Lippard, *Six Years*, vii.

⁴⁴ Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967), trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: Zone Books, 1994).

⁴⁵ Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*; Guy Debord, "Toward a Situationist International" (1981), in *Situationist International: Anthology*, rev. ed. and trans. Ken Knabb (Berkeley, CA: Bureau of Public Secrets, 2006), 38–43; Debord, "Toward a Situationist International," 38.

⁴⁶ Debord, "Toward a Situationist International," 38–40; Terry Smith, *Contemporary Art: World Currents: World Currents* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2011), 16.

which Julie Perini defines as the work that “disrupts or interrupts normal flows of information, capital, and the smooth functioning of other totalizing systems.”⁴⁷

The SI’s aspirations for artistic social intervention and blurring the domains of art and life were inherited by German artist Joseph Beuys, specifically in his practice of “social sculpture” from the 1970s to the 1980s. Beuys suggested that every aspect of life could be approached creatively, and, in that sense, everyone has the potential to be an artist who can contribute to democratically re-sculpting society.⁴⁸ His social sculpture work *7000 Oaks* (1982–ongoing) was initiated as a five-year project to plant seven thousand trees throughout the city of Kassel, Germany, as a project designed to bridge Documenta 7 and 8. Expanding art into the realm of city planning, environmental awakening, and education in everyday life, Beuys’s practice pioneered the social turn in post-1990s art and the educational turn.⁴⁹

Art in/after the Social Turn

a. Community art

In the 1990s, art as social practice re-emerged with star artists and curators as well as institutional support, and entered into academic discussion as a prominent genre of contemporary art. British critic Suzy Gablik and US artist Lacy theorized socially engaged art involving certain

⁴⁷ Julie Perini, “Art as Intervention: A Guide to Today’s Radical Art Practices,” in *Uses of a Whirlwind: Movement, Movements, and Contemporary Radical Currents in the United States*, ed. Team Colors Collective (Sterling, UK: AK Press, 2010), 184.

⁴⁸ Cara M. Jordan, “Joseph Beuys and Social Sculpture in the United States” (PhD diss., The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2011).

⁴⁹ Kristina Lee Podesva, “A Pedagogical Turn: Brief Notes on Education as Art,” *Fillip* 6 (Summer 2007), <https://fillip.ca/content/a-pedagogical-turn>; Bishop, *Artificial Hells*, 243; Jordan, “Joseph Beuys and Social Sculpture in the United States.”

communities.⁵⁰ In her 1992 article “Connective Aesthetics,” Gablik outlined the concept of connective aesthetics as a new mode of art created in collaboration with artists and socially marginalized communities, such as prisoners and senior citizens, that enabled their voices to be heard.⁵¹ Lacy, one of the artists discussed in Gablik’s essay, coined the term *new genre public art* to describe community-oriented art in which artists directly engage with participants of a marginalized community and provide them with an opportunity to converse and think by performing communal activities.⁵² For example, in her famous new genre public artwork *The Roof Is on Fire* (1994), Lacy invited local youth of colour to a car parked on a building rooftop in Oakland, California, to talk about violence. Her ten-year *The Oakland Projects* (1991–2001) involved long-term public projects that included workshops and classes for youth, media interventions, institutional programming, and policy development.⁵³

As has been extensively theorized over past few decades, presenting marginalized people from the cultural and econopolitical periphery, community-based socially engaged art often objectifies or alienates participant collaborators.⁵⁴ Some community artists inadvertently

⁵⁰ Gablik, “Connective Aesthetics;” Lacy, *Mapping the Terrain*.

Another key voice from the 1990s in the United States is curator Mary Jane Jacob, whose Sculpture Chicago in 1993 showcased community as the structure and content of the art by mobilizing marginalized communities in the urban development. Mary Jane Jacob, Michael Brenson, and Eva M. Olson, *Culture in Action: A Public Art Program of Sculpture Chicago* (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1995); Jackson, *Social Works*; Jen Harvie, *Fair Play: Art Performance and Neoliberalism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

⁵¹ Gablik, “Connective Aesthetics.”

⁵² Lacy, *Mapping the Terrain*.

⁵³ Suzanne Lacy, *The Oakland Projects*, accessed April 20, 2021, <https://www.suzannelacy.com/the-oakland-projects/>.

⁵⁴ Hal Foster, “The Artist as Ethnographer?” in *The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 302–9. (This chapter in *The Return of the Real* is an updated version of Foster’s 1995 article of the same title, published in *The Traffic in Culture*. I cite both papers because there are significant differences in the two versions and the 1996 version is longer.) Grant Kester, “Aesthetic Evangelists: Conversion and Empowerment in Contemporary Community Art,” *Afterimage* (January 1995): 5–11; Miwon Kwon, *One Place after Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity* (Cambridge, MA:

stigmatize the community as those who need help, consolidating the binary classification of the artists as the cultural elite and the collaborators as the culturally impoverished. This binary relationship has been characterized as “parachuter artists/researchers” and “aesthetic evangelists.”⁵⁵

In his 1995 essay “The Artists as Ethnographer?,” a critical commentary on community art practices, Hal Foster refers to artists who visit a community to make art based on their observations and interactions with the locals as having “ethnographer-envy.”⁵⁶ Concerned with the communities of others and outsiders, these artists’ practices carry a danger of what Foster calls “ideological patronage.”⁵⁷ These artists, he argues, make a commissioned art project within too short a time to have meaningful interactions with the community that could bring about social change.⁵⁸ In the same year, US art historian Grant Kester also criticized some community-based artists who engage with economically, politically, and culturally marginalized communities and fashion themselves as “aesthetic evangelists,” functioning like nineteenth-century reformers and social workers.⁵⁹ Kester argues that some of these community artists empower themselves, like the self-serving delegate who “claims the authority to speak for the community in order to empower himself politically, professionally, and morally.”⁶⁰ Like nineteenth-century social reformers, these artists’ artistic success is measured by the transformation of individuals of those marginalized groups.⁶¹ Building on and, at the same time,

MIT Press, 2004).

⁵⁵ Foster, “The Artist as Ethnographer?” 302–9; Foster, “The Artist as Ethnographer?” 196–97; Kester, “Aesthetic Evangelists,” 5–11.

⁵⁶ Foster, “Artist as Ethnographer?” 305.

⁵⁷ Hal Foster, “Artist as Ethnographer?” 303.

⁵⁸ Foster, “Artist as Ethnographer?” 306.

⁵⁹ Kester, “Aesthetic Evangelists,” 5–11.

⁶⁰ Kester, “Aesthetic Evangelists,” 6.

⁶¹ Kester, “Aesthetic Evangelists.”

criticizing Foster's and Kester's critique of community art, Miwon Kwon highlights the complex network of motivation, expectations, and projections among artists, communities, curators, and institutions.⁶² Kwon warns that the "benevolent and well-intentioned gestures of democratization" could lead to the effects of colonialism through collaboration in community art.⁶³ She argues that artistic autonomy and the heterogeneous agenda of community, curators, and art institutions could turn into conflict.

b. Participation, Dialogue, and Social Welfare

Another vein of the social turn is relational art that emphasizes art's engagement with audiences and non-audience participants. In his book published in French in 1998 and English in 2002, the French art critic and curator Nicolas Bourriaud coined the term "relational art" as a mode of art creating human interactions in the exhibition space, which serves as a communal space, instead of "an independent and *private* symbolic space."⁶⁴ Bourriaud suggests that the value of contemporary art exhibition is in creating the possibility of an immediate discussion (among strangers), mediated by the time and space of the rhythms that are different from those that structure our everyday life.⁶⁵ To elaborate this space of encounter in the contemporary art exhibit, Bourriaud borrows the term *interstice*, from Karl Marx, a space of human relations that eludes the capitalistic economic logic, fits more or less harmoniously within the system, and allows other possibilities.⁶⁶ Bourriaud says, "a work of art creates a social *interstice*."⁶⁷

⁶² Kwon, *One Place after Another*, 138–55.

⁶³ Kwon, *One Place after Another*, 139.

⁶⁴ Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, 14.

⁶⁵ Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, 16. Bourriaud further claims that art exhibitions provide a state of encounter that is different from literature or TV, which are consumed in a private space or in other "communication zones," which he did not clarify, that are imposed on us.

⁶⁶ Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, 16.

⁶⁷ Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, 16.

Examining the work of Rirkrit Tiravanija and Liam Gillick among many examples introduced in Bourriaud's book, in 2004, Claire Bishop criticized the quality of relationships generated in relational art as dubious.⁶⁸ Bishop borrows political theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's theory of agonistic democracy to dismantle the fallacy of the "micro-utopia" that, on Bishop's reading, Bourriaud claimed to achieve in relational art.⁶⁹ Bishop argues for the importance, therefore, of allowing and recognizing the conflicts that undergird our social fabric, rather than attempting to erase them. To critically analyze relational art, she urges us to ask what types of relations are being produced, for whom, and why.⁷⁰ Helena Reckitt (2013) also criticizes Bourriaud's exclusion of female artists and curators who had long been practicing modes of durational and relational art to provoke social and political awareness.⁷¹ Furthermore, Reckitt sharply criticizes relational art that invites gallery goers to come together in "a frictionless environment, unencumbered by the claims of responsibility."⁷² According to Reckitt, relational aesthetics has given an excuse to the current art world in which convivial chat for networking purposes has replaced criticism.

⁶⁸ Bishop, "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics." The Buenos Aires-born and New York-based, Thai artist Tiravanija cooked curries and pad thai in 303 Gallery in New York, in 1992. He took the gallery staff out of their offices, made them work in the exhibition space, and served the staff and visitors the food for free. This work was to transform the gallery into a space of a mixture of art, life, and work. The British artist Gillick aims to produce relationships through a particular environment that he set up with sculptural installations and design works in art gallery settings. Gillick's *Discussion Island: Projected Think Tank* (1997) is an installation of a Plexiglas cube that provides the viewers with a space for dialogue.

⁶⁹ Bishop, "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics," 65–66; Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso, 1985).

⁷⁰ Bishop, "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics," 65. Bishop suggests the projects of Santiago Sierra and Thomas Hirschhorn, who use participants to visualize capitalism's exploits.

⁷¹ Helena Reckitt, "Forgotten Relations: Feminist Artists and Relational Aesthetics," in *Politics in a Glass Case: Feminism, Exhibition Culture and Curatorial Transgressions*, ed. Angela Dimitrakaki and Lara Perry (Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 131–56.

⁷² Reckitt, "Forgotten Relations," 52. Reckitt borrowed this phrase from Jackson, *Social Works*, 46.

Reinvigorating Gablik and Lacy's legacy of socially engaged, community-based practices, Kester (2004) highlights the concept of "dialogical" work that is created through "a process of performative interaction."⁷³ In defining "dialogical" practice, Kester emphasizes "a cumulative process of exchange and dialogue" and calls for "a redefinition of aesthetic experience as durational rather than immediate."⁷⁴ Kester is interested in the conversations between artists and socially marginalized communities, not among art practitioners and gallery goers whom relational art targets as participants. One of his examples is the Austrian artist collective WochenKlausur's *Intervention to Aid Drug-Addicted Women* (1994), in which WochenKlausur facilitated gatherings of politicians, journalists, sex workers, and activists from Zurich, Switzerland, on a three-hour boat cruise on Lake Zurich only to engage in conversation on drugs.⁷⁵ These sex workers were drug addicts who had turned to prostitution, and many of them were homeless. After more than a dozen of such conversations on the boat, involving a total of almost sixty key policy makers, journalists, and activists of the city, this conversation-based art resulted in a pension, where drug-addicted sex workers could have a place to sleep and access to social services.⁷⁶ The whole complex procedure that the artists engaged in to bring about the pension was, Kester suggests, a creative act that is a "concrete intervention" in which the traditional material of art is "replaced by the socio-political relationship."⁷⁷ This concrete intervention echoes what the SI suggested as radical art creating a situation of "systemic intervention" in the society.

Taking the social as equally important as the art (borrowing from the *parergon* and the

⁷³ Kester, *Conversation Pieces*, 10.

⁷⁴ Kester, *Conversation Pieces*, 12.

⁷⁵ Kester, *Conversation Pieces*, 1.

⁷⁶ Kester, *Conversation Pieces*, 2.

⁷⁷ Kester, *Conversation Pieces*, 3.

ergon, in Jacques Derrida's rereading of Immanuel Kant) in art practice that directly intervenes in a community, Shannon Jackson suggests that art has undertaken social welfare.⁷⁸ As Jackson shows, artists provide marginalized communities or individuals with various services: creative imaginings or social networks in response to gentrifying speculation; public health care for Vietnam War veterans and housing for homeless; therapeutic rehabilitation, temporary pride, and imaginative escape.⁷⁹ Drawing on Ulrich Beck (1992) and Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim (2002), Jackson points out that "in such situations, systemic support for the arts paradoxically can use the arts as a vehicle for training citizens to seek 'individual solutions to systemic problems.'"⁸⁰ As a theatre and performance scholar, Jackson discusses performance art as central to social practice due to its durational, cross-disciplinary, and collaborative aspects, all of which are crucial to theatre performance, where systemic coordination, stage management, and spatial and temporal thinking are necessary.⁸¹

c. Site

As artists developed the practice of working outside galleries and engaging with socially marginalized communities, concern with sites that bear the memory and history of a community emerged as an important concept in socially engaged practice. In her 1997 article, Miwon Kwon argues that a site is not simply the location at which an art event takes place; the site, instead, is

⁷⁸ Jackson, *Social Works*, 15.

⁷⁹ Jackson, *Social Works*, 27; Rosalind Deutsche, *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996); Alexander Alberro, *Art after Conceptual Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006); Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Kwon, *One Place after Another*.

⁸⁰ Jackson, *Social Works*, 27; Ulrich Beck, *The Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1992); Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, *Individualization* (London: Sage, 2002).

⁸¹ Jackson, *Social Works*, 14.

an environment in which the artwork generates a communal experience with the viewers or participants.⁸² In a broader sense, the meaning of site expands to a particular social discourse—that is, geographic site, contextual site, and discursive site come together to allow the artwork to function in a certain way. Kwon also defines “site-oriented art” as a more recent practice in art that takes up social issues related to a site and engages the collaborative participation of audience groups for the conceptualization and production of the work.⁸³ Site-oriented art, Kwon continues, strengthens “art’s capacity to penetrate the sociopolitical organization of contemporary life with greater impact and meaning.”⁸⁴ In site-oriented art, the site is conceived as “repressed ethnic history, a political cause, (and) a disenfranchised social group.”⁸⁵ In other words, the site can be extended to a collective history of a certain group of people and their political aims.

Miwon Kwon’s definition of site is crucial in this dissertation to explain the memories, histories, antagonism, and desires accumulated in the sites with which I am concerned. With these accumulations, the site is like a balloon inflated with potent transnational conflicts, and the artist is like a needle who pierces the balloon (horizontally) when artmaking turns the site into a contact zone. I prefer to figure the artist’s role as a needle than an evangelist descending with their ideological patronage. I borrowed this idea of an artist as a needle from the New York- and Seoul-based Korean artist Kimsooja’s performance and video documentation *A Needle Woman* (Figure 0.5), in which the artist stands still in the crowded streets of Tokyo, New York, London, Mexico City, Cairo, Delhi, Shanghai, and Lagos (1999–2001).⁸⁶ As Kimsooja stands in silence with her back against the camera, the video shows the locals of these metropolitan cities passing

⁸² Kwon, “One Place after Another,” 91.

⁸³ Kwon, “One Place after Another,” 96.

⁸⁴ Kwon, “One Place after Another,” 96.

⁸⁵ Kwon, “One Place after Another,” 96.

⁸⁶ “Kim Sooja: A Needle Woman,” *MoMA*, July 1, 2001, accessed February 21, 2022, <https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/4732>.

by the artist with curiosity, suspicion, or indifference. This work questions the nature of human interaction via the artist's performance—a performance that suppresses a desire to communicate.⁸⁷ Unlike Kimsooja's presentation of an artist as a still unobtrusive needle, I discuss artist practice in which an artist directly engages with the locals of a certain site, dynamically weaving in and out of the social fabric that surrounds them.

Site-specific art summons the histories and memories of the site, from which art cannot be extricated. As I argue in this dissertation, site-specific, or site-oriented, art is attached to and grounded in the social memory of a given site, influencing and contributing to the society and everyday lives of people living in and around that site. Further, the sites discussed in this dissertation turn into contact zones, as artists visit and interact with specific local communities abroad to address specific issues between the local communities and the artist's nation. I will use the critical discussions of community art, participation, dialogue, and site outlined above to examine the relationship and the quality of interactions between the artists and the local community in the contact zone.

Art in East Asia after the 1990s

Art communities in East Asia in the 1990s and 2000s critically revisited the forms and discourses of art that had flourished earlier in the century. They also paid attention to new discourses circulating internationally. International art discourses flooded into the East Asian art communities as a result of globalization and the transnational art exchanges of the 1990s. The new social and political climate in East Asia, and worldwide, drew artists' attention to societies

⁸⁷ "Kim Sooja: A Needle Woman."

of the new era, along with new mediums—such as performance, film, and intermedia—as well as new technologies and forms of exhibitions.

Regional art biennales in Asia, such as the Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art (1993–), the Gwangju Biennale (1995–), the Taipei Biennial (1996–), the Shanghai Biennale (1996–), and the Yokohama Triennial (2001–), functioned as hubs for artistic discourses, providing artists, curators, and writers with forums and workshops to exchange their practices and theories.⁸⁸ Providing connections to and enabling decentralization from the artistic trend and discourse staged in Documenta in Kassel, Germany, and the Venice Biennale, in Italy, these regional biennials and triennials held throughout the world have contributed to the transnational turn in art since the 1990s.⁸⁹ They have also provided a stage for examining alternative and discrepant modes of modernism developed in each locale, while offering an overview of the contemporaneous global discourses. My use of the terms *alternative* and *discrepant* is based on the discussions among art historians to redefine modernisms by highlighting the local histories from polyvalent perspectives, instead of approaching them from the monolithic modernism based on Western European and North American centrism.⁹⁰ Caroline Turner, the curator of the first

⁸⁸ Caroline Turner, “Art and Social Change,” in *Art and Social Change: Contemporary Art in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Caroline Turner (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2005), 1–13; Sabine B. Vogel, *Biennials—Art on a Global Scale* (Vienna: Springer Verlag, 2010); Jim Supangkat, “Multiculturalism/Multimodernism,” in *Modern Art in Africa, Asia and Latin America: An Introduction to Global Modernisms*, ed. Elaine O’Brien, Everlyn Nicodemus, Melissa Chiu, Benjamin Genocchio, Mary K. Coffey, Roberto Tejada (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 106–19.

⁸⁹ Terry Smith’s response in Foster et al., “Questionnaire on ‘The Contemporary,’” *October* 130 (Fall 2009): 52.

⁹⁰ This discussion emerged during the surge of postcolonial studies from the late 1990s. Scholars used various terms, such as “multimodernism,” “alternative modernities,” “discrepant modernities,” and “otherly modern.” See Jim Supangkat, “Multiculturalism/Multimodernism,” 103, 106; Dilip Parameshwar Goankar, “On Alternative Modernities,” in *Alternative Modernities*, ed. Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 14; Kobena Mercer, *Discrepant Abstraction* (London: Institute of International Visual Arts, 2006), 7; Partha Mitter, “Interventions: Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art

Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art, in 1993, stated that “the intraregional cultural interchanges” taking place at international forums at the triennial will offer “new ways of looking at art on the basis of equality without a ‘center.’”⁹¹ Indonesian curator Jim Supangkat concurs with Turner’s remark. Supangkat suggests that we need to not only make efforts to discuss the varieties of art from country to country and acknowledge art as plural phenomena, but also recognize that such pluralism does not deny the universal aspects of art.⁹² Turner’s and Supangkat’s comments describe the porous nature of the local and the global that biennials and triennials present to us.

As diverse international art discourses were translated and shared, artists in East Asia alternated them with practices suiting local needs. Art practices that are attentive to local communities’ voices and wounds received attention in national and international exhibitions. Artists engaged with social problems following large-scale natural and human-made disasters, such as China’s 2008 Sichuan earthquake and Japan’s 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami, followed by the meltdown of the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant (hereafter 3/11). Some artists awakened their viewers to the idea that these issues are not limited to the Chinese, Koreans, or Japanese, but are related to the fate of all East Asian and global citizens, emphasizing how humankind is connected. Large-scale exhibitions featured works in which artists delved into social problems originating from colonialism, racism, state violence, memories of war, gender politics, refugees and migration, environmental issues, and trauma from disasters. Truth and reconciliation, collective living, and solidarity are certainly the tendencies I observed

from the Periphery,” *Art Bulletin* 90, no. 4 (December 2008): 544; Ming Tiampo, *Gutai: Decentering Modernism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 3; Tirza True Latimer, “Discrepant Modernisms,” *American Art* 30, no. 1 (Spring 2016), 5.

⁹¹ Caroline Turner quoted in Supangkat, “Multiculturalism/Multimodernism,” 110.

⁹² Supangkat, “Multiculturalism/Multimodernism,” 117.

as I began my dissertation research with visits to international exhibitions, especially the Gwangju Biennale and Seoul Media City Biennale in 2016 and 2018; Documenta 14, the Venice Biennale, and the 2017 Skulptur Projekte Münster; and the Busan Biennale and Taipei Biennial in 2018.

The artists and their artworks discussed in this dissertation were displayed in these biennials or similar international exhibitions. While examining the artworks, I focus on contact zones in which an art project has highlighted latent transnational conflict between nations in Asia. In each of the sites that I have chosen, an artist initiates and induces a certain action from the local people. Artists mobilize the people, represent them, or invite them to collaborate for artmaking. How do artists from or working in East Asia address transnational issues when they create site-oriented work, involving people living in the site as participants? This question requires an understanding of transnationalism and transnational relationships between East Asian nations.

Transnationalism

Transnationalism is the mode or condition in which nations are affected by one another financially, politically, culturally, historically, and ecologically.⁹³ Transnationalism is to think between and beyond the sovereign jurisdictional boundaries of nation-states.⁹⁴ Transnationalism

⁹³ Saskia Sassen, "Territory and Territoriality in the Global Economy," *International Sociology* 15, no. 2 (June 2000): 372–93; Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, "Introduction: Thinking through the Minor, Transnationally," in *Minor Transnationalism*, ed. Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Akira Iriye, *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Pivot, 2012).

⁹⁴ Bradley W. Williams, "Transnationalism," *Global Society Theory* (n.d.), accessed May 2, 2021, <https://globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/transnationalism/>.

is a condition of globalization, which, Akira Iriye explains, is “characterized by a free flow of goods and capital across national boundaries, and by an expanding number of multinational enterprises that were establishing networks of producers, financiers, and consumers through the globe.”⁹⁵ According to Iriye, the era of globalization was arriving by the 1970s; by the 1980s, “globalization became more truly global,” having “confirmed all the transnational developments from the 1970s.”⁹⁶ A series of global events in the late 1980s confirmed transnationalism as the core condition and phenomenon for understanding the social, economic, political, and cultural climate of the new era. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of the Berlin Wall signalled a new era, “the post–Cold War.” Post-Maoist China, under Deng Xiaoping’s leadership, adopted a policy of economic growth and open trade that ensured a new power relationship within East Asia and in the global market economy.⁹⁷ As a result of globalization, Eurocentric views started to be questioned.⁹⁸ The Chernobyl nuclear disaster in 1986 demonstrated that such crises are not confined to national boundaries and can affect not only humans across borders but also animals and trees.⁹⁹

The term *transnational* appeared as early as 1916 in Randolph Bourne’s essay “Trans-National America.”¹⁰⁰ In the essay, Bourne discusses the assimilation of all US citizens into the Anglo-Saxon tradition, which they unquestionably labelled “American.”¹⁰¹ He discusses hybridization of culture and tradition of European settlements. Homi Bhabha and Néstor García

⁹⁵ Iriye, *Global and Transnational History*, 21.

⁹⁶ Iriye, *Global and Transnational History*, 30.

⁹⁷ Iriye, *Global and Transnational History*, 22.

⁹⁸ Iriye, *Global and Transnational History*, 28–30.

⁹⁹ Iriye, *Global and Transnational History*, 22.

¹⁰⁰ Randolph S. Bourne, “Trans-National America,” *Atlantic Monthly* 118 (July 1916): 86–97.

¹⁰¹ Bourne quoted in M. Elizabeth Boone, *Spain and America at the World’s Fairs and Centennial Celebrations, 1876–1915* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2019), 9. Bourne, “Trans-National America,” 86.

Canclini further develop this idea of transnational and hybrid cultural identity. Bhabha, for example, highlights the hybridity of national identity, calling for a disavowal of the idea of nation as the source of people's cultural identity.¹⁰² He suggests that people can no longer be classified based on ethnic origin; instead, identities are built on the cultures that exist between the time and spaces they occupy. Positioned somewhere between national boundaries, Bhabha describes himself as someone with a transnational identity whose authenticity of cultural and historical backgrounds is constantly being questioned in the nation-based practice of "splitting" people.¹⁰³ Hybridization, itself an outcome of transnationalism, is a useful concept to understand the transnationalism in which pure ethnic and national boundaries cannot explain the flows of art, cultures, and histories across national boundaries.

Examining the process of hybridization at the levels of ethnicity, culture, and language, García Canclini suggests that hybridization can be seen as a method in visual art and literature.¹⁰⁴ He defines hybridization as "sociocultural processes in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects, and practices."¹⁰⁵ He suggests that hybridization can be a helpful concept in accounting for a particular form of conflict generated in recent cross-cultural contact and in the context of the decline of national modernization projects.¹⁰⁶ To him, hybridity can be understood as the ongoing condition of all human cultures that contain no zones of purity because they undergo a

¹⁰² Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, (1994) 2004), 209.

¹⁰³ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 31.

¹⁰⁴ Néstor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), xxvi. García Canclini outlines how the term *hybrid* has been used in literature by three authors: Pliny the Elder, to identify migrants in Rome with its biological connotations; Mikhail Bakhtin, to characterize the coexistence of elite and popular languages; and Homi K. Bhabha, to illustrate ethnic and cultural hybridization as a colonial outcome.

¹⁰⁵ García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*, xxv.

¹⁰⁶ García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*, xxiv.

continuous process of transculturation. For example, Latin American nations imported primitivism and cubism from Europe, translated them into their own languages and styles, and constructed their own versions.¹⁰⁷ He calls this process a “hybrid organization of the language of visual art.”¹⁰⁸

Transnationalism became a key term to explain the living conditions of neoliberal capitalism, especially in Asia. As a revised form of seventeenth-century liberalism, neoliberalism prioritizes individual liberty and the right to seek self-fulfillment; minimal state regulations, as represented by reducing tax and social welfare; and the erosion of employment rights for the sake of maximizing private profits.¹⁰⁹ Aihwa Ong defines neoliberalism in popular discourse as “unregulated financial flows that menaced national currencies and living conditions.”¹¹⁰ During the “Asian financial crisis” of 1997–1998, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) forced several Asian nations to change employment laws so employees could be easily hired and fired, which caused mass job loss. These policies heralded neoliberalism in the Asian context. In Asia, neoliberalism is imagined as US imperialism with capitalism—in short, “American neoliberalism.”¹¹¹ Neoliberal capitalism refers to “the phase of capitalism where restrictions on the global flow of commodities and capital, including capital in the form of finance, have been substantially removed.”¹¹²

David Harvey identifies the flexibility of labour markets, production systems, and

¹⁰⁷ García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*, 41–65.

¹⁰⁸ García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*, 53.

¹⁰⁹ Harvie, *Fair Play*, 12. Harvie discusses the rise of social work in art as an intervention and replacement of this “roll back” of social welfare or state intervention.

¹¹⁰ Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 1.

¹¹¹ Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception*, 1.

¹¹² Prabhat Patnaik, “Neo-liberal Capitalism and Its Crisis,” *International Development Economics Associates*, October 24, 2017, <https://www.networkideas.org/news-analysis/2017/10/neo-liberal-capitalism-and-its-crisis/>.

consumption patterns as “the *modus operandi* of late capitalism.”¹¹³ Prior to the era of late capitalism, the long postwar boom from 1945 to 1973 was marked by “a certain set of labour control practices, technological mixes, consumption habits, and configurations of political-economic power,” which Harvey calls Fordist-Keynesian.¹¹⁴ Characterizing a shift from Fordism since 1973 by flexibility, Harvey calls this period “a ‘flexible’ regime of accumulation.”¹¹⁵

As Ong points out, however, Harvey overlooks the role of human agency “in its production and negotiation of cultural meanings” in his account of late capitalism.¹¹⁶ Ong argues that human agency and flexibility has a significant role in defining transnational practices as the “condition of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across space.”¹¹⁷ Ong describes the Hong Kong businessman who holds multiple passports as an example of “*transnational practices and imaginings* of the nomadic subject and the social conditions that enable his flexibility.”¹¹⁸ A multiple passport holder, Ong suggests, embodies “the split between state-imposed identity and personal identity caused by political upheavals, migration, and changing global markets.”¹¹⁹ The multiple passport holder embodies transnational practices in late capitalism, in which elites can freely travel across national borders. Migrant workers, who also travel as labour sources, like exchangeable commodities, however, are not included in Ong’s account. I discuss migrant workers in the age of neoliberal capitalism and the post-Fordian international division of labour in chapter 1 of this dissertation.

¹¹³ David Harvey quoted from Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 2; David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1990), 141–72.

¹¹⁴ Harvey, *Condition of Postmodernity*, 124.

¹¹⁵ Harvey, *Condition of Postmodernity*, 124.

¹¹⁶ Ong, *Flexible Citizenship*, 3.

¹¹⁷ Ong, *Flexible Citizenship*, 4.

¹¹⁸ Ong, *Flexible Citizenship*, 3.

¹¹⁹ Ong, *Flexible Citizenship*, 2.

Affective relationships are also transnationally exchanged and maintained, especially under the globalization of the division of labour in neoliberal capitalism. Many families of better-off nations outsource caregiving labour to Southeast Asian female workers.¹²⁰ Caring and empathy are deemed resources, capacities, or assets in the neoliberal discourse of self-managing and self-enterprising individuals.¹²¹ Affection and empathy here function as sources of exploitable labour.¹²²

Carolyn Pedwell expands the discussion of the transnational to affective relations and practices, such as empathy, sympathy, and compassion. Pedwell calls empathy the “most commonly articulated [...] affective act of seeing from another’s perspective and imaginatively experiencing her or his thoughts, emotions and predicaments.”¹²³ She claims that “empathy provides a pertinent entry point to interrogate these transnational dynamics because, of all the emotions, it is the one most frequently conceptualized as an affective bridge between social and cultural differences and an emotional means of achieving social transformation on an international scale.”¹²⁴ Pedwell argues that “theorizing transnational politics critically demands a

¹²⁰ Arlie Russell Hochschild, “Love and Gold,” in *Global Women: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in The Global Economy*, ed. Hans Bertram and Nancy Ehlert (New York: Holt, 2002), 15–30; Arlie Russell Hochschild, “Global Care Chain and Emotional Surplus Value,” *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism*, ed. Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens (London: Jonathan Cape, 2000), 130–46; Leonora C. Angeles and Gerald Pratt, “Empathy and Entangled Engagements: Critical-Creative Methodologies in Transnational Spaces,” *GeoHumanities* 3, no. 2 (2017): 269–78; Brenda S.A. Yeoh, “Transnational Migration and Families on the Move in Asia: Negotiating Intimacies and Identities Across Borders,” keynote speech at the conference Identity and Transnational Mobility in and out of Korea, Goethe University of Frankfurt, February 22, 2018.

¹²¹ Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception*, 14; Carolyn Pedwell, *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empathy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 15, 30.

¹²² Hochschild, “Global Care Chain and Emotional Surplus Value”; Angeles and Pratt, “Empathy and Entangled Engagements”; Carolyn Pedwell, *Affective Relations: The Transnational Politics of Empathy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

¹²³ Pedwell, *Affective Relations*, 6.

¹²⁴ Pedwell, *Affective Relations*, 21.

radical departure from both bounded notions of space and linear understandings of time.”¹²⁵ As we will see particularly in chapters 2 and 3, Pedwell’s account of affective relationship and empathy informs my understanding of transnational empathy.

Throughout this dissertation, I discuss the contact zone as a site where transnational transactions of empathy, stimulated by an art project, occur as transactions of cultural exchange, economy, and politics. This idea is grounded in Saskia Sassen’s idea that a local place, within a national territory, can be a place where global transactions may well take place as a result of the dynamic, transnational, and global flow of capital, culture, and information.¹²⁶ Drawing on Sassen, Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih argue that “the national is no longer the site of homogeneous time and territorialized space but is increasingly inflected by a transnationality that suggests the intersection of ‘multiple spatiotemporal (dis)orders’”¹²⁷ They continue, “the transnational can occur in national, local, or global spaces across different and multiple spatialities and temporalities.”¹²⁸ I link the multiple spatialities and temporalities of transnationality of a local place to a site’s accumulative history in artworks made of site-specific performance and workshops in chapter 3.

Transnational Relationships between East Asian Nations

Transnational relationships between East Asian nations are grounded in both partnership and

¹²⁵ Pedwell, *Affective Relations*, 23.

¹²⁶ Saskia Sassen, “Spatialities and Temporalities of the Global: Elements for a Theorization,” *Public Culture* 12, no. 1 (2000): 216.

¹²⁷ Lionnet and Shih, “Introduction: Thinking through the Minor, Transnationally,” 6. The quoted phrase “multiple spatiotemporal (dis)orders” is from Sassen, “Spatialities and Temporalities of the Global,” 221.

¹²⁸ Lionnet and Shih, “Introduction: Thinking through the Minor, Transnationally,” 6.

conflict. The East Asian nations of the People's Republic of China (hereafter China), the Republic of China (hereafter Taiwan), South Korea, and Japan are linked to one another by geographical proximity in the Asia-Pacific region.¹²⁹ These nations form a northeast Asian block of neoliberal capitalism, which grew especially after the financial crisis in Asia in the 1990s. They cooperate with and rely on each other in the areas of trade and humanitarian aid in cases of disasters, such as earthquakes, tsunamis, and outbreaks of epidemic diseases. In the meantime, they maintain tension over issues rooted in history and rivalry around territorial disputes.

They do not, however, form a regional political and economic unit, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or the European Union. Zhongqi Pan, scholar of international relations, notes that China and Japan would like to maintain hold on the leadership of the East Asian region, and their complicated relationships with the United States sustain their conflicting interests.¹³⁰ China challenges the United States' status as the leader of the global economy.¹³¹ Japan shows itself a strong ally of the United States by providing economic and national security against China and North Korea.¹³² South Korea also manages to maintain its status as an ally of the United States, while walking a tightrope to soothe the military conflict with North Korea and maintaining both partnership and rivalry with China and Japan.

Behind the rivalry among these East Asian nations are issues originating from past wars and colonialism, which drive their relationships to be ever more conflicted and complicated. As Soon-Won Park, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daqing Yang (2006) have comprehensively articulated, all

¹²⁹ Taiwan and China are in dispute over the status of Taiwan as an independent nation. Additionally, Hong Kong and Okinawa can be considered as a unit of analysis, due to their long-term separation from the mainland China and Japan, respectively, although they do not have the status of an independent sovereign nation-state at this time.

¹³⁰ Zhongqi Pan, "Dilemmas of Regionalism in East Asia," *Korea Review of International Studies* 10, no. 2 (November 2007): 17–29.

¹³¹ Pan, "Dilemmas of Regionalism in East Asia," 25–26.

¹³² Pan, "Dilemmas of Regionalism in East Asia," 22.

East Asian nations have some sense of victimization: China and Korea vis-à-vis Japan; Japan vis-à-vis the United States and Russia; China vis-à-vis Korea; and China, Japan, and Korea vis-à-vis the United States.¹³³ Historical issues exist not only between China, Korea, and Japan, but also between each of these nations and other Asian or non-Asian nations. These histories provoke legal, humanitarian, and territorial disputes between these nations.

For example, in its revisionist history, Japanese ultranationalists deny their country's responsibility for and conflict with other Asian nations stemming from colonialism and the Asia-Pacific War.¹³⁴ Following its defeat in the Second World War, Japan experienced the greatest amount of suffering from the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Japanese ultranationalists use its experience of US occupation as a justification for its amnesia of this history, because, as they claim, all of East Asia suffered together.¹³⁵ South Korea has been demanding an apology from the Japanese government for the Japanese military's use of sexual slavery and enforced labour of Koreans, as well as from the United States for the Nogeunri Massacre during the Korean War; meanwhile, the South Korean government is lukewarm about confronting the issue of South Korean soldiers' atrocities during the Vietnam War.¹³⁶ China also

¹³³ Soon-Won Park, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daqing Yang, Introduction to *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The Korean Experience*, ed. Soon-Won Park, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daqing Yang (New York: Routledge, 2006), 1.

¹³⁴ Asato Ikeda, "Japan's Haunting War Art: Contested War Memories and Art Museums," *disClosure: A Journal of Social Theory* 18 (April 2009): 5–32; Lisa Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins: Transpacific Critique of American Justice and Japanese War Crimes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

¹³⁵ Carol Gluck, "The Past in the Present," in *Postwar Japan as History*, ed. Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 64–95; John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999); Lim Ji-hyun, "Victimhood," in *The Palgrave Handbook of the Mass Dictatorship*, ed. Paul Corner and Lim Ji-hyun (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 427–40; Lim Ji-hyun, *Gieok Jeonjaeng: Gahaejaneun Eotteoke Hiseongjaga Doeonneunga* (Memory war: How assailants became victims) (Seoul: Humanist, 2019).

¹³⁶ Kang Jeung-gu, "Nogeulliui Haewoneul Neomeo Beteunam Haksarui Chamhoe-ro!" (Beyond the settlement of Nogeunri, toward repentance of the Vietnam massacre!), *Yeoseonggwa*

has been demanding justice from Japan for the Rape of Nanjing, while its Northeast Project provoked disputes about history and about territorial borders between China and Korea, and between China and Japan.¹³⁷ China has been in conflict with the United States from the Cold War to the current “trade battle.”¹³⁸

The conflicts between these East Asian nations involve the United States, which is central in these conflicts, due to its broad range of interventions and influence on the military, politics, economies, and cultures of these nations since the end of the Second World War. Throughout the Cold War and into the post-Cold War period, US hegemony continuously influenced East Asians’ imagination, construction, and re-construction of the world.¹³⁹ The US influence in East Asia was underway as early as the mid-nineteenth century, in the time of colonization and imperialism, when many East Asians equated the West with the United States.¹⁴⁰ These complicated and intertwined relationships between East Asian nations, Southeast Asian nations, and the United States will be discussed as the backdrop of the transnational issues discussed in

Pyeonghwa (Women and peace) 1 (September 2000): 280–91; Han Hong-gu, “Hangukgwa Beteunam Jeonjaeng” (Korea and the Vietnam War), *Naeireul Yeoneun Yeoksa* (History that opens tomorrow) 4 (January 2001): 115–26; Han Hong-gu, “Park Chung-hee Jeonggwonui Beteunam Pabyeong-gwa Byeongyeong-gukga-hwa” (Construction of a garrison state: Korea and the Vietnam War), *Yeoksa Bipyong* (History critique) 62 (2003): 120–39; Kim Hyun-a, *Jeonjaengui Gieok, Gieogui Jeonjaeng* (Memories of war, war of memories) (Seoul: Chaekgalpi, 2002); Ahn Yonsun, *Whose Comfort? Body, Sexuality and Identities of Korean “Comfort Women” and Japanese Soldiers during WWII* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2019).

¹³⁷ Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997); Timothy Brook, “Tokyo Judgment and the Rape of Nanking,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (August 2001): 673–700; Fengqi Qian and Guo-Qiang Liu, “Remembrance of the Nanjing Massacre in the Globalised Era: The Memory of Victimisation, Emotions and the Rise of China Source,” *China Report* 55, no 2. (2019): 81–101.

¹³⁸ Hong Wang and Yunfeng Ge, “Negotiating National Identities in Conflict Situations: The Discursive Reproduction of the Sino-US Trade War in China’s News Reports,” *Discourse & Communication* 14, no. 1 (2020): 65–83; “U.S. Relations with China 1949–2021,” *Council on Foreign Relations* (2021), <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-relations-china>.

¹³⁹ Cho Younghun and Cho Younghun, *The Yellow Pacific: Multiple Modernities and East Asia* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2020), 19.

¹⁴⁰ Cho and Cho, *The Yellow Pacific*, 26.

this dissertation.

Contemporary Art

My focus—contemporary East Asian art that addresses transnational conflicts—is grounded in recent discussions of what counts as contemporary in contemporary art. Art and visual culture create, shape, and re-create the collective memory of a nation state, visualizing imagined communities. Symbolic images, memorial statues, and national spectacles create the collective memory of the nation.¹⁴¹ National museums or national pavilions in international World Fairs help shape and consolidate these images of a nation, like a brand.¹⁴² The art history of a nation visually represents a collective memory of the nation state. This tendency was prominent in art from 1945 to 1989 worldwide, when nationhood was the key unit of analysis in art history. Art, after the late 1980s in the globalized world, faced a transition, in which previous paradigms of nation-based thinking were being challenged by full-fledged globalization and transnational activities.¹⁴³

Contemporary art deals with various issues, conflicts, friction, and cacophonies by facing

¹⁴¹ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–14.

¹⁴² Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Hong Kal, *Aesthetic Constructions of Korean Nationalism: Spectacle, Politics and History* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

¹⁴³ Hans Belting, “Contemporary Art as Global Art: A Critical Estimate,” in *The Global Art World: Audiences, Markets and Museums*, ed. Hans Belting and Andrea Buddensieg (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2009), 2, 39; Terry Smith, “The Contemporaneity Question,” in *Antinomies of Art and Culture: Modernity, Postmodernity, Contemporaneity*, ed. Nancy Condee et al. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 1–22; Alexander Alberro, response to “Questionnaire on ‘The Contemporary,’” special issue, ed. Hal Foster et al., *October* 130 (Fall 2009): 55; Terry Smith, *What Is Contemporary Art?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Smith, *Contemporary Art: World Currents*, 12–13.

them, addressing them, and visualizing them; it refers to past practices by experimenting with new styles, techniques, and mediums as a way of understanding the present condition surrounding our lives. My definition of contemporary art is based on the accounts of Terry Smith, Boris Groys, Alexander Alberro, and Claire Bishop. To define contemporary art, Smith clarifies the contemporaneity in which contemporary art is shaped. Smith claims that contemporaneity is characterized by “multiplicities” and “*friction between antinomies*” that is “so intense that it resists universal generalization, resists even generalization about that resistance.”¹⁴⁴ Groys defines contemporary art in relation to modernism, as contemporary art is constantly “involved in the reconsideration of the modern projects.”¹⁴⁵ Similarly, Alexander Alberro states, “contemporary art prompts a thorough reconsideration of the avant-garde.”¹⁴⁶ While Smith’s definition of the contemporary is antinomial and multitudinous, Groys’s and Alberro’s definitions of contemporary art involve reconsidering of the recent past. Drawing on Smith and Groys, Bishop calls for “a dialectical contemporary,” which “seeks to navigate multiple temporalities within a more political horizon.”¹⁴⁷ She suggests that we need to ask “why certain temporalities appear in particular works of art at specific historical moments.”¹⁴⁸ She emphasizes that a desire to understand our present condition and how to change it is the *raison d’être* of contemporary art, and the reason that it arouses such passionate interest and concern.¹⁴⁹ As Bishop has written on art as social practice, her emphasis in defining the contemporary is on

¹⁴⁴ Smith, *What Is Contemporary Art?* 5.

¹⁴⁵ Boris Groys, “Comrades of Time,” *e-flux* 11 (December 2009), <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/11/61345/comrades-of-time/>.

¹⁴⁶ Alexander Alberro, response to “Questionnaire on ‘The Contemporary,’” special issue, ed. Hal Foster et al., *October* 130 (Fall 2009): 59.

¹⁴⁷ Claire Bishop, *Radical Museology: Or, What’s “Contemporary” in Museums of Contemporary Art?* 2nd ed. (London: Koenig Books, 2014), 23.

¹⁴⁸ Bishop, *Radical Museology*, 23.

¹⁴⁹ Bishop, *Radical Museology*, 23.

finding the political strata that encompass certain tendencies in art at different locations.

The contemporary and contemporary art as defined by Smith, Groys, Alberro, and Bishop comprise important points of this historiography of global contemporary art and my dissertation on participatory art in global contact zones. I understand the contemporary in contemporary art as follows: (1) art of the world is heterogeneous in the wake of economic and cultural globalization; (2) reconsideration of the modern in multitudinous local histories is one of the concerns of contemporary art; (3) artists, critics, and art historians have responded to the present social conditions by addressing issues in art and society from critical perspectives. These characteristics of contemporary art generate tensions between local and global dimensions and constitute global contemporary art.

Chapter Outline and Methods

This dissertation discusses three art projects or groups of art projects in which artists create contact zones to address current transnational issues in East Asia: (1) the South Korean artist collective, Mixrice, addresses the issue of migrant workers from Southeast Asia; (2) South Korean artist IM Heung-soon explores contested memories of the Vietnam War in his multimedia projects, and South Korean sculptor duo Kim Seokyoung and Kim Eunsung's convey a message of apology in their bronze statues; (3) Japanese artist Koki Tanaka works with participants to metaphorically explore human reactions in response to disastrous situations and racist attacks. In the concluding chapter, I compare the relationship between the artists and their participants in the artist projects discussed in chapters 1, 2, and 3. To relate these works to our present social and cultural climate, I compare their works by using the concepts of allyship and complicity (allices and accomplices), terms that have been redefined during online activism and

social justice movements from the 2000s to the present.

The artists of these case studies are all from East Asia. Their works tackle issues in the artists' own nations in relation to the peoples of other nations, South Korea vis-à-vis Southeast Asia, more specifically Nepal, in chapter 1; South Korea vis-à-vis Vietnam and South Korea vis-à-vis Japan in chapter 2; and Japan vis-à-vis Zainichi Koreans (Korean residents in Japan) in chapter 3. In each project, an artist (or artists) creates a contact zone and involves local participants in artmaking. In developing their projects, these artists draw on a history of collective, socially engaged, participatory, and politically charged art movements in Japan and South Korea from the 1960s to 1980s. While discussing the history of these artistic movements in an East Asian context, I also refer to collaborative, participatory, dialogic, and community practices from the 1990s to the present, as suggested by non-Asian artists and theorists.

Chapter 1 discusses *Return* (2006), an art project created by the South Korean artist collective Mixrice, consisting at this time of Cho Jieun and Yang Chulmo. *Return* documents the artists' encounter with the residents of Butwal, a town from which two companies export Nepalese people to work abroad. I examine *Return* as an exemplar of "post-Minjung," a socially engaged practice in South Korea's contemporary art after the mid-1990s. Post-Minjung practitioners inherited the spirit of Minjung art, a socially engaged art movement that emerged and flourished in the 1980s as part of the Minjung movement, social, political, art, and cultural movements that resisted military regimes, US capitalist imperialism, and oppressive employment laws. Minjung art focused on representation of the political reality in South Korea where the *minjung* were suffering under the military regime. I examine post-Minjung art in relation to Minjung art's political and aesthetic limitations and successes. One of the leading collectives of post-Minjung artists, Mixrice led community-oriented, participatory, collaborative, and dematerial practices based on long-term relationships with migrant workers, specifically, manual

labourers from Southeast Asian nations. Their practice met the political slogan of the administration of Roh Moo-hyun (2003–2008), which named itself “the participatory government” and its support for “new genre public art.”

Drawing on Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s critique of European scholars’ speaking for/representing the subaltern and the desires of the subaltern in the global hegemony, I discuss how *Return* presents the migrant workers as the subalterns in South Korea after the financial crisis of the late 1990s, when humans became commodities in the labour market of inter-Asian and global neoliberal capitalism.¹⁵⁰ Analyzing the mural illustrations, photographic prints, a book including comic strips and dialogues, and an imaginary map displayed as part of *Return*, I consider what kind of interactions, frictions, antagonisms, and desires of the Butwal people and migrant workers are represented through the South Korean artists’ work. I also discuss Mixrice’s collaboration with migrant workers, defining their relationship as allies rather than accomplices.

Chapter 2 discusses the works of South Korean artists who address atrocities committed by South Korean troops during the Vietnam War. IM Heung-soon’s publication *This War* (2009) presents memories of South Korean veterans who served in Vietnam. His single-channel video *Reborn II* (2018) shows his encounter with Vietnamese people as they recount their memories of the war, including the testimonies of Vietnamese women who survived sexual violence and/or civilian massacre committed by Korean soldiers. Kim Seokyoung and Kim Eunsung’s statue *Vietnam Pieta* (2015–2016) was installed in Vietnam and Korea as a gesture of apology to the Vietnamese women and children who were raped or murdered by Korean soldiers. Comparing *Vietnam Pieta* to the artists’ most famous work, *Pyeonghwai Sonyeosang* (Statue of a Girl of

¹⁵⁰ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 21–78.

Peace), I analyze them in relation to the redress movements of historical justice for wartime atrocities in a transnational context.

Drawing on the studies of collective memory initiated by Maurice Halbwachs, and conditional apology, as articulated by Jacques Derrida, I examine how these art projects represent the contested memories of the Vietnam War in Korea and the concept of conditional apology.¹⁵¹ While Halbwachs defines collective memory as constructed by the state or political power in a top-down manner, popular memory theorists counteract this state-oriented construction of collective memory by claiming that collective memory can be built in a “bottom-up” way. Providing an overview of how the South Korean memory of the Vietnam War was constructed by the military regime in the 1970s during the Cold War and reconstructed in the 2000s by activists, I analyze how IM’s practice contributes to reconstructing the memory of the war by presenting those affected and marginalized in the war—namely, Korean veterans and Vietnamese victims. This chapter is also concerned, therefore, with the ethical representation of victims in visual art.

As embodied by the issues raised by the “comfort women” of the Japanese military during the Second World War, Derrida shows how a state apology can be traded for political gain.¹⁵² The call for apology to Vietnam by South Korean citizens and activists over wartime atrocities is intertwined with the conflict between South Korea and Japan over the issue of the Japanese military’s sexual slavery of Korean “comfort women,” and the issue related to South Korea and Vietnam was provoked by South Korean and Japanese activists, who have conflicting interests in this wartime sexual violence. I discuss the ethical issues in representing victims of

¹⁵¹ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (1925), trans. and ed. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Jacques Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness* (1997), trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes (London: Routledge, 2001).

¹⁵² Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*.

wartime sexual violence and their trauma in *Reborn II*, as well as the political conflicts provoked by *Vietnam Pieta* in South Korea, Vietnam, and Japan.

Chapter 3 examines how Japanese artist Koki Tanaka searches for the possibility of collective living through disaster in his experimental workshops and films that reflect on post-disaster communities. The Japanese art scene after 3/11 saw an emergence of socially oriented, collaborative, and participatory practices, divorced from the tradition of disaster art in Japan and shifting its focus from Japanese Neo Pop. Situating Tanaka in the context of post-3/11 Japanese art, I argue that Tanaka's practice suggests a contemporary aesthetic of visual art dealing with disaster by reinvigorating the Japanese Fluxus of the 1960s, especially Hi Red Center, and incorporating relational and dialogic practices. Drawing on Megan Boler's concepts of passive empathy for the suffering of distant others, and Jill Bennett's and Dominick LaCapra's discussions of empathic representation of trauma, I examine how Tanaka's practice evokes transnational empathy among the participants by reflecting on crisis and responsibility.¹⁵³

I focus on two of Tanaka's recent works. Tanaka's project *Provisional Studies: Workshop: #7 How to Live Together and Sharing the Unknown* (hereafter *Provisional Studies*) was filmed in 2016 in Münster and displayed during the 2017 Münster Sculpture Project. In a building that had been a nuclear bunker, a convent, and a barracks until the Second World War, Tanaka led a nine-day workshop with eight local participants and four moderators. Together, they participated in communal activities, led discussions on globalization and the refugee crisis in Germany, and interviewed each other. In *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)* (hereafter

¹⁵³ Megan Boler, "The Risks of Empathy: Interrogating Multiculturalism's Gaze," *Cultural Studies* 22, no. 2 (1997): 253–73; Jill Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005); Dominick LaCapra, *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004); Dominick LaCapra, "Trauma, History, Memory, Identity: What Remains?" *History and Theory* 55, no. 3 (October 2016): 375–400.

Vulnerable Histories, 2018), filmed in Tokyo, Tanaka organized an exchange of letters, workshops, and an interview in a car between a Zainichi Korean woman and a Swiss national man whose Japanese great-grandparents immigrated to the United States. *Vulnerable Histories* traces the journeys of the two protagonists as they share their family histories and experiences of racial discrimination, while they learn about the massacre of Zainichi Koreans after the 1923 Great Kantō earthquake and hate speeches against Zainichi Koreans in 2009. Exploring how to make art that addresses disaster without turning disaster into a spectacle for viewers' visual pleasure, I examine how Tanaka's workshop presented conflicts by creating a temporal microcosm of a multicultural community and raised transnational empathy.

The conclusion weaves together threads from each chapter to answer the following questions: How does art address transnational issues that stem from antagonism and conflict within a nation or between nations? What kind of relationship is created in these contact zones? Do these artworks compromise or empower the local people who contribute to the artwork as collaborators, participants, interviewees, or audience? I employ the concepts of *allies* and *accomplices* to further evaluate the quality of each artists' relationship with their participants in the contact zones and in the artists' final presentation of their art. I will highlight the similarities and differences in the ways that these artists and artworks discussed in chapters 1, 2, and 3 invite us to think through the problematics of transnational memory, history, conflict, and resolution.

Chapter 1 situates the case studies within the global economy and its impact on the lives of Asian people. Chapters 2 and 3 bring the current history redress movements and challenges of collaborative living onto the table. If chapter 1 is about the lives of Asians in the present, chapter 2 is about their past, and chapter 3 is about their future.

Concluding Comments

Throughout this dissertation, I intend to refrain from romanticizing socially engaged practices. Instead, I critically analyze them based on studies in nationalism and the ethical representation of subaltern voices and victims of sexual violence, xenophobia, and disaster. Last, this dissertation is not about art in East Asia as a regional art history. I do not suggest that a certain trend constitutes regional East Asian art history in contemporary art. And I do not believe there is a certain trend shared among the artists practicing in East Asia as a regional dimension, one that is exclusively different from global trends. According to Japanese art historian Doshin Sato, there is no such thing as an East Asian art history.¹⁵⁴ Sato argues that the main challenge in developing East Asian art history is that East Asian nations do not have a common religion or a common language, such as Christianity, which laid the foundation for the development of European art history.¹⁵⁵ Instead, the shared identity in East Asia has been, he suggests, nationalism or national consciousness in Japan, North Korea, and South Korea, and Sinocentrism in mainland China and Taiwan.¹⁵⁶

I am not convinced that Christianity provided shared unity among all Europeans, or that European art history is as unified as Sato believes. Neither am I convinced by his method of taking European art as a point of reference for art in East Asia. I do, however, agree with his suggested methods to build regional art history in East Asia. Sato suggests exchanging the national art history of each nation with other nations by translating it into other Asian languages,

¹⁵⁴ Doshin Sato, "Geundaeui Chogeuk" (Overcoming modernity), trans. Choi Jae-hyuk, in *Dongasia Misurui Geundaewa Geundaeseong* (Modernism and modernity of art in East Asia), ed. Hong Seon-pyo (Seoul: Haggogjae, 2009), 30.

¹⁵⁵ Sato, "Geundaeui Chogeuk," 30.

¹⁵⁶ Sato, "Geundaeui Chogeuk," 31.

and then developing a shared interpretative and epistemological system. Sato's emphasis on profound research into national art history as a prerequisite to building a regional art history and having this national art history translated and shared in the regional dimension was also suggested, later, by the Indian art historian Parul Dave Mukherji. Mukherji suggests, "unfamiliar terrains have to be charted, risking incomprehension and even encountering a cacophony of voices and languages" to make global art history truly global.¹⁵⁷

The current academic practice of art history in East Asia focuses on developing the art history of a nation, such as Chinese art history, Korean art history, or Japanese art history. As a more inclusive, complex, or maybe frictive strategy, I selected works that address transnational topics between East Asian nations. My research aims to weave the nodes between nations into art history, providing a transnational perspective on the study of contemporary art in East Asia.

¹⁵⁷ Parul Dave Mukherji, "Whither Art History in a Globalizing World," *The Art Bulletin* 98, no. 2 (2014): 153.

Chapter 1. Collaborating with Migrant Workers from Southeast Asia: Mixrice's *Return* (2006) in the Context of Minjung Art and post-Minjung Art

Abstract

In 2002, Mixrice, a South Korean artist collective, began to work closely with migrant workers from Southeast Asian nations who live as (in)visible minorities and the subaltern in post-International Monetary Fund (IMF) South Korea. By participating in the migrant workers' human rights and labour activism and collaborating with them, Mixrice practiced community art that addressed South Korean bias against migrant workers. After their return to their hometown, Mixrice visited their collaborators in Butwal, Nepal, the hometown of many migrant workers, and turned their encounter into a multimedia travelogue called *Return* (2006), which was displayed at the Gwangju Biennale. Drawing on Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's critique of European scholars speaking for the subaltern and Anna Tsing's discussion of subaltern desire and friction created at heterogeneous and unequal encounters, I examine how Mixrice (re)presented the migrant workers and the Butwal residents, and how the artists collaborated with them. To situate Mixrice in the South Korean history of socially engaged art, I outline the two main movements of socially engaged art practices in Korea—namely, Minjung art in the 1980s and post-Minjung art after the mid-1990s. I examine the asymmetrical power relationship between the artists and the participants appeared in *Return* through the tensions between, and contradictory desires of, the artists and the migrant workers. In doing so, I argue that Mixrice and migrant workers were collaboratively and strategically participating in the hegemonic global economy and the Korean artworld, both of which systemically seduce and exclude migrant workers.

Keywords

Mixrice, migrant workers, subaltern, Minjung art, post-Minjung art; community art; complicity; South Korea, Nepal, Bangladesh, Southeast Asia, the Gwangju Biennale

Introduction

Community and Art, a workshop organized as part of the 4th Gwangju Biennale in 2002, was an opportunity for participating South Korean artists to learn about how people from outside Korea and outside the so-called West see the country. Organized by Forum A¹ editors Jeon Yong-suk and Jung Seo-young at the request of Charles Escher, one of the Biennale co-curators, the workshop brought together artists, curators, artist collectives, and organizers of alternative art spaces from abroad, especially from Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe. The participants introduced their practices and discussed urbanization, neoliberalism, and globalization from their specific local perspectives.² Korean artists encountered new perspectives about Korea and globalization. The Indonesian artist Agung Kurniawan, for example, connected Korea to

¹ Forum A is network of artists, curators, and critics formed in 1997, and also the name of the art magazine that they published. Further discussion of Forum A is included in the post-Minjung section of this chapter.

² The 4th Gwangju Biennale invited artists to represent twenty-six alternative art spaces from Europe and Asia. Participating artists and collectives included, but were not limited to, Indonesian artist Agung Kurniawan; Thai American artist Michael Shaowanasai; alternative space Project 304 in Bangkok; artist collective Superflex in Copenhagen; artist group Proto-academy in Edinburgh; Vincent Leow, founder of the Singapore-based, artist-run space and art collective Plastique Kinetic Worms; and Joanna Mytkowska of Foksal Gallery in Poland. *The 4th Gwangju Biennale Invited Group's International Workshop Community and Art* (Gwangju and Seoul: Gwangju Biennale and Forum A, 2002); Kim Jang-un, "Jiyeog, Gongdongche, Segye: Je 4hoe Gwangjubiennale Chocheong Gugje Wokeusyob—Gongdongchewa Misuleul Tonghae Balabon Yesulgau Insig," (Art of Local Relevance and Globalism: Insights from the 4th Gwangju Biennale Invited Groups' International Workshop—Community and Art," *Misurirongwa Hyeonjang* (Art theories and scenes) 24 (December 2017): 31.

neoliberalism and westernization, arguing that Korea in Indonesia played the same negative role that US corporations had in Korea. Another participant pointed out that a Korean conglomerate was the first global speculative fund to invest in Poland, which caused small businesses in Poland to shut down and triggered mass layoffs.³

According to curator Kim Jang-un, the workshop was an opportunity for Korean artists to engage in what Walter D. Mignolo calls “an other thinking”—an epistemological potential of “border thinking” that encourages people to overcome “the limitation of territorial thinking” by considering the histories of various locales and their unique power relations.⁴ Kim suggests that this workshop provided a moment for the participating Korean artists to realize that it is unreasonable to recognize and represent South Korea solely as a victim of Western capitalism.⁵ Also, as many Southeast Asian artists and curators participated in the workshop, according to Kim, Korean artists encountered Southeast Asia as another Asia, expanding their scope of the continent, which had previously been limited to East Asia.⁶ They also learned to consider Korea as a locale that can connect itself to new locales, moving beyond its nationalistic perspective to global politics and the Western Eurocentric mapping of the world.

In 2002, soon after the workshop, two of its participants, Cho Jieun and Jeon Yongseok, formed the artist collective Mixrice, along with IM Heung-soon and Jang Hyo-jung. As the name suggests, Mixrice sought pan-Asian collaboration; in most of these countries, rice is a staple.

³ Kim, “Art of Local Relevance and Globalism,” 44.

⁴ Kim, “Art of Local Relevance and Globalism,” 46; Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 67.

⁵ Kim, “Art of Local Relevance and Globalism,” 44.

⁶ Kim adds that these South Korean artists realized that even the term *Southeast Asia* is inadequately monolithic. What they had understood as Europe was really only Western Europe; the continent of Europe cannot be understood by the monolithic term *Europe* either. Kim, “Art of Local Relevance and Globalism,” 46.

Their work focused on migration and migrant workers from Southeast Asia. In Korea, migrant workers from Southeast Asian nations are subject to discrimination due to prejudice, language, cultural barriers, and unequal econopolitical status between their nations of origin and Korea. Mixrice's practice developed in line with migrant workers' fierce anti-deportation and anti-discrimination protests in the early 2000s, which took place alongside student and worker protests against mass layoffs grounded in neoliberal economics and the globalization of the labour market. By participating in the activism of migrant workers and inviting them to take part in artmaking as collaborators, Mixrice challenged social prejudice with creative practice.

The collective re-formed in 2006 with members Cho Jieun (b. 1975) and Yang Chulmo (b. 1977).⁷ Cho and Yang created *Return* after their travel to Butwal, a city in southern Nepal, in the Lumbini Zone. Located near the border between Nepal and India, Butwal was an agricultural town but is now the ninth most populated and most rapidly growing city in Nepal as a hub of education, transportation, and administration. Two companies—Lumbini and Moon Drops—export labour from Butwal, sending Nepalese people to work abroad.⁸ Butwal is also the hometown of many of the Nepalese migrant workers who are employed in Korea.⁹ Cho and Yang went to Butwal to meet their returnee friends, who had worked in Korea. They also delivered gifts from other migrant worker friends still in Korea to their families in Butwal. Cho and Yang met and conversed with Butwal residents who had worked in South Korea or who had family members currently working there. After the trip, Mixrice documented their encounter with the Butwal residents as *Return*, presented only once at the 6th Gwangju Biennale in 2006.

⁷ The current members of Mixrice are Cho Jieun, Kim Jungwon, and Ko Gyeol. Cho Jieun, email message to author, February 15, 2022.

⁸ "Return," Mixrice official website, accessed May 1, 2021, <http://mixrice.org/rt/rtmain.html>.

⁹ "Return."

Return consists of three black-and-white mural illustrations; twenty-three photographic prints; a book, which includes more photographs, the artists' text and drawing, a poem, and three comic strips; an imaginary world map; and a set of four travel postcards (Fig. 1.1). The exhibition invited viewers to see and to read Mixrice's travelogue to Butwal. Entering the exhibition space from the right and moving left, viewers could see the first mural illustration, which depicted the itinerary of a typical migrant worker (Fig. 1.2). A thick black curvilinear line showed their movement, starting from their hometown in the bottom right corner, oscillating between the hometown and Korea in the middle ground, and eventually ending at an airplane above the clouds. The next mural resembled a comic book frontispiece, as it presented the title *Return* in multiple languages in bold letters at the top (Fig. 1.3). Underneath the title, the artists' impressions of the Butwal people were transcribed in text within roundels, like the speech bubbles of a comic book. These roundels echo the decorative motifs found on doors in Butwal. Just as they give tourists in Nepal a sense of something exotic, something of a different culture, in the exhibition they are a metaphor for entering a foreign place. The third mural presented ten scenes of the artists and the Butwal residents in conversation, depicting facial expressions and gestures and reproducing their conversation in speech bubbles (Fig. 1.4). Occupying the next three walls were chromatic photographic prints that capture the people, objects, buildings, and cityscape of Butwal (Fig. 1.5, 1.6, 1.7). Some of these photographs had captions underneath that provided further details about the subjects. On a wooden bench in the middle of the exhibition space was an imaginary map of the world, a book with comics, and a set of four postcards (Fig. 1.8).

This chapter uses Mixrice's *Return* (2006) to examine how the artist collective represented migrant workers from Southeast Asia as the subaltern in the lineage of *Minjung misul* (Minjung

art) and *Poseuteu-Minjung misul* (post-Minjung art). Minjung art and post-Minjung art are Korea's two generations of *sahoe chamyeo yesul* (*tr.* social participatory art). This term, however, has been loosely translated as “socially engaged art,” following the term commonly used in the anglophone art communities. Generally translating to “common people,” “*minjung*” are often identified as farmers, factory workers, and small business owners—the working class, largely—and the Korean nationals who suffer under domestic and international power dominance.¹⁰ Most prevalent in the 1980s, Minjung art was a visual art stream of *minjung undong* (the Minjung movement), the name given to the art, culture, and social activism that flourished in Korea during the 1970s and 1980s that sought decolonization, de-imperialism, and democracy.¹¹

Minjung artists represented the social movement and aspirations, which, in the words of

¹⁰ Up until the late 1990s, Korean scholars often translated the English term *subaltern* to *minjung* in Korean or *hawijuche* (*tr.* subordinate subject) in Korean, referring to Antonio Gramsci's definition of subaltern. The subaltern is now commonly given as *seobaltoen* (a Korean romanization of the English *subaltern*), as there seems to be no Korean word that conveys the exact meaning of subaltern. Sohl Lee sees *minjung* as sharing affinities with *renmin* in Chinese socialism, *subaltern* in South-Asian-driven subaltern studies, *people* in the American Revolution, and *homme/citoyen* in the French Revolution. Lee sees both *minjung* and *renmin* as sharing the premodern idea of the common people and the cosmopolitan idea of equality among people across borders. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak portrays subaltern as those whose resistance constantly faces obstacles of the hegemony; as she suggests, “I try to probe what subaltern is strategically excluded from organized resistance.” In contrast to the subaltern, the *minjung* strongly connotes oppressed people who *resist* and who triumphed their resistance, I think. This understanding of *minjung* is grounded in Namhee Lee's study of the construction of *minjung* by *undonggwon* (*tr.* “the movement sphere” by Namhee Lee), which she defines as the counter-public spheres in 1980s Korea. See Antonio Gramsci, “The Formation of the Intellectual,” in *Selections from Prison Notebook* (1971), ed. and trans. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London: ElecBook, 1999): 134–47; Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” xi; Namhee Lee, *The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007). 23–69, 147–186; Sohl Lee, “Images of Reality / Ideals of Democracy: Contemporary Korean Art, 1980s–2000s” (PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2014), 14.

¹¹ Sung Wan-kyung, “The Rise and Fall of Minjung Art,” in *Being Political Popular*, ed. Sohl Lee (Seoul: Hyunsil Publishing, 2012), 188.

curator Sung Wan-kyung, had “pro-democracy, pro-unification, and post-colonial tendencies” in painting and print.¹² After democratization, the aesthetic of Minjung art, grounded in realistic and figurative representation of the sufferings of *minjung*, received critical re-evaluation. Subsequently, in the 1990s, artists and critics called for social practice based on conceptual art that addresses contemporary social issues. These socially engaged practices based on conceptual art are nebulously referred to with the umbrella term *post-Minjung*.

Return presents the Butwal residents and Southeast Asian migrant workers as the subaltern in post-IMF Korea and in the international division of labour in the global economy.¹³ When artists from a relatively well-off nation attempt to represent a subaltern community from a nation of the Global South and work with subaltern individuals as collaborators in artmaking, what kind of relationship is created and how does their artwork reflect this relationship?

In her influential essay “Can the Subaltern Speak?” the Indian scholar of postcolonial theory Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak argues that Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze, two European male intellectuals, do not have the ability to speak on behalf of Indian women.¹⁴ Spivak critiques their conversation, which considers Asia ignoring the international division of labour, global capitalism, and nation-state ideologies. Spivak argues that Foucault and Deleuze cannot speak for the subaltern because they belong to “the exploiter’s side of the international division of labour.”¹⁵ According to Spivak, though they are intellectuals of counterhegemonic ideas, these French scholars are the producers of knowledge that sustains the hegemonic power structures, in which “the subject of the West” or “the West as the Subject” constitutes the

¹² Sung, “Rise and Fall of Minjung Art,” 188.

¹³ For a discussion of the “Asian financial crisis” of 1997–1998 and the IMF, see the Introduction.

¹⁴ Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” 67.

¹⁵ Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” 67.

historical subjectivity.¹⁶ Spivak points out the limit of subjectivity in Foucault's and Deleuze's radical philosophy, as it postulates the subject of the West as the only subject.¹⁷ She calls the subject of this hegemony, which is created and sustained by the historical narrative formed from the omniscient European white male perspective, "subject of Power."¹⁸

I borrow Spivak's term subject of Power to define the interests of those who benefit from the hegemonic system of the global labour market, which exploits migrant workers by the logics of capitalism and neoliberalism. I also use the term subject of Power to describe the interest and stakeholders in the Korean art scene, which systemically exclude migrant workers from the art community and its funding structure.

Building on Spivak, Choi Chungmoo critically reevaluates the Minjung movement and its elite activists' representation of the minjung as the subaltern in Korean society in the 1980s.¹⁹ Drawing on Spivak's discussion on the subaltern and Choi's re-evaluation of the Minjung movement, I examine how *Return*, an exemplar of post-Minjung art, manifests the asymmetrical power relationship between Mixrice and their subaltern participants (the Butwal residents and migrant workers) and how this affects their collaboration. I will provide an outline of the transition from Minjung to post-Minjung art, situating Mixrice in the transitional period of the two movements, as representative of post-Minjung practice. I will then discuss *Return* in two parts: first, I analyze Mixrice's visual representation of the Butwal residents in the mural and

¹⁶ Spivak differentiates between *Subject* with a capital S and *subject* with a lowercase s to note the power relations in the academy. She calls "the subject of the West" "the Subject of Power," and "the subject of the Other" "the subject of Power." Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?"

¹⁷ Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 75.

¹⁸ Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 75. Spivak uses capitalization for the *P* in *power*, as is used for the *W* in *the West*, to refer to the hegemony of Western European and North American centrism.

¹⁹ Choi Chungmoo, "The Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory: South Korea," *Positions Asia Critique* 1, no. 1 (1993): 77–102.

photographs; and, second, I examine the process of making the comic strips in the book to understand Mixrice's collaboration with migrant workers. Throughout the analysis, I pay attention to how *Return* manifests the aspirations of the Butwal people as well as the *tension* generated between the Butwal residents and the Korean artists. I am interested in how Mixrice utilized such aspirations in their practice as a mode of collaboration. In doing so, I argue that Mixrice avoided homogenous representation of migrant workers and highlighted the unfulfilled desires of migrant workers in the global economic hegemony, yet, in this process, reaffirming Korea's negative stereotypes of migrant workers. I also argue that both Mixrice and migrant workers used appropriation to make the latter's voice heard to Korean audience, as an artistic strategy for Mixrice and as a political strategy for migrant workers, whose artistic practice are disavowed and ignored in the Korean art system.

From Minjung Art to Post-Minjung Art

The Minjung Movement and Minjung Art

The Minjung movement developed alongside the student protests of the 1960s, which sought democracy, decolonization, and de-imperialism.²⁰ The student riot of April 19, 1960, also

²⁰ Choi, "The Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory: South Korea," 360. Exactly when the movement was initiated is arguable, but considering its anti-colonial, anti-imperial, and anti-authoritarian spirit, it is reasonable to consider the 1965 Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea as its origin. One might think that the Minjung movement was rooted in the independence movement against colonial Japan, but such an argument requires defining the nation of Korea and Korean nationals, which is not the focus of this chapter. The overturning of the government for the first time after the April Revolution was the Korean public's first "eye-opening" experience. The April 19 generation, those who led and experienced this revolution, shared the experience of witnessing how liberty and freedom could be achieved through political participation. Artists and writers of this generation led *chamyeo munhak* (*tr.* participatory literature), "the socially engaged literature movement," during the

known as the April Revolution, overthrew the first president of the Republic of Korea, Rhee Seung-man, for election fraud and for supporting a police force that had killed a student protester. Supported by citizens nationwide, the student revolts developed into a series of protests against the authoritative subsequent regimes of military dictators Park Chung-hee (in office 1963–1979) and Chun Doo-hwan (in office 1980–1988), which culminated in the 1987 June Democratic Struggle. Minjung practitioners also resisted the military, political, economic, and cultural interventions of foreign powers, especially the United States. As part of their postcolonial and anti-imperial struggle, students protested the 1965 Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea, which, under pressure from the United States, sought to normalize their relationship after colonization.²¹ Students also targeted corporate-friendly regulations under these regimes that aided and abetted violation of manual workers' human rights.

As a visual art stream of the Minjung movement, Minjung art was a politically engaged art that vigorously criticized the oppressive military culture, advocating for the common people and the role of art in society. The art historian of Minjung art Choi Yeul sees Minjung art as originating from Hyeonsildongin (*tr.* the reality group), an artist collective formed in 1969 by three university students, including Oh YOUN.²² Minjung art grew like wildfire after the 1980

1960s through to the 1980s. Sung, "Rise and Fall of Minjung Art," 190–91.

²¹ Koen De Ceuster, "The Nation Exorcised: The Historiography of Collaboration in South Korea," *Korean Studies* 25, no. 2 (2002): 207; Chang Rok Kim, "A Legal Examination of the 2015 Agreement by Foreign Ministers of the Republic of Korea and Japan," *Democratic Legal Studies* 60, no. 3 (2016): 51. The 1965 agreement traded the right to a legal trial of the Koreans conscripted into the Imperial Japanese Army and industries during the colonial period for monetary compensation and loans from Japan. This agreement resulted in an unresolved political and legal dispute over the reparations and in conflict between the two nations that has lasted to this day.

²² Choi Yeul, "1980nyondae Minjungmisulone Giwongwa Hyeongsong" (The origin and formation of Korean public art theories in the 1980s), *Misurirongwa Hyeonjang* (Art theories

Gwangju Uprising, which culminated in a military suppression of the protests and civilian massacre ordered by military dictator Chun. The most influential Minjung artist and critic collectives of the 1980s are Gwangju Jayu Misurin Hyeobuihoe (*tr.* the association of Gwangju freedom artists, a.k.a. Gwangjahyeob), Hyeonsilgwa Bareon (Reality and Utterance), and Durung (*tr.* a ridge between rice fields). Gwangjahyeob and Hyeonsilgwa Bareon, both formed in 1979, signalled the full-fledged development of Minjung art in the 1980s.²³

In their manifestos, Gwangjahyeob suggested that artists should discover social injustice, have the power to testify and speak, and challenge the corruption of human society, and Hyeonsilgwa Bareon called for artists to inculcate a critical awareness of *hyeonsil* (the reality) and to suggest a vision of hope for a positive future through collective practice.²⁴ In defining the reality used by these groups, Choi Yeol pays attention to Hyeonsilgwa Bareon's 1980 manifesto, which emphasizes artists' attitudes in approaching the social reality of the marginalized human.²⁵ Criticizing elite art that marginalizes minjung, Sung Wan-kyung suggests that artists should pay attention to the art that exists outside art museums and that art should be easily communicated by the common people.²⁶ Hyeonsilgwa Bareon advocated *shingusang* (*tr.* the new figurative) as a

and scenes) 7 (June 2009), 40.

²³ Choi, "1980nyondae Minjungmisulrone Giwongwa Hyeongsong," 42–43. Gwangjahyeob drafted their first manifesto in August 1979 with its founding members Choi Yeul (b. 1956) and artists Hong Sung-dam (b. 1955), Hong Sung-min (b. 1960), and Park Gwang-su (b. 1969). Formed in 1979, Hyeonsilgwa Bareon held its first exhibition in 1980, with sixteen founding members including the artists Oh Youn (b. 1946) and Lim Ok Sang (b. 1950), and the art critics and historians Sung Wan-kyung (b. 1944) and Yun Bummo (b. 1951). Hyeonsilgwa Bareon's manifesto was printed in their first exhibition catalogue in 1980. See Choi Yeul and Choi Taeman, *Minjungmisul 15nyeon: 1980–1994* (Minjung art 15 years: 1980–1994) (Seoul: Samgwa kkum, 1994), 273–76.

²⁴ Choi and Choi, *Minjungmisul 15nyeon*, 273–76; Choi, "1980nyondae Minjungmisulrone Giwongwa Hyeongsong," 43.

²⁵ Choi, "1980nyondae Minjungmisulrone Giwongwa Hyeongsong," 44.

²⁶ Sung Wan-kyung, "Geurimeun Amhoga Aniya" (A picture is not a password), *Madang* (December 1981): 140–49; Sung Wan-kyung, "Hangungmisure Binnagan Gwaejok" (The

critical response to abstract painting. Founded in 1982, Durung called for “art that contributes to life, not to art” in their 1983 manifesto and suggested that artists should be educators or mediators for the community, instead of makers of high-art objects.²⁷ Gwangjahyeob launched *Shiminmisulhaggyo* (tr. the citizen art school), in 1983, and proclaimed that minjung should be the main agent of art.²⁸

The themes of Minjung art centred around the suffering of Koreans—under the legacy of colonialism, foreign intervention, military dictatorship, and corporate conglomerates—and the utopian society in which all working-class people would form communities, manifesting solidarity and prosperity.²⁹ This utopian society represented in Minjung art is called *daedongsahoe* (tr. everyone-equal society), and some Minjung practitioners idealized communal practices in traditional society.³⁰ In terms of style, Minjung artists adopted socialist realism influenced by, among others, the Mexican muralists, in their large-scale murals that represented the suffering of the Mexican farmers and workers before and after the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920).³¹ The German artist Käthe Kollwitz’s prints and the New Woodcut Movement of China of the 1930s and 1940s were also introduced to the Minjung artists who led “the woodcut movement.”³²

Minjung artists also adopted motifs from the paintings of Korean Buddhist temples and shamanist shrines as a way of erasing the traces of Japanese art education, resisting the influence

wrong trajectory of Korean art), *Gyeganmisul* 14 (Summer 1980): 133–42.

²⁷ Choi, “1980nyondae Minjungmisulrone Giwongwa Hyeongsong,” 51; Ji-suk Hong, “Nomuhyeon Jeongbuwa Gonggongmisul” (Roh Moo-hyun administration and public art), *Naeireul Yeoneun Yeoksa* (History that opens tomorrow) 46 (March 2012): 223.

²⁸ Hong, “Nomuhyeon Jeongbuwa Gonggongmisul,” 223.

²⁹ Sung, “Rise and Fall of Minjung Art,” 188–203.

³⁰ Sung, “Rise and Fall of Minjung Art,” 188–203.

³¹ Park, “Forgetting and Remembering in Postcolonial South Korea,” 63, 65.

³² Ra, “80-nyeondae Misurundongui Seongchal,” 148–53.

of so-called Western art and finding their own “Koreanness.”³³ “Western art” here includes all kinds of so-called Western-style art that had been flourishing in Europe, including Renaissance-style painting, impressionism, cubism, abstract art, and so on. It also includes *yōga*, Japanese oil painting depicting realistic representations of nature and using the traditions of European art, which Korean artists learned from Japan during the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945). Korean artists in the postcolonial period sought to define Koreanness in art. Thus, some borrowed formal elements, mediums, and subjects from *taenghwa* or Korean porcelain jars, claiming that these elements embodied the essential character of Korean art and culture. *Taenghwa* refers to paintings consisting of coloured pigment on non-silk or silk fabric and hung in Buddhist temples. The Minjung artists adopted *taenghwa* to *geolgae grim* (*tr.* hanging painting) and used it at outdoor protests. They deliberately used mediums that were more familiar and easily accessible to the lay public, such as *geolgae grim*, murals, comic strips, and woodblock prints, in order to use art as an educational tool for communities of factory workers, students, and farmers and to convey slogans of political struggle.³⁴

Throughout the 1980s, Korean art was largely divided into two streams: the Minjung art stream and *Modeonijeum*-stream (*tr.* Modernism-stream) art, which refers to abstract art practice influenced by European and US Modern Art, including abstract art, *informel*, and minimalist paintings and sculptures. The representative of the *Modeonijeum*-stream art was *Dansaekhwa* (monochrome painting), a Korean artistic movement that had its peak in the 1970s. Although it was heavily influenced by French *art brut* and US Abstract Expressionism, *Dansaekhwa* was

³³ Young-na Kim, *Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea: Tradition, Modernity, and Identity* (Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 2005), 52; Sung, “Rise and Fall of Minjung Art,” 188–203; Kim, *Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea*, chapters 3 and 4.

³⁴ Sung, “Rise and Fall of Minjung Art,” 189.

identified as Korean art in international art scenes, as many Dansaekhwa artists used traditional Korean papers or hemp clothes, as well as neutral colours from *baekja* (Joseon white porcelain).³⁵ Dansaekhwa emerged from the shared interests of Korean and Japanese artists and critics, who tried to establish an art of Asia that is distinct from abstract art in the West.³⁶ The promotion of Dansaekhwa as contemporary Korean art in the 1970s grew from a nationalistic aspiration to develop contemporary Korean art by finding a unique Korean painting style.³⁷ Park Chung-hee's military regime supported Dansaekhwa artists as part of the regime's modernization project.³⁸ The regime, however, suppressed artists and intellectuals who actively engaged in social critique.³⁹ Thus, Dansaekhwa was the mainstream, while Minjung art was practiced outside of it.

Prior to the emergence of Minjung art, experimental works had been created by artist collectives, such as the AG Group (the Korean Avant-Garde Group, 1969–1975), Je 4-jipdan (the Fourth Group) (1970), and the ST (Space Time) group (1969–1980). These groups aligned themselves with *jaeonwi* (the avant-garde), showcasing outdoor “Happenings” and performance art in the late 1960s and 1970s and publishing periodicals that introduced international art trends and critiques.⁴⁰ Their experimental works, however, were largely ignored as “eccentric crazy behaviours,” or “pseudo-art” threatening the Korean culture, or even as radical political

³⁵ Kim, *Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea*, 50.

³⁶ Yu Hye-jong, “Dansaekwawa Yesure Jeongchisong” (Monochromatic painting and the politics of art), *Journal of Korean Modern & Contemporary Art History* 32 (December 2016): 339.

³⁷ Joan Kee, *Contemporary Korean Art: Tansaekhwa and the Urgency of Method* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 1, 28.

³⁸ Kim Hyun-hwa, “Park Chung-hee Jongbue Munyejungheungjeongchaekkwa Hyeondaemisul” (The culture and arts revival policy of president Park Chung-hee and Korean modern art), *Misulsanondan* (Art history forum) 42 (June 2016): 131–59.

³⁹ Kim, “Park Chung-hee jongbue munyejungheungjeongchaekkwa hyondaemisul,” 138.

⁴⁰ Sooran Choi, “The South Korean ‘Meta-Avant-Garde,’ 1961–1993: Subterfuge as Radical Agency” (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2018).

activity.⁴¹ These experimental artists and Minjung artists formed collectives for security purposes, to avoid censorship by the military regimes.⁴² Addressing political reality was a dangerous endeavour in Korea. Artists were imprisoned, tortured, convicted, and framed as communist sympathizers.⁴³ Artworks were conscripted and exhibitions shut down.⁴⁴

The Minjung movement was also a site of counter-memory, providing a reinterpretation of the history of the silenced people, as well as the resistant energy that could subvert social norms and the political order.⁴⁵ Choi Chungmoo considers *madang-guk* (*tr.* yard theatre; “the popular theatre” in Choi’s translation), Korean theatrical play popularized during the Minjung movement by representing the life of the oppressed and their resistance to aristocratic despotism, a theatre of resistance. Choi suggests that *madang-guk* provided a “rehearsal of revolution,” in which it “appropriates a shamanic ritual format so that ancient time, space, and characters can be freely exchanged with those of the present through the mechanism of ritual ecstasy.”⁴⁶

Similarly, Soyang Park suggests that minjung art provided the space of rearranging the memories, highlighting trauma and marginalization of the oppressed people, and functioned as a counter movement of the forced amnesia of the violent past in Korea’s modernization under the authoritative regimes.⁴⁷ Examining Oh Youn and Lim Ok Sang, the most famous Minjung artists, Park argues that *hyeonsil* (the real) in Oh’s and Lim’s work is found in the representation of the

⁴¹ Kim Young-na, “Korean Avant-garde Movements: Issues and Debates,” *Journal of Korean Modern & Contemporary Art History* 21 (2010): 240–41.

⁴² Choi, “South Korean ‘Meta-Avant-Garde,’ 1961–1993,” 169–72.

⁴³ Kim, “Korean Avant-garde Movements,” 243.

⁴⁴ Kim, “Korean Avant-garde Movements,” 243.

⁴⁵ Choi Chungmoo, “Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory,” 361–63.

⁴⁶ Choi, “Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory,” 366. Choi borrows the rehearsal of revolution from Augusto Boal, *The Theatre of the Oppressed*, trans. Charles A. and Maria-Odilia Lean-McBride (New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1985), 122.

⁴⁷ Park, “Remembering and Forgetting,” 67.

corporeal experience of the people. For example, Lim's 1980 oil painting *The Earth IV* (a.k.a. *Land 4*) (Fig. 1.9) presents a gigantic hole and small peaks covered in saturated red colour, surrounded by the contrasting green colour of the rice field. For those who know about the 1980 Gwangju Uprising, this painting will be read as the bloodshed of the civilians. Oh's woodcut prints, such as *Ghost-Sketch* (1984), *Arario* (1985), and *The Song of the Sword* (1985), represent individuals in rugged clothing dancing while enduring pain. Park argues that Oh and Lim represented minjung as the common people who survived the suffering and yearn for a better life, unlike the way that the Soviet Union's socialist realism paintings represent their common people as the heroized workers.⁴⁸ Park argues that the presentation of such corporeal experience in Minjung art serves as a counter movement and resistance against dominant social, political, and cultural norms, which excluded the real from representation of the society.⁴⁹ Because presenting this reality was considered subversive, some Minjung artists' works were taboo and confiscated by the government.⁵⁰

Although omitted from Park's discussion, Oh Youn's series of paintings *Marketing* (1980) twists commercial advertisements, using kitsch and collage to contrast the middle class indulging in consumerism to impoverished factory workers and farmers. In *Marketing I – Scenes of Hell* (Fig. 1.10), Oh humorously depicts scenes from the hell of rocks and the hell of fire in the style of Gamno Taenghwa (Nectar Ritual Painting) (Fig. 1.11).⁵¹ This Buddhist genre of painting was

⁴⁸ Park, "Remembering and Forgetting," 52.

⁴⁹ Park, "Remembering and Forgetting," 54.

⁵⁰ Park, "Remembering and Forgetting," 54, 56.

⁵¹ In the Korean Buddhist philosophy of afterlife, sinners are sent to multiple hells based on the types of their sins. The title of this painting appears as *Marketing V – Scenes of Hell*, in Choi Yeol (1994) and Kim Young-na (2005). In this dissertation, I use the title *Marketing I – Scenes of Hell*, following the information provided by the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea, on its online database and exhibition materials. Choi, "1980nyondae Minjungmisulrone giwongwa hyongsong," 44; Kim, *Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea*,

used in rituals to appease those who died of hunger or any souls suffering on Earth and in Hell.⁵² Oh's *Marketing I – Scenes of Hell* illustrates sinners being punished and tortured by demons for their indulgence in material pleasures and foreign culture—as represented by the Coca-Cola logo. Park argues that the art of minjung artists provides the repressed community with a kind of *jouissance*, for seeing something that should be realized in life realized in art. She argues that this vitality and energy are the ultimate outcome of Oh's and Lim's paintings and prints, which provide marginalized and repressed the space for transformation and rearrangement of their subjectivity.⁵³

While the Minjung movement has been romanticized, critical re-evaluations also emerged in the 1990s.⁵⁴ Although it was named for the common people, the Minjung movement was largely led by elite Minjung practitioners who were university students, activists, and intellectuals. These intellectuals embraced the movement as a chance to overcome the sense of incapability and defeatism that existed in modern Korean history. A pervasive belief among intellectuals was that Koreans had not practiced their historical subjectivity in determining the nation's fate during the turmoil of colonization, liberation, and the Cold War.⁵⁵ Overcoming this abasement, intellectuals and university students identified minjung as “the true subject of historical development,” and as those who were capable of rising up against the sociopolitical

53.

⁵² For more on Gamno Taneghwa (in English), see the image Nectar Ritual Painting and its description in “Buddhist Painting—Artistic Masterpiece of Korean Buddhist art,” *Antique Alive* (blog), 2015, accessed April 14, 2021, http://www.antiquealive.com/Blogs/Korean_Buddhist_Painting.html.

⁵³ Park, “Remembering and Forgetting,” 67.

⁵⁴ Choi, “Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory,” 368. One of the early re-evaluations of the Minjung movement came in the July 1991 symposium organized by the journal *Sahoe Pyeongnon* (tr. society critique).

⁵⁵ Lee, *The Making of Minjung*, 2–3.

system to effect social change.⁵⁶

The intellectuals of the Minjung movement, however, differentiated themselves from minjung. As Lee Namhee and Choi Chungmoo argue, the intellectuals' representation of minjung involved "othering" minjung and constructing "the people."⁵⁷ Choi problematizes the Minjung movement's mode of representation, particularly how the "opposition intellectuals emerge as the authorized representatives of the disenfranchised people and as the prophets of utopia."⁵⁸ Lee aptly summarizes Choi's arguments as follows: "intellectuals classify, appropriate, and, at the same time, subordinate minjung in their representation of minjung."⁵⁹ Lee puts together a recent evaluation of the minjung elites by scholars such as Lim Ji-hyun and Kwon Insook, who point out that "erstwhile minjung practitioners" were "undemocratic, hierarchical, and sexist, among other things," in contradiction of the movement's aims.⁶⁰ The criteria of minjung were not only class-divisive but also nationalistic. Lee extends what was considered minjung from the working classes to those who were "opposed to elites and leaders or even the educated or cultured," and she includes in this extension any "nationalistic elements."⁶¹

Although their work cannot be homogenized, many Minjung artists presented what they saw as utopian patriarchal communities grounded in Korean traditions of shamanism and Buddhism, without Western influence. As envisioned in Durung member Kim Bong Jun's

⁵⁶ Lee, *Making of Minjung*, 2–3.

⁵⁷ Lee, *Making of Minjung*, 14.

⁵⁸ Choi, "Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory," 366.

⁵⁹ Lee, *Making of Minjung*, 14.

⁶⁰ Lee, *Making of Minjung*, 14; Lim Ji-hyun, "Inyeomui Jinboseong-gwa Salmui Bosuseong" (The progressiveness of ideology and the conservatism of daily life), in *1988 Jisigin Ripoteu: Hanguk Jwapau Mokso-ri* (1988 intellectuals report: Voice of South Korea's left), ed. *Hyeondaesasang* editorials (Seoul: Minumsa, 1980); Kwon Insook, "Militarism in My Heart: Women's Militarized Consciousness and Culture in South Korea" (PhD diss., Clark University, 2000).

⁶¹ Lee, *Making of Minjung*, 5, 6.

geolgae painting, *Mansang Chunhwa* (tr. ten thousand figures and a thousand pictures) (1985; Fig. 1.12), Minjung artists idealized the extended family in a farming town with patriarchal social norms and traditions as utopian.⁶² *Mansang Chunhwa* echoes the murals of Mexican muralist Diego Rivera, in particular, *History of Mexico: Mexico Today and Tomorrow* (1935; Fig. 1.13), in the use of the pictorial space to portray the various scenes of oppressed people and the yearning for a utopian future of the nation. Rivera was criticized by David A. Siqueiros, another Mexican muralist, for his “indigenist, folkloric, archeological” representations of Indigenous people and for seeing Indigenous Mexicans through the lens of the European colonizer’s fantasy of the Other—a subject of nostalgia of the pre-civilized.⁶³ Similarly, Korean artists’ search for *hyangtoseak* (tr. the colour of the hometown or earth), which was suggested as an alternative to the Western art that was introduced via Japanese colonial art education, ironically represented Korean people in idyllic rural areas unstained by urbanization, in a self-orientalizing manner, demonstrated in Kim’s painting.

Feminist artist collectives in the Minjung art stream received a little attention within the Minjung artists community. As Moon Young-min says, members of Hyeonsilgwa Bareon in general “tended to ignore social participation and critique by women artists.”⁶⁴ The most

⁶² See the concept of *daedongsahoe* introduced earlier in this chapter. The title of Kim’s painting appears as *Mansang Chunha* in Choi Yeol’s text (1994) and thereby translated to *All Things under Heaven*, in Kim (2005), and to *Everything under the Sky*, in Lee (2014). In this dissertation, however, I use *Mansang Chunhwa*, which translates to ten thousand figures and a thousand pictures, as per the Korean title in the artist Kim Bong Jun’s article and as per his email confirmation. Kim Bong Jun, “Heungeul Modu Pogwalhaneun ‘Sinmyeong’ Iyamallo Areumdaumui Bonseongida” (Spiritual joy that embraces all excitements is the nature of the aesthetic), *Pressian*, September 13, 2021; Kim Bong Jun, email message to author, February 18, 2022. See also Choi, “1980nyondae Minjungmisulrone Giwongwa Hyeongsong” 52; Kim, *Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea*, 54. Lee, “Images of Reality / Ideals of Democracy,” xi, 71.

⁶³ Anreus, “Los Tres Grandes,” 49.

⁶⁴ Moon Young-min, “Beyond Minjung and Minjung Art,” in *IM Heung-soon: Toward a Poetics*

significant women artist collective, Yeoseong Misul Yeonguhoe (*tr.* women's art study association, a.k.a. Yeomiyeon) actively practiced in alliance with feminist groups. However, as Kim Hyun-joo points out, Yeomiyeon practiced as a branch of Minjung art and imitated Minjung art's masculine and aggressive realism, instead of suggesting a new form to represent the women's issues.⁶⁵

The Minjung artists' boycott of the committee of foreign curators and Korean Dansaekhwa artists at the 1988 Olympiad of Art later received critical re-evaluation.⁶⁶ Held in conjunction with the 1988 Seoul Olympics, the 1988 Olympiad of Art was launched in 1987 with five international management committee members along with eighteen domestic artists and critics, including artists of the *Modeonijeum* stream. Artists of the Minjung art stream resisted the committees, issuing a boycott and sending them open letters, claiming that they could not trust the selection of these specific experts as the committees and their choices of artworks. The traditional Korean painting stream and the figurative painting stream joined this boycott, exacerbating the distrust and antagonism against the *Modeonijeum*-stream artists and foreign curators, and challenging the autonomy of the curators.⁶⁷ Yang Eun-hee criticizes how the Minjung-stream artists tackled the 1988 Olympiad of Art committee's "attempt to build solidarity with the international art scene in an old-fashioned way."⁶⁸

Minjung-stream art historians and curators were appointed as directors and curators of

of Opacity and Hauntology, ed. National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Korean Art (Seoul: MMCA, 2018), 26.

⁶⁵ Kim Hyeon-joo, "Feminist Art of 1980s in Korea: Uri Botmurl Tja Exhibition,"

Hyeondaemisulsayeongu (Journal of History of Modern Art) 23, no. 6 (2008): 114.

⁶⁶ Yang Eun-hee, "The Globalization of Contemporary Korean Art and the Era of the Biennales," trans. Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon, in *Korean Art 1900–2020*, by Bae Myungji et al. (Seoul: MMCA, forthcoming).

⁶⁷ Yang, "The Globalization of Contemporary Korean Art and the Era of the Biennales."

⁶⁸ Yang, "The Globalization of Contemporary Korean Art and the Era of the Biennales."

national and provincial art museums from the 1990s, and subsequently, Minjung art entered the mainstream of Korean art history after the 2000s.⁶⁹ Recent studies pay attention to ambivalent aspects of Minjung art.⁷⁰ Yun Nan-jie and Choi Taeman point out that the critical studies of Minjung art in the 1990s interpreted Minjung art through the Minjung movement's ideology and aspiration for social transformation, and in so doing, overlooked the artists' representation of 1980s Korean society.⁷¹ Yun highlights Minjung artists' critical perspective on the Korean society transformed by urbanization.⁷² Choi discusses the illusion of utopia presented in mass media and commercial advertisements, an illusion critically represented in Shin Hak-chul's paintings.⁷³ Both Yun and Choi reevaluate Minjung art by examining works by Hyeonsilgwa Bareon. Building on Yun and Choi, Shin Chunghoon examines the paintings and text by Hyeonsilgwa Bareon members and argues that they contributed to redefining Korean art in "a more communicative, accessible, and democratized way."⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Choi, "1980nyondae Minjungmisulrone Giwongwa Hyeongsong," 59. The most prominent among these Minjung-stream figures in the mainstream is Yun Bummo, the current director (2019–) of the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea.

⁷⁰ Yun Nan-jie, "Honsonggongganeurossoe Minjungmisul" (Minjung art as space of hybridity), *Hyeondaemisulsayeongu* (Journal of History of Modern Art) 22 (December 2007): 271–311; Choi Taeman, "1980nyondae Hanguksahwewa Minjungmisul: Daejungsobisahweui Sigakimijiwa Bipanjok Riolrijeumui Jaego" (Korean Society of the 1980s and Minjung Misul: Visual images of mass consumer society and re-thinking of critical realism) *Misulrirongwa Hyeonjang* (Art theory and field) 7 (2009): 7–32; Shin Chung-hoon, "Sanopssahwe, Daejungmunhwa, Dosie Daehan 'Hyeonsilgwa Bareon'ui Yanggajok Taedo" (Ambivalence in 'Hyeonsilgwa Bareon's relationship to industrial society, mass culture, and the city), *Journal of Korean Society of Art Theories* 16 (December 2013): 41–69.

⁷¹ Yun, "Honsonggongganeurossoe Minjungmisul," 271–72; Choi, "1980nyondae Hanguksahwewa Minjungmisul," 8.

⁷² Yun, "Honsonggongganeurossoe Minjungmisul" 271–72.

⁷³ Choi, "1980nyondae Hanguksahwewa Minjungmisul," 8.

⁷⁴ Shin, "Sanopssahwe, Daejungmunhwa, Dosie Daehan 'Hyeonsilgwa Bareon'ui Yanggajok Taedo," 69.

The Emergence of Post-Minjung Art

In the 1990s, after democratization and amid surging globalization, the blatant political slogans and aesthetic character of Minjung art became outdated. Minjung art was shunned by *shinsedae* artists, literally the new-generation artists, who differentiated themselves from the aesthetics of both Minjung art and Dansaekhwa. Art historians define Korean art after 1990 as a period of diversity, which moved away from the ideological conflicts that had preoccupied artists and critics during the previous period.⁷⁵ Art critic Shim Gwang-hyon described “the absence of remarkable historical avant-gardes in the wake of the demise of Minjung Art.”⁷⁶ Minjung art was considered “stubbornly representational,” in the words of influential artist, curator, and critic Park Chan-kyong.⁷⁷ Park criticized Minjung art for abandoning self-reflection on how and in what contexts political and social reality should be addressed. He also criticized Minjung artists for being largely indifferent to new media and modes of production, which were rapidly developing in the international art scene.⁷⁸ In a series of articles, Park Chan-kyong suggested reinterpreting the nature of the realism of Minjung art in the contemporary context, using the term “conceptual realism.”⁷⁹ Park called for socially engaged practices grounded in conceptual practice, as well as awareness of the new social and political reality and of the international art

⁷⁵ Woo Jung-Ah, “The Conceptual Turn of Korean Art After the 1990s,” trans. Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon, in *Korean Art 1900–2020*, by Bae Myungji et al. (Seoul: MMCA, forthcoming).

⁷⁶ Shim Kwang-hyon, “Saeroun Misul Undongeun Piryohanga?” (Is a new art movement necessary?), *Forum A 2* (1998): 17–20.

⁷⁷ Park Chan-kyong, “Gaenyeommisul Minjungmisul Haengdongjuuireul Ihae Haneun Gibonjeogin Gwanjeom” (A fundamental perspective for understanding conceptual art, Minjung art, activist art), *Forum A 2* (July 1998): 20–23.

⁷⁸ Park Chan-kyong, “Gaenyeom-jeok Hyeonsil Juui Noteu” (Notes on conceptual realism), *Forum A 9* (April 2001): 14–18. Park also criticized Dansaekhwa for having lost the contents and retaining only the form.

⁷⁹ Park Chan-kyong, “Minjungmisulgwaui Daehwa” (Conversation with Minjung Art), *Cultural Science* (December 2009): 149–64.

discourse in the new era.⁸⁰ With the rise of a new generation and new practices, the retrospective exhibition *15 Years of Korean Minjoong Art: 1980–1994*, held at the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea, is considered to (hastily) mark the end of Minjung art.⁸¹

The term *post-Minjung* came to refer to the practices grounded in commentaries on the social issues in the 1990s and the 2000s after the demise of Minjung art. Post-Minjung artists inherited Minjung artists' engagement with social and political issues closely associated with their daily lives, social injustice, and socially disenfranchised people. However, post-Minjung artists employed conceptual approaches and new media, in contrast to Minjung artists' obsession with realism and the use of easily accessible materials and mediums. According to Kim Jong-kil, post-Minjung art expanded minjung to include the following groups: manual labourers; small merchants; farmers; people living in urban redevelopment districts; sex workers; veterans of the Korean War and the Vietnam War; people who suffer under state-committed violence, massacres, and war; and refugees.⁸² Artists detached their work from the ethnocentric nationalism that the word *minjung* conveys.⁸³ Instead of *minjung*, they used such terms as *sahoejokeuro sooedoenjadeul* (tr. socially marginalized people) and *sahoejok yakjadeul* (tr. socially disadvantaged people). Artists of the post-Minjung stream also paid attention to

⁸⁰ Shin Chunghoon, "Seoul Art 'Under Construction' — From the Late 1960s to the New Millennium" (PhD diss., State University of New York Binghamton, 2013), 213.

⁸¹ Lee Sul-hee, "Bipanjeok Hyeonsil Insik Misul" (Art of critical awareness of reality), in Yun Nanji et al., *1990-nyeon Ihu, Hanguui Misul* (Korean Art after 1990) (Seoul: Sahoepyeongnon-academy, 2017), 170–71. *Minjoong* and *minjung* were interchangeably used until the Ministry of Culture and Tourism released the Revised Romanization of Korean in 2010. The MMCA used *Minjoong* in its 1994 exhibition brochure.

⁸² Kim Jong-kil, *Contemporary Korean Art Chronology: 1987–2017* (Seoul: Deerbooks, 2018), 16.

⁸³ Artists and critics used the word *minjok misul* (people art; *minjok* refers to an ethnic group) interchangeably with *Minjung misul* in the 1980s.

international discourse about socially engaged practice; they translated and published these discussions and organized workshops to consider socially engaged art practices in the Korean context. Thus, post-Minjung art discourse was formed diachronically in relation to the tradition of Minjung art and synchronically to the theories and practice of socially engaged art in other parts of the contemporary art world.

In the late 1990s through to the 2000s, post-Minjung art practitioners emerged with the formation of (1) new art communities, (2) art periodicals, (3) alternative spaces, and (4) art policy that encouraged new forms of public art. Below, I briefly outline these four categories, each of which provided platforms for post-Minjung art.

(1) *Misul-bipyaeong-yeongu-hoe* (tr. the association of art criticism and research, also known as Mibiyeon) is a collective of artists, critics, and curators that lasted from 1989 to 1993.⁸⁴ The members of Mibiyeon had experienced Minjung art as relatively young Minjung practitioners. There were nearly forty members, including Park Chan-kyong; the curators Kim Hong-hee and Beck Ji-sook, who commissioned Mixrice's *Return* for the Gwangju Biennale; the art historian and curator Kim Jong-kil; and the art historian Hong Kal. They raised critical questions about how urbanization and neoliberalism had caused individualism and the commodification of human beings in Korean society at the time.⁸⁵ They called for *bipanjeok hyeonsil insik misul* (tr. art of critical awareness of reality), which would develop Minjung art's focus on marginalized people while incorporating conceptual practice.⁸⁶ In the Korean art

⁸⁴ Ki Hye-kyung, "Munhwabyeondonggiui Misulbipyaeong: Miurbipyaeongyeonguhoe ('89~'93)-ui Hyeonsiljuironeul Jungsimeuro" (Art criticism during the culturally turbulent times — focusing on the realist attitude of Research Society for Art Criticism [1989–1993]), *Hangukgeunhyeondaemisulshak* (Journal of Korean modern & contemporary art history), no. 25 (2013): 111–43.

⁸⁵ Ki, "Munhwabyeondonggiui misulbipyaeong," 117

⁸⁶ Ki, "Munhwabyeondonggiui misulbipyaeong," 117.

community, “reality” refers to social reality, such as social inequality and political injustice in general. Calling for artists’ awareness of such injustice and to address socially marginalized people were considered the core messages of Minjung and post-Minjung art.

(2) Mibiyeon’s practices were introduced in *Forum A*, the tabloid journal launched in 1997 by Forum A, a network of artists, critics, and curators, including leading members Park Chan-kyong and Hwang Se-joon.⁸⁷ *Forum A* sought “everyday critiques for artworks and art practices, discussion, and speeches” and “bold and appropriate criticism and alternative art systems.”⁸⁸ Its pre-inaugural issue criticized the Korean art scene at that time, in which art was closely tied to politics but critique and appraisal of artworks were absent.⁸⁹ Pursuing the transformation of art criticism and institutional critique in Korean art, they introduced theories or interpretations of overseas art practices, such as translated texts of Russian constructivism, the Situationist International, and conceptual art in North and South America. *Forum A* also covered exhibitions of Korean artists that addressed issues of gender, urbanism, homelessness, migrant workers, Korea–United States relations, and the division of the Korean peninsula.⁹⁰ Until its discontinuation in 2005, *Forum A* established theoretical and practical bases upon which socially engaged art practices were experienced in the Korean context.⁹¹

(3) The timely emergence of alternative spaces provided this new generation of artists with places in which to exhibit their new practices. Founded as an outcome of critiques of pre-

⁸⁷ Lee, “Bipanjeok hyeonsil insik misul,” 179. Many members of Forum A overlapped with those of Mibiyeon.

⁸⁸ Kim, “Art of Local Relevance and Globalism,” 31.

⁸⁹ This critique on the Korean art scene is stated in the pre-publication issue of *Forum A*, March 1, 1998, http://www.altpool.org/_v3/board/view.asp?pageNo=1&b_type=11&board_id=84&time_type=&year=

⁹⁰ Shin, “Seoul Art ‘Under Construction,’” 214–15.

⁹¹ Shin, “Seoul Art ‘Under Construction,’” 214.

established national art museums and commercial galleries, these alternative spaces also met the needs of young artists who had studied and practiced abroad due to the financial crisis in South Korea (commonly referred to as the IMF crisis in Korea) and since returned to showcase their works.⁹² The first generation of alternative spaces included Art Space Pool (1998–), Ssamzie Space (1998–2008), Loop (1999–), Project Space SARUBIA (1999–), and Insa Art Space (2000–). Referred to by curator Baek Ji-sook as “the advanced base of Post-Minjung Art,”⁹³ Art Space Pool exhibited the art of Mibiyeon members and Forum A. Insa Art Space also published the journal *BOL* (1998–2005), which introduced domestic and international art discourses and organized workshops with Korean artists and academics.⁹⁴ Artists and curators of Mibiyeon launched projects together, and Forum A and Art Space Pool provided platforms to encourage discussion and reviews, leading the discourse on post-Minjung art.

(4) Reflecting these new discourses and practices, new genre public art emerged as an alternative solution for public art in mid-2000s Korea. Coined by the US artist Suzanne Lacy, “new genre public art” promoted community-based, socially engaged practice, emphasizing artists’ collaboration with local residents of socially disenfranchised communities.⁹⁵ Korea’s adaptation of new genre public art was grounded in Minjung and post-Minjung practice.⁹⁶ This community-based and participatory practice also fit the character of the administration of Roh

⁹² Park Eun-young, “Haeoeeseo Gaechoedoen Hangukyeondaemisul Jeonsi” (Contemporary Korean art exhibitions held abroad), in *1990-nyeon Ihu, Hangugui Misul*, by Yun Nanji et al., 70.

⁹³ Baek Ji-sook, “Dongsidae Hanguk Daeangongganui Jwapyo” (Constellation of alternative space in contemporary Korean art), *Wolganmisul* (Art monthly), February 2004, 48.

⁹⁴ Discussions of socially engaged practices, especially those by Mary Jane Jacobs and Suzanne Lacy, were translated into Korean and published in *BOL*.

⁹⁵ Lacy, *Mapping the Terrain*.

⁹⁶ Park Chan-kyong and Yang Hyun-mi, “Gonggongmisulgwa Misurui Gonggongseong” (Public art and publicness of art), *Munhwagwahak* (Culture science) 53 (Spring 2008): 119.

Moo-hyun (2003–2008), which named itself “the participatory government.” Roh’s administration launched “public art projects to enhance living conditions of marginalized local communities, the *Ateu In Siti Peurojekteu* (Art in the City Project) in 2006 as part of its public art policy and annual projects. The *Ateu In Siti Peurojekteu* funded community-based art proposals directed by artists collaborating with local residents of marginalized communities in order to enhance their living conditions. Such projects shifted the artist’s role from that of individual creator of an object to that of educator and facilitator. The project also invited local residents into the process of artmaking as participants.⁹⁷

Examples of early post-Minjung practice include the Seongnam Project and the Chunggye Stream Project, both led by founding members of Mixrice. The Seongnam Project (1998; Fig. 1.14), led by Cho Jieun and her Mibiyeon artist colleagues, researched lifestyles in Seongnam, a town of clothing factories located on the outskirts of Seoul.⁹⁸ Jeon Yong-suk led the artist collective flyingCity, and its Chunggyecheon Project (Fig. 1.15) amplified critical voices against the restoration of the Chunggyecheon Stream, for which the city of Seoul drove out small merchants along the stream. Both projects used exhibitions to present their on-site research on the cities’ new town projects, using archival photos and videos of the cityscape. These projects also criticized “plop art” installed as public art, commissioned by Korean cities and created by internationally renowned artists from Europe and the United States. Artists,

⁹⁷ For the success and limitations of the Art in City Project, see Hong, “Nomuhyeon Jeongbuwa Gonggongmisul,” 217–32.

⁹⁸ The Seongnam Project was led by Forum A members, including Cho Jieun, IM Heung-soon, Kim Hong-bin, Kim Tae-heon, Park Chan-kyong, and Park Yong-suk. Their exhibitions were displayed in *Seongnam and Environment Art*, held at Seongnam City Hall, Seongnam (October 1998), and in *Media and City*, held at Seoul Metropolitan Museum, Seoul (November 1998). Shin Chunghoon, “Art in the Post-Minjung Era: Urbanism, Public Art, and Spatial Politics,” *Hanguk Geunhyeondae Misulshak* (Modern and contemporary Korean art history) 20 (December 2009): 250.

critics, and curators considered plop art installations, such as Claes Oldenburg's *Spring* (2006; Fig. 1.16), purchased by the city of Seoul as a celebratory symbol of the Cheonggyecheon Stream renovation, irrelevant to the lives of local residents.⁹⁹ Critic Ryu Byung-hak wrote a blog post titled "Oldenburg's *Spring* voted the 'number one public art installation that Seoul citizens would like to throw away.'"¹⁰⁰ The Korean art communities called for a redefining of public art and public art policy in the 2000s.¹⁰¹

The inaugural *Ateu In Siti Peurojekteu* included the public art project *Maseok Story*, directed by Yang Chulmo of Mixrice with the participation of Cho Jieun and other artists. From the 1960s, leprosy patients and their families gathered and started a community isolated in the town of Maseok. Thus, land prices did not rise at the same pace as the rest of the country during industrial development. A furniture factory, once used to house lepers, became a settlement for migrant workers, who in turn formed one of the most socially marginalized communities in South Korea.¹⁰² For *Maseok Story*, the artists collaborated with the residents of Maseok, undertaking various small projects, such as transforming the playground at the only school in Maseok into a communal space for local youth and residents. The artists did not make visual

⁹⁹ Noh Hyung-seok, "Cheonggyecheon Deulmeo-ri Oldenbeogeu Johyeongmul Nollan" (Controversy over Oldenburg's installation at Cheonggyecheon Stream entrance), *Hankyoreh*, November 30, 2005, https://www.hani.co.kr/arti/culture/culture_general/83926.html; Hong Kyung-han, "Yongmeogeodo Ssan Jiyeok Sangjing Johyeongmul (Local-symbolic installation that deserved to be blamed), *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, October 9, 2019, <https://www.khan.co.kr/opinion/column/article/201910092033025>.

¹⁰⁰ Ryu Byung-hak, "Seoulsimini Beorigo Sipeun Gonggongjohyeongmul Iho," (Number one public art installation that Seoul citizens would like to throw away), *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, July 9, 2010, <https://www.khan.co.kr/article/201007091746025>.

¹⁰¹ Lee Tae-ho, "Maemulpeurojekteureul Tonghan Jiyeogui Jaebalgyeon" (Re-discovery of village through village art projects), in *Gonggongmisul, Maeri Misurida* (Public art: Village is art), ed. Maemul Misul Project Committees (Paju, Kyunggi-do: Sodong, 2002), 278.

¹⁰² Chae Eun-young and Yang Chulmo, "Yang Chulmo, 'Maseok Iyagi' Yesulgamdok" (Yang Chulmo, the director of *Maseok Story*), *Art Council of Korea Webzine*, no. 3 (2002): 56–61, http://www.arko.or.kr/zine/artspaper2008_03/pdf/056.pdf.

documentation of the project, such as photographs, as the project was not meant to be displayed for public viewing but intended to focus on the interactions and durational aspects with the community residents.¹⁰³ The 2006 *Ateu In Siti Peurojekteu* evaluation report called *Maseok Story* the most successful of all *Ateu In Siti Peurojekteu* in 2006, and the artists' ongoing relationship with the local community clearly distinguishes it from other short-term projects.¹⁰⁴ Throughout these formulations of new platforms and public art policy, the post-Minjung artists emerged as leading figures of contemporary art in Korea. Among them, Mixrice grew as a leading artist collective, receiving major new arts awards and grants.

The term post-Minjung however provoked the controversy over the term throughout the 2000s. Critics and curators made fierce debates on whether the term post-Minjung art refers to late Minjung art (meaning Minjung art after 1990s) or the art practice by the next generation of the Minjung movement and Minjung art.¹⁰⁵ Some artists who are considered post-Minjung refrain from being categorized as so, as they refuse ethnocentric nationalism associated with minjung and the political and artistic tendencies of Minjung art as their ideological or art-historical predecessor.¹⁰⁶ Also, although the Minjung movement saw its end in the 1990s, Minjung art is still practiced by many artists.

¹⁰³ Cho Jieun, interview with the author, July 23, 2018.

¹⁰⁴ *2006 Soojejiyeong Saenghwalhwangyeong Gaeseoneul Wihan Gonggongmisul Saeob Pyeonggabogose* (2006 the public art projects to enhance the living condition of marginalized local communities: Art in City Project 2006—evaluation report) (Seoul: Korea Arts Management Service, 2007), 111.

¹⁰⁵ Hyun See-won, "Minjungmisului Yusangwa Poseuteu Minjungmisul" (Legacy of Minjoong art and 'post-Minjoong art'), *Hyeondaemisulsayeongu* (Journal of History of Modern Art) 28 (December 2010): 10; Kim, *Contemporary Korean Art Chronology*, 15.

¹⁰⁶ Park Chan-kyong, "Minjungmisulgwau Daehwa," 159; Lee, "Images of Reality / Ideals of Democracy," 19. Lee Sul-hee argues for calling these artists part of "the art of critical awareness of reality" rather than of post-Minjung. See Lee, "Bipanjeok Hyeonsil Insik Misul," 173.

What post-Minjung art adds to Minjung art is conceptual art to its form and extended criteria to its subject matter, from the struggles of ethnic Korean people to the struggles of a broad range of the socially marginalized people. As the characteristics of post-Minjung art, the curator Kim Jun Ki emphasized “realism as (the artist’s) attitudes,” instead of realism as a form.¹⁰⁷ Kim Jong-kil argues that post-Minjung readdressed Minjung’s “critical realism,” turning it into “conceptual realism.”¹⁰⁸ Artists experimented with both representational and non-representational mode of art, by using archive, documents, talks, and events, through which made social commentaries. Post-Minjung artists paid attention to the subaltern of the time, including women, sex workers, and migrant labourers, and they addressed social issues of the 1990s and the 2000s in Korea, such as urban redevelopment, neoliberalism, and environmental degradation.¹⁰⁹

Mixrice and Migrant Workers, 2002–2006

Mixrice was the first Korean artist collective to tackle the topic of and work with migrant workers from Southeast Asia. Moving beyond the representation of the subaltern in their work, Mixrice used participation and collaboration as the medium of their practice. Influenced by Mibiyeon’s emphasis on artistic intervention in social reality, Mixrice actively engaged in *Forum A* and Art Space Pool. Continuing their interest in the effects of unfair urban development on

¹⁰⁷ Hyun, “Minjungmisului Yusangwa Poseuteu Minjungmisul,” 14. Kim Joon Ki introduced this term in the catalogue of the exhibition *Realizing 15 Years*, held at Savana Museum, Seoul, in 2004. Thirty-five artists and sixteen artists collectives including Mixrice and flyingCity participated in the exhibition.

¹⁰⁸ Kim, *Contemporary Korean Art Chronology*, 16.

¹⁰⁹ Kim, *Contemporary Korean Art Chronology*, 16.

marginalized people, Mixrice attempted to change Koreans' generally stereotypical visual culture and prejudice against migrant workers.

The issue of human rights violations against migrant workers from Southeast Asia made its way into Korean public discourse in the early 2000s. Migrant workers have been travelling to Korea to find employment as manual workers in factories and on farms since the 1990s, when Korea experienced a shortage of manual labour. Economic growth and enhanced lifestyles led Korean workers to avoid the so-called 3D jobs—dirty, difficult, and dangerous.¹¹⁰ While the great majority of these workers are Chinese, others come from Southeast Asian nations, such as Cambodia, Nepal, and Vietnam. Many of them are exposed to dangerous working conditions that lead to fatal injuries. Due to language barriers, cultural conflicts, inadequate wages, and unfair labour policies, many migrant workers are also subject to (sexual) violence, contractual deception, squalid accommodations, excessive working hours, and threat of deportation.¹¹¹ They have also been subject to racial prejudice and discrimination in Korea. Soaring joblessness rates during Korea's economic recession from the late 1990s and throughout the 2000s further contributed to the hatred directed against migrant workers. Under the Industrial Internship system, many migrant workers chose to remain in Korea working illegally after termination of their internships, thus, migrant workers were considered illegal aliens. As a way of controlling the migrant workers and preventing employers' exploitation of them, the Employment Permit System for Hiring Foreign Workers (hereafter EPS) went through parliament in fall 2003 and

¹¹⁰ Strong labour activism also increased the wages of domestic workers. To fill the labour shortage, Korea legalized migrant workers in 1992. Kim Sangdon et al., *Hanguinui Ijunodongjawa Damunwasahoe Daehan Insik* (The awareness of the Korean people about migrant workers and Damunhwa society) (Seoul: Idam Books, 2010), 15.

¹¹¹ Seol Dong Hoon, "Hangukgwa Ilbonui Oeguginnodongja Jeongchaek Bigyo" (Comparative analysis of the foreign labor policy in Japan and Korea), *Korea Journal of Japanese Studies* 21, no. 5 (2005): 204.

was approved in 2004, despite intense resistance from migrant workers and Korean activists. The EPS proposed to provide migrant workers with legal protection and, at the same time, make it easy to deport those whose visas had expired.¹¹²

Mixrice participated in the activism of migrant workers in the early 2000s, joining their anti-EPS rallies.¹¹³ During this period, as Cho recalled, they simply mingled in migrant workers' gatherings, and joined in communal activities such as cooking and dining together. Mixrice regularly visited a rooftop residence in a building in Dongdaemun that was used as a hideout by several migrant workers. Mixrice's practice in this period is exemplary of the art of cultural activism as defined by Caroline Turner and Jen Webb—that is, witnessing injustice, documenting it, and generating empathy.¹¹⁴ Their early works involved baking pancakes inscribed with the text “Stop Crack Down” in English and “*Kangje chubang bandae*” (“Stop forced deportation”) in Korean. Migrant workers picketed on the street offering the pancakes to police officers and to Immigration Bureau investigators at the strike sites. Mixrice took photos of these activities and displayed them on their website, making a sort of online exhibition.¹¹⁵

Mixrice sought to differentiate their approach to and perspective on migrant workers from that of mainstream activist groups.¹¹⁶ These Korean activist groups, namely Dahamkkye

¹¹² Seol, ““Hangukgwa Ilbonui Oeguginnodongja Jeongchaek Bigyo,” 204.

¹¹³ The pivotal years of activism for and by migrant workers were 2003 and 2004, when activists and university students formed an alliance and held combined rallies addressing issues of human rights for domestic workers, women, people with disabilities, and migrant workers. Student activism also opposed neoliberal globalization and Korea's dispatching of troops to Iraq in alliance with the United States. I participated in these rallies in person while I was an undergraduate student in Korea along with the student activist group in 2003–2004.

¹¹⁴ Caroline Turner and Jane Webb, *Art and Human Rights: Contemporary Asian Contexts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 38.

¹¹⁵ Mixrice official website, accessed March 30, 2017, <http://mixrice.org/>.

¹¹⁶ Cho, interview; Mahbub Alam, former migrant worker and participant for Mixrice's works, currently a migrant film distributor, interview with the author, July 27, 2018.

(tr. all together) and the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, made the migrant workers follow their protest programs, which they had established during the labour activism of the Minjung movement. With dramatic slogans and actions, these activist groups often turned street demonstrations into violent clashes with the police.¹¹⁷ Migrant workers and Mixrice shared the idea that the migrant workers should lead their own activism. Mixrice taught migrant workers how to use video equipment so that they could deliver their message with their own voices. In *Video Diary* (2003) and *Mixrice Channel* (2002–2004), a radio channel, migrant workers told their own stories via performances and talk shows that they scripted, directed, and performed themselves. In these early works, Mixrice’s role was to help the migrant workers learn to use the equipment and to facilitate these activities. Cho said, “With a camcorder, we thought we could help change the world.”¹¹⁸ *Video Diary* and *Mixrice Channel* present ironic situations in dialogue or in song lyrics, twisting together unfair treatment, maladministration, and Korean prejudice by means of humour and satire. Mixrice’s practice in this period was humorous and witty, but still sharply aimed at the underbelly of society. Such works contrast with the serious, solemn atmosphere of labour strikes led by the Korean labour activist groups, Dahamkkye and the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions. Mixrice’s practices with migrant workers in the early 2000s, however, did not last long, as many of the participating migrant workers were deported upon the launch of the EPS.

Cho and Yang travelled to Butwal to visit their deported friends first in 2005 and again in 2006. They had been curious about the city, which frequently came up in their conversations

¹¹⁷ This is based on my personal observation during the labour strikes in 2003.

¹¹⁸ Noh Hyung-suk, “Urineun Jakpum Daesin Gwangyereul Mandeuneun Jaggadeurida” (We are the artists who make relations instead of artworks), *Hankyoreh*, October 18, 2016, <http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/culture/music/766224.html>.

with migrant workers in Dongdaemun and Maseok.¹¹⁹ Regarding the conception of *Return*, Cho said that she had in mind medieval travel literature such as *Wang-ocheonchukguk-jeon* (Memoir of the pilgrimage to the five kingdoms of India), a travelogue by Hyecho, a Buddhist monk of Silla (the medieval dynasty located in the present-day southern part of Korea) who travelled from 723 to 727 CE to India, the Middle Asia, and current-day Iran to obtain Buddhist scripts.¹²⁰ She also cited *The Odyssey of Ibn Battuta: Uncommon Tales of a Medieval Adventure*, a travelogue written by Rihla, which documents his travel to the regions under the Islamic governments, China, and Sumatra in the fourteenth century.¹²¹ Cho and Yang passed through Calcutta, Dhaka, and Katmandu before arriving in Butwal and made *Return* as their travelogue.

Friction and Contradicting Desires: Murals and Photographs of *Return*

Return shows Cho and Yang's encounter with Butwal residents. This encounter marked a certain transition in Mixrice's practice and in their understanding of migrant workers. As Cho studied painting and Yang studied photography at university, it is likely that Cho drew the murals and comics, while Yang took the photographs in *Return*. Mixrice, however, emphasizes working as a collective, thus, does not clearly identify individual input. Also, the same stories and motifs—incomplete buildings, exaggerated hands, or missing toes, for example—appear in both the murals and the photographs. Below, I analyze *Return* focusing on the murals, the photographs, and the comic strips contained within the book on the wooden bench, in the same order as the

¹¹⁹ Mixrice, "Mixrice," in Kim Hong-hee, et al., *Gwangju Biennale 2006: Fever Variations vol. I*. exh. cat. (Gwangju: Gwangju Biennale Foundation, 2006), 308.

¹²⁰ Cho, interview.

¹²¹ Cho, interview.

viewer's itinerary in the exhibition.

Murals

Like most travelogues, *Return* illustrates a travel route in the first mural, which lies in the entryway of the exhibition space (Fig. 1. 2). This route, however, illustrates not the artists' itinerary but a migrant worker's typical travel route, which becomes an endless journey as they search for another country to work in. Starting from the bottom right corner, a thick, wavy line leads away from the image of a simple house and a rice field, accompanied by the text "preparation for immigration." An airplane and a suitcase head to the left, reaching a blank city sign next to falling crescents, which represent Moon Drops, a migrant worker export company in Butwal. Another airplane takes off, heading to the right, where a simplified image of two traditional Korean gates is captioned "Immigration to the destined country." In the centre of the middle ground are bills with dollar signs and two arrows pointing to an unfinished building with the caption "Migrant labour," referring to the migrant workers sending money back to their hometown to build a house. The line passes through flames captioned "Illegal stay." On the left side of the middle ground, an image of a woman working on a sewing machine illustrates the kind of jobs that women workers have. The line curves again, leading to a figure surfing on a piece of cloud alongside the text "Voluntary or forced deportation." The cloud surf appears again, extending like a bridge to connect the unfinished building with clouds and mountains as seen from a bird's-eye view. The accompanying text explains, "Space transfer with time transfer" and "Return to the Homeland." At the top of the mural, above the aerial view of mountains and clouds, the caption, "Reconsidering the immigration for himself or for other member of the family," refers to the returnee's difficulty settling back in his hometown. The line

extends to the top left corner, ending at another airplane floating behind layers of mushroom clouds with the caption “Reparation for immigration.” The mural shows how the migrant worker cannot settle, neither in his hometown, nor in the country to which he has migrated.

The mural has elements of Gamno Taenghwa (Fig. 1. 11), in which clouds often suggest the realm of Heaven, as well as travel through time and space. Bodhisattvas descend to the earthly realm standing on a piece of cloud. Flames are used to depict the ordeal of the sinner in Hell. These motifs of clouds and flames also appear in the Minjung artist Oh Youn’s *Marketing I* — *Scenes of Hell* (Fig. 1. 10) to refer to the fire and smoke of Hell. These elements also appear in the first mural of *Return*. Layers of clouds between the bends of the curvy line suggest the time the migrant worker spends travelling, as well as the geographic distance that he travels. On the left side of the middle ground, behind the woman working at the sewing machine, a rugged, cone-shaped cliff resembles the rugged hills that crush sinners’ bodies as punishment in the left foreground in Oh’s painting. The cliff also suggests that the sewing woman’s work is a punishment. Above the cliff is a simplified contour of Bodhisattva standing on a piece of cloud surf, which is captioned, “Voluntary or Forced deportation,” to refer to the migrant worker’s travel across time zones and space. The worker’s itinerary in the mural adopts the overall progression of Gamno Taenghwa, which starts from the bottom (the past) and moves to the middle ground (the present), then to the top (the future), where the dead soul reaches the divine realm and Bodhisattvas offer heavenly nectar.¹²² In the mural of *Return*, however, what waits for

¹²² This three-level pictorial space also commonly appears in traditional Korean and Chinese scroll paintings that illustrate the journey of literati. The focal point moves along with the literati men travelling from the suburb in the foreground (signifying the human realm) to a hut in a mountain valley in the middle ground (the realm of the Daoist hermit), then to the deep mountain at the top of the pictorial space (the divine realm), which is separated from the lower levels by layers of hazy clouds.

the migrant worker up top is not settlement in the ideal world, but preparation for another round of migration, whether his own, or that of a family member.

The second mural introduces various conversations that the artists had in their meeting with the Butwal people by text wrapped in the roundels. The Butwal residents express mixed feelings toward Korea, including aspiration and antagonism. One roundel tells the story of a Butwal man who did not welcome the artists. As they heard later, the man was unhappy because all his family members and relatives were working in Korea, but he preferred to go to Japan or the United States, as he considered them more developed countries. Eventually, however, he could not go anywhere. Other stories in roundels describe Butwal residents' various requests of the artists, including asking the artists to phone an ex-boss in Korea to ask for employment again and requesting the artists' help in getting compensation for a family member who died in Korea. One story reveals a Butwal resident's strong antagonism toward the South Korean visitors. A roundel underneath the title *Return* describes this hostility: "Before we arrived in Butwal, someone from an NGO organization visited for research, and one Butwal man came and said, 'I heard there are South Koreans here. I came to kill them'" (Fig. 1.3, translation by the author). Text in the bottom right roundel explains that there are a hundred returnees who became disabled while working in Korea, and the one the artists met had lost a hand. This emphasis on a disabled body part reappears as a returnee man with a missing toe sitting next to Cho Jieun in the third mural and a Gurkha man with a missing toe in one of the photographs.

Hands are also emphasized throughout the murals and photographs. In the third mural (Fig. 1.4), although the human figures are, for the most part, simplified, the hands of the Butwal people and the Korean artists are represented with some detail. The hands of the Butwal people are variously occupied, folded together, holding a cup, grabbing food, or making gestures in

conversation. This emphasis on hands reminds the viewer of the manual labour that these people performed. Their hands attract the viewer's attention because of the story in the second mural that introduces one hundred disabled returnees.

The third mural illustrates the Butwal people's proactivity and aspiration to work in Korea, albeit illegally. In the centre of the foreground stands a Nepalese man in a short-sleeved shirt, his mouth firmly closed. His speech bubble tells his story: he chose Korea because in Nepal in 1991, a rumour spread that Korea would become like Japan in the future. He arrived in Korea, meaning to return home a year after. But after that year, he determined to return the next year instead, and so on and so on, until finally, he had stayed for fourteen years, returning home only at his father's request. Viewers can deduce that he was working illegally in Korea, since once he left the country, he could not go back to Korea to work. He stayed in Korea as long as he could. To the left of this man, a person sits comfortably with feet crossed and hands folded together. Clad in unisex clothing, this figure's gender appears somewhat uncertain, but femininity is suggested by long hair, thin eyebrows, and elongated earrings. Confident in facial expression and posture, she says that she is currently working in Korea through the Industrial Internship System, but when it is over, she will continue to work illegally. In her speech bubble, the Korean word *bulbeop*, meaning illegal, is in bold. For this reason, she does not know whether she will return in five or ten years; thus, she has temporarily returned home for one last vacation.

The facial expressions, postures, and gestures of these two Butwal people convey confidence, calm, and composure, in contrast to Cho and Yang, who are depicted at top right sweating from hot weather, awkwardness, or embarrassment. The upper right corner of the third mural depicts tensions that emerged regarding the credibility, or lack thereof, of the artists in their first encounter with Butwal residents. Cho and Yang are led by their friend Arjun, who

worked in Korea for ten years before returning to Nepal to operate a tour company catering to Korean tourists. Glancing at Arjun, Cho says to Yang, “Arjun’s NGO card is very important. His ID card is credibility itself.” Below this scene, Cho sits on the ground, a single drop of sweat on her face, leaning against a refrigerator while listening to three Butwal men talk about their memories of Korea and sing a Korean song. In the upper left corner, a Butwal man places his hand on the shoulder of Yang—who also has a single drop of sweat on his face—and sings exaggerated praise for Korea, hoping that the Korean artists may help him to migrate there. To their right, a Nepalese man whispers behind his hand, which covers his mouth, “Do not trust the Nepalese people. You’ve got to be careful with them.” Cho later recalled her encounters with the Butwal people as “confusing.” The scattered appearance of stories in the third mural reflects her experience of these encounters.

This mural is, in fact, carefully composed to relay the discomfort, friction, and tension between the artists and the Butwal people, as well as the migrant workers’ desires and hardships. Illustrating the embarrassment felt by the artists in awkward situations, these scenes imply the power relationship between the Butwal people, who are job seekers, and the artists, who come from the country to which the Nepalese wish to migrate. A refrigerator with the Korean corporation Daewoo’s brand logo has its own speech bubble relating the story of a Butwal person whose father worked in Libya. This experience would be familiar to a Korean audience, as many Koreans of the same generation as the artists’ fathers worked in Libya constructing water canals in the 1970s and 1980s. The subject of the speech bubble explains that his father took a test to be allowed to work in Libya, but people could also be approved to work in Libya by purchasing a Daewoo refrigerator; Daewoo was a major contractor in Libya. This story reminds Koreans that their fathers’ generation also worked abroad, suggesting some connection

between Koreans and Nepalese. It also implies that those Nepalese who work abroad are also of the middle class, as they are able either to purchase an expensive foreign appliance or pay an exorbitant broker's fee.

The refrigerator provides Cho with a surface to lean against and the Nepalese man on the other side of it with a cold drink. Compositionally, it balances the iron held in the hand of a Butwal man, the subject rendered in the biggest scale of the mural. This man recounts how, while he was working with irons in Korea, he was nearly beaten with an iron by a Korean man. He adds that he still keeps in touch with the two Korean men who helped him in that moment. In the very centre of the mural, the refrigerator and the iron, devices that generate the opposing temperatures of cold and heat, are placed in close proximity, suggesting contradictory desires, conflicts, and risks that migrant workers undertake to achieve material necessity, not abundance.

The refrigerator and the iron symbolize an overarching tension in the mural between Mixrice and the Butwal people, which can be explained as "friction," as defined by Anna L. Tsing.¹²³ Tsing argues, "friction reminds us that heterogeneous and unequal encounters can lead to new arrangements of culture and power."¹²⁴ *Return* manifests this friction generated in the contact zone, created upon the artists' visit to Butwal, due to their unequal status. The Korean artists are cultural elites from a relatively well-off nation in Asia, whereas the Butwal residents seek manual labour jobs in Korea. Although the artists visit as friends of the Butwal people, they belong to the exploiter's side of the system. Thus, awkward and unstable reactions are captured in the work. The second and third murals highlight antagonism on the part of the Butwal residents toward Koreans in general. Ironically, many of them still yearn to work in Korea,

¹²³ For more on Tsing's "friction" in relation to intercultural encounters, see the Introduction of this dissertation.

¹²⁴ Tsing, *Friction*, 6.

hoping to make a small fortune. Aspiring to this opportunity, some of them show awkwardness in conversation and in their facial expressions. If the Minjung artist Oh Youn's *Marketing I – Scenes of the Hell* depicts a hell in which Koreans are being punished for their indulgence in the foreign material consumption, the post Minung artist collective Mixrice's *Return* portrays the hellish present where migrant workers exploit themselves to advance their lives.

Photographs

If the three murals visualize the artists' awkward encounters with the Butwal residents, the photographs highlight the desires and proactivity of the Butwal people, using the motifs of hands, incomplete buildings, and continued migrant labour from the father's generation. The arrangement of the photographs in *Return* mirrors the curvilinear line of the migrant worker's travel route. In the photograph in the bottom right corner of the first wall (Fig. 1.5), a group of men in uniforms fill out arrival cards at Seoul's Incheon International Airport, starting their journey in Korea. The photograph in the top left corner shows, from a high vantage point, an unfinished building in Butwal. The incomplete building suggests the migrant worker's unfinished journey, which will last until he earns enough money to finish the building. Three photos in the middle ground show Butwal families whose sons work in Korea and whose fathers had worked abroad as Gurkha, mercenary soldiers for the Indian or British military. One of the fathers appears in Gurkha uniform, and another stands in front of the Gurkha symbol that decorates their house entrance. The third photograph (on the right) shows two framed photos, side by side: the father in a Gurkha uniform and his son participating in a labour protest in Korea.

Unfinished buildings recur in the photographs covering the next wall (Fig. 1.6). One

photograph on this wall shows a building still under construction (Fig. 1.17). Colourful laundry hangs on a clothesline fastened to the unfinished columns of the building. Rebar stakes spike up toward the gloomy sky. The caption reads, “Most migrant workers from Nepal buy land and build houses when they return home. And when they’ve expended their budget, the houses are often left unfinished, showing pillars. If another family member goes abroad, the construction can be completed.”¹²⁵ Family members will continue doing migrant labour until they complete the building; until then, their living will be as precarious as laundry hanging under a gloomy sky.

On the other hand, there are some buildings no one aspires to ever complete. On the left of the second wall, a photo depicts Arjun giving a tour to visitors, pointing at something (Fig. 1.6). He is pointing at a Korean Buddhist temple in Lumbini; this temple is pictured in another photograph right next to the photograph of Arjun. According to the caption, Arjun explains that this temple will never be completed, because if it were, the Butwal people would no longer receive donations from Korean tourists. This is a business tactic that he learned from Koreans, he says proudly. These unfinished buildings represent the Butwal people’s will to improve their families’ living conditions, or their desire to make a fortune by taking advantage of tourists.

Two other motifs that recur in the photographs are hands and commodified goods. In a photograph in the middle of the second wall (Fig. 1.6), a Nepalese newspaper page proclaims that the global sewing industry has now moved from Korea to Nepal, along with an image of female workers using sewing machines in a factory. Underneath, a close-up shows a woman’s palms placed on her skirt. On the last wall, a photograph closely captures three pairs of hands placed on a gift package sent by their family member working in Korea (see again Fig. 1.7 and

¹²⁵ Unlike the treatment of captions on the “Return” page on Mixrice’s website, all captions were included in the comic book in the exhibition.

Fig. 1.18). The watches and bracelets on their wrists hint at the income the migrant worker has sent to his family. In the excitement of unboxing the gift, one hand holds scissors to cut the tape wrapped around the package, but the scissors point upward, too close, as if they will cut the family members' hands. The last two photographs on the last wall also show packaged goods that travel along with humans, such as a box containing a Korean rice cooker (see again Fig. 1.7). These images also represent the desire for material goods, which are exchanged for the migrant workers' labour abroad. These gifts and goods also serve as indices of the migrant workers' labour and time, which they could have spent with their families in Butwal had they not been working abroad.

The murals and photographs represent the Butwal residents—former and potential migrant workers and their families—as people with various kinds of aspirations, including the desire to achieve material wealth by taking part in the global capitalist system. As Cho Ji-hoon commented, *Return* illustrates returnees as the subjects who proactively want, sustain, and reproduce the system of labour migration.¹²⁶ In my application of Spivak's terms, these Butwal people are the concealed subject in the subject of Power. However, they are not simply passive victims of exploitation by the hegemony, nor are they the voiceless subaltern; rather, they are individuals with their own desires, who are concealed in the mainstream discourse of the subject of Power. The stories of the Butwal people in *Return* show that they have paid keen attention to global economic trends and proactively jumped into the international labour market, even when doing so is illegal.

The Butwal people in *Return* also transplant the neoliberal lifestyle learned from Korea to

¹²⁶ Cho Ji-hoon, "Mixrice—'Iju'e Daehan Kkeunjilgin Jilmun" (Mixrice—the persistent question on "migration"), *Indie-Alt-zine* 42 (December 2012): 98.

Nepal, expanding the globalization of neoliberal capitalism. The murals and photographs show how the Butwal people send the income they earn in Korea back to their families in Nepal to purchase land and build houses. Not every Butwal returnee yearns for migration again. Some run businesses in Nepal after they return from Korea. Commenting on returnee friends who were speculating in real estate in their hometown, Cho says that they turned into the so-called *Gangnam ajumma* (tr. Gangnam lady, a pejorative term referring to rich woman living in the wealthiest district in Korea and investing in real estate).¹²⁷ Cho finds it ironic that these friends were serious participants in labour and human rights activism while living in Korea, but, once they returned, became disinterested in human rights and acted as patriarchal members of their families.¹²⁸ Contrary to the artists' naive understanding of their migrant worker friends as human rights activists, they were, in fact, accomplices of global capitalism.

The murals and photographs represent migrant workers as nomadic individuals pursuing individual wealth with unfulfilled desires, as symbolized by the unfinished Buddhist temple. Representing the Butwal residents as the active subjects of their monetary desire shifts responsibility for the abuse of their human rights onto the migrant workers themselves, for being complicit in the hegemony.

Had Mixrice presented only the murals and the photographs in *Return*, it could have read as if the work were simply reaffirming Koreans' negative perspective on migrant workers—namely, that migrant workers pursue only money and that they do not contribute to the Korean domestic economy because they transfer all their income to their home country, while remaining

¹²⁷ Cho Jieun, interview.

¹²⁸ Cho, interview; Young Min Moon and Mixrice, “‘The Illegal Lives’: Art within a Community of Others,” *Rethinking Marxism* 21, no. 3 (2009): 417.

in Korea illegally.¹²⁹ Mixrice, however, points to the systemic problem in “Dialogue,” the artist text included in the book. Below is one piece of conversation included in “Dialogue.”¹³⁰

When a migrant worker died, we asked his wife.
“What can we do for you?” Then she answered immediately.
“Let me work in Korea.”
Then we got lost, because we assumed that she must have hated Korea and considered working in Korea terrible. How frustrated would she be?
But when we ask, “What do you want?”
Then they say, “Let me work in Korea,” and this is the reality.

Pointing to the “reality” of migrant workers, Mixrice says “there may be victims who are inevitably floating about in the system of capitalism.”¹³¹

What makes the migrant workers conspirators of the system is hegemony and social structure, specifically, the disparity between global wealth from neoliberal capitalism and Korea’s exclusionary policies.¹³² The subaltern cannot help but desire this hegemony, according to Spivak.¹³³ Hegemonic seduction mobilizes the subaltern to become complicit in the legal or illegal labour market, even though the system exploits them. Drawing on Spivak’s work, Tsing aptly summarizes this phenomenon: “the universal is what we cannot not want, even as it so often excludes us.”¹³⁴ By highlighting such aspects, *Return* reveals the ambivalent characteristics of migrant workers from Southeast Asia, who cannot be easily homogenized and stereotyped as they were in Korea. *Return* portrays these various aspects of migrant workers and the

¹²⁹ Studies prove that these stereotypes are not entirely true. See Kim et al., *Hangujinui Ijunodongjawa Damunhwahoe Daehan Insik*.

¹³⁰ Mixrice, “Dialogue,” in the untitled book included in *Return*, 49. “Dialogue” was written in Korean and accompanied by an English translation. The English excerpt in this dissertation is modified by the author based on the Korean text and the English translation.

¹³¹ Mixrice, “Dialogue,” 48–51.

¹³² For neoliberal capitalism in an Asian context, see the Introduction of this dissertation; Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception*; and Patnaik, “Neo-liberal Capitalism and Its Crisis.”

¹³³ Quoted from Tsing, *Friction*, 1; Gayatri C. Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

¹³⁴ Tsing, *Friction*, 1; Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason*.

multifaceted layers of migration.

Collaborators or Coauthors? Migrant Workers in the Comics of *Return* and *Mixrice*'s Later Works

The creative practices of the migrant workers who collaborate with *Mixrice* have been largely disregarded by the art world. Previous writing about *Mixrice* ignores the participating migrant workers' artistic input, collaboration, and participation, considering them only as beneficiaries. Some of these migrant worker participants initiated their own arts and culture programs, including Stop Crackdown, the Earthian Music Band, Migrant Worker Television (MWTV), and the Migrant Worker Film Festival.¹³⁵ However, the creative works of migrant workers tend to be ignored in Korea, and their art and cultural initiatives receive little attention from the Korean public. Members of *Mixrice*, in contrast, have received significant attention in the art world, along with grants and awards. (This said, in projects such as *Maseok Story*, Yang Chulmo covered the shortage of funds needed to complete the construction of a playground for the local elementary school with his own director's fee.)¹³⁶ Although *Mixrice* made efforts to acknowledge participating migrant workers by name in accompanying text and exhibition

¹³⁵ Mahbub Alam, "Mingle in for Communication and Friendship," lecture at York Centre for Asian Research, November 13, 2018, York University, Toronto. There were four or five migrant TV stations operating in Korea in 2009. For more discussion on the migrant TV, see Chae Young-gil, "Damunhwasaehoe Byeonhwagwajeongui Jaehaeseok Ijumin Juchewa Isan Gongnonjangui Hyeongseong" (Rethinking multicultural social change: Immigrant agents and diasporic public sphere in Korea," *Eolongwa sahoe* (Media and society) 17, no. 2 (2009): 64–65.

¹³⁶ Han Hae Soo, "Yang Chulmo: *Mixrice* – Poseuteuminjungiraneun Mareun Silchido Jochido Anayo" (Yang Chulmo: *Mixrice* – I neither like nor dislike the world post-Minjung), *Musulsegye*, (Art world) no. 5 (2016): 95.

catalogues, the Korean art community considers them to be merely anonymous participants who receive the cultural benefits offered by the Korean artists.

The contribution of migrant workers to Mixrice's work is, however, too crucial to be relegated to subordinate status. The comic strips in the book of *Return* demonstrate the contribution of migrant workers to Mixrice's work; the migrant workers are not anonymous participants, but collaborators, even coauthors. The book includes the artists' text, illustrations, and photographs of the Butwal people; a poem titled *The Parade of Migration* by J.B. Tuhure (whose identity is unknown) in Korean and English, translated to Korean by Bajra (presumably a migrant worker); and three sets of comic strips made by Mixrice.¹³⁷ The first comic, *Messages to Dhaka* (Fig. 1.19), illustrates a story of Masum, a Bangladeshi man who resided in Korea for ten years as a migrant worker. Working illegally, Masum was involved in migrant workers' labour activism and deported as a result. The seven-page comic strip depicts Masum sending a message to his family before his deportation. His family's reply is illustrated in the second strip, *Messages to Seoul* (Fig. 1.20). The third comic strip is titled *Alpha Jeonhwabang* (tr. Alpha telephone service room). The strip introduces Shaimar Thapa, a Nepalese returnee who runs Alpha Jeonhwabang, in Kathmandu, where those who wish to migrate and family members of migrant workers abroad can make international phone calls at a discounted rate.

The source material for *Messages to Dhaka* and *Messages to Seoul* is a series of interviews originally conducted and filmed by Mahhub Alam, another migrant worker from Bangladesh who collaborated with Mixrice in the 2000s. After marrying a Korean activist, Alam settled in Korea as an actor, filmmaker, and distributor of films about diversity.¹³⁸ On the way to

¹³⁷ The poem is accompanied by an illustration of a group of people on page 4 in the book.

¹³⁸ Mahhub Alam also starred in the movie *Bandhobi* (2009), which depicts a migrant worker's hardships in Korea and Korean prejudice. Alam is a rare case in that he married a Korean

Bangladesh, Alam serendipitously met Mixrice in an airport and shared with them the raw video footage of his interview with Masum.¹³⁹ Mixrice transformed it into two graphic narratives to be included in *Return* in 2006, and Alam turned this video footage into a documentary film, *Returnee*, released in 2009 (Fig. 1.21).¹⁴⁰ As a migrant worker preoccupied with his job, Alam had limited support for his creative practice and was only able to release the film three years later.¹⁴¹ Alam's *Returnee* was screened in domestic film festivals, including the Migrant Worker Film Festival and Seoul Independent Documentary Festival, and aired on the Korean Educational Broadcasting System in 2009. Mixrice's book provides the reference to Alam's video, and Alam's film lists Mixrice's comics in its ending credits.

Alam's documentary film presents Masum's interviews with little alteration, showing him in the detention centre in Seoul and on his return flight to Bangladesh. Masum and other returnees are shown organizing labour activist groups in their home countries.¹⁴² In contrast, Mixrice created a comic strip that humorously highlights the contradictory motivations of Masum and his family and their awkward relationships. While Masum dreads being deported, his mother wants him to come home. Mixrice communicates Masum's physical and mental exhaustion with exaggerated dark circles under his eyes. Looking at him in the video on the

activist and obtained Korean citizenship, while many of his collaborators returned to their home countries after their visas expired, or they were deported.

¹³⁹ Cho, interview; Alam, interview.

¹⁴⁰ "Returnee (Riteoni)," *KMDB (Korean Movie Database)*, accessed June 1, 2021, <https://www.kmdb.or.kr/db/kor/detail/movie/A/05030>. Part of the film is available on YouTube, as four clips. Mahbub Lee, *Returnee*, accessed February 20, 2022, <https://youtu.be/8peJoc4nIMY> (part 1); <https://youtu.be/26FY9XHM6hE> (part 2); https://youtu.be/Z8v9_PY15vE (part 4); <https://youtu.be/P4-qwZLXYIQ> (part 5). Part 3 is not available. Thapa's Alpha Jeonhwabang also appears in this film.

¹⁴¹ Alam, interview.

¹⁴² The film shows interviews with the returnees, including Radhika, a well-known migrant worker activist who was also deported to Nepal after the EPS.

laptop screen, his mother says, “My son became bald already.” His wife and daughters’ uncomfortable facial expressions and their silence hint at the physical and mental distance that has grown between them during their ten years of separation. Mixrice cut the rest of the story in Mahbub’s film footage. Although Mixrice significantly altered the original video interview footage, changing the tone of the story from a tragedy to a dark comedy, the comics rely heavily on Alam’s contribution of conceiving, conducting, and documenting the interview, and Masum and his family’s participation in Alam’s film.

These comics in *Return*, together with their later works—namely, *The Illegal Lives* (2010; Fig. 1.22) and *500 Men, Games and Free Gifts: 1 pack of Q-tips, 1 pack of napkins, 1 pen, 1kg of sugar, 1 photo frame and 1 pack of potatoes* (hereafter *500 Men, Games and Free Gifts*) (2010/2018; Fig. 1.23)—raise questions about appropriation. *The Illegal Lives* is a multimedia installation including stage props, photographs, and video documentation of a stage play of the same name written and directed by Jahangir Allam, a migrant worker from Bangladesh, and performed by his fellow migrant workers (2010).¹⁴³ Mixrice’s *The Illegal Lives* captures a rehearsal of this play, emphasizing the process through which the migrant workers create and perform the piece based on their own stories. Rather than function at the level of the documentary, Mixrice’s sophisticated photographs of the rehearsal are dramatic still shots using rich lighting effects, retouched colour, and careful camera angles. Created in the same year, *500 Men, Games and Free Gifts* documents an event organized by migrant workers for the Bangladesh community in Maseok in 1999, in which about five hundred people played games and received the small giveaway items listed in the title in photographs.¹⁴⁴ Mixrice was able to

¹⁴³ Moon and Mixrice, ““Illegal Lives,”” 403–19.

¹⁴⁴ Mixrice, *A Frog in the Valley Travelled to Sea* (Seoul: Media Bus, 2010), 101.

make this work as Alam, one of the collaborating migrant workers whose full name is not identified, showed Mixrice a VHS video recording of the event from 1999.¹⁴⁵ Mixrice recreated this event in photographs in 2010 and an animated video installation of the same title in 2018. If *Return* used migrant workers' creative works as part of Mixrice's project, *The Illegal Lives* and *500 Men, Games and Free Gifts* repackaged migrant workers' own stage play and events and presented them as Mixrice's artwork.

Mixrice's use of migrant workers' creative works in their work can be described as "appropriation as choice and process," to use Arnd Schneider's phrase, as a strategy in contemporary art practice.¹⁴⁶ Based on the recognition of otherness, appropriation has been used as a strategy in art from primitivist practice to contemporary artists work, including works inspired from museum collections, interdisciplinary collaborative works between artists and anthropologists, and artists re-enacting Indigenous rituals.¹⁴⁷ But all appropriation is not equal. Appropriation as a strategy in Mixrice's work raises questions about authorship and the relationship between Mixrice and their participants.

No matter how close or long the relationships that Mixrice has built with migrant worker communities are, an asymmetrical power relationship exists between the artists and the workers, and this relationship sustains Mixrice's position in the hegemony of art culture. Using their artistic and cultural language, they (re)present migrant workers from Southeast Asia to the Korean and international art scene. Referring to this asymmetrical power relationship, artist and art historian Moon Young-min points out critical issues surrounding Mixrice's practice that

¹⁴⁵ Mixrice, *A Frog in the Valley Travelled to Sea*, 102.

¹⁴⁶ Arnd Schneider, "Appropriations," in *Contemporary Art and Anthropology*, ed. Arnd Schneider and Christopher Wright (London: Routledge, 2006), 38.

¹⁴⁷ Schneider, "Appropriations," 36–45.

originate from a “double hierarchy”: the ambiguous relationship between Mixrice and their migrant worker participants, as well as the ambiguous authorship of their work.¹⁴⁸ Moon’s reading of Mixrice’s appropriation reflects the institutional problem behind some community art, which Kester criticizes for predisposing the community people as disempowered people in the first place.¹⁴⁹ This predisposition justifies Mixrice’s appropriation of migrant workers’ artistic initiatives and makes Mixrice into “aesthetic evangelists,” the type of community artists Kester criticizes for descending into a community like parachute artists to grant “ideological patronage,” in Foster’s term.¹⁵⁰ Regardless of the blurred authorship, Moon praises Mixrice for its “ongoing and rigorous practice [that] is so rare in South Korea” and its high standard of aesthetic quality in their art, referring to Bishop’s (2006) critique on the denigration of aesthetics in socially engaged art.¹⁵¹

Citing *The Illegal Lives*, Moon claims that the director of the stage play believed it important for Mixrice and not any other artists to photograph the play as Mixrice had been collaborating with migrant workers since the EPS strike and was involved in the circumstances and process of the play’s creation.¹⁵² Moon asserts, “On the one hand, the director is ceding authorial power and yielding his work and its representation for use by Mixrice. On the other hand, Mixrice is appropriating the creative work of the workers as their own work.”¹⁵³ Then he claims, “the migrant workers are in a precarious condition, hence (they) hesitate to reveal their

¹⁴⁸ Moon and Mixrice, ““Illegal Lives,”” 412–14.

¹⁴⁹ Kwon, *One Place after Another*, 143.

¹⁵⁰ Kester, “Aesthetic Evangelists,” 5–11; Foster, “Artist as Ethnographer?” 302–9; Kwon, *One Place after Another*, 139. For more on this lineage of discussions, see Introduction.

¹⁵¹ Moon and Mixrice, ““Illegal Lives,”” 412–14.

¹⁵² Moon and Mixrice, ““Illegal Lives,”” 410.

¹⁵³ Moon and Mixrice, ““Illegal Lives,”” 410.

appearance in order to claim rights as political subjects.”¹⁵⁴ Allam, the director of the original stage play, is anonymized in Moon’s text as a nameless migrant worker, although Allam has organized talk shows, talent shows, and stage plays in Maseok, Korea, since 1998.¹⁵⁵ Moon’s account of Mixrice’s appropriation threatens to obscure migrant workers’ efforts to speak with their own voices, deeming them hesitant, vulnerable, and voiceless, while he praises Mixrice’s practice as empowering these migrant workers.

The migrant worker creators might not have voluntarily ceded their authorship to Mixrice if they had had other options to overcome the challenges of the arts funding system and the disinterest of Korean audiences.¹⁵⁶ They perhaps chose Mixrice to document and re-display their work because they had no other effective channel to show their creative work. The lack of channels and funding is a systemic problem. Most arts and culture funding offered at the national or provincial level is available only to artists with Korean citizenship who have received a formal education in art.¹⁵⁷ The only public funding migrant workers are eligible for are funds dedicated to Damunhwa (*tr.* multicultural) events that introduce traditional cultural activities or cuisines of their home countries.¹⁵⁸ Their creative work is neither supported nor acknowledged as artistic

¹⁵⁴ Moon and Mixrice, “‘Illegal Lives,’” 418.

¹⁵⁵ Jahangir Allam and Mixrice, “The Thing That Makes Us Move,” Mixrice et al., *Badly Flattened Ground* (Seoul: 2010), 74 (artist book published by Mixrice including essays and short writings by Mixrice, migrant workers, Moon Young Min, and Kim Heejin. The book also includes Moon and Mixrice’s “Illegal Lives” in both Korean and English).

¹⁵⁶ Author’s conversation with a migrant worker in Korea who wishes to remain anonymous, November 13, 2018, January 20, 2022.

¹⁵⁷ Alam, interview; Moon and Mixrice, “‘Illegal Lives,’” 408.

¹⁵⁸ Alam, interview. Promoted by the administration of Kim Dae-jung (in office 1998–2003), the Damunhwa policy focuses on supporting multicultural families comprised of a Korean man, a migrant bride, and their children. Migrant brides are often exposed to domestic and sexual violence, and their children are often subject to discrimination; Damunhwa is a policy to protect these families. Due to policies grounded in patriarchal nationalism, migrant workers are not considered entitled to form family units in Korea and, therefore, are excluded from the protection of *damunhwa*. For more on *damunhwa*, see Jooyeon Rhee, “Gendering

creation in Korea. Mixrice's displaying documentation of migrant workers' creative output as a Mixrice artwork demonstrates the hierarchy between the Korean artists and the migrant workers: the former's work is considered *art* and the latter's is considered *activity*. Thus, the migrant workers could not help but give up their rights as creators, deferring to artists with Korean citizenship and academic credentials. This is how these migrant workers utilized the hegemonic art system and how Mixrice co-conspired, accepting the deferred authorship, appropriating the migrant workers' creation, and presenting the migrants' work as Mixrice's art while adding a more sophisticated artistic touch.

The outcome of such work, however, carries the risk of distorting the meaning of the original activities and artistic creations of migrant workers when it is exhibited in galleries.¹⁵⁹ Displayed at the Seoul Museum of Art's new collection exhibition in 2019, *500 Men, Games and Free Gifts* conveyed the delightful atmosphere of the migrant workers' event in the animated video installation with audio of laughing crowds and stage lighting effects. When Mixrice's documentation of the event is decontextualized from the original event itself and displayed in an art gallery setting for (mostly Korean) viewers, this work could suggest that migrant workers from less privileged countries can have fun with cheap little goods; in turn, this understanding of the event might appear to some as poverty pornography.

The Illegal Lives was displayed in *The Square: Art and Society in Korea*, the exhibition organized as a celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the National Gallery of Modern and

Multiculturalism: Representation of Migrant Workers and Foreign Brides in Korean Popular Films," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 14, issue 7, no. 9 (2016), <https://apjpf.org/2016/07/Rhee-2.html>.

¹⁵⁹ Some of the migrant worker participants complained about this authorship whenever Mixrice's work was exhibited, purchased by a museum, or received an award. A critique on this issue was once posted on an internal blog of the migrant worker community but is no longer accessible.

Contemporary Art, Korea (MMCA), in 2019.¹⁶⁰ The exhibition highlighted Minjung art at the core and showcased some post-Minjung art and more contemporary works of artists of Korean nationalities who engaged with and contributed to Korea's democracy. Displayed as a mock-up stage surrounded by photographs, video, and text of Allam and the migrant worker performers' original stage play, Mixrice's *The Illegal Lives* was staged as a work of post-Minjung artists. Here, the original creators and performers appear as recipients of the Korean artists' benevolent activism and as impoverished, disempowered people.

500 Men, Games and Free Gifts and *The Illegal Lives* demonstrate Foster's account of community art in which artists' well-intentioned gestures may actually result in the perpetuation of colonialist and neoprimitivist ideologies.¹⁶¹ Miwon Kwon comprehensively summarizes such effects as follows: "the targeting of marginalized community group (serving as Third Worlds found in the First World) leads to their becoming both subject and coproducer of their own self-appropriation in the name of self-affirmation."¹⁶²

One might consider the relationship between artists and migrants to be a partnership and a win-win strategy. In fact, it was the migrant workers who suggested collaboration with Mixrice to document *Illegal Lives*. The relationship is an intertwined one based on the migrant workers' needs as much as Mixrice's. In the cases of the comic strips in *Return* and *500 Men, Games and Free Gifts*, Mixrice seems to be taking advantage of the migrant workers' creative product. However, in most of their work, the appropriation is performed in exchange for the artists'

¹⁶⁰ Mixrice boycotted the exhibition as the MMCA suggested an unreasonable artist fee (initially none and then ₩ 41,250, equivalent to CAD\$44.81, following Mixrice's complaint). However, Mixrice's *The Illegal Lives* was displayed because it was part of the museum's collection. Mixrice publicized the issue, created an art community to talk about it, and led a discussion board on artist fees.

¹⁶¹ Foster, *The Return of the Real*, 196–97.

¹⁶² Hal Foster, *Return of the Real*, 196–97; Kwon, *One Place After Another*, 139.

participation in the migrant workers' activism, thus providing the workers with a channel to deliver their message to Korean viewers. This is the migrant worker creators/participants/collaborators' strategy to showcase their works via Mixrice in the art system, which rarely invites the subaltern to speak. Just as they enter into the (illegal) labour market knowing that their human rights will be violated, migrant workers complicitly participate in the violation of their own creative rights in order to show their work. Borrowing from Spivak and Tsing, I suggest that the subaltern cannot not resist the hegemony of the art system and cultural capitals, which both seduces and excludes them. As much as the migrant workers are accomplices of the hegemony of capitalism, Mixrice and their migrant worker collaborators are also accomplices of the hegemony of art.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed how Mixrice's *Return* represents migrant workers as the subaltern in post-IMF South Korea as an example of post-Minjung practice. Formed in critique of and in succession to Minjung art, post-Minjung art referred to the theories and practice of socially engaged art abroad and localized it in the socially participatory tradition of Korean art. *Return* demonstrates both the strengths and the limitations of post-Minjung art practice in addressing the subaltern. Through the mural and the photographs that illustrate the artists' encounter with Butwal residents, Mixrice presents various aspects of the migrant workers, portraying them as active agents in the global economy who sustain and reproduce neoliberal capitalism in Asia, even acting complicitly with the hegemony that exploits them. *Return* also captures the tensions between the artists and the Butwal residents that originates from their asymmetrical power

relationship. Although Mixrice's practice in general challenges the stereotype in South Korea of migrant workers as unsatisfiable, desire-driven nomads, *Return* reaffirms the stereotype by emphasizing the Butwal residents' desire for money, which is an inevitable outcome in the system that lures migrant workers into self-exploitation and complicity in illegal migration. In incorporating migrant workers' creative projects into Mixrice artwork, Mixrice leaves the issue of authorship in a grey area, by using appropriation as a method in order to make the migrant workers' voice heard. In its representation of and collaboration with migrant workers, Mixrice's exhibition *Return* failed to overturn the "double hierarchy" but chose to be complicit with the hierarchy in the Korean art system. This is perhaps the fate of community art in the hegemony of the art system and neoliberal capitalism. Mixrice no longer resists the hegemony but has chosen to ally with it.

Return represented a monumental change in Mixrice's practice. Their migrant worker friends/participants/collaborators returned to their hometown while the artists returned to the Gwangju Biennale—the central institution of Korean art's hegemony and the hub of international art, especially in Asia, which enabled them initially to conceive of this collective. In Nepal, the artists found that their returnee friends were no longer like-minded activists. They presented their awkward encounter at the Gwangju Biennale, illustrating that migrant workers were, in fact, pursuing money, transplanting neoliberal capitalism, and exploiting others, as they had learned to do in Korea. *Return* is a travelogue acknowledging the arrival of a new global landscape in both Butwal and Korea, where individuals succumb to the hegemonies of neoliberal capitalism and art.

What Mixrice learned from this trip was perhaps the difficulty of identifying the Other in this new landscape. The last element of *Return*, a two-sided imaginary map, seems to offer this

lesson (Fig. 1.24). One side is a map titled *cheonhado* 天下圖, which translates to “the map under the sky,” but is generally understood as “the map of the world” in Korean and Chinese. In the circular map, nations are all separated from each other by mountains and oceans. The accompanying text describes these other nations: one consists of only women, another of only literati men, another of three-headed people, another of little people, and so on. This map imitates the style of circular world maps, *cheonhado*, which were created and circulated in the seventeenth-century Joseon Dynasty.¹⁶³ *Cheonhado* incorporate fictive nations in Chinese mythology, derived from a circular map introduced in *Shan Hai Jing* (山海经), also known as *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* (third century BCE to second century CE), which presents China in the centre, surrounded by various other imaginary nations.

On the other side, which becomes the cover page when it is folded, is what looks like a naval navigation map, on which longitudinal lines conjoin at the top and the bottom. Many different lands are separated by ocean, and three vessels voyage between these islands, each going in a different direction. The sentence in the middle of the map appears in both Korean and English: “We are all islands.” If the first map represents the Sinocentric, self-centered worldview and the fantasy that each nation of the world consists of a homogenous community, the second shows all nations as isolated from each other, but hints at making the effort to navigate toward and reach each other.

Through *Return*, Mixrice presented the artists’ reflection on migrant workers from

¹⁶³ Mixrice only states on its website that it brought the idea of the circular map of mythic nations from an ancient Chinese map. The title 天下圖 in the Mixrice map in fact refers to the circular maps called *cheonhado* 天下圖 (the map under the sky” or “the map of the world”), which were created and circulated in the seventeenth-century Joseon Dynasty. For more on *cheonhado*, Sang Hak Oh, “Joseonhugi Wonhyeong Cheonhadoui Teukseonggwa Segyegwan” (The characteristics and the worldview in circular world map made in the late Joseon dynasty), *The Geographical Journal of Korea* 35, no. 3 (2001): 232.

Southeast Asia, highlighting their desire in the context of the hegemony of the global economy and the Korean artworld, both of which systemically seduce and exclude migrant workers.

Working collaboratively with migrant workers, Mixrice shared Minjung art's emphasis on art's intervention in the community of marginalized people in Korea and post-Minjung art's interest in the ambivalent aspects of Korea in the global power dynamic. With this discussion as a backdrop, the next chapter will discuss works by South Korean artists whose practice is associated with Minjung art and post-Minjung art and that address Korea's involvement in the Vietnam War and atrocities against Vietnamese civilians.

Chapter 2. Representing Contested Memories, Precarious Apologies: The Vietnam War in Contemporary Korean Art

Abstract

This chapter examines artworks that problematize collective memories of the Vietnam War in South Korea. Collective memories of the Vietnam War in South Korea are contested, on the one hand, by the dominant narratives constructed by the military regime, and, on the other hand, by counter-memories generated by activists who call on Korea to apologize to the Vietnamese people for atrocities committed by Korean soldiers. IM Heung-soon's publication *Ireon Jeonjaeng (This War)* (2009) presents collective memories of South Korean veterans, and his single-channel video *Reborn II* (2018) shows Vietnamese victims of the war, including victims of sexual violence. Bronze casts of Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung's statue *Vietnam Pieta* (2015–2016) were installed in Vietnam and Korea as a gesture of apology for the rape and murder of Vietnamese women and children by Korean soldiers. Drawing on Maurice Halbwachs's concept of collective memory and Jacques Derrida's discussion of conditional apology, this chapter examines how these artworks represent contested memories of the Vietnam War in Korea and the conditional apology suggested by Korean activism, relating them to redress movements for wartime atrocities in a transnational context. Analyses of these artworks suggest some of the aesthetic, ethical, and political limitations and possibilities in representing memories of wartime sexual violence and (un)conditional apologies in visual art.

Keywords

Vietnam War, IM Heung-soon, Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, *Vietnam Pieta*, *Sonyeosang*, memory, apology, historical justice, South Korea, Vietnam, Japan

Introduction

The memory of the Vietnam War (known in Vietnam as “the American War” or “the Resistance War Against America”) remains highly contested in South Korea (hereafter Korea unless otherwise specified).¹ Ever since Kim Young-beom coined the term *gongsik gieok* (tr. official memory), in his 1998 article, to refer to a memory that enjoys social privilege by being advocated by social authorities, the term has frequently appeared in scholarly texts on the history redress movement in Korea related to the Vietnam War.² Introducing Maurice Halwachs’s discussion of the politics of memory, Kim provided the binary concept of *gongsik gieok* (tr. official memory) vs. *daehang gieok* (tr. counter-memory), and these terms became key words in the redress movement around the South Korean military’s atrocities during the Vietnam War, which were disclosed in 1999.³

Korea’s official memory of the war was constructed in the early 1970s to serve the Korean military regime’s statecraft and Cold War ideology. From 1969 to 1973, Korea dispatched about 325,000 soldiers to Vietnam as mercenary troops of the United States. In

¹ South Korea participated in the Vietnam War as an ally of the United States, while North Korea was involved in the war as an ally of North Vietnam. This chapter focuses on South Korea, so I use “Korea” to refer to South Korea, unless otherwise specified.

² Kim Young-beom introduced Maurice Halwachs’s *On Collective Memory* (1992) in Korea in his 1998 article, which has been widely cited in Korean scholars’ texts discussed in this chapter. Halwachs’s term *collective memory* is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Kim Yeong-beom, “Jibhabgieog-ui Sahoesa jeog Jipyong-gwa Donghag” (Socio-historical horizons and dynamics of collective memory), in *Sahoesa Yeonguui Ilongwa Silje* (Theory and practice of social history research), by Ji Seung-jong et al. (Seoul: Hanguk Jeongsin Munhwa Yeonguwon, 1998), 157–211; Kim Hyung-gon, “Hanguk jeonjaeng-ui Gongsiggieog-gwa Jeonjaeng-ginyeom-gwan” (Official memories of the Korean War and war memorials), *Hanguk Eonlon Jeongbo Hagbo* (Journal of communication & information) 40 (Winter 2007): 195;

³ Chun Jin-sung, “Eogabjeog ‘Yeogsa’e Daehan Jaehyeon-ui Jeongchihag” (The politics of representation on repressive ‘history’), *Gyosusinmun* (Professor news), December 3, 2006, <https://www.kyosu.net/news/articleView.html?idxno=12100>.

exchange, the Park Chung-hee administration (1963–1979) received about US\$1 billion to support Park’s plans for economic development.⁴ Thus, the Vietnam War enabled the “Miracle on the Han River,” Korea’s economic leap forward in the 1960s and 1970s, which helped the nation overcome the devastation of the Korean War in the early 1950s.⁵ This money also helped consolidate Park’s dictatorship and military culture in Korea.⁶ Park’s administration infused the memory of the Vietnam War with anti-communism, which had already been deeply inscribed in the minds of the Korean people. Intermittent skirmishes and attacks by armed communist guerrillas from North Korea, even after a ceasefire was signed in 1953, maintained communism as a lurking threat. Park’s military regime mobilized this fear to label those calling for democracy communist sympathizers.⁷ In this political climate, many Koreans considered participating in the Vietnam War an extension of “hunting the reds.” Korean soldiers in Vietnam were praised as heroes who sacrificed themselves for the sake of national prosperity and international democracy against the spread of communism. Most Koreans under the military dictatorship were disinterested in the anti-war movement occurring in other parts of the world. Although the cruelty of war was sometimes represented in Korean popular culture, it did not disrupt the official memory.⁸ Popular culture in general perpetuated anti-communism and racism,

⁴ Han, “Hangukgwa Beteunam Jeonjaeng,” 115–26; Kwak Tae-yang, “Hangugui Beteunamjeonjaeng Chamjeon Jaepyeongga” (Re-evaluating South Korean Participation in the Vietnam War), *Yeoksa Bipyeong* (History critique) 107 (May 2014): 223.

⁵ Kwak, “Hangugui Beteunamjeonjaeng Chamjeon Jaepyeongga,” 223.

⁶ Han, “Hangukgwa Beteunam Jeonjaeng”; Han, “Park Chung-hee Jeonggwonui Beteunam Pabyeong-gwa Byeongyeong-gukga-hwa,” 120–39; Kwak, “Hangugui Beteunamjeonjaeng Chamjeon Jaepyeongga,” 225–27.

⁷ Han Hong-gu, “Haksaleun Haksaleul Natgo...” (Massacre Gives a Birth to Another Massacre...) *Hankyoreh* 21, 306, May 4, 2000, <http://legacy.h21.hani.co.kr/h21/data/L000424/1p944o09.html>.

⁸ Viet Thanh Nguyen, *Nothing Ever Dies: Vietnam and the Memory of War* (2016) (Korean title: *Amugeot-do Sarajiji Anneunda*), trans. from English to Korean by Bu Hee-ryung (Seoul: The Bom, 2019), 187–204.

portraying the Vietnamese as inhumane enemies, thereby consolidating the official memory of the war.⁹

This official memory was dramatically challenged in 1999, when a series of articles in the monthly magazine *Hankyoreh 21* reported on the atrocities committed by Korean soldiers in Vietnam.¹⁰ These articles were written by Ku Su-jeong, an activist who was conducting research in Vietnam, and Koh Kyung-tae, a journalist. Using photographic evidence and interviews with survivors, their stories vividly recounted Korean atrocities such as civilian massacres, sexual violence, and the burning of houses. The articles were shocking enough to provoke a backlash from Korean veterans, who, in protest, occupied the Hankyoreh corporation's property and burned nearby cars. The violence drew media attention, and Hankyoreh received donations for the Vietnamese victims from Korean citizens. This awareness and the associated funds prompted a campaign known as *Mianhaeyo Beteunam* ("Sorry, Vietnam"; *Xin lỗi, Việt Nam* in Vietnamese, hereafter "Sorry, Vietnam"), which aimed to reconfigure memory of the war and apologize to the Vietnam victims. Since then, activists, journalists, and researchers have worked to dismantle the official memory of the war, arguing that these brutalities were not incidental but planned operations targeting unarmed children, women, and elders.¹¹ Most of the atrocities were

⁹ Park Tae Gyun, "Hangukjeonjaeng, Geurigo Beteunam Jeonjaengui Gieokgwa Chamjeonui Aksunhwan" (Memory of the Korean War and the Vietnam War, and the vicious circle of entering into wars), *Gukje Jiyeok Yeon-gu* (International and local research) 20, no. 2 (2011): 167; Park Tae-gyun, *The Vietnam War* (Seoul: Hankyoreh Publishing, 2015); Nguyen, *Nothing Ever Dies*, 187–204.

¹⁰ The first of these articles was written by Ku Su-jeong, "Ah, Momseolichyeojineun Hanguggun!" (Ah, the Korean army that makes us shudder!), *Hankyoereh 21*, May 6, 1999, <http://legacy.h21.hani.co.kr/h21/data/L990426/1p944q0c.html>.

¹¹ Kang, "Nogeulliui Haewoneul Neomeo Beteunam Haksarui Chamhoe-ro!"; Heonik Kwon, *After the Massacre: Commemoration and Consolidation in Ha My and My Lai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Koh Kyung-tae, *1968 2wol 2il: Betnam Pongni Pongneot, Haksal, Geurigo Segye* (February 12, 1968: Vietnam Phong Nhị and Phong Nhất, massacre, and the world) (Seoul: Hankyoreh Publishing, 2015); Park, *Vietnam War*, 96–103.

committed after the Tet Offensive (New Year Offensive, so called because it started from the Lunar New Year in 1968), during which North Vietnam attacked the US embassy in Saigon and US military bases in Huế and Đà Nẵng.¹² As post-ambush retaliatory acts, the Korean army slaughtered unarmed civilians in Phong Nhị and Phong Nhất on February 12, and in Ha My on February 25, 1968.¹³ With the articles published in *Hankyoreh* in 1999, the official memory and counter-memories of the Vietnam War in Korea began to co-exist in a contested site of historical memory.

Accordingly, a call for Korea to apologize to Vietnam emerged in domestic and international political contexts. The democratization of Korea in the late 1980s had provided an opportunity to reevaluate previous military regimes' violations of human rights both in Korea and elsewhere. In addition, there was growing international and regional interest in historical justice and reconciliation relating to wartime atrocities in East Asia. In particular, activists in the early 1990s made a series of demands for the Japanese government to officially apologize for the military's use of female sex slaves, who were either deceitfully or forcefully recruited from its colonies and known euphemistically as the "comfort women."¹⁴

The term "comfort women"¹⁵ refers to the women who were forced into sexual slavery

¹² Koh, *1968 2wol 2il*; Kwon, *After the Massacre*.

¹³ Koh, *1968 2wol 2il*; Kwon, *After the Massacre*.

¹⁴ Ahn Yonsun, "Korean 'Comfort Women' and Military Sexual Slavery in World War II" (PhD Diss., University of Warwick, UK, 1999); Lee Na-young, "Ilbon-gun 'Wianbu' Un-dong Dasi Bogi — Munhwajeok Teurauma Geukbokgwa Gonggamdoen Cheongjungui Hwaksan" (Rethinking Korean women's movement of Japanese military sexual slavery: Overcoming cultural trauma and constructing empathetic audience), *Sahoewa Yeoksa* (Society and history) 115 (2017): 66, 79–81.

¹⁵ Although the term "comfort women" is problematic, I will use this term throughout the chapter instead of "military sexual slavery." The term "military sexual slavery by Japan," used in the 1996 United Nations report, may be the more accurate terminology to describe these women's realities. Nonetheless, some survivors refrain from referring to themselves as former sex slaves, and the term "comfort women of the Japanese military" is generally used with scare quotes to

for the Imperial Japanese Army from the early 1930s to 1945. More than 80 percent of them were Korean, but they also included Japanese, Chinese, Filipina, Indonesian, and Dutch women, the latter from the Dutch colony of Indonesia. Most of these women were sent to what were termed *comfort stations*, which were various forms of military brothels, either army-based or privately run, or restaurants at the frontline of military camps and logistics towns in China, Burma, and Indonesia.¹⁶ The euphemistic term “comfort women” (*ianfu* in Japanese, *wianbu* in Korean) originally referred to the Japanese women who served in military brothels; later, the term was applied to those women who were taken from Japan’s colonies to supply the demand for military brothels and prevent soldiers from raping civilians.¹⁷ This kind of sexual trafficking

emphasize it as a euphemism. As the Japanese feminist scholar Ueno Chizuko contends, there seems to be no more appropriate terminology than “comfort women” to describe “the systematic and continuous rape of the women under conditions of forced capture and confinement.” Given that the term is already well known through this euphemism, I use the term “comfort women” in this chapter to highlight the peculiar fascistic justification and gender discourse in mobilizing women to sustain a nation in the contexts of Japanese imperialism, and the social stigma imprinted on Korean women in the context of patriarchal Korean nationalism. For the terminology and the definition of “comfort women,” see Radhika Coomaraswamy, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Its Causes and Consequences, Accordance with Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1994/45, *UN Commission on Human Rights*, distr., January 4, 1996, <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/commission/country52/53-add1.htm>; Kim Chang Rok, “Beopjeok Gwanjeomeseo Bon ‘2015 Hanil Oegyojanggwan Habui’” (A legal examination of the 2015 agreement by foreign ministers of the Republic of Korea and Japan), *Democratic Legal Studies* 60 (March 2016): 47; Ueno Chizuko, *Nationalism and Gender*, trans. Beverley Yamamoto (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2004), 89.

¹⁶ Hanguk Jeongsindae Munje Daechaek Hyeobuihoe (Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan), *The Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies I* (Seoul: Hanul Publishing, 1993); Keith Howard, *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies* (London: Cassell, 1995); Philip A. Seaton, *Japan’s Contested War Memories: The “Memory Rifts” in Historical Consciousness of World War II* (London: Routledge, 2007); Haruki Wada, “The Comfort Women, the Asian Women’s Fund and the Digital Museum,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 6, no. 2 (2008), <https://apjif.org/-Wada-Haruki/2653/article.html>; Kim Puja, “Hangugui ‘Pyeonghwau Sonyeosang’-gwa Taljinsil-ui Jeongchihak” (“The Girl Statue of Peace” in South Korea and post-truth politics: Reviewing colonialism and male-centered nationalism and gender in Japan), *Journal of Korean Women’s Studies* 33, no. 3 (2017): 279–322.

¹⁷ Yoshimi Yoshiaki, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military during World*

had precedent in *karayuki-san* (China-bound persons), Japanese women who were trafficked abroad as prostitutes, sold into debt bondage from impoverished rural towns to brothels throughout Southeast Asia and China mostly from 1905 to the 1930s.¹⁸ As demands for Japan to apologize to Korean “comfort women” received wide support, the Korean public became more open to calls from Korean activists who were calling for Korea to apologize to Vietnam.

The “Sorry, Vietnam” campaign, however, has also been closely associated with the anti-colonial nationalism of Korean activists, which could undermine the sincerity of any resultant apology. Early activists claimed that Korea should apologize to Vietnam if Korea wanted to receive an apology from Japan for the “comfort women.”¹⁹ Such an apology, as a condition of diplomacy, recalls Jacques Derrida’s model of forgiveness demanded and granted as a premise of exchange.²⁰ In *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, citing the example of Korea and Japan, Derrida contests the conditional logic of forgiveness, in which apology and forgiveness are demanded and exchanged between nations with political calculation in mind. Often called “apology diplomacy” in Japan, Japanese prime ministers have issued statements, which they consider to be apologies, as a political strategy to deal with unresolved tensions stemming from the Asia-Pacific War (part of World War II) and Japanese colonialism.²¹ If a state’s apology is demanded and issued as a parley, the link between “Sorry, Vietnam” activism and “Justice for the ‘Comfort Women’” activism becomes a double-edged sword: it is a powerful tool to

War II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 89; Ahn, *Whose Comfort?* 10.

¹⁸ Ahn, “Korean ‘Comfort Women’ and Military Sexual Slavery in World War II,” 199.

¹⁹ Yun Chung Ro, “Hangugui Beteunam Jeonjaeng Ginyeomgwa Gieogui Jeongchi” (The politics of memory and commemoration of the Vietnam War in Korea), *Sahoewa Yeoksa* (Society and history) 86 (2010): 157; Han, “Haksaleun haksaleul natgo...”

²⁰ Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, 28–32.

²¹ Mariko Izumi, “Asian Japanese State Apology, National Ethos, and the Comfort Women Reparations Debate in Japan,” *Communication Studies* 62, no. 5 (2011): 478.

formulate a public discourse about the need for Korea to apologize to Vietnam, but it also weakens the sincerity of any apology by treating it as an exchangeable commodity.

This chapter discusses visual art projects created by Korean artists in this context. IM Heung-soon (b. 1969), a film-based multimedia artist, created a series of works (2004–ongoing) that addresses the memories of Korean veterans and Vietnamese women who survived civilian massacre and/or sexual violence perpetuated by Korean soldiers. Sculptors Kim Seokyung (b. 1965) and Kim Eunsung (b. 1964) created a bronze statue known as *Vietnam Pieta* (2015–2016) (Fig. 2.1), as a gesture of apology to the Vietnamese women and children who were raped and/or murdered by Korean soldiers. IM’s film *Reborn II* (Fig. 2.2) and Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung’s statue *Vietnam Pieta* were created by the artists in close collaboration with the activists of the non-profit Korea–Vietnam Peace Foundation in Korea and with A–MAP, a social enterprise for fair trade and fair tourism in Vietnam.²² As the most prominent activist in the “Sorry, Vietnam” campaign, Ku Su-jeong leads both organizations.

Bringing together visual analyses of the artworks, reflection on my own participation in the Vietnam Peace Trip in January 2019, interviews with the artists, activists, and war survivors, and a theoretical discussion of memory and apology, I examine how these works represent contested memories and suspended apologies in East Asian regional politics. I first discuss how

²² A-MAP borrowed its name from *amap*, a musical instrument played by the Cor, an ethnic minority in Vietnam. As an *amap* can only be played by two players, using two reeds at opposite ends, it implies the necessity of bilateral collaboration. Agongne, “Beteunam Sahoejeong Gieom A-MAP” (Social enterprise for fair-trading in Vietnam, A-MAP), *Asia Fair Trading Network* (blog), February 19, 2014, https://m.blog.naver.com/PostView.naver?isHttpsRedirect=true&blogId=afn_01&logNo=150185428369. For the musical instrument *amap*, see Nguyễn Văn Sơn, “Người Cor với tiếng kèn amáp mùa Xuân” (The Cor with the sound of a spring trumpet), *Văn Hóa Nghệ Thuật*, January 22, 2021, <http://vanhoanghethuat.vn/nguoi-cor-voi-tieng-ken-amap-mua-xuan.htm?fbclid=IwAR24vp6RVx15ZpVrF1lcJZ5m-IB2xr4ikMNR5DSYXzOy7rQBWgyuOyTssE8>.

IM's book *Ireon Jeonjaeng* (this war; hereafter *This War*) (2009)²³ and his film *Reborn II* (2018) present silenced memories of the war and the subsequent ethical dilemma in representing survivors of wartime sexual violence. Second, I argue that the installations of *Vietnam Pieta* in Vietnam and Korea constitute a suspended and conditional apology. I outline key issues related to the apologies demanded and offered by Japan, South Korea, and Vietnam, which are crucial to understanding *Vietnam Pieta* and its role in this triangular transnational relationship. This chapter reveals the aesthetic, ethical, and political limitations of these works as well as challenges created and opportunities lost when the wounds of the past are open but ignored by the nation state.

Contested Memories of the Vietnam War in Korea

Collective memory is “always ‘socially framed’ since social groups determine what is memorable and how it will be remembered,” theorized Maurice Halbwachs in 1925.²⁴ In other words, individual memory relies on social memory, as memory is shaped by the individual’s social environment.²⁵ To Halbwachs, sharing collective memory confirms the solidarity and continuity of a group, such as a nation. He established the concepts of official, artificial, and monolithic memory in contrast to unofficial, irregular, and multiple memories.²⁶ Originally published in 1925 as *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (The social frame of memory) (1992), Halbwachs’s book was republished as *On Collective Memory* in 1992, as historians’ interest in

²³ IM Heung-soon, *Ireon Jeonjaeng* (This war) (Anyang, South Korea: Achim Media, 2009).

²⁴ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 43.

²⁵ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 43.

²⁶ Lee Youngjin, “Commemoration of Kamikaze Soldiers and the Politics of Death in the Post-War Japan” (PhD diss., Seoul National University, 2011), 31.

memory studies grew.²⁷

Extending Halbwachs's concept of official memory, Eric Hobsbawm, in his 1983 "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," emphasized the state's role in constructing collective memory by using "invented tradition."²⁸ Hobsbawm argued that, in creating a modern nation, making the mass public participate in certain traditions, such as rituals and customs, generates a social cohesion. This cohesion, created and based on the belief that a certain group of people share something inherent to them, is what Benedict Anderson calls "imagined communities."²⁹ Halbwachs and Hobsbawm emphasized the nation state as the agency that forms "official memory," which is created by the hegemonic power and dominant ideology of the state.

In contrast to the above accounts of official memory, popular memory theorists, inspired by Foucauldian "counter-memory," pay attention to the public as the agent of collective memory, constructing it from the "bottom up."³⁰ Reconsidering the nature of the author, knowledge, and history, through examining how power weighs on them, Michel Foucault suggested that "counter-memory" is "a transformation of history into a totally different form of time;" counter-memory opposes history that prescribes recognition, identity, and a mythic tradition of the people.³¹ Popular memory theorists suggest that there is a heterogeneous memory space within

²⁷ Lee, "Commemoration of Kamikaze Soldiers and the Politics of Death in the Post-War Japan," 31.

²⁸ Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 1–14.

²⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

³⁰ Barbara A. Misztal, "Theorizing Remembering," in *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead, UK: Open University Press, 2003), 61; José Medina, "Toward a Foucaultian Epistemology of Resistance: Counter-Memory, Epistemic Friction, and Guerrilla Pluralism," *Foucault Studies* 12 (October 2011): 9.

³¹ Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. and intro. Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 160.

collective memory.

Pointing to both official memory and counter-memory, Pierre Nora argued that “every social group redefine(s) its identity through the revitalization of its own history” in his 1989 essay “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*.”³² To solidify such official memory and private memories (or individual histories), Nora suggested, these social groups create, construct, and accumulate *les lieux de mémoire* (tr. places of memory) in “material, symbolic, and functional” forms,³³ such as cemeteries, museums, and archives, and anniversaries as “indicator(s) of memory.”³⁴ Whereas Foucault drew on literature as a medium of formulating and preserving counter-memory, Nora brings our attention to visual means—archives and memorial ceremonies—as the indices of memory and the symbolic manifestations that generate heterogeneous memory space in material form.

Contested memories of the Vietnam War in Korea demonstrate how official memory and counter-memories collide and preserve their own version of history. For example, the Vietnam Veterans’ Association of Korea claims that there were no atrocities, and if there were, they were an inevitable part of wartime operations during tit-for-tat encounters with guerrillas. In contrast, activists claim that Korean troops committed about eighty massacres that killed about nine thousand civilians.³⁵ Each social group has constructed its own *lieux de mémoire*, which preserve and represent their own versions of this history through visual symbols displayed in archives and museums.

³² Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 15.

³³ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 19.

³⁴ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 14, 22.

³⁵ Hwang Sang-cheol, “Yangminhaksal Pongno’neun Heomhan II!” (“Exposure of civilian massacre” is a rough work!), *Hankyoreh* 21, March 9, 2020, <http://legacy.h21.hani.co.kr/h21/data/L000228/1pau2slo.html>; Koh, *1968 2wol 2il*, 344.

Contested memories over past atrocities, demands for apology, victimization, and the denial of historic events have sparked what some historians call a “history war” or “memory war.”³⁶ As Park Soon-Won, Shin Gi-Wook, and Yang Daqing put it, “All Northeast Asian nations have some sense of victimization—Japan vis-à-vis the United States and Russia, and China and Korea vis-à-vis Japan—and often blame others, rather than taking responsibility.”³⁷ Some Japanese commentators claim that because all Asian nations suffered during World War II, apologies are not necessary.³⁸ Some historians and politicians deny that wartime atrocities occurred in Asia at all.³⁹ Others deny such crimes as the Holocaust, the Armenian genocide, the Rwandan genocide, the Bosnian genocide, the missing children in Australia, and the Ukrainian genocide known as the Holodomor.⁴⁰ These revisionists, or denialists, tend to exchange and expand their influence on each other, uniting across national boundaries. Historian Lim Ji-hyun describes this tendency as “denialist internationalism,” as denialists invoke solidarity across the national borders.⁴¹ Lim contends that this international denialism has created a global “history war,” characterized by multiple spaces of contested memory in the twenty-first century, which he, in turn, calls the “memory war.”⁴² Activists and revisionists in Korea and Japan have driven the memory war in Northeast Asia, including the Southeast Asian nation of Vietnam in it, even as the Vietnamese government has refrained from taking part.

Although the Korean and Vietnamese governments have avoided making or accepting

³⁶ Lim, *Gieokjeonjaeng*, 58.

³⁷ Park, Shin, and Yang, “Introduction,” 1.

³⁸ Lim, “Victimhood,” 431–34; Lim, *Gieokjeonjaeng*, 269.

³⁹ Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins*, 111–46; Lim, *Gieokjeonjaeng*, 47–48.

⁴⁰ Lim, *Gieokjeonjaeng*, 58; Valentina Kuryliw, *Holodomor in Ukraine, the Genocidal Famine 1932–1933: Learning Materials for Teachers and Students* (Toronto: CIUS Press, 2018).

⁴¹ Lim, *Gieokjeonjaeng*, 58.

⁴² Lim, *Gieokjeonjaeng*, 118.

apologies for the atrocities, Korean activists have attempted to provide some form of compensation to the victims and their communities, such as medical aid and scholarships to local schools. The Vietnam Peace Trip, organized by the Korea–Vietnam Peace Foundation two or three times a year, has often been a trigger and channel of such activities. This “dark tourism,” led by Ku, takes participants to the sites of Korean brutality in Vietnam.⁴³ During the trip, participants meet with survivors and individually express their sympathy and/or apologize to them. The artists IM and Kim Seokyung were in the same 2014 cohort of the Vietnam Peace Trip, and created *Reborn II* and *Vietnam Pieta*, respectively, after their trip.⁴⁴ While IM’s practice inclines toward post-Minjung art, paying attention to people marginalized by Korea’s rapid economic growth and development, Kim Eunsung and Kim Seokyung practice the aesthetic of Minjung art, highlighting the suffering of Koreans through social realism.⁴⁵ Their works occupy different sites, but they both address the traumatic memories of the war, with a focus on the Vietnamese victims of the war.

IM Heung-Soon’s *This War* (2009) and *Reborn II* (2018)

This section discusses IM’s practice related to the Vietnam War in two projects: the early work documented in his book, *This War* (2009; Fig. 2.3), produced before his participation in the Vietnam Peace Trip, and the film *Reborn II* (2018), produced after the trip. While his early

⁴³ Used from 1996, the term *dark tourism* refers to “tourism involving travel to places identified or associated with death, suffering, or tragedy.” *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “dark tourism,” accessed February 25, 2022, <https://www-oed-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/view/Entry/47295?redirectedFrom=dark+tourism#eid1260870680>.

⁴⁴ Kim Seokyung joined the trip with her husband, Kim Eunsung, again in 2015.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 1 of this dissertation for discussion of Minjung art and post-Minjung art.

works on the Vietnam War unsettle the official memory of the war in Korea, providing alternative perspectives to the war by presenting individual memories of the Korean veterans, his newer works provide a platform for Vietnamese female victims of the war to be heard.

This War (2009)

This War consists of IM's work from 2004 to 2009 on Korean veterans of the Vietnam War. As one of the founding members of the artist collective Mixrice, IM had collaborated with migrant workers from Southeast Asia,⁴⁶ and his works have focused on socially marginalized people in Korea's modern and contemporary history. Korean veterans also have appeared in his work from his early career. IM included his interviews with Korean veterans in a series of mixed-media works, and *This War* includes his writings as well as photographic and textual documentation of his field trips to war-related sites in Vietnam and Korea. It also incorporates documentation from three exhibitions that displayed archival images and objects in photographs, installations, and videos: *Homecoming Box* (2008), a collaboration with historian Yun Chung Ro and independent filmmaker Park Kyung-tae; and two solo exhibitions, *Invitation to Happiness* (2009) and *Letter from Vietnam* (2009).

This War attributes the Vietnam War to US imperialism and Korea's participation to a desire for the material abundance. For example, the installation *The Miracle of the Han River* displays a paper cut-out of Santa Claus being pulled by a fighter-bomber against a video projection of fireworks over the Han River (Fig. 2.4). IM borrowed the motif from an installation that appeared at the Đà Nẵng Air Base during the war. He saw a photograph of this installation in

⁴⁶ For more on Mixrice and migrant workers from Southeast Asia, see Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

the book *Vietnam War Diary*, published in 1990, which does not provide any details about this installation.⁴⁷ In the photograph of the original installation, Santa Claus is being pulled by an air raider, as if the installation represents the US military dropping bombs on North Vietnamese children (as opposed to Santa Claus dropping gifts to children in the United States) (Fig. 2.5). In his installation, IM added the fireworks by the Han River to suggest the vanity of the war and the luxurious city life that Koreans achieved at the cost of others' bloodshed.

The veterans appear as victims of the war in *Donuts Diagrams*, a series of two photographic prints presenting two sets of statistics, composed of assorted flavours and colours of donuts, cut into various fractions (Fig. 2.6 and Fig. 2.7).⁴⁸ In each print, the donut on the left presents statistics provided by the Ministry of National Defence in 1969 and 1966, respectively. In contrast, the donut on the right includes statistics based on IM's interviews with twenty-four veterans, conducted between 2004 and 2008. *The Donuts Diagram A* (Fig. 2.6) shows the Ministry's 1969 survey of the education level of dispatched private soldiers in the left donut, and the artist's survey of the reasons behind the veterans' participation in the Vietnam War in the right donut. The Ministry's survey shows that 92 percent of a total of 46,146 private soldiers had not received a college education. IM's survey, although drawing on a small survey pool, shows that some veterans identified starvation or non-voluntary conscription as their motivation for or reason behind their participation in the war. Only one veteran responded that his participation in the war was to protect liberal democracy and/or to repay the favour of the United States during the Korean War. Although the military regime promoted the idea that Korean veterans entered

⁴⁷ Chris Bishop, ed., *Vietnam War Diary 1964–1975* (London: Hamlyn, 1990), 139. IM Heung-soon, interview with the author, May 20, 2019.

⁴⁸ IM Heung-soon, "Dear Heung-Soon," trans., Young Min Moon, in "The Aftereffects of War in Asia: Histories, Pictures and Anxieties," special issue, *Trans Asia Photography Review* 3, no. 1 (Fall 2012), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0003.102>.

the war as protectors of liberty and democracy, many Korean veterans suggest that hunger and a lack of education were their primary reasons for entering. The donuts contrast the official memory constructed by the state with the individual memories of the veterans.

The Donuts Diagram B (Fig. 2.7) shows two surveys on soldiers' and veterans' injuries. In the left donut, the Ministry's survey of ninety-six soldiers shows in what kinds of locations they were injured during Korea's Fierce Tiger division's operation, in 1966. The survey shows that the greatest proportion of injuries took place in villages, followed by rice fields, while only three soldiers (3 percent) were injured in the trenches. In the right donut, the artist's survey of twenty-four veterans shows that none of them had been identified as having post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), while sixteen of them (80 percent) described injuries caused by Agent Orange, the herbicide and defoliant chemical that the US military used to easily locate Vietnamese guerrillas in the jungle.

The *Donuts Diagrams* contrast hunger with the sweet flavours and splendid colours of donuts, which are associated with the lavishness of US culture. Together, *The Miracle of the Han River* and the *Donuts Diagrams* evoke the indebtedness of the Korean people to the veterans for their enhanced lifestyle, enabled by the veterans' sacrifices.

Short Dream I II,⁴⁹ a photo-based single-channel video inspired by two dreams, suggests the emotional stress that the artist felt after interviewing the veterans (Fig. 2.8). *Short Dream I* is inspired by the story of an injured veteran, Mr. K, who, in his dream, appears to have both legs, but upon waking realizes that one leg has been lost. It also includes the artist's dream, in which the artist appears to have lost one leg, meets an old friend in a theatre, and, upon waking, realizes

⁴⁹ As IM sticks to the title *Short Dream I II*, not *Short Dream I and II*, I follow the artist's original title in general.

that he has both legs. The story is included as a text in the book *This War*. When the work was exhibited, the story was printed on a wall in the gallery. Photographic images associated with Vietnam, the war, and the Korean veterans are projected on the screen. *Short Dream II* shows scenes of the Korean village where the artist resided during the Vietnam War and recent tragic incidents in Seoul, such as the arson of the 2008 Sungnyemun Gate and the 2009 Yongsan Tragedy.⁵⁰ According to the artist, with these two dreams he meant to present disaster in the past and disasters in the present, “now and here.”⁵¹

IM’s work in *This War* presents both the official memory and the counter-memory of the war, in addition to memories that belong to neither side, such as the unheard personal stories of the veterans. These works give voice to individual veterans, who have been largely muted since disclosure of the atrocities. In *This War*, veterans appear as neither heroes nor villains, but as victims of poverty and domestic and international power dynamics. Through his work, IM shares the individual memories of the underprivileged veterans with the audience. Individual memories, as Halbwachs puts it, “tend to fade away, (become) less accessible and more difficult to recall because they do not enjoy group support.”⁵² Challenging this tendency, IM’s practice, as Lim

⁵⁰ An arsonist severely damaged the Sungnyemun Gate (more commonly called Namdaemun, meaning the South Gate of Seoul), the National Treasure No. 1, because he was unsatisfied with insufficient compensation for his real estate, which he compulsorily sold to a construction company for the city’s urbanization process. The 2009 Yongsan Tragedy was a clash between police and impoverished urban residents, as they squatted in protest of their evacuation from a four-storey building in the Yongsan District. During the conflict, a fire broke out in the building, and four residents and one police officer were killed. Bae Ji-sook, “Arsonist Blames President Roh,” *The Korea Times*, February 14, 2008, https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2008/02/117_18955.html; Lee Kyong Rae and Lee Kwangsuk, “Dongsidae ‘Daehanggieok’ui Girokwa Yongsanchamsa Saryereul Jungsimeuro” (Documenting contemporary ‘counter-memories’: Focused on the Yongsan tragedy), *Korea Society of Archival Studies* 53 (July 2017): 55–56.

⁵¹ An email from IM Heung-soon to the author, January 20, 2021.

⁵² Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 48.

notes, can be considered “memory activism,” an ongoing endeavour to capture the elusive memories of individual subalterns, incorporate them into the narrative of history, and generate viewers’ support.⁵³ These works, however, do not address the veterans’ refusal to recognize the atrocities that they and their colleagues committed. These works also victimize Korea and pass responsibility on to the US military.

Reborn II (2018)

The Vietnamese people began to appear in IM’s work in 2015, after his participation in Ku’s Vietnam Peace Trip. IM asked Ku to help him film some of the Vietnamese women who were victims of the war.⁵⁴ Ku initially considered IM’s request impossible because foreign media need to get permission from a local Vietnamese administration bureau known as the People’s Committee to film Vietnamese civilians, and filming civilian war victims is still considered taboo.⁵⁵ Ku eventually made it possible for IM to film a group of Vietnamese women, however, by organizing a joint project with the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan (hereafter, the Korean Council). As part of its goal to establish transnational solidarity over the issue of wartime sexual violence, the Korean Council began providing financial support in the 1990s to Vietnamese women who had been subjected to sexual violence during the war.”⁵⁶ Thus, the filming was organized for three purposes in support of three parties:

⁵³ Lim Ji-hyun, *Gieok jeonjaeng (Memory War)*, book talk by Lim and Jung Hee-jin at Sogang University, Seoul, May 24, 2019.

⁵⁴ Ku Su-jeong, interview with the author, May 29, 2019.

⁵⁵ Ku, interview.

⁵⁶ Ku, interview. The Korean Council also provided financial support for *lai Đại Hàn* (mixed-blood of South Korea), a term referring to racially mixed people who were born from a Vietnamese mother and Korean father during the Vietnam War. *Lai Đại Hàn* have been subject of discrimination in Vietnamese communities and not acknowledged by the South Korean government. According to the activist group, Justice for *lai Đại Hàn*, there are more than 800

first, to inspect how the Korean Council’s fund had been distributed to the survivors; second, to collect testimonies from the survivors for Ku and her fellow activists; and third, to film IM’s art project by his film production company Bandal Doc.⁵⁷ *Reborn II* used footage filmed during this trip, as well as additional footage from the Vietnam Peace Trip; archaeological ruins and a traditional Vietnamese dance performance, presumed to be filmed in the Mỹ Sơn Sanctuary, near Hội An, Vietnam;⁵⁸ and the War Memorial Hall of Korea in Seoul.

In what follows, I focus on *Reborn II* as presented in the group exhibition *Voiceless—Return of the Foreclosed*, at the Seoul Museum of Art (SeMA), in 2018.⁵⁹ Curated by Song Kahyun, the exhibition aimed to “cast light on the beings oppressed and excluded from our lives of this era” and introduce artworks that address issues surrounding “those who are named the so-called subaltern.”⁶⁰ Showcasing the work of seven artists who deal with war, refugees, women, and death, the curatorial statement asks, “What can art do?” and “How are we to deal with the problems involving ethical representation that are derived from the logic of artistic practice?”⁶¹ *Reborn II* was originally displayed as part of IM’s two-channel video installation *Reincarnation*, at the Sharjah Biennial in 2015, MoMA’s PS1 in New York in 2016, and his solo exhibition at

women who experienced rape and sexual violence still alive, and these women and their children are living in poverty. “Who are the Lai Dai Han?” *Justice for Lai Dai Han*, accessed February 24, 2022, <https://www.laidaihanjustice.org/who-are-the-lai-dai-han/>.

⁵⁷ Bandal Doc is a documentary film production company founded by IM and Kim Min-kyung, IM’s wife and a documentary film producer.

⁵⁸ IM said this footage was filmed in Đà Nẵng in an email conversation on January 13, 2021; however, after visiting and recording the same ruins and the same performers dancing at Mỹ Sơn Sanctuary, a UNESCO World Heritage site, I believe this footage was filmed in Mỹ Sơn, located an hour drive away from Đà Nẵng.

⁵⁹ IM mentioned that he plans to produce a long film based on the short film *Reborn II*. This chapter discusses only *Reborn II* as a short film displayed in art museums. IM, interview, May 20, 2019.

⁶⁰ Seoul Museum of Art (SeMA), “Voiceless – Return of the Foreclosed,” *SeMA Newsletter*, (Spring/Summer 2018), 6.

⁶¹ SeMA, “Voiceless,” 6.

the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea in 2017–2018 (Fig. 2.9a, 2.9b, 2.9c). In these exhibitions, what is now *Reborn II* was displayed across from the video of a quasi-theatrical performance by non-professional actors portraying Iranian mothers who lost their sons in 1988 during the Iran-Iraq War, following the script that IM wrote based on his interviews with the Iranian mothers. In the SeMA exhibition, by contrast, IM displayed *Reborn II* as a twenty-six-minute single-channel video installed across from *Short Dream I II*, highlighting the contested memories of the Vietnamese victims and the Korean veterans.

The survivors in *Reborn II* convey their trauma through silence and hesitancy rather than by giving testimony to the sexual violence they experienced. Six Vietnamese people appear in the film: a shaman, a South Vietnamese soldier, one survivor of a civilian massacre, and three survivors from civilian massacres and sexual violence. Vietnamese activist Lê Hoàng Ngân, who is off screen, asks an elderly Vietnamese woman to tell her story and say whether she has seen the incident again in her dreams. The woman responds that she feels palpitations upon recalling the incident, her body is in pain, and she is being beaten up in her dream. Another woman mentions the pain and exhaustion that she felt. Another says “they” killed her husband and burned her house down. Raising her voice, she says that she does not want to talk about it and that such stories are not worthy of being discussed. She does not explicitly mention sexual violence but says instead that she feels ashamed. The camera follows the women, capturing their daily activities and households. Instead of showing any explicit descriptions of rape, the film shows survivors with frail bodies, voices cracking with agitation, and moments of hesitance and silence, as indices of what they have endured. In doing so, it represents the pain of living with unspeakable memory and giving testimony. Perhaps because these experiences are unspeakable, the film uses the motif of a shaman and dreams to summon the memories. The film starts with a

scene in which a female shaman burns incense, shakes her body, and loses consciousness as if possessed by a spirit. The end of the film shows each elderly woman lying in bed, as if resting, daydreaming, sleeping, or dead.

Through its inclusions and omissions, the film invites us to question how to ethically represent survivors of sexual violence and their testimony in art. The survivors' refusal or hesitancy to give testimony signals not only their embarrassment but also the social environment that forces these women to remain silent. Examining the representation of testimonies of the "comfort women," legal scholar Yang Hyunah argues that subalterns reveal themselves by disclosing that they "have no voice."⁶² According to Yang, the survivor's speaking of her memories is an expression not only of her experience but of a collective memory, because her memory is produced by the multifaceted influences of a society's customs and ways of thinking.⁶³ Thus, Yang argues that the social conditions that have silenced the survivors should be considered and presented in the representation of the victims and their traumatic memory. By representing the refusal of the survivors to recall their memories and their denial that their story is worth speaking about, *Reborn II* suggests that while social norms keep them silent, their stories must still be heard.

That said, more is needed if the work aims to adequately attend to the social conditions that make the victims of sexual violence fearful of giving testimony. The victims have remained silent to survive in their communities—farming villages bound by Confucian and patriarchal social norms.⁶⁴ In these communities, women raped by the foreign enemy were shamed, blamed,

⁶² Yang, Hyunah, "Jeungeongwa Yeoksasseugi Hangugin 'Gun Wianbu'ui Jucheseong Jaehyeon" (Testimony and writing history: Representation of Korean military "comfort women"'s subjectivities), *Sahoewa Yeoksa* (Society and history) 60 (December 2001): 62.

⁶³ Yang, "Testimony and Writing History," 62.

⁶⁴ Conversation between author and Chun My Hoa, an activist with the Korea–Vietnam Peace

and stigmatized as impure, and their children were considered alien.⁶⁵ This is how and why the South Korean “comfort women” remained silent for over a half century after the end of Japanese rule.⁶⁶ Many of those who came forward and made their stories public suffered because their testimonies brought dishonour to their families and communities.⁶⁷ Some sensitivity was shown to this social environment. Only a few people were involved in the film trip: IM and three activists, including Ku, who conducted pre-screen interviews prior to their visit. To minimize the survivors’ resistance to being filmed, IM brought the smallest video cameras available; one was set on a tripod for the activists’ archive, and a second, for his artwork, was held by hand.⁶⁸ The interview was conducted by the female activists Ku and Ngân, and, in some cases, the male activist, Kwon, and IM stayed behind the scenes.⁶⁹ While the names of the interviewed women were not made public, the women’s faces were clearly visible. And although they agreed to having the wrongdoings of the Korean soldiers known, the aged interviewees in the film did not necessarily understand that their testimonies would be used, edited, and presented in international art events.⁷⁰

This is especially problematic considering IM’s purported commitment to a socially engaged art that aims to convey the voices of marginalized people and thus empower them. Bae Myung-Ji calls IM’s film a “mockumentary,” a trend in Korea art after the 2000s, which represents tragic moments of history based on historical research and fictional narratives, using

Foundation, January 29, 2019; Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 110.

⁶⁵ Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*, 110; Ahn, “Korean ‘Comfort Women’ and Military Sexual Slavery in World War II,” 132–34; Ahn, *Whose Comfort?* 87–155.

⁶⁶ Ahn, “Korean ‘Comfort Women’ and Military Sexual Slavery in World War II,” 132–34.

⁶⁷ Ahn, *Whose Comfort?* 150, 159.

⁶⁸ IM Heung-soon, interview with the author, May 20, 2019.

⁶⁹ Ku, interview; IM, interview.

⁷⁰ IM, interview; IM Heung-soon, email message to author, January 13, 2021.

images of ghosts to portray those who have died at massacres or political incidents.⁷¹ Bae discusses IM's works alongside those by Park Chan-kyong, Lim Minouk, and Song Sanghee, who create documentary films or single- or multi-channel video installations that share the aesthetics of post-Minjung art grounded in conceptual realism.⁷² These artists often use images of ghosts to represent the stories of those who have died at massacres or political incidents and to summon their memories.⁷³ As Kim Jihoon explains, IM's films give voice to the silenced victims by mixing interviews with the survivors with landscapes of ruins and phantasmatic scenes.⁷⁴ Having female participants as protagonists is IM's signature strategy to represent those silenced in the modern history of Korea, breaking away from patriarchal historical narratives.⁷⁵ In *Factory Complex* (2014), for which IM won the Silver Lion award at the Venice Biennale, women who were involved in the women's labour struggles in Korea from the 1970s tell their stories. Female protagonists in his works also include North Korean defectors and survivors of the Korean War and the "Jeju April 3 Incident," the silenced massacre in which the Korean army and police imprisoned, tortured, and executed about 68,000 Jeju islanders accused of being communist sympathizers in 1947–1948.⁷⁶ *Reborn II* marked a turning point in his practice as his

⁷¹ Bae, Myungji, "The Full-Scale Development of Video Art: Korean Video Art Since the 1990s," trans. Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon, in Bae Myungji et al. *Korean Art 1900–2020* (Seoul: MMCA, forthcoming).

⁷² Bae, "Full-Scale Development of Video Art."

⁷³ Bae, "Full-Scale Development of Video Art."

⁷⁴ Jihoon Kim, "Testimonies, Landscapes, and Reenactments in Im Heung-Soon's Documentary Works," *Interventions* 23, no. 5 (2021): 728–53.

⁷⁵ Lee Hyun, "IM Heung-soon: 7 Keywords Highlighting the History of Isolation," *The Artro*, February 28, 2018,

http://www.theartro.kr/eng/features/features_view.asp?idx=1493&b_code=31.

⁷⁶ Baik Tae-ung, "Justice Incomplete: The Remedies for the Victims of the Jeju April Third Incidents," in *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The Korean Experience*, ed. Soon-Won Park, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daqing Yang (New York: Routledge, 2006), 94–113.

subject matter expanded from unjust deaths in concealed histories of Korea to similar cases abroad.⁷⁷

Throughout this work, IM seemed caught in the dilemma between capturing and disseminating the fugitive memory of the aged survivors and representing them ethically. In the SeMA exhibition, he placed *Short Dream I II* and *Reborn II* facing each other in a dark room, with an empty space in between, where the viewers could watch both installations (Fig. 2.2). The screen of *Reborn II* was placed on the floor, while *Short Dream I II* was hung on the wall, above the viewer's eye level. Both screens were slightly tilted and unbalanced. This arrangement placed viewers in an awkward position, between the male Korean veterans and the female Vietnamese survivors, bearing witness testimony offered by both sides of the conflict. The Vietnamese survivors shudder from traumatic memories that still haunt them, and the Korean veterans speak about their wounds and dreams. IM invites the viewers to experience discomfort, the same, perhaps, as he felt during the filming.

As I re-examined these works after my participation in the Vietnam Peace Trip in 2019, I was reminded of the uneasiness I felt during the trip. The trip took Korean participants to Vietnam and provided them with opportunities to ask survivors about their memories and to apologize, either out of empathy as individuals or more broadly on behalf of the state as Korean people. Does one have the right to make an apology for a crime that someone else of the same nationality committed in the past? Whether they are willing or not, do survivors, or does a state,

⁷⁷ For example, IM's two-channel video installation *Good Light, Good Air* (2018), displayed at his 2019 solo exhibition *Ghost Guide* held in Seoul, presented together the stories of the Gwangju Democratization Movement in 1980 and Argentina's Dirty War, in which tens of thousands of people were disappeared, raped, and tortured by military junta during the military dictatorship from 1976 to 1983. For *Good Light, Good Air*, see Shinyoung Chung, "IM Heung-soon," *Artforum* 58, no. 9 (May/June 2020), <https://www.artforum.com/print/reviews/202005/im-heung-soon-82891>.

have the right to accept the apology on behalf of other people? Like the Vietnam Peace Trip, which left me feeling regret for the victims and resentful about the injustices of war, IM's film installations made me, a Korean viewer who was born after the end of the war, uncomfortable for being Korean, as I witnessed the visual testimonies and contemplated these questions. Koreans who lived through the war may feel guilty of collusion because they were disinterested in the war, while other viewers may struggle to relate to the soldiers' brutality and be agents of apology just because they were born Korean. Likewise, IM's works affect viewers differently depending on their positions, but these works leave all viewers to contemplate apology and responsibility. Presenting both Korean veterans and Vietnamese victims of sexual violence as voiceless subalterns, *Short Dream I II* and *Reborn II* make bold gestures as socially engaged practice but also raise important ethical issues about the representation of personal trauma.

Precarious Apology: Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung's *Vietnam Pieta* (2015–2016)

While IM's work leaves the viewer to grapple with contested memories, Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung's statue *Vietnam Pieta* (*tượng Pieta Việt Nam* in Vietnamese, *Beteunam Pieta sang* in Korean) is intended as a gesture of apology (Fig. 2.1). *Vietnam Pieta* portrays a mother tightly cradling a child close to her face, both with closed eyes; the mother and child are supported by auspicious animals inhabiting the Vietnamese landscape. Kim Seokyung conceived of the motif after her meeting with Đoàn Nghĩa, a survivor of the Bình Hòa Massacre, during the Vietnam Peace Trip. Bình Hòa is a village in Quảng Ngãi Province, where Korea's Blue Dragon Unit killed seventy-nine civilians, including a significant number of infants and women, over three days in 1965. Six-month-old Nghĩa survived because his mother was holding him to her chest as

she died from gunfire. He became blind, presumably because of chemicals discharged from the ammunition that poured into his eyes.⁷⁸ With Nghĩa in mind, Kim created the statue and initially named it *The Last Lullaby for the Anonymous Baby*. Kim explained her motivation as follows: “As an individual artist, I felt sorry for the children, so I thought I should document it. From the position of an assailant, I thought I should apologize. [...] The motivation was personal. I didn’t make it with any grandiose plan. I felt I should start from me, as an individual artist, and make small embers.”⁷⁹ As the name Kim gave was too long and not catchy, upon Ku’s suggestion, the statue was eventually renamed *Vietnam Pieta*.⁸⁰

Although intended as an apology, *Vietnam Pieta* does not explicitly represent apology; rather, its iconography suggests sorrow. The sculpture borrows from the familiar iconography of grief: a mother who has lost a child. As the name suggests, *Vietnam Pieta* uses the universal motif of a mother mourning the premature death of her child, originating from the Christian iconography of the Virgin Mary holding the dead Christ, the most famous Western example of which is Michelangelo’s sixteenth-century sculpture *Pietà* (1498–1499; Fig. 2.10). More well-known examples in East Asia are included in the German artist Käthe Kollwitz’s series of bronze casts *Pietà* (1937–1939; Fig. 2.11) and the Japanese artist Tomiyama Taeko’s lithograph *Gwangju Pieta* (1980; Fig. 2.12), both of which Kim Eunsung mentions as one of inspirations for *Vietnam Pieta*.⁸¹ *Gwangju Pieta* is a series of lithograph prints that Tomiyama created in sympathy with the Koreans who were killed during the 1980 Gwangju Democracy Movement. Like the sculptures by Michelangelo and Kollwitz and the prints by Tomiyama, the Kims’

⁷⁸ Đoàn Nghĩa’s talk during the Vietnam Peace Trip, January 10, 2019.

⁷⁹ Kim Seokyung, interview with the author, June 4, 2019.

⁸⁰ Kim Seokyung, interview.

⁸¹ Kim Eunsung, interview with the author, July 25, 2018.

Vietnam Pieta emphasizes the mother's unspeakable sorrow by portraying her mouth closed or covered by a hand, holding the dead body of her child close to her chest, and by omitting other human figures to focus on the mother and child.

Nonhuman elements in its iconography distinguish *Vietnam Pieta* from other pieta motifs, however. The lower body of the mother merges into the land, with lotus blossoms in her abdomen. A crane embraces the mother's back, and a cow wraps itself around the bottom half of the statue while fish swim in a wavy sea. They represent the war's indiscriminate killings of humans and nonhumans, or nature's sympathetic embrace of the dead humans. With these nonhuman elements, Kim Seokyung addresses the ecocide caused by Agent Orange.⁸² She explained that the mother in the statue was intended to represent not simply a Vietnamese mother but the mother of the land, the mother of all living beings caring for the spirits.⁸³ In any case, it is hard to infer apology from these elements. On my reading, then, the statue may serve as an expression of sympathy or empathy with the victims' grief, but not apology.

Theories of Apology

Apology is different from sympathy and empathy. According to Megan Boler, sympathy is a feeling that employs "a generalized identification as in 'that could be me' or 'I have experienced something that bears a family resemblance to your suffering.'"⁸⁴ Empathy implies "a full identification," as opposed to the partial identification of the self and other in sympathy. In contrast, apology, as I define it, involves no identification of the self and other, but acknowledges the offence and responsibility of the self to the other.

⁸² Kim Seokyung, interview.

⁸³ Kim Seokyung, interview.

⁸⁴ Boler, "Risks of Empathy," 256.

When it comes to state-organized crime, genocide, and wartime atrocities that require an official apology by a government or the head of a state, apology is not simply an act of saying “sorry”; it involves a series of actions followed by an admission of offence. As Melissa Nobles emphasizes, apology is not about finalizing a past issue, but an opening to additional actions, such as assigning responsibility, usually via trials, and taking necessary steps toward healing and reconciliation by enacting reparative policies and educating younger generations.⁸⁵ In her discussion of the apologies offered by and requested of governments, Nobles explains the power of apologies: “The power of apologies, and what distinguishes them from other types of symbolic gestures, such as monuments and pronouncements, is that they not only publicly ratify certain reinterpretations of history, but they also morally judge, assign responsibility, and introduce expectations about what acknowledgement of that history requires. Thus, although apologies focus our attention on the past, they also have implications for the future.”⁸⁶

Acknowledging Noble’s complete typology of apology in international relations, Kora Andrieu defines apology, ideally, as “the acknowledgement of a wrongdoing, the acceptance of one’s responsibility and the expression of sorrow and regret for it.”⁸⁷ Andrieu gives former US President Richard Nixon’s resignation statement as a perfect example of “‘fake’ or half-hearted apolog[y].”⁸⁸ Nixon’s infamously vague apology—“I regret deeply any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision”—avoids any explicit expression of wrongdoing, responsibility, or contrition.⁸⁹ In order to be effective, Andrieu explains, “apologies

⁸⁵ Melissa Nobles, *The Politics of Official Apology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 2.

⁸⁶ Nobles, *Politics of Official Apology*, 2.

⁸⁷ Kora Andrieu, “‘Sorry for the Genocide’: How Public Apologies Can Help Promote National Reconciliation,” *Millennium Journal of International Studies* 38, no. 1 (2009): 5.

⁸⁸ Andrieu, “Sorry for the Genocide,” 2.

⁸⁹ Nixon quoted in Andrieu, “Sorry for the Genocide,” 5.

must therefore be understood in a more socially constructed way. Their account of the past cannot be one-sided: all they must do is reduce the number of acceptable lies allowed in the public discourse.”⁹⁰ Andrieu’s account of apologies involves consolidating contested memories, preventing denialism, and, more importantly, acknowledging the victims’ subjective feelings of resentment, which cannot be resolved with international legal and political language. Her description of apology is close to the type of apology that Korean activists are demanding from the Japanese government as well as their own. The Korean Council demands for apology from Japanese prime ministers, followed by trials of those responsible, reparation, and appropriate history education; The Korea–Vietnam Peace Foundation shares a similar stance vis-à-vis Korea and Vietnam.⁹¹

In international relations, an apology is sometimes announced by a government or the head of state as if it is a premise of the victims’ forgiveness, which in turn will normalize the relationship between states. Using the example of a Japanese prime minister presenting “heartfelt apologies” to the “comfort women” of Korea and China and asking for “forgiveness,” Derrida problematizes the expectation of forgiveness in exchange for an apology.⁹² He argues that such “‘forgiveness’ is not pure” as it is requested to establish social, legal, political, and psychological normality.⁹³ According to Derrida, forgiveness should not be “normal, normative, (or) normalizing,” and cannot be normalized or instrumentalized, but it should remain exceptional.⁹⁴ Challenging the Hegelian logic that everything is forgivable except for a “crime against the

⁹⁰ Andrieu, “Sorry for the Genocide,” 12.

⁹¹ “Jaedansogae” (Introduction), *Ilbon-gun Seongnoyemunje Haegyeoreul Wihan Jeonguigieok Jaedan* (The Korean Council for Justice and Remembrance for the Issues of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan) (official website), June 9, 2016, <http://foundationforjustice.org/intro/>.

⁹² Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, 31–32.

⁹³ Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, 31–32.

⁹⁴ Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, 32.

spirit,” such as genocide, Derrida states, “forgiveness only forgives the unforgivable.”⁹⁵ Yet “pure forgiveness,” Derrida claims, must be given *unconditionally*, like the forgiveness given by “God or divine prescription” as “a gracious gift, without exchange and without condition; sometimes it requires, as its minimal condition, the repentance and transformation of the sinner.”⁹⁶

Drawing on notions of Derrida’s unconditional forgiveness and Andrieu’s ideal apology, I suggest that apology, ideally, should also be made unconditionally without seeking forgiveness. When an apology is given with a condition that asks the victim not to raise the issue again, the apology is not “pure”; it is a political bargain to normalize the relationship between the one who wants the apology and the one who wants normalization. This kind of apology alienates the victims from the apology. Also, the apology should promise legal trials and subsequent reparation, instead of solely relying on humanitarian compensation, which leaves the responsibility for wrongdoings and harm vague.

Conditional Apology: Japan to South Korea

Apologies for wartime atrocities have been demanded, issued, and rejected between Japan and Korea and between Korea and Vietnam. While many Koreans believe that Japan never delivered a “sincere” apology for their treatment of Korean men and women during the war, many Japanese politicians and citizens contend that Japan has already paid enough compensation, and, therefore, that Koreans are only pursuing the issue to obtain additional monetary benefits from Japan. Such contradictory memories are based on the 1965 agreement

⁹⁵ Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, 34, 39.

⁹⁶ Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, 44.

between South Korea and Japan, the 1993 Kōno Statement, the 1995 Murayama Statement, and the Asian Women’s Fund (1995). Intended to normalize relations between the two nations, the 1965 agreement traded the right to a legal trial of the Koreans conscripted into the Japanese imperial military and industries during the colonial period for monetary compensation and loans from Japan, which were used for Park Chung-hee’s economic development plan.⁹⁷ The list of conscripted Koreans in this agreement, however, excluded the “comfort women,” as their presence was not officially acknowledged until 1991.⁹⁸ Also, most Korean “comfort women” survivors did not accept either the 1993 Kōno Statement or the 1995 Murayama Statement as official apologies, as these statements did not clarify the Japanese imperial state’s involvement in their treatment, and, subsequently, no trial of those responsible and no legal reparation followed. Following these statements, the Asian Women’s Fund was established in 1995 by Japanese citizens to raise money to compensate the survivors. Using a combination of private donations and funds provided by the Japanese government, the Asian Women’s Fund offered to provide each survivor with a one-time lump sum of “atonement money” of ¥2 million (approx. US\$20,000), medical support, welfare payments, and a letter of apology issued by the prime minister of Japan.⁹⁹ Many Korean survivors and the Korean Council, however, did not accept the Asian Women’s Fund offer, as a private donation is not equivalent to legal reparation resulting from a trial after official investigation.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ For the 1965 agreement between South Korea and Japan, see chapter 1 of this dissertation.

⁹⁸ Kim, “A Legal Examination of the 2015 Agreement by Foreign Ministers of the Republic of Korea and Japan,” 51.

⁹⁹ “Atonement Project,” *Digital Museum: The Comfort Women Issue and the Asian Women’s Fund*, 2007, accessed June 22, 2021, <https://awf.or.jp/e3/index.html>; Ahn Yonsun, “Together and Apart: Transnational Women’s Activism in the ‘Comfort Women’ Campaign in South Korea and Japan,” *Comparative Korean Studies* 23, no. 1 (2015): 93–116.

¹⁰⁰ C. Sarah Soh, “Japan’s Responsibility toward Comfort Women Survivors,” *Japan Policy Research Institute Working Paper* no. 77, Japan Policy Research Institute, Oakland, CA, 2001,

The difference between the Korean words *bosang* (tr. compensation) and *baesang* (tr. reparation) is a crucial issue surrounding conscripted labour and the “comfort women.”¹⁰¹ As distinct forms of corrective justice, compensation and reparation have different aims, and, as Bernard R. Boxill suggests, compensation cannot replace reparation.¹⁰² Boxill distinguishes them as follows: reparation “is due only after injustice”; in contrast, compensation “may be due when no one has acted unjustly to anyone else.”¹⁰³ Summarizing Boxill, Haig Khatchadourian adds that reparation “aims precisely at correcting a prior injustice” and is due when “someone has infringed unjustly on another’s right to pursue what he values.”¹⁰⁴ As examples, one can demand compensation for damage caused by natural disaster and can demand reparation for theft or injury caused by another person’s violent action against him. Japanese politicians have used the phrase “humanitarian compensation,” emphasizing that the money given to the former “comfort women” is a donation made in sympathy for their pain, not from responsibility grounded in acknowledging the involvement of the Japanese state.

The 2015 Japan–South Korea Comfort Women Agreement is an example of another

<http://www.jpri.org/publications/workingpapers/wp77.html>; C. Sarah Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Young-ae Yamashita, “Revisiting the ‘Comfort Women’: Moving beyond Nationalism,” in *Transforming Japan: How Feminism and Diversity Are Making a Difference*, ed. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow (New York: Feminist Press, 2011), 366–89; Takashi Yoshida, *From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace: War and Peace Museums in Japan, China, and South Korea* (Portland, ME: Merwin Asia, 2014), 228; Ahn, “Together and Apart,” 103; Yoneyama, *Cold War Ruins*, 27.

¹⁰¹ Oh Il-hwan, “Gangjedongwon Hanin Pihaeja Misugeum Munjeui Ihaewa Jeongae: Hanilhoedam Munseoreul Jungsimeu-ro” (Arrearages matters of victims of forced mobilization through Korea-Japan talks on claims until 1965), *The Historical Review of Soong Sil University* 34 (June 2015): 341–77.

¹⁰² Bernard R. Boxill, “The Morality of Reparation,” in *Today's Moral Problems*, 2nd ed., ed. Richard A. Wasserstrom (New York: Macmillan, 1979), 256.

¹⁰³ Boxill, “Morality of Reparation,” 257–58.

¹⁰⁴ Haig Khatchadourian, “Compensation and Reparation as Forms of Compensatory Justice,” *Metaphilosophy* 37, no. 3/4 (July 2006): 430.

problematic apology. Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung's *Pyeonghwai Sonyeosang (Statue of a Girl of Peace)*, commonly called *Sonyeosang* (*tr.* a girl statue; Fig. 2.13), was central in this agreement. A bronze statue of a barefoot girl sitting on a chair, dressed in the attire of the colonial period of Korea (1910–1945), *Sonyeosang* was created as a memorial for the thousandth Wednesday Protest, a protest held weekly across the street from the Japanese embassy in Seoul since 1992, calling for the Japanese government to apologize for its use of military sexual slavery. Installed on the site of the Wednesday Protest in 2010, the statue became a symbol of the “comfort women” and their activism.¹⁰⁵ Multiple casts of the statue have been installed both inside Korea and in other countries, provoking support from Koreans and backlash from the Japanese government.¹⁰⁶ Secretly made by the foreign ministers of both governments, and excluding the survivors, the 2015 agreement involved a deal to remove *Sonyeosang*. The Japanese and Korean governments signed a statement that reads, “the issue is resolved finally and irreversibly with this announcement.”¹⁰⁷

The issue of “comfort women” has been exacerbated as history revisionists and politicians, with the support of Abe Shinzō, the fifty-seventh and sixty-third prime minister of Japan (in office 2006–2007 and 2012–2020), continue to deny Japan’s state involvement in the “comfort women” system.¹⁰⁸ In addition, South Korean presidents Lee Myung-bak (2008–2013)

¹⁰⁵ Lee, “Korean Women’s Movement of Japanese Military ‘Comfort Women.’”

¹⁰⁶ Lee, “Rethinking Korean Women’s Movement of Japanese Military Sexual Slavery,” 89. Drawing on Lee’s argument of the statue as a medium that turns the viewers into active spectators, I discussed *Sonyeosang* as an interactive sculpture providing the viewers with a theatrical and ritualistic experience, and, thereby making them join in the activism in my 2019 article, “Sonyōsang Phenomenon,” 27.

¹⁰⁷ “Announcement by Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea at the Joint Press Occasion,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan’s Official Website, December 28, 2015, https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na/kr/page4e_000364.html.

¹⁰⁸ Hiroko Tabuchi, “Prime Minister Denies Women Were Forced into WWII Brothels,” *Washington Post*, March 2, 2007, A9; Linda Sieg, “Japan Won’t Apologize Again for WW2

and Park Geun-hye (2013–2017) have mobilized anti-Japan sentiment to enhance their own political careers, escalating antagonism between the two nations. The 2015 Japan–South Korea Comfort Women Agreement was made under pressure from US President Barack Obama’s administration (2009–2017), which needed to strengthen its Asia-Pacific military allyship against China and North Korea by resolving the issue of the “comfort women” and thereby making Japan and South Korea cooperate with US military planning.

The 2015 agreement promised a ¥1 billion (approx. US\$8.3 million) payment from the Japanese government for the South Korean government to establish the Foundation for Reconciliation and Healing to support the survivors. In return, the South Korean government agreed to “strive to solve the issue in appropriate manner” and remove “the statue built in front of the Embassy of Japan in Seoul.”¹⁰⁹ Kishida Fumio, then minister for foreign affairs and now prime minister of Japan (2021–present), read a statement that said, “the Prime Minister of Japan expresses sincere apologies and remorse from the bottom of his heart to all those who suffered immeasurable pain.”¹¹⁰ Immediately after the agreement, Kishida clarified that the ¥1 billion was not a national reparation, but a compensation “for recovering the honor and dignity and healing the psychological wounds of all former comfort women.”¹¹¹ He added that Japan has no responsibility as “the issue is finally resolved.”¹¹² In the statement and in subsequent interviews,

Sex Slaves,” *Reuters News*, March 4, 2007, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-sex-slaves-idUST21899920070305>; Martin Fackler, “No Apology for Sex Slavery, Japan’s Prime Minister Says,” *New York Times*, March 6, 2007, A9–10; Larry Niksch, “Japanese Military’s ‘Comfort Women’ System,” Congressional Research Service Memorandum, April 3, 2007, 5.

¹⁰⁹ “Announcement by Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea at the Joint Press Occasion.”

¹¹⁰ “Announcement by Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea at the Joint Press Occasion.”

¹¹¹ “Announcement by Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea at the Joint Press Occasion.”

¹¹² “Announcement by Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea at the Joint Press

Abe and Kishida did not admit imperial Japan's involvement in operating the military sexual slavery, but emphasized humanitarian sympathy instead. While Kishida's statement sounded as if the prime minister of Japan was making an apology, it was offering a donation to once more silence the victims.

Many Korean citizens, some 'comfort women' survivors, and the Korean Council found this apology insincere, a trick to avoid the issue. Like Nixon's apology, the 2015 agreement statement blurred the causes of the harm and matter of responsibility, evoking Nobles's criticism of state apologies that do not present the possibility of direct remedy as "empty rhetorical gesture(s), without much impact."¹¹³ Also, the 2015 agreement demonstrates Andrieu's warning of the danger of state apologies used as tricks to avoid the "real" issues—namely, "offering reparation, condemning the perpetrators and enforcing the law."¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the survivors were excluded from the negotiation of the agreement. As Yang noted, the agreement is rooted in patriarchal and colonialist attitudes that ignore the independence and subjectivity of the Korean "comfort women" survivors.¹¹⁵ The survivors demanded a direct apology from the prime minister to the victims; instead, Abe had Kishida read the statement and announce that there would be no further apologies.¹¹⁶ The 2015 Japan–South Korea Comfort Women Agreement thus provoked resentment from the victims, activists, and a great majority of the South Korean public,

Occasion"; Choi Jong-il, "Kishida il-oesang, Yesan Churyeonedo Gukga Baesang Anida Gangjo" (Kishida Japanese foreign minister emphasized "no national reparation" even though using the national budget), *News1*, December 28, 2015, <https://www.news1.kr/articles/?2528347>.

¹¹³ Nobles, *Politics of Official Apology*, 2.

¹¹⁴ Andrieu, "Sorry for Genocide," 8.

¹¹⁵ Yang Hyunah, "2015-nyeon Hanil-oegyojanggwanui 'Wianbu' Munje Habuieseo Pihajaneun Eodie It(eot)Na? Geu Naeyonggwa Jeolcha" (Where have the victims of "Japanese Military Sexual Slavery" been located in the Korea–Japan foreign ministers' agreement in 2015?), *Democratic Legal Studies* 60 (2016): 13–44.

¹¹⁶ Yang, "Where Have the Victims of 'Japanese Military Sexual Slavery been located,'" 25–26.

aggravating the already antagonistic relations between the two nations.

Conditional Apology and Suspended Apology: South Korea to Vietnam

Korea's call for an apology from Japan for the "comfort women" led some Korean activists to demand an apology from their own country to Vietnam. This activism began after a group of Korean activists boarded a vessel called the *Peace Boat*. The *Peace Boat* was initiated in 1983 by Japanese university students who objected to the politically charged revision of history textbooks, which reduced Japan's responsibility in the Nanjing Massacre and omitted the subject of "comfort women."¹¹⁷ These Japanese activists sailed to formerly Japanese-occupied sites to hear about the war from its survivors and discuss this history. In 1983 the *Peace Boat* took Korean participants to Quảng Nam, where Korean soldiers committed atrocities. After the visit, some Japanese participants asked why, when Korea was asking for an apology from Japan, Korea had not apologized to Vietnam. Some embarrassed Koreans left the boat and met Ku, who confirmed that the atrocities in fact took place.¹¹⁸ These Koreans and Ku determined that they should never again learn about Korea's past as a perpetrator and visit such sites while being escorted by Japanese people.¹¹⁹ They formed Nawa Uri (*tr.* I and we) and initiated a series of campaigns and initiatives, including the Vietnam Peace Trip.¹²⁰ The activism is now continued by several groups, including the Korea–Vietnam Peace Foundation.

Nawa Uri's call for an apology to Vietnam might render the apology a step toward

¹¹⁷ Kim, *Jeonjaengui Gieok, Gieogui Jeonjaeng*, 34.

¹¹⁸ Kim, *Jeonjaengui Gieok, Gieogui Jeonjaeng*, 36–37.

¹¹⁹ Kim, *Jeonjaengui Gieok, Gieogui Jeonjaeng*. Ku also mentioned this episode several times in her talks held at the Korea–Vietnam Peace Foundation. I attended her talks in Vietnam in 2018 and in Korea in 2019–2020.

¹²⁰ The activism was initially led by Nawa Uri and is now continued by several groups, including A–MAP and the Korea–Vietnam Peace Foundation.

legitimizing Korea's demand for an apology from Japan for the "comfort women." Activists uncritically articulated this motivation in the early stages of the "Sorry, Vietnam" campaign, as demonstrated in the campaign titled "Let's beg forgiveness for our shameful past and get rid of the heavy burden."¹²¹ This slogan formulated the logic that Korea should beg forgiveness not for the sake of the Vietnamese victims but for themselves. Many activists have now abandoned this conditional logic of apology; however, this logic has persuaded the Korean public to believe that Korea should make an apology to Vietnam. The Korean media propagates this logic in headlines such as "Apology for the Vietnam War would eventually benefit the national interest."¹²² If the Korean public and media confine themselves to this conditional apology, their apologies will be valid only as a political deal.

Both the Korean and Vietnamese governments seemed to treat the "comfort women" apology as a strategy of economic cooperation. Korean presidents of the democratic party have expressed regret for Korea's involvement in the Vietnam War when visiting Vietnam to discuss bilateral economic relations. Kim Dae-jung (1998–2003) expressed his "regret" for "an unhappy past between the two countries" and emphasized his desire to "move on toward the future."¹²³ His regret was followed by monetary compensation: the Korean government promised US\$2 million to help build forty elementary schools in five provinces of central Vietnam and \$3

¹²¹ "Kaempein: Bukkeureoun Yeoksae Yongseoreul Bilja" (Campaign: Let's beg forgiveness for our shameful past), *Hankyoreh* 21, October 28, 1999, <http://legacy.h21.hani.co.kr/h21/data/L991018/1p94ai0g.html>.

¹²² Lee Yunju, "Beteunam Jeonjaeng Sagwaga Gin Gwanjeomseo Gugige Doumdoel geot" (Apology to the Vietnam War would eventually benefit the national interests), *Hankook Ilbo*, November 16, 2019, <https://www.hankookilbo.com/News/Read/201911151341093018>.

¹²³ Bay Kyung-yoong, "From Seoul to Saigon: Gook Meets Charlie," in *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The Korean Experience*, ed. Soon-Won Park, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daqing Yang (New York: Routledge, 2006), 123; Ock Hyun-ju, "Time to Apologize for Korea's Own War Crimes in Vietnam," *Korean Herald*, November 9, 2017, <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20171109000945>.

million to construct hospitals in these regions.¹²⁴ Roh Moo-hyun (2003–2008) and Moon Jae-in (2017–present) also addressed their “debt of heart to Vietnam,” emphasizing the two countries’ economic partnership and friendship.¹²⁵

Korean activists claim such statements and compensations should not be considered official apologies. Their stance on apologies is similar to the Korean Council’s demand for apology from Japanese prime ministers, followed by trials of those responsible, reparation, and appropriate history education.¹²⁶ As a step toward an official apology, the Korea–Vietnam Peace Foundation activists presented a petition to the current Moon Jae-in government asking it to disclose the investigation records from 1968 and to reinvestigate Korean atrocities in Vietnam. In 1968 Park Chung-hee’s Ministry of National Defence investigated the civilian massacres in Vietnam but concealed the information, and thereby no one was punished.¹²⁷ In 2021, the Moon government declined the activists’ petition in order to “protect the personal information of a third person.”¹²⁸

The Vietnamese government, for its part, does not want an apology. In fact, during Kim Dae-jung’s visit, the Vietnamese government responded to questions about the massacres from the domestic and foreign media by emphasizing that “what is important (is the Korean government’s) investment and financial assistance.”¹²⁹ Vietnam’s neomercantilist foreign policy

¹²⁴ Yun, “The Politics of Memory and Commemoration of the Vietnam War in Korea,” 158.

¹²⁵ Choi Ha-young, “Moon’s Apology Ignored in Vietnam,” *Korea Times*, November 15, 2017, https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2017/11/120_239305.html.

¹²⁶ This description is based on my participation observation and conversation with the Korea–Vietnam Peace Foundation activists.

¹²⁷ Koh, *1968 2wol 2il*, 2015.

¹²⁸ Seok Mihoa, “4-nyeonganui Jaepan, Geurigo Gukjeongwoni Gonggaehan 15-geulja” (Four years of trials, and the 15 characters that the National Intelligence Service released), *Ohmynews*, May 21, 2021, http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/View/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0002745016.

¹²⁹ Yun, “The Politics of Memory and Commemoration of the Vietnam War in Korea,” 158.

is in line with *Đổi Mới* (*tr.* changing for the new), the economic reform movement launched in 1986 with the goal of transforming Vietnam from its postwar impoverishment into a middle-income nation.¹³⁰ *Đổi Mới* prioritized economic partnerships with its former enemies over historical reparations. As Korea and Vietnam became economic partners, provoking Vietnamese outrage over past atrocities would have no benefit for the Vietnamese government. For the Vietnamese government, receiving an apology from Korea and conducting legal investigations might only agitate the survivors and complicate the postwar nationalism that the government has constructed.

In shaping the collective national memory, Vietnam has used “collective amnesia,” to borrow Ernest Renan’s phrase.¹³¹ According to Hue-Tam Ho Tai, the postwar Vietnamese government inculcated nationalism through commemoration of the war heroes by constructing memorials and performing national rituals for the fallen soldiers.¹³² These memorials were dedicated to the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front, the winners of the war. The Vietnamese government changed *bia căm thù* (*tr.* stone of fury)—memorial stones inscribed with the names of the dead installed by survivors after massacres in their villages—to monuments embellished by architectural elements that resemble Buddhist temples.¹³³ These new monuments transformed the character of the ceremonial rituals, which had been taking place at *bia căm thù* and which are now taking place at the new monuments, from resentment of the

¹³⁰ “About Viet Nam,” n.d., United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), accessed May 20, 2021, <https://www.vn.undp.org/content/vietnam/en/home/countryinfo.html>; Hue-Tam Ho Tai, “Introduction: Situating Memory,” in *The Country of Memory: Remaking the Past in Late Socialist Vietnam*, ed. Hue-Tam Ho Tai (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 1.

¹³¹ Tai, “Introduction: Situating Memory,” 7; Yun, “The Politics of Memory and Commemoration of the Vietnam War in Korea,” 156.

¹³² Tai, “Introduction: Situating Memory,” 7; Yun, “The Politics of Memory and Commemoration of the Vietnam War in Korea,” 156.

¹³³ Kwon, *After the Massacre*, 137–53.

survivors to appeasement of the spirit of the dead.¹³⁴

Đổi Mới's slogan "*Khép lại quá khứ hướng tới tương lai*" is commonly translated as "Let's close the past and move toward the future." Here, the Vietnamese word *Khép* does not mean "to close" in English, but it means to slightly cover the entrance with a twig door for a few hours.¹³⁵ This slogan is not a call to forget the past, but to suspend mourning over the loss temporarily. Therefore, any apology is deferred, like a debt, which Vietnam can demand from Korea in the future.

Vietnam Pieta in Đà Nẵng, Jeju, and Seoul

The Kims created *Vietnam Pieta* in this context, as a gesture of apology on a personal and civilian level, as a "bottom-up" approach. Apology is not inherent to *Vietnam Pieta* in its form, but the stories of how the three casts of this statue were sent to Vietnam and Korea manifest three messages: a suspended official apology by the state; a conditional apology suggested by the activists at the beginning of the "Sorry, Vietnam" campaign; and solidarity suggested by the Kims and the activists now. Neither Vietnamese victims nor audiences currently have access to *Vietnam Pieta*. A small cast of the statue is captive in the basement of Đà Nẵng museum, and the full-sized statue is secluded in the backyard of a religious building on Jeju Island. A third small cast is displayed in the basement of the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul. Each statue suggests different meanings, wrapped up in the aspirations of the artists and the

¹³⁴ Hyunwoo Kwon, "Beteunamui Kkamtureul Asimnikka?" (Do you know cãm thù in Vietnam?), Facebook, March 19, 2021, https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?id=100790201428177&story_fbid=280867146753814.

¹³⁵ Ku Sujeong and Kwon Hyun-woo emphasized this translation during the Vietnam Peace Trip and Ku's public lectures.

activists, in addition to the political agendas of the two governments.

“Like a ping-pong ball,” *Vietnam Pieta* was sent to and rejected by multiple organizations and venues.¹³⁶ Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung initially proposed that the Korean Council install *Vietnam Pieta* in Vietnam, as they had previously collaborated with the Korean Council. Sending *Vietnam Pieta* to Vietnam, however, did not fit into the Korean Council’s agenda and, more practically, the Korean Council did not have the contacts in Vietnam to make this happen. Hence, the artists turned to Ku, who had a twenty-year relationship with war survivors and their communities in Vietnam. At the same time, Ku received a request from the People’s Committee of Bình Hòa to install a memorial, mounted together by Koreans and Vietnamese, for the fiftieth-year commemoration of the Bình Hòa Massacre.¹³⁷ *Vietnam Pieta* was well timed with the request from Bình Hòa and the launch of the Korea–Vietnam Peace Foundation. Therefore, Ku accepted the artists’ proposal and suggested that the statue be installed first in Korea in order to better serve as a gesture of apology. The artists donated *Vietnam Pieta* to the Korea–Vietnam Peace Foundation, and it became the foundation’s project, to be installed in both Korea and Vietnam as a symbol of apology.

When Ku presented the model of the *Pieta* (2016), it seemed to have satisfied the Bình Hòa people, including Nghĩa and members of the People’s Committee. The People’s Committee, however, rejected it at the last moment, due to opposition for unclear reasons from the government of the president of South Korea, Park Geun-hye.¹³⁸ Ku and the Kims assume that the opposition was because a critical re-evaluation of the Vietnam War would have reflected badly on Park Chung-hee (1963–1979), Park Geun-hye’s father. In addition, activism by the artists on

¹³⁶ Ku, interview.

¹³⁷ Ku, interview.

¹³⁸ Ku, interview; Kim Eunsung, interview; Kim Seokyung, interview.

behalf of the “comfort women” was causing trouble for Park’s administration both domestically and in its relationship with the Japanese government. For the Vietnamese government, receiving a statue of apology from the Kims might cause trouble in domestic politics: it might cause a redress movement by agitating those who have been neglected in the government-led postwar nation-rebuilding effort.¹³⁹

The small version of the statue was eventually donated to the Đà Nẵng Museum in 2016, thanks to Ku’s connection with the museum staff.¹⁴⁰ The Đà Nẵng Museum displayed it in a temporary exhibition in a section dedicated to the Korean troops’ atrocities (Fig. 2.14). The exhibition was shut down within a week, however, after it was banned by the local People’s Committee, and the miniature *Vietnam Pieta* has been stored in the museum’s vault ever since (Fig. 2.15). The journey of this cast of the *Vietnam Pieta* statue reflects the stalled and suspended status of apology, which Korean activists have attempted to express but has yet to be delivered to the Vietnamese victims and citizens due to interference by both governments.

In Korea, a full-size cast of the sculpture was installed in the St. Francis Peace Center, a Catholic institution and centre for peace activism in the village of Gangjeong, on Jeju Island in 2017 (see again Fig. 2.1). This site was chosen to symbolically connect the Koreans and Vietnamese with their traumatic memories of massacres. In 2003, the Korean president Rho Moo-hyun made an official apology and launched an investigation for the 1947–1948 Jeju April 3 Incident, which led to the establishment of the Jeju April 3 Memorial Park and Museum. Shortly after, the village of Gangjeong, which was formerly designated a United Nations

¹³⁹ Ku, interview; Kim Eunsung, interview; Kim Seokyung, interview.

¹⁴⁰ Ku, interview; Dong Nguyen, “Peace Foundation Offers Statue to Apologize for S. Korea’s War Atrocities in Vietnam,” *VNExpress*, October 12, 2016, <https://e.vnexpress.net/news/travel-life/peace-foundation-offers-statue-to-apologize-for-s-korea-s-war-atrocities-in-vietnam-3482178.html>.

Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Biosphere Conservation Area, became a protest site when it was chosen to host a US naval base in 2005. Even after the US naval base was built, activists have continued to protest the militarization of the island and the subsequent environmental damage. Thus, Gangjeong on Jeju Island has become a hub for peace and environmental activists. The installation of *Vietnam Pieta* in Gangjeong may therefore serve as a symbol of Korean empathy for and solidarity with Vietnam, another Asian nation that has suffered from domestic and international political violence.¹⁴¹

Yet the placement of this cast of the *Vietnam Pieta* disrupts its meaning as an expression of apology, or as a symbol of empathy for and solidarity with Vietnam. The statue is awkwardly placed in a corner of the backyard behind the St. Francis Peace Center's parking lot, making public access to it difficult. Right next to it stands a memorial stone for the Catholic priest and peace activist Jesuit Fr. William Bichsel, who contributed to peace activism in Gangjeong. The statue's location, in a Catholic institute and next to a stone commemorating a priest, encourages viewers to add religious meaning to the *Vietnam Pieta*. The *Vietnam Pieta* looks like a grieving mother with her dead child. This setting echoes the iconic Christian image of God the Father, the Virgin Mary, and the Christ Child, a kind of altarpiece for those who might pray for redemption of their sins. This setting blurs the purpose of the statue, whether it was to serve as a gesture of apology or a request for forgiveness. If this statue is read as a request for forgiveness, moreover, it perpetuates the conditional logic of apology.

The most accessible cast of *Vietnam Pieta* is the small version installed in the War and Women's Human Rights Museum in Seoul in 2016 (Fig. 2.16). Founded by the Korean Council

¹⁴¹ Park Su-hyun, "Pyeonghwamaeul Gangjeong, Beteunamjeon Apeum Pumneunda" (Peace village Gangjeong, embraces trauma of the Vietnam War), *Jnuri*, April 20, 2017, <http://www.jnuri.net/news/articleView.html?idxno=32112>.

(now the Foundation for Justice and Remembrance) in 2012, the museum is dedicated to remembering and educating the public about the history of Japanese military sexual slavery.¹⁴²

The museum displays memorabilia, archives, and artworks, including a cast of *Sonyeosang* in addition to statues of “comfort women” survivors who actively participated in the Korean Council’s activism and those who are recently deceased, such as Kim Hak-Soon and Kim Il-dong. In addition to the Korean “comfort women,” the museum introduces wartime sexual violence that took place in other parts of the world by showing images of women and children who were victims of rape during the Asia-Pacific War in Indonesia, the Congolese Civil War, and the Ugandan Civil War. The basement of the museum is dedicated to the Vietnamese women raped by Korean soldiers, with several artworks made by the Kims, including *Vietnam Pieta* in the centre. Emphasizing feminist solidarity against wartime sexual violence, this museum’s focus on the stories of victims makes a stark contrast to the presentation of war in the War Memorial of Korea in Seoul, and the Vietnam Veterans Meeting Place (also known as the Vietnam War Memorial Hall) in Hwacheon, Gangwon-do.¹⁴³

¹⁴² “Explore the Museum,” n.d., War and Women’s Human Rights Museum, accessed December 1, 2020, http://www.womenandwarmuseum.net/contents/general/general.asp?page_str_menu=2201; Lee Na-young, “The Korean Women’s Movement of Japanese Military ‘Comfort Women’: Navigating between Nationalism and Feminism,” *The Review of Korean Studies* 17, no. 1 (2014): 77, 85. The Korean Council was formed in 1990 in support of thirty-seven feminist activist groups, and it founded the War and Women’s Human Right Museum in Seoul in 2012. In 2016, shortly after the 2015 Japan–South Korea Comfort Women Agreement, the Foundation for Justice and Remembrance for the Issue of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan was established in support of citizens fundraising to nullify the 2015 agreement. In 2018 these two organizations merged to the Foundation for Justice and Remembrance, which now operates the War and Women’s Human Right Museum.

¹⁴³ The English name of this place also appears as Vietnam War Memorial Hall in several Korean websites. This chapter uses the Vietnam Veterans Meeting Place, as introduced in its recently opened official website. See Wollam Pabyeongyongsa Mannamui Jang (the Vietnam Veterans Meeting Place) official website, accessed February 27, 2022, <http://www.vws.or.kr/>.

Vietnam War in Korean Museums

These three museums—the War and Women’s Human Rights Museum, the War Memorial of Korea, and the Vietnam Veterans Meeting Place—manifest South Korea’s complicated and contradictory desires related to participation in the Vietnam War and the redress movement. They are also related to IM’s and the Kims’ works. Footage of dioramas at the War Memorial of Korea, somewhat distractingly inserted into the main plot, appears with roaring shooting noises in *Reborn II*. Photographs taken at the Vietnam Veterans Meeting Place appear in *Short Dream I II*. The War and Women’s Human Rights Museum houses *Vietnam Pieta*.

Founded on the former site of the army headquarters and opened in 1994, the War Memorial of Korea was built by Jeonjaeng Ginyeom Saeopoe (*tr.* war memorial institute), an organization under the Ministry of National Defence, “to commemorate martyrs and their service to the nation.”¹⁴⁴ While the exterior of the War Memorial of Korea is adorned in the classical Greco-Roman-style, its program follows the ideology of a Confucius shrine: “the idea of normal family, unconditional loyalty, and the future reproduction of the ‘pure’ national identity, as if ethnic purity itself guarantees the future of the nation.”¹⁴⁵ Inside the building, gigantic sculptural installations of Korean soldiers and memorial stones occupy the central inner shrine. Surrounding this inner circle are exhibition halls that introduce major battles from Korean history, especially the Korean War, using dioramas, waxed dolls, short documentary film, raw

¹⁴⁴ “Jeonjaeng Ginyeom Saeopoe” (*tr.* war memorial institute), *All Public Information in-One*, July 13, 2021,

<http://www.alio.go.kr/popReportTerm.do?apbaId=C0115&reportFormRootNo=10101>.

¹⁴⁵ Kal, *Aesthetic Constructions of Korean Nationalism*, 69.

video footage, and animated videos. In contrast to this solemn atmosphere, the exhibition hall documenting the Vietnam War, on the third floor, is decorated like a jungle, providing viewers with the entertaining experience of a vicarious visit to Vietnam. Curators only added information about Korean troops atrocities after receiving a petition from the Korean activist group “Civilian Military Watch.”¹⁴⁶

The Vietnam Veterans Meeting Place likewise perpetuates a colonizing perspective of the Vietnamese in Korea by encouraging visitors to consume violence as entertainment and commercializing their experience of the war. Formerly used as a training camp for soldiers to be dispatched to Vietnam, this venue was renovated by the local government of Hwacheon as a war museum and theme park, where visitors can virtually experience the war, navigating around a model of Củ Chi Tunnels. At its 2008 opening, curators displayed wax figures of Korean soldiers aiming guns at kneeling Vietnamese civilians, which are captured in *IM's Short Dream I II*. These wax figures were removed after being damaged by an unknown person.¹⁴⁷ Presenting atrocity as entertainment from the victor’s perspective, this display was reminiscent of the colonialist mindset of the Korean soldiers during the war. Fused with anti-communism, racism, and even colonial aspiration, South Korean soldiers justified their atrocities as a way to civilize the Vietnamese and portrayed their brutal operations as adventurous tasks to destroy “savages”

¹⁴⁶ Civilian Military Watch is a South Korean activist group, formed in 2014, which aims “to transform the Korean military into a military that supports human rights, democracy, and peace.” One of their projects is to change the ethnocentric narrative of the War Memorial of Korea written from the winner’s perspective. This information was provided by the activists of the Civilian Military Watch during their guided tour of the War Memorial of Korea on January 22, 2019. See also, Civilian Military Watch, official website, accessed February 24, 2022, <http://www.militarywatch.or.kr/>.

¹⁴⁷ Han Honggu, “Chamjeonginyeombiwa Wilyeongbi, Geuligo Bukkeuleoum” (War memorials, memorials for the fallen, and shame), *Hankyoreh*, March 15, 2013, https://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/society_general/578281.html.

in a jungle.¹⁴⁸ Vietnamese soldiers and civilians existed in the minds of Koreans as the Viet-Cong, “the reds seen as inhuman demons or enemies of the society.”¹⁴⁹ Koreans soldiers, identifying with a US perspective, displayed disdainful attitudes toward the Vietnamese. Such attitudes are also similar to those held by members of the Imperial Japanese Army during the colonial period of Korea.¹⁵⁰

In contrast to these two war memorial spaces operated by quasi-governmental organizations, the War and Women’s Human Rights Museum emphasizes the issue of wartime sexual violence against women in a transnational context. In addition to Korean “comfort women,” the museum introduces examples of wartime sexual violence that have taken place in other parts of the world, such as Indonesia during the Pacific War, Congo, Uganda, and Vietnam. The basement of the museum is dedicated to the Vietnamese women raped by Korean soldiers, with several artworks made by Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, including *Vietnam Pieta* in the centre.

In the corner of this space, the following statement appears: “70 years has passed since the liberation from Japanese Imperialism; to us who long for the true emancipation, here are the people we ought to emancipate. Let’s face our past as victims and assailants.” In addition to portraying the Vietnamese victims as passive beings awaiting emancipation, this statement suggests that the museum’s activism can bestow emancipation on the Vietnamese victims. This caption also begs the questions of who “we” are and how “we” have the agency to “give emancipation” to these victims. If “we” are those who fight against wartime sexual violence and express transnational solidarity with its victims, this caption may suggest empathy and solidarity.

¹⁴⁸ Nguyen, *Nothing Ever Dies*, 188.

¹⁴⁹ Bay, “From Seoul to Saigon,” 114.

¹⁵⁰ Bay, “From Seoul to Saigon,” 119.

If “we” are Koreans, it is hypocritical for Koreans to play the role of saviour. Transnational solidarity should be encouraged, but apology should be considered discretely in each case. The Korean “comfort women” and the Vietnamese women who were raped by Korean soldiers tend to be conflated as non-specific victims of sexual violence who require a state’s apology.

Standing on a plinth like an altarpiece of the exhibition devoted to the Vietnamese victims, in the museum dedicated to the “comfort women” victims, *Vietnam Pieta* uses its symbolic power to link wartime sexual violence in Vietnam, Korea, and Japan as inseparable.

Conclusion

IM Heung-soon’s works and Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung’s *Vietnam Pieta* ask viewers to think carefully about contested memories and suspended apologies in the context of Korea and Vietnam. IM’s work, including *Reborn II*, creates a space for these memory wars, bringing those silenced during the Vietnam War onto the stage as protagonists, while also exposing some of the ethical problems in approaching and representing the survivors of wartime sexual violence: sensationalizing survivor trauma and circulating survivor images without fully informed consent. The three casts of the *Vietnam Pieta* are likewise problematic, presenting apology ambiguously. Both projects invite various interpretations and responses from viewers, complicating memory in Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. These works invite the viewer to consider the urgency of reassembling memories and the ethics of state apologies. They suggest ways of articulating highly sensitive and political issues in visual art, but they also reveal ethical and aesthetic limitations, helping to foster among viewers’ historical and critical awareness in relation to subaltern memory and (un)conditional apology.

In 2019 two Vietnamese women of the same name, Nguyen Thi Thanh, survivors of the Phong Nhị and Ha My Massacre respectively, submitted a petition, signed by 103 additional survivors, to the president of Korea calling for a reinvestigation of the Korean troops' atrocities in Vietnam. The Moon Jae-in government declined the petition saying that there is no evidence of the massacres available at the Ministry of National Defence. In early 2020, Nguyen, the survivor of the Ha My Massacre, and Korean veteran Ryu Jin-song met to discuss their traumas. Ryu, becoming the first soldier to acknowledge his participation in a Vietnamese atrocity, said to Thanh, *xin lỗi*: "sorry" in Vietnamese. Although some Korean veterans and some members of Korean society are ready to listen to the stories of the Vietnamese survivors, the Korean and Vietnamese governments are keeping silent. But for the survivors of sexual violence, coming forward to speak for themselves is difficult. Representation of their memories and related apologies remain highly sensitive and complex.

The artworks discussed in this chapter present the possibility of untangling these knots by presenting the memories of the assailants and the victims and by striving to deliver a message of apology. Derrida described a situation in which there is no shared language between the victim and the guilty in the scene of forgiveness.¹⁵¹ If visual art is to offer the possibility of a shared language for parties from different cultures and nationalities, it needs careful articulation, presentation, installation, and delivery. IM Heung-soon's mixed-media work and Kim Seokyoung and Kim Eunsung's sculptures show their dilemma and challenges in representing the suffering of Vietnamese victims and delivering a message of apology from Korean citizens. This discussion opens a door to the topic of the next chapter, namely, how art can generate opportunities for participants and audience members to practice empathy for distant others

¹⁵¹ Derrida, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, 48.

without turning their pain into a spectacle.

Chapter 3. Living Inclusively after Disaster: Koki Tanaka's *Provisional Studies: Workshop #7 How to Live Together and Sharing the Unknown* (2016) and *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)* (2018)

Abstract

After the unprecedented, catastrophic event of the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami, the Japanese art scene saw a shift in focus from Japanese Neo Pop to socially oriented, collaborative, and participatory practices. Leading this tendency, Japanese artist Koki Tanaka created a series of experimental workshops that required participants' collective actions and discussion, as a metaphor for a post-disaster community. This chapter discusses Tanaka's experimental workshops and films that reflect on post-disaster communities, exploring how to make art that addresses disaster without turning disaster into a spectacle for viewers' visual pleasure. I focus on two of Tanaka's recent works: *Provisional Studies: Workshop #7 How to Live Together and Sharing the Unknown* (2017) and *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)* (2018). For *Provisional Studies*, filmed in 2016 in Münster and displayed during the 2017 Skulptur Projekte Münster (Sculpture Projects Münster), Tanaka led a nine-day workshop with eight local participants and four moderators in a building that had been a former nuclear bomb shelter in Münster, Germany. In *Vulnerable Histories*, filmed in Kyoto in 2018, Tanaka organized an exchange of letters, workshops, site visits, and an interview in a car between a Zainichi Korean (Korean resident in Japan) woman and a Swiss national man whose Japanese great-grandparents had immigrated to the United States. In what follows, I analyze Tanaka's use of the workshop site in relation to Münster's wartime disaster, the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923, and hate speech rallies against Zainichi Koreans in 2009–2010. Instead of representing disaster, I argue that Tanaka creates

opportunities for participants to *reflect* on disaster or traumatic memories by reinvigorating Japanese Fluxus practice of the 1960s, especially the work of Hi Red Center, and by incorporating contemporary relational and dialogic practices. Drawing on theories of empathy and the history of Japanese art and disaster, I discuss how Tanaka's practice evokes transnational empathy among the participants by reflecting on transgenerational trauma and responsibility.

Keywords

Koki Tanaka; Disaster; the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami; 3/11; Japanese art; Skulptur Projekte Münster; empathy; passive empathy; empathetic unsettlement; postmemory; Zainichi Koreans; refugees; Japanese Neo Pop; Fluxus; Disaster art

Introduction

The previous chapters discussed ethical concerns surrounding socially engaged art projects, in which artists interacted with socially disenfranchised communities or individuals, such as migrant workers from the Global South and survivors of wartime atrocity. Although meaningful in shedding light on visual minorities and victims of war, my analysis revealed some aesthetic and ethical limitations of the works, in terms of the ways they represent their subaltern participants. How can art present an other's suffering without turning it into a spectacle? What kind of empathy is meaningful? Can art generate transnational or transgenerational empathy?

Thinking through these questions, this chapter explores two works by the Japanese artist Koki Tanaka (b. 1975) that address disasters or traumatic memories through participatory workshops. Tanaka's exploration of the post-disaster community was prompted by the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami, the 9.0-magnitude earthquake and tsunami that struck the

Tōhoku region coast on March 11, 2011, causing widespread flooding and the meltdown of three reactors at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant.¹ As a direct result of this catastrophic incident, about 18,000 people died, and more than 240,000 people were evacuated from their homes.² The disaster—also called the Great East Japan Earthquake, the Fukushima disaster, and Japan’s triple disaster—later became known simply as 3/11 (hereafter 3/11).³ Reflecting on the solidarity and nationalism that surged in Japan after this disaster, Tanaka facilitated a series of participatory workshops, throwing participants into situations that required collaborative actions, as an experiment in post-disaster community in which collaboration is required among strangers to survive. Tanaka then turned the experimental workshops into film-based multimedia installations and photographic prints, which provide viewers with an opportunity to observe the participants’ reactions as an experimental study of human behaviour. Moving beyond reflection on 3/11, Tanaka also expanded his study to explore a community of multicultural participants as they reflected on traumatic experiences through performing communal and collaborative activities.

Using Tanaka’s works as two case studies, this chapter discusses how art can generate transnational and transgenerational empathy among participants and viewers by inviting them to

¹ Richard J. Samuels, Introduction to *3.11: Disaster and Change in Japan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013), ix. *Higashi nihon daishinsai* (tr. the east Japan earthquake disaster) is the most commonly used term in Japan to refer to this triple disaster.

² Yoshitaka Mōri, “New Collectivism, Participation and Politics after the East Japan Great Earthquake,” *World Art* 5, no. 1 (2015): 170.

³ Samuels, *3.11*, ix. 3/11 is called a triple disaster not only because it was a combination of tsunami, earthquake, and the nuclear leak, but also because it was a combination of natural disaster, human-made disaster, and bureaucratic disaster. The damage became even greater because, in the immediate aftermath of the tsunami and earthquake, Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) concealed the information about the meltdown of its three nuclear reactors, which bathed a twenty-kilometre area with radiation. The government also concealed information about the catastrophe.

reflect on disaster or traumatic experiences. I will focus on two of Tanaka's recent works: *Provisional Studies: Workshop #7 How to Live Together and Sharing the Unknown* (hereafter *Provisional Studies*) from 2017 and *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)* (hereafter *Vulnerable Histories*), from 2018. Both *Provisional Studies* and *Vulnerable Histories* were created through collaborative, participatory workshops involving participants from different cultural, geographical, and political backgrounds. Both works were created with site-oriented workshops. The workshop for *Provisional Studies* took place at various spaces in Aegidiimarkt, a complex of residential, commercial, and communal spaces and an underground parking lot that had been a nuclear bunker during the Cold War in Münster, a German city that was heavily bombed during the Second World War. *Vulnerable Histories* took participants to sites connected to hate crimes against Zainichi Koreans (Korean residents in Japan), in particular, the site of the massacre after the Great Kantō earthquake in 1923 and the site of hate speech rallies in the Greater Tokyo Area in 2009.

Provisional Studies premiered at the 2017 Skulptur Projekte Münster (Sculpture Projects Münster), a decennial art festival in Germany (2017; Fig. 3.1).⁴ *Vulnerable Histories* premiered at the Migros Museum of Fine Art, in Zurich, Switzerland (2018; Fig. 3.2). At both of these sites, Tanaka used similar strategies to present the works: He turned the workshops into films that consist of several chapters. In both exhibitions, he displayed the films along with photographic

⁴ Skulptur Projekte Münster is a decennial art festival that expanded the field of sculpture, founded by the German art historians and curators Klaus Bussmann and Kasper König in 1977. Alyssa Buffenstein, "Skulptur Projekte Münster 2017 Announces List of Participating Artists," *Artnet*, February 23, 2017, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/skulptur-projekte-munster-2017-artists-869663>. After the 2017 Skulptur Projekte Münster, the LWL Museum for Art and Culture, Münster, purchased *Provisional Studies* for its collection. "Koki Tanaka," *Skulptur Projekte Archiv*, 2017, accessed February 16, 2022, <https://www.skulptur-projekte-archiv.de/en-us/2017/projects/201/>.

documentation of the workshops. The artist's writings were printed on paper and attached to the wall.

In *Provisional Studies*, Tanaka explores a community of multicultural people temporarily put together in a former shelter in Münster for a series of workshops involving discussion on the topics of the refugee crisis in Germany and multiculturalism. As the participants conduct communal activities and dialogic workshops, their discussions unfold into heated debates. In *Vulnerable Histories*, Tanaka takes two protagonists on a journey to learn about their own and their ancestors' experiences of racial discrimination and hate crime. The two protagonists trace their transgenerational trauma as ethnic minorities and share their feelings and efforts to overcome their experience. In both exhibitions, participants' interviews and conversations are presented as testimonials, as in a reality TV show.

Drawing on theories of empathy and the visual representation of the suffering of distant others, I examine how *Provisional Studies* and *Vulnerable Histories* present transnational conflicts and the empathy that might be created in a post-disaster community. I first discuss the theory of passive empathy, suggested by Megan Boler in her critique of Martha Nussbaum's theory of compassion, and empathetic unsettlement, advocated by Dominick LaCapra and Jill Bennett as the apparatus for art and literature to mobilize their audience. Based on the discussion of empathetic unsettlement, I examine a transition in Japanese art and visual culture after 3/11, from traumatic realism to community-oriented practice. Second, I explore how Tanaka's *Provisional Studies* and *Vulnerable Histories* create transgenerational and transnational memory spheres by activating histories of site as a mnemonic device to evoke transgenerational trauma and memory among the participants, while reinvigorating the strategies of Japanese Fluxus collectives in the 1960s such as Hi Red Center. I argue that Tanaka presents the pain of distant

others in a sophisticated manner, without turning it into a visual spectacle, through curated dialogues and performative activities that invite the participants and viewers to reflect critically on their own vulnerabilities and their responsibility to others.

Passive Empathy vs. Empathetic Unsettlement

“Empathetic imagining can sometimes extend the circle of concern,” writes Martha Nussbaum in a discussion of how watching a tragic drama can help us practice compassion.⁵ Commenting on collective mourning in the United States after the 9/11 attacks, Nussbaum points out the “narrow and self-serving” sense of compassion of US citizens, whose language polarizes “us” and “them,” with “them” referring to “Arab Americans.”⁶ She also ponders the indifference of people in the United States to the suffering of distant others, such as the victims of the Rwandan genocide. Nussbaum suggests that compassion rarely crosses national boundaries, as daily life distracts us from paying attention and sharing compassion for tragedy in other parts of the world.⁷ Drawing on Aristotle’s concept of pity as an experience of the audience in theatre, Nussbaum argues that tragic drama overcomes this lack of concern, enabling the audience to overcome habituated numbness and generate compassion for distant others by empathetically understanding the protagonist’s fear and loss. She contends that audience members can also reflect on their own possibilities and vulnerability as they engage with the suffering of those of different sexes, ages, and nationalities.

⁵ Martha C. Nussbaum, “Compassion & Terror,” *Daedalus* 132, no. 1 (2003): 16; Martha C. Nussbaum, *Poetic Justice: The Literary Imagination and Public Life* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

⁶ Nussbaum, “Compassion & Terror,” 11.

⁷ Nussbaum, “Compassion & Terror,” 11, 13.

Boler criticizes Nussbaum's argument for neither leading to social justice that might change the lived experience of the distant others, nor radically challenging the audience's worldview.⁸ Boler first clarifies the differences between pity, sympathy, and empathy. Pity does not require the audience to identify with the protagonist; it can, in fact, suggest that the onlooker is superior to the person being observed.⁹ Sympathy involves a "generalized identification as in 'that could be me' or 'I have experienced something that bears a family resemblance to your suffering.'"¹⁰ And empathy "implies a full identification."¹¹ Nussbaum switches Aristotle's word pity to compassion at some point in her "Compassion & Terror," as the contemporary definition of compassion is closer to that of pity as used by Aristotle.¹² To Boler, empathy is equivalent to Aristotle's pity and Nussbaum's compassion.¹³

To point out the risks of such forms of empathy, Boler coins the term *passive empathy*, which refers to "the concerns directed to a fairly distant other, whom we cannot directly help."¹⁴ Boler claims that passive empathy gives readers a sense of moral satisfaction but does not lead to action.¹⁵ As an example, she gives students' responses to Art Spiegelman's graphic novel *Maus*, which allows the reader to feel "exonerated and redeemed" from any sense of guilt, as they follow the stories of the Holocaust through the easy flow of the graphic novel.¹⁶ As an alternative to passive empathy, Boler suggests "testimonial reading," which requires the reader's self-

⁸ Boler, "Risks of Empathy," 225.

⁹ Boler, "Risks of Empathy," 256–57.

¹⁰ Boler, "Risks of Empathy," 256.

¹¹ Boler, "Risks of Empathy," 256.

¹² Boler, "Risks of Empathy," 256.

¹³ Boler, "Risks of Empathy," 257.

¹⁴ Boler, "Risks of Empathy," 257.

¹⁵ Boler, "Risks of Empathy," 269.

¹⁶ Boler, "Risks of Empathy," 261–63.

reflected participation and responsibility.¹⁷ Unlike Nussbaum, Boler is suspicious about passive empathy's ability to lead to justice and shift existing power relations. She asserts that distant others do not want empathy but justice.¹⁸

How can art generate self-reflective actions and responsibility on the part of the audience concerning the suffering of distant others? Some scholars have criticized the self/other identification in passive empathy. Bertolt Brecht calls a theatre play that induces an audience to assimilate the actor's pain *crude empathy*, "a feeling for another based on the assimilation of the other's experience to the self."¹⁹ He calls techniques that force a viewer into empathy—such as an actor's performance of agony that induces the audience to shed tears—"barbaric."²⁰ Building on this Brechtian critique, LaCapra proposes the term *empathic unsettlement*, which "involves virtual not vicarious experience—that is to say, experience in which one puts oneself in the other's position without taking the place of—or speaking for—the other or becoming a surrogate victim who appropriates the victim's voice of suffering."²¹ In short, empathic unsettlement "resists unmediated identification" of the audience and the protagonist.²² Empathic unsettlement enables the viewer to feel for another, oscillating and balancing between one's own experience and the experience of the other. Echoing LaCapra, Geoffrey Hartman suggests that art's purpose is "encapsulated in the dictum 'Art expands the sympathetic imagination while teaching us about

¹⁷ As examples of the "testimonial reading," Boler introduces Shoshana Felman's discussion of literature of Holocaust and Dori Laub's discussion of the testimony of Holocaust survivors.

¹⁸ Boler, "Risks of Empathy," 255.

¹⁹ Bennett, *Empathic Vision*, 10.

²⁰ Bertolt Brecht, "Conversation about Being Forced into Empathy," in *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*, ed. and trans. John Willett (New Delhi: Radha Krishna, 1978), 270–72.

²¹ LaCapra, *History in Transit*, 135.

²² LaCapra, "Trauma, History, Memory, Identity," 378.

the limits of sympathy.”²³

Drawing on Brecht and LaCapra, Jill Bennett, in her book *Empathic Vision*, promotes art that encourages audiences to feel empathetic to what they see but refrain from assimilating themselves with the subject; Bennett argues for art that pushes viewers to engage in a critical awareness of the present, instead of presenting tragic narrative in an aggressive or corrective manner.²⁴ Bennett also endorses a “more extended conception of *memory*—one that is not confined to a single point in time but that extends temporally and spatially to engage forms of lived experience.”²⁵ Drawing on what Brian Massumi calls “a shock to thought”—“a jolt that does not so much reveal truth as thrust us involuntarily into a mode of critical inquiry,” Bennett suggests that art can register a shock to provoke critical thinking about post-traumatic memory, mediating experience of the past with the viewer’s present.²⁶

Bennett’s concept of art that registers a shock does not necessarily mean that the representation of atrocity must mimic a tragic event or describe an other’s pain. Images of atrocity can turn the viewer into a bystander, helpless witness, or voyeur of victims’ tragedy.²⁷ Atrocity photographs, as Jay Prosser claims, make viewers feel helpless due to their geographic

²³ Geoffrey Hartman, “Tele-suffering and Testimony in the Dot Com Era,” in *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, ed. Barbie Zelizer (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 122–23; Bennett, *Empathic Vision*, 9; Katherine Hite, *Politics and the Art of Commemoration: Memorials to Struggle in Latin America and Spain* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 57.

²⁴ Bennett, *Empathic Vision*; Stef Craps, “Linking Legacies of Loss: Traumatic Histories and Cross-Cultural Empathy in Caryl Phillips’s *Higher Ground* and *The Nature of Blood*,” *Studies in the Novel* 40, no. 1 (2008): 192.

²⁵ Bennett, *Empathic Vision*, 11, emphasis added.

²⁶ Brian Massumi, “Introduction: Like a Thought,” in *A Shock to Thought: Expression after Deleuze and Guattari*, ed. Brian Massumi (New York: Routledge, 2002), 23; Bennett, *Empathic Vision*, 11.

²⁷ Jay Prosser, Introduction to *Picturing Atrocity: Photography in Crisis*, ed. Geoffrey Batchen et al. (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), 7–13.

and temporal distance.²⁸ Prosser's examples include the photographs of African Americans lynched by white supremacists before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Vietnamese girl running naked down a road after being burned by Napalm, and the prisoners at Abu Ghraib. In all these instances, he argues, viewers become not only bystanders but also secondary perpetrators. Theodor W. Adorno's famous remark, "To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric," astutely points to the danger of art turning the victims of Holocaust into objects for the viewers' aesthetic experience.²⁹ Bennett points out that such works of art, called *traumatic realism*, use affective triggers as "blunt instruments to engender fear and nothing more."³⁰

Such criticism is not limited to the contemporary art world but also applies to popular media and visual culture. Lilie Chouliaraki argues that watching the suffering of distant others on TV produces only narcissistic emotions.³¹ Chouliaraki claims that the politics of pity on TV creates a sense of superficial global intimacy, not global care.³² Criticizing the narcissism engendered by such spectatorship discourages reflection and consideration of "why *this suffering* is important and what can we do about it."³³ Like Boler, Chouliaraki prompts viewers instead to critically reflect on their own present and responsibility.

To return to my central question in this chapter: what artistic strategies can generate empathy among viewers and raise cognitive affect and critical awareness? How can visual art inspire people to relate to the suffering of distant others and, in so doing, raise transnational

²⁸ Prosser, Introduction to *Picturing Atrocity*, 7–13.

²⁹ Theodor W. Adorno, *Prisms* (1963) (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), 34; Jung-Ah Woo, "United to Be Dispersed: The WAWA Project and Community Art after the Great East Japan Earthquake," *Archives of Asian Art* 69, no. 2 (2019): 62.

³⁰ Bennett, *Empathic Vision*, 11.

³¹ Lilie Chouliaraki, *The Spectatorship of Suffering* (London: Sage, 2006), 13.

³² Chouliaraki, *Spectatorship of Suffering*, 13.

³³ Chouliaraki, *Spectatorship of Suffering*, 13.

empathy, without depicting the disaster and its brutality in a sensational manner? My use of *transnational empathy* is based on Carlyne Pedwell's definition of empathy as "an entry point to interrogate these transnational dynamics because, of all the emotions, it is the one most frequently conceptualized as an affective bridge between social and cultural differences and an emotional means of achieving social transformation on an international scale."³⁴ Building on Nussbaum, Massumi, and Bennett, Pedwell discusses the transnational flow of women's emotional labour traded in the global economy of care under neoliberal capitalism. In this chapter I bring together these lineages of thought, with particular reference to empathic unsettlement and transnational empathy, to explore strategic ways of portraying transnational and transgenerational memories in visual art. How can art elicit transnational empathy among participants and viewers and help them better understand the trauma of distant others? Instead of vividly presenting the suffering of others in what Bennett calls traumatic realism, how can art provide a *push* to thought, thereby enabling audiences to engage critically with a transnational history and with issues related to racial discrimination?

A year after the 3/11 disaster, Koki Tanaka asked, "What could art do in the face of an event like this?"³⁵ He called for exploring ways other than sympathy to connect with distant others, as "emotions like sympathy and empathy, for instance, actually serve to reinforce the division between the one in pain, and the one without pain."³⁶ He also noted a tendency within the Japanese art community to require artists demonstrate "authenticity" to represent the pain of the Fukushima victims. Some artists and critics called Tanaka's 3/11 work illegitimate, for

³⁴ Pedwell, *Affective Relations*, 21.

³⁵ Koki Tanaka, "Acting Collectively," in Koki Tanaka et al., *Precarious Practice: Koki Tanaka. Artist of the Year by Deutsche Bank* (Ostfildern, Germany: Deutsche Bank Artshop, 2015), 76.

³⁶ Tanaka, "Acting Collectively," 76.

example, because he was not in Japan during the catastrophic event.³⁷

Tanaka's practice, however, does not seek to portray the pain of the victims. His works do not explicitly illustrate disaster. For his projects, Tanaka designs various activities for participants to conduct collectively: five people playing the same piano simultaneously or five people making one piece of pottery at a time. These activities put the participants in a situation that is out of the ordinary, a metaphor for a post-disaster situation, in which they need to collaborate with strangers to survive. Tanaka invites both participants and viewers to question how people might act collectively after disaster and find ways to live together. His artistic strategies are based on conversations and collaborative activities performed by participants to practice empathic unsettlement, avoiding representation of pain or disaster itself.

Tanaka's work manifests a shift in the Japanese art tradition of representing disaster: from "disaster art" or "earthquake art" depicted with traumatic realism to conversational and performative work that participates in a politics of *non-representation*. In doing so, Tanaka draws on the Happenings of Japanese experimental artist collectives from the 1960s, specifically Hi Red Center. Below, I discuss how Tanaka's post-3/11 works mark a turning point in Japanese disaster art, reinvigorating Japanese Fluxus in the 1960s.

Japanese "Disaster Art" before and after 3/11

Many Japanese artists responded to 3/11, and there has been a clear change in Japanese art since this catastrophe—a shift of focus from Japanese Neo Pop (hereafter JNP) to socially oriented

³⁷ Koki Tanaka, interview with the author, June 28, 2019.

practices.³⁸ This new aesthetic choice contributes to visual art that addresses a disaster without turning the disaster into a spectacle for viewers' visual pleasure.

Disaster art before the contemporary moment is primarily found in Edo- and Meiji-era prints, which illustrate war, arson, massacre, and earthquakes.³⁹ In Japanese art and visual culture of the first half of the twentieth century, battle scenes, mass destruction, and physical dislocation, called "body horror" in Japan, commonly appeared in prints, paintings, photographs, and cinematic spectacles.⁴⁰ Examining these body horror images in Japanese visual culture, Gennifer Weisenfeld suggests that aestheticized visual spectacle provides spectators with pleasure by evoking the sensorium, morally implicating them as witnesses and voyeurs.⁴¹ Weisenfeld draws on W. E. B. Du Bois's claims that the onlooker has the cultural power to look down on the observed in *spectacle lynching*—racialized violence in which, usually white, spectators watched Black Americans being lynched in public spaces.⁴² Disaster as a spectacle, popularized and represented in Japanese modern art, is continued in Japan's postwar visual culture through pop culture, TV programs, and animations, with characters such as Godzilla destroying Tokyo or improbable children or teenagers saving the world from villains.⁴³

³⁸ Adrian Favell, *Before and after Superflat: A Short History of Japanese Contemporary Art 1990–2011* (Hong Kong: Blue Kingfisher, 2012), 9, 222–29; Mōri, "New Collectivism".

³⁹ Asato Ikeda, "Ikeda Manabu, the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, and Disaster/Nuclear Art in Japan," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 11, issue 13, no. 2 (2013): 5.

⁴⁰ Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Imaging Disaster: Tokyo and Visual Culture of Japan Great Earthquake of 1923* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 126.

⁴¹ Weisenfeld, *Imaging Disaster*, 126.

⁴² Weisenfeld, *Imaging Disaster*, 96.

⁴³ Noi Sawaragi, *Bakushinchi no Geijutsu 1999–2001* (The art at ground zero 1999–2001) (Tokyo: Shōbunsha, 2002), 377; Yoshitaka Mōri, "Subcultural Unconsciousness in Japan: The War and Japanese Contemporary Artists," in *Popular Culture, Globalization and Japan*, ed. Matthew Allen and Rumi Sakamoto (New York: Routledge, 2006), 180. Postwar is a contested notion in Japan. The Japanese government pronounced the end of the postwar era in 1955; however, Japan's long postwar lasted in its politics and continued through the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the death of Emperor Hirohito in 1989. Tessa Morris-Suzuki claims that the

JNP artists also create disaster art. Coined by art critic Sawaragi Noi, the term JNP refers to a trend in Japanese art inspired by Japanese anime and manga, which emerged during the Lost Decades, from the early 1990s through the 2000s, a period of economic stagnation and recession that saw high rates of unemployment and related social problems.⁴⁴ The Lost Decades marked a stark contrast from the growth and prosperity of the 1960s through the 1980s, when Japan was a leading power in the global economy. The 1964 Summer Olympic Games in Tokyo and Expo '70 in Suita, Osaka Prefecture, splendidly staged Japan's return to the global arena after the Second World War. During the Lost Decades, in contrast, the fear of having no future encroached upon Japanese society. It was especially brutal for the generation born in the 1960s, who faced the first Lost Decade in their twenties and thirties. This generation used the entertainment provided by anime and manga to escape from a depressing economic reality, creating the cultures of *otaku* and *kawaii*. *Otaku* refers to those who are obsessed with and indulge in anime and manga at home. Literally meaning “cute,” *kawaii* refers to the promotion of cuteness in Japanese culture, mimicking and fetishizing characters from anime and manga.

The key JNP players of that generation—namely, Makoto Aida (b. 1965), Takashi Murakami (b. 1962), Mario Mori (b. 1967), Yoshimoto Nara (b. 1959), and Kenji Yanobe (b.

seventieth anniversary of the postwar constitution in 2016 marked the end of the seventy-year postwar period, when the historical issues related to “comfort women” and the political landscape in East Asia and the United States put the relationships between East Asian nations complicated. Harry Harootunian and Tomiko Yoda discuss the narrative of the long postwar that began with the United States preserving the Japanese Imperial House and absolving the emperor from war responsibility. See Harry Harootunian and Tomiko Yoda, Introduction to *Japan after Japan*, ed. Harry Harootunian and Tomiko Yoda (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 1–2; Tessa Morris-Suzuki, “The End of Japan’s Very Long Post-War Era,” *East Asia Forum*, December 29, 2016, <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2016/12/29/the-end-of-japans-very-long-postwar-era/>.

⁴⁴ Noi Sawaragi, *Nihon/Gendai/Bijutsu* (Japan/modern/art) (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1998); Sawaragi, *Bakushinchi no Geijutsu 1999–2001*; Mōri, “Subcultural Unconsciousness in Japan,” 174.

1965)—created images of fantasy and exaggerated sexuality or cuteness, representing and contributing to the generation’s indulgence in anime, manga, kawaii, and otaku.⁴⁵ Nara’s paintings of cute, naughty, and mischievous girls in the manga style and Mori’s fantastic figures of Buddhist goddesses or traditional tales in paintings or sculptures appealed to audiences both in Japan and elsewhere, satisfying the latter with their imagination of the East.⁴⁶ Murakami coined the term *Superflat* to refer to his work, inspired by anime and manga, as well as *ukiyo-e*, the floating world depicted in Edo-era prints. JNP has been considered the face of contemporary Japanese art in the global art scene. Images and sculptures of childlike figures, robots, cute and sexually arousing girls, and stories of ghosts sold fantasies of Japan to an international audience. As Adrian Favell puts it, Murakami, Nara, and Mori “made an art that confirmed, reproduced and sold to the West a certain vision of Japan that reigned until March 2011.”⁴⁷

After 3/11, JNP artists incorporated disaster into their subject matter, using popular cultural codes and religious motifs with their own styles. For example, Yanobe erected *Sun Child* (2011; Fig. 3.3), a six-metre-tall sculptural installation of a young boy resembling the popular manga character Mighty Atom (Testuwan Atomu in Japanese, known in the West as Astro Boy). *Sun Child* embodies the typical Japanese manga character of a child saviour who will fix the apocalyptic present created by adults.⁴⁸ The idea of a child saviour was popularized in postwar Japan as a means of imagining and representing a future for Japan.⁴⁹ Murakami has used his

⁴⁵ Favell, *Before and after Superflat*, 9; Mōri, “New Collectivism,” 168. As these Japanese artists are internationally renowned artists, and their names appear in the order of the first name and last name internationally, I have used this North American standard as well.

⁴⁶ Favell, *Before and after Superflat*, 9.

⁴⁷ Favell, *Before and after Superflat*, 9.

⁴⁸ Tomoe Otsuki, “Visualising Nuclear Futurism and Narrating Queer Futurity in Yanobe Kenji’s *The Sun Child* and Tawada Yōko’s *The Emissary*,” *Asian Studies Review* (December 2020), <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2020.1849027>.

⁴⁹ While Otsuki discusses the image of child as a saviour in nuclear threat, exemplifying with

signature Nihonga-style acrylic paintings mounted on boards to likewise reference 3/11. 500 *Arahat* (2012; Fig. 3.4) presents crowds of *arajat*, Buddhist monks who spread Buddhist teaching to laypeople and provide them with mental salvation. His *Lion Peering into Death's Abyss* (2015; Fig. 3.5) depicts a pack of skulls making a colourful bridge as a macabre but cheerful pathway to reincarnation. The subject matter of these works by Yanobe and Murakami still rely on fantasy as a mental shelter, however: Yanobe repurposed a manga character of a child saviour; Murakami summoned religious or afterlife figures as divine agents to comfort grieved souls.

JNP's escape from reality to fantasy faced criticism in the aftermath of 3/11. Favell claimed that Cool Japan, the image that JNP represented, "was swept away by a devastating earthquake and tsunami that irrevocably changed Japan once again."⁵⁰ Curator Doryun Chong criticized the 2011 Yokohama Triennale titled *Our Magic Hour: How Much of the World Can We Know?* for largely ignoring the recent disaster.⁵¹ Instead, the triennale focused on "magic-like powers, supernatural phenomena, mythology, legend, and animism," the subject matter that JNP favoured and that foreign audiences wanted to see in Japanese art.⁵² Chong urged such large-scale exhibition organizers to reconsider their role and potential influence in "the locality, nation, civilization, and the world."⁵³ Among the object-oriented installations, he complimented

Mighty Atom and Sun Child, Andrea G. Arai discusses the "wild child" in Hayao Miyazaki's animations, such as *Princess Mononoke*. Otsuki, "Visualising Nuclear Futurism"; Andrea G. Arai, "The Wild Child' of 1990s Japan," in *Japan after Japan*, ed. Tomiko Yoda and Harry Harootunian (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 216–38.

⁵⁰ Favell, *Before and after Superflat*, 222.

⁵¹ Doryun Chong, "Reviews, Yokohama Triennale 2011," *Artforum* 50, no. 3 (November 2011): 266.

⁵² "Our Magic Hour: How Much of the World Can We Know?" Yokohama Triennale 2011, accessed May 9, 2021, <https://universes.art/en/yokohama-triennale/2011>.

⁵³ Chong, "Reviews, Yokohama Triennale 2011," 266.

the works by Tanaka, along with those of Tam Ochiai and Shimabuku, for “outshin(ing) the polished objects with humour and tenderness.”⁵⁴ Art historian Yoshitaka Mōri also pointed out that 3/11 marked a turning point for Japanese contemporary art, from the Superflat aesthetics of JNP toward more socially engaged practices.⁵⁵ Mōri saw Tanaka as a representative of this change in Japanese art.⁵⁶

Tanaka’s solo exhibition, *Abstract Speaking—Sharing Uncertainty and Collective Acts*, in Japan’s 2013 Pavilion at the 55th Venice Biennale, signalled this change in Japanese art after 3/11. The Japan Pavilion of the Venice Biennale is commissioned by the Japan Foundation, which only accepts proposals from a curator and artist, working as a team.⁵⁷ Mika Kuraya, chief curator of the Department of Fine Arts of the National Museum of Modern Art in Tokyo, conceived a show that addressed 3/11 and proposed an exhibition of Tanaka’s works. The exhibition presented a series of videos and photographs, which documented participatory workshops in which Tanaka had assigned to participants unusual tasks that required a collaborative action and examined how individuals would work with strangers to perform these tasks.

⁵⁴ Chong, “Reviews, Yokohama Triennale 2011,” 266. Shimabuku’s works also use humour and poetry in interacting with strangers. His work in the 2011 Yokohama Triennale, *The Chance to Recover Our Humanity* (2011), was an installation near the Bashamichi Station. First conceived in 1995 after the Great Hanshin earthquake, “the billboard calls for the chance to recover humanity, particularly during difficult times.” Yokohama Triennale 2011 Photo Tour, accessed May 9, 2021, <https://universes.art/en/yokohama-triennale/2011/tour/shimabuku>.

⁵⁵ Mōri, “New Collectivism.”

⁵⁶ Mōri, “New Collectivism,” 170.

⁵⁷ The Japan Foundation is the commissioner and organizer of the Japan Pavilion at the Venice Biennale. Its mission is to develop programs in arts and cultural exchange, Japanese language education, and Japanese studies. “About the Japan Foundation,” *Japan Foundation*, accessed February 15, 2022, https://www.jpf.go.jp/e/about/outline/about_02.html; “Japan Pavilion at the 59th International Art Exhibition, La Biennale di Venezia in 2022,” *Japan Foundation*, accessed February 15, 2022, <https://www.jpf.go.jp/e/project/culture/exhibit/international/venezia-biennale/art/59/index.html>.

The video and photo documentations of the workshops show how the participants responded to these uncommon situations. While some collaborations had been successful, others had not. *A Piano Played by Five Pianists at Once (First Attempt)* (2012; Fig. 3.6) had ended successfully, as the participants played a complete piece based on improvised collaboration led by a student who was majoring in jazz piano. *A Haircut by 9 Hairdressers at Once (Second Attempt)* (2010; Fig. 3.7) and *A Pottery Produced by 5 Potters at Once* (2013; Fig. 3.8) failed, however, as the participants had attempted to divide their labour equally.⁵⁸ These works suggest that successful collaboration does not necessarily require equally distributing the labour but, rather, dividing roles and performing them in *equitable* rather than strictly equal ways.⁵⁹ Videos playing these tasks in the exhibition poetically suggest situations of disaster, unlike how reality TV shows or so-called disaster porn documentaries present disaster, in its naked reality.

For this exhibition, Tanaka re-used leftover materials from the Japan Pavilion's display at the 13th Venice Architecture Biennale, in 2012 (Fig. 3.9). The Golden Lion-winning exhibition "Architecture Possible Here? Home-for-all," curated by Toyo Ito with the participation of architects Kumiko Inui, Sou Fujimoto, and Akihisa Hirata and photographer Naoya Hatakeyama, suggested alternative housing solutions for those who had lost their homes in 3/11 (Fig. 3.10).⁶⁰ In his 2013 exhibition at the Venice Biennale, Tanaka used the painted walls from the previous year's display. He rearranged leftover tree trunks, wooden plinths, and text-printed vinyl and installed them together with his videos and photographs, as well as pots made by the participants

⁵⁸ Koki Tanaka, "Koki Tanaka—Visiting Artists and Scholars," *San Francisco Art Institute Official (Vimeo)*, November 1, 2016, <https://vimeo.com/190404306>.

⁵⁹ Tanaka, "Koki Tanaka—Visiting Artists and Scholars."

⁶⁰ David Basulto, "Venice Biennale 2012: Architecture. Possible here? Home-for-all: Japan Pavilion," *ArchDaily*, August 30, 2012, <https://www.archdaily.com/268426/venice-biennale-2012-architecture-possible-here-home-for-all-japan-pavilion>.

in his pottery-making workshop (Fig. 3.11). Tanaka's 2013 display continued the search for alternative ways of living after the disaster by examining individual and collective responses and behaviours, as well as collaboration. Awarded the Biennale's special mention, Tanaka's exhibition is an exemplary work of post-3/11 Japanese art that is inclined to socially oriented, collaborative, and participatory practices.⁶¹

Tanaka more explicitly referenced 3/11 in a series of works titled *Precarious Tasks*, made in Yokohama in 2012. In this series, he mobilized local participants to eat, converse, and do various activities through which they could imagine and reflect on the activities of Fukushima residents after 3/11. The subtitles explain each situation that he assigned, such as *Precarious Tasks #1: Swinging a flashlight while we walk at night* (2012; Fig. 3.12) and *Precarious Tasks #2: Talking about your name while eating emergency food* (2012). These situations point to harm from the nuclear leak and the uncertainties of reconstruction efforts.⁶² They also allude to participants' precarity and their vulnerability to potential danger. One of this series, *Precarious Tasks #10: Go to a bar located over 20 km from a museum to drink, discuss and watch a film about nuclear power problem* (2014), took the participants to venues that were within a twenty-kilometre radius of the nuclear power plant, which the Japanese government had designated an evacuation area. *Precarious Tasks* invited participants to imagine the pain, fear, and anxiety of

⁶¹ The previous 2011 Venice Biennale's Japan Pavilion exhibition featured Tabaimo's solo exhibition, *Teleco-soup*, which used the aperture in the centre of the Japan Pavilion to invoke the Japanese proverb, a frog in the well cannot conceive the ocean but knows the height of the sky. Tabaimo's exhibition invited visitors to an immersed media environment surrounded by walls of animation. "Japan Pavilion at the 54th Venice Biennale," *e-flux*, March 14, 2011, <https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/35569/japan-pavilion-at-the-54th-venice-biennale/>; Joyce Lee, "Tabaimo: Japanese Pavilion at Venice Art Biennale 2011," *Designboom*, June 11, 2011, <https://www.designboom.com/art/tabaimo-japanese-pavilion-at-venice-art-biennale-2011/>.

⁶² Gabriel Ritter, "Out of the Ordinary: Koki Tanaka," *Art Asia Pacific*, no. 84 (2013), <http://artasiapacific.com/Magazine/84/OutOfTheOrdinaryKokiTanaka>.

the victims, and explore through collective actions and conversation what they would do if they experienced a similar situation, rather than through viewing images of the destruction and victims.

Some of Tanaka's activities invited the participants to imagine a situation when people need to escape together. *Precarious Tasks #6: Going up to a city building taller than 16.7m* (2013) required Tanaka and participants climb up the fire stairs at a Rotterdam hotel near the Witte de With Center for Contemporary Art and listen to a talk on "height" in a hotel room that was 16.7 metres off the ground. The task was to reflect on 16.7 metres, the official height of the tsunami triggered by 3/11.⁶³ In *A Behavioral Statement (or, An Unconscious Protest)*, in 2013 (Fig. 3.13), Tanaka asked participants to walk down the fire stairs of six floors of the Japan Foundation building in Tokyo, which was also the height of the tsunami. These acts of walking up and down stairs were used as metaphors to represent emergencies when large numbers of people need to escape a building at the outbreak of a disaster. Tanaka also invited participants to think about such emergencies as they collectively responded to the situations.

Collaborative and participatory practices appear not only in Tanaka's work but also in the work of younger Japanese artists.⁶⁴ Young artists collectives such as Chim↑Pom, OLTA, Kyun-Chome, and Shibu House have created such mixed-media projects, and their group exhibitions have been held both in and out of Japan. These artists, born in the 1980s, are likewise engaged with communities directly affected by the disaster. Another famous collective, the WAWA Project (2011–) is a team of artists, architects, community designers, and local coordinators

⁶³ Tanaka, "Selected Projects ver. 1."

⁶⁴ Many artists created works reflecting on the 2011 Fukushima disaster, but this dissertation focuses on collaborative works that use non-JNP-style practice. Two large-scale exhibitions are *In the Wake: Japanese Photographers Respond to 3/11* at Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 2015, and *Catastrophe and the Power of Art* at Mori Art Museum, Tokyo, in 2018.

working in Iwate Miyagi, Fukushima, and Tokyo.⁶⁵ Led by artist Masato Nakamura (b. 1963) and architect Manabu Shinbori (b. 1964), the WAWA Project created newspapers with portraits of the Tōhoku region’s residents who had survived earthquakes in the past (Fig. 3.14).⁶⁶ Woo Jung-A argues that WAWA’s focus on relationship and community building showed an alternative aesthetic that deviates from the typical representation of disaster victims in Japan’s disaster art.⁶⁷ Whereas WAWA Project and other artist collectives headed to the communities directly affected by disaster, Tanaka created temporary communities where he visited or lived, in China, Japan, the United States, and Europe, making opportunities for participants to expand the circle of empathy with distant others.

This collaborative, participatory approach is only one of the various post-3/11 art practices in Japan. Japanese artists who are not affiliated with JNP also address the damage caused by the triple disaster, carrying on the tradition of disaster art. For example, Ikeda Manabu depicts environmental destruction in his surrealist painting *Meltdown* (2012; Fig. 3.15).⁶⁸ Akira Tsuboi’s series of oil paintings on wood boards problematize the human-made aspect of the disaster by painstakingly documenting the suffering of Fukushima victims in the context of the local and central governments’ bureaucratic incompetence and Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO)’s cover-up of the damage. *The Morning Sun That Should Have Come* (Fig. 3.16) includes TEPCO, which had been called a safe powerhouse for living, but now only threatens the people and animals of Fukushima, on the right side of his triptych as a “gigantic man-made

⁶⁵ “Members”, WAWA Project, accessed February 15, 2022, <https://wawa.or.jp/en/members/>.

⁶⁶ According to the WAWA Project, in Tohoku dialect, wa (私) means “I”; wa (は) means “am”; and wa (和) means “circle,” “unity,” “togetherness.” The WAWA project aims to “connect” people in areas of Tohoku. “About,” WAWA Project, accessed February 15, 2022, <https://wawa.or.jp/en/about/>.

⁶⁷ Woo, “United to be Dispersed.”

⁶⁸ Ikeda, “Ikeda Manabu,” 1.

heart.”⁶⁹ Although these images are informative and eye-catching, illustrations of the devastated land and people risk turning the disaster and the suffering of others into a spectacle.

In stark contrast to the tradition of disaster art, Tanaka’s collaborative workshops are, in fact, grounded in the Happenings of Japanese Fluxus artists in the 1960s. Allan Kaprow, who coined the term “Happening” in his *18 Happenings in 6 Parts* in 1959, introduced the Japanese artist collective Gutai Art Association (1954–1972, hereafter Gutai), as a forerunner of “Happening-type performance” in the preface of his 1966 anthology.⁷⁰ Kaprow’s definition of a Happening meets Gutai’s practice in many ways, through its theatricality and the practice of Zen Buddhism, which seeks truth by asking nonsensical questions and finding answers in absurd and poetic ways.⁷¹

Among the Fluxus artists of the 1960s, Tanaka explicitly credits the influence of Hi Red Center, the artist collective consisting of Takamatsu Jiro, Akasegawa Genpei, and Nakanishi Natsuyuki. Hi Red Center is a combination of part of each member’s surname, Hi (Taka) Red (Aka) Center (Naka). A conversational Happening staged in the crowded train that loops around central Tokyo, Tanaka’s *Dialogue in the Public (JR Yamanote Line, Tokyo)* (2012) (Fig. 3.17) was a re-enactment of Hi Red Center’s *Yamanote Incident* (1962) (Fig. 3.18). Hi Red Center’s *Yamanote Incident* was a Happening using a *Compact Object*: a transparent oval object made of compound junk materials, such as watch and clock parts, eggshells, and human hair, encased in

⁶⁹ Tsuboi also made this series of paintings into a picture book, *Mu Shu Butsu* (tr. no-owner-substances) and donated the sales to the Fukushima community. Akira Tsuboi, “*Mu Shu Butsu*,” Artist website, accessed February 18, 2022, http://dennou.velvet.jp/site/images/book/tbn/eng/eng_bookTBN_for_site.pdf.

⁷⁰ Tiampo, *Gutai: Decentering Modernism*, 88.

⁷¹ Allan Kaprow, “Assemblages, Environments and Happenings,” (1966) in *The Twentieth-Century Performance Reader*, ed. Michael Huxley and Noel Witts (London: Routledge, 2002), 261–68.

resin, the size and shape of an ostrich egg. With his face painted in white, Nakanishi placed the *Compact Object* on the floor in the subway platform, observed it through a magnifying glass, and licked it. Then, he boarded the train, hung it on the handrail, and continued staring at it. Nakanishi's actions were documented in photographs, capturing the wary facial expressions of the commuters as they watched Nakanishi's bizarre performance with the suspicious-looking object, which perhaps reminded them of the 1955 Tokyo subway sarin attack that took place at rush hour.⁷²

Fifty years after Hi Red Center's event, Tanaka organized a dialogic Happening in a train of the Yamanote Line, where he hosted a discussion with fellow artists as guest speakers (see again Fig. 3.17). The discussion started without a designated topic, but the group ended up talking about the absence of a political viewpoint in contemporary Japanese art.⁷³ The photographs that document the Happening show the artists making conversation while sitting alongside passengers who are indifferent to the event. Tanaka's event re-enacted Hi Red Center's use of the train as a site to resist art's hierarchical status by bringing it into the "space of daily practices."⁷⁴ On the train wall behind them, Tanaka placed a transparent label normally used at the Museum of Art Tokyo (Fig. 3.19), thereby presenting their conversation as an artwork displayed outside an art institution, in the daily life of the commuter.⁷⁵

In an untitled project in 2007, Tanaka assembled a raft made of art rubbish from previous

⁷² Doryun Chong, *Tokyo 1955–1970: A New Avant-Garde* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012), 27.

⁷³ Koki Tanaka, *Selected Projects Vers. 1*, January 19, 2015, 40, http://kktnk.com/koki_tanaka_works.html (accessed December 2017, no longer available at the website).

⁷⁴ Munroe, *Japanese Art after 1945*, 159.

⁷⁵ Tanaka, *Selected Projects Vers. 1*, 94–95; Koki Tanaka, *Precarious Practice: Koki Tanaka. Artist of the Year by Deutsche Bank*, by Koki Tanaka et al. (Ostfildern, Germany: Deutsche Bank Artshop, 2015), 180–85.

exhibitions at BankART, the gallery facing the Yokohama canal (Fig. 3.20). With Tanaka and his friends on board, the raft floated to Tokyo Bay. This work references another early artist collective, The Play, whose members drifted objects down rivers and on oceans.⁷⁶ The Play floated an egg-shaped fiberglass construction (3.3 metres long and 2.2 metres wide) on the Pacific Ocean and titled this Happening *Voyage Happening in an Egg* (1968). Bearing their group name and other information, this oval construction sailed from the port of Kushimoto and was meant to reach the United States but was lost at sea.⁷⁷ In a Happening titled *Current of Contemporary Art* (1969), The Play and their friends created a Styrofoam raft in the shape of an arrow and rowed on it (Fig. 3.21). They also floated a house on a river and titled the work *le: The Play Have a House* (1972).⁷⁸ These works by The Play suggest an aspiration to connect to other parts of the world, however they ended up as lost objects, which might still be drifting in the ocean as trash. Tanaka's untitled art rubbish raft transformed abandoned materials into a clumsily improvised raft, turning useless art rubbish into a potentially useful life-saving device.

Through practices such as these, Tanaka reinvigorated the satiric and humorous language of Japanese Fluxus of the 1960s, in which both crisis and hope emerged from the large-scale reconstruction of the nation after the defeat of the Second World War.⁷⁹ The 1960s is marked by the excitement of Japan's economic boom and its revival on the postwar global stage via Expo

⁷⁶ Tanaka, *Selected Projects Vers. 1*, 94–95; Tanaka, *Precarious Practice*, 180–85.

⁷⁷ It is unclear whether this event has any relationship with Hi Red Center's *Compact Object*. Hi Red Center and The Play are often discussed as those artist collectives of Japanese Fluxus that experimented with Happening. For *Voyage Happening in Egg*, see Reiko Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016), 4, 102–4.

⁷⁸ Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness*, 4, 102–4.

⁷⁹ Yoshimoto Midori, "Fluxus International: New York, Tokyo, and Beyond," in *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945–1989 Primary Documents*, edited by Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya, and Fumihiko Sumitomo (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012), 196–97.

'70 in Osaka, and, simultaneously, by the political anxiety manifested by massive outdoor demonstrations. In Japan, the international scale of student protests and anti-Vietnam activism converged into the Anpo protests (a.k.a. Anpo struggle, 1959–1960 and 1970).⁸⁰ Anpo refers to the Security Treaty between the United States and Japan, which was first signed in 1951 and renewed in 1960 and 1970. It allowed the US military to be stationed in Japan during the Cold War in support of its Asia-Pacific operations. The second anti-Anpo demonstration developed sporadically and quietly compared to the first, signalling the decline of leftist politics and the victory of political conservatism. As the last bastion of the resistant avant-garde spirit, Japan's experimental practice flourished in the 1960s, and the Fluxus artists used humorous intervention in daily living spaces outside the museum to comment upon the absurdity of daily life and politics.⁸¹ Tanaka's reinvigoration of the absurdity, collectivism, and dematerialized practice found in 1960s Japanese Fluxus art seems an apt choice to comment on the social and political absurdities of post-3/11 Japan, where nationalism and political conservatism was uniting Japanese citizens. However, these artistic actions did not help those directly affected by the disaster. In *Provisional Studies* and *Vulnerable Histories*, Tanaka experimented with a new form of community action, grounded in solidarity with disaster victims and critical reflection on the "disaster utopia" that emerged after 3/11.

⁸⁰ Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness*, 27. Hiroe Saruya, "Protests and Democracy in Japan: The Development of Movement Fields and the 1960 Anpo Protests" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2012), 129, 269.

⁸¹ Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness*, 26.

Disaster Utopia and Disaster Dystopia

In *A Paradise Built in Hell*, published a year before 3/11, Rebecca Solnit presents a utopian view of society formed after disaster.⁸² She writes, “disaster throws us into the temporary utopia of a transformed human nature and society, one that is bolder, freer, less attached and divided than in ordinary times, not blank, not tied down.”⁸³ Using the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, the 1917 Halifax explosion, and the 2005 destruction of New Orleans by Hurricane Katrina as examples, Solnit claims that community and solidarity are formed spontaneously by people who offer shelter and resources out of altruism, goodwill, and solidarity in the face of catastrophe.⁸⁴ This “temporary utopia” or “disaster utopia,” she suggests, can fundamentally transform society.

Other scholars proposed positive outcomes of disaster before Solnit. Examining the 1755 Lisbon earthquake and tsunami, both Jacky Bowing, a scholar of architecture and urban planning, and Gerrit Jasper Schenk, a historian of disaster, suggested that new architectural and urban design prompted by disaster made the city of Lisbon more beautiful and resistant.⁸⁵ Political participation, according to political scientist Matthew Jenkins, tends to increase among victims of crime, as well as among residents of an area struck by a natural disaster, political upheaval, or social injustice resulting in violence.⁸⁶ While these scholars examine reconstructed

⁸² Rebecca Solnit, *A Paradise Built in Hell: The Extraordinary Communities that Arise from Disaster* (London: Penguin Books, 2010).

⁸³ Solnit, *A Paradise Built in Hell*, 20.

⁸⁴ Solnit, *A Paradise Built in Hell*, 20.

⁸⁵ Tessa Morris-Suzuki, “Disaster and Utopia: Looking Back at 3/11,” *Japanese Studies* 37, no. 2 (2017): 173; Gerrit Jasper Schenk, “Images of Disaster: Art and the Medialization of Disaster Experiences,” in *Catastrophe and the Power of Art*, exh. cat. (Tokyo: Mori Art Museum and Heibonsha Ltd., 2018), 145–49.

⁸⁶ Matthew D. Jenkins, “Natural Disasters and Political Participation: The Case of Japan and the 2011 Triple Disaster,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 19, no. 3 (2019): 362.

infrastructure and reformed politics, Solnit traces individual responses deriving from altruism and solidarity without political calculation.

Solnit's idea of a disaster utopia seems to have appeared in Japan when volunteers flocked into the Tōhoku region;⁸⁷ however, it was soon romanticized and diluted with ethnic essentialism, nationalism, and political conservatism. The global media praised the extraordinary calmness and perseverance of the Tōhoku residents, those who were directly affected by the disaster.⁸⁸ Japanese politicians and literature also glorified the sacrifice of the Fukushima residents and the spontaneous actions of volunteers.⁸⁹ Japanese media expressed hope for the future and saw the disaster as a sacrifice for the salvation of the nation and a trigger to transform Japanese society, the progress of which had halted during the Lost Decades.⁹⁰ Media propagation of the idea of victims' quiet resignation reaffirmed stereotypes of Japanese people as embodying "self-sacrifice, filial piety, and loyalty to the nation-state."⁹¹

In contrast to such positive media reports, the residents of Tōhoku, including those from Fukushima, were exposed to violence and discrimination. The Fukushima evacuees were stigmatized and bullied by residents in other regions who feared contamination from the radiation.⁹² Eighty-two cases of violence against women and children in the shelters had been reported by 2019.⁹³ Ten years after the disaster, the media finally started to pay attention to

⁸⁷ Samuels, 3.11.

⁸⁸ Morris-Suzuki, "Disaster and Utopia," 180–83.

⁸⁹ Simon Avenell, "From Kobe to Tōhoku: The Potential and the Peril of a Volunteer Infrastructure," in *Natural Disaster and Nuclear Crisis in Japan: Response and Recovery after Japan's 3/11*, ed. Jeff Kingston (London: Routledge, 2012), 53–77.

⁹⁰ Otsuki, "Visualising Nuclear Futurism."

⁹¹ Woo, "United to Be Dispersed," 63.

⁹² Alexis Dudden, "The Ongoing Disaster," *Journal of Asian Studies* 71, no. 2 (2012): 348.

⁹³ Mieko Yoshihama et al., "Violence against Women and Children following the 2011 Great East Japan Disaster: Making the Invisible Visible through Research," *Violence against Women* 25, no. 7 (2019): 862–81.

testimonies provided by female evacuees about the sexual violence that took place in the shelters.⁹⁴

Behind such action is the marginalized status of the Tōhoku region. The region has long been considered Japan's "internal or domestic colony," seen as poorly developed and backward.⁹⁵ Traumatized by the Hiroshima and Nagasaki nuclear attacks in 1945, many Japanese people feared a nuclear leak and had not in my back yard (NIMBY) sentiments about placing a nuclear powerplant in their own regions; however, they also yearned for the wealth that nuclear energy would bring to the nation. Against this background of contradicting desires, the Tōhoku region was chosen as the site for a nuclear power plant, as if it would become Japan's "nuclear power colony."⁹⁶

After the disaster, Japan as a nation claimed the status of victim, converting the suffering of the Fukushima residents into the collective suffering of the nation. On March 16, 2011, Emperor Akihito (reigned 1989–2019) delivered a speech on TV. He began by saying he was saddened (or "hurt") by the catastrophe and closed by asking Tōhoku residents not to lose hope and for the Japanese people to continue to care.⁹⁷ Emperor Akihito's rare TV appearance was

⁹⁴ "Shōgen Kiroku Higashinohon Daishinsai (90) 'Umoreta koe 25-nen no Shinjitsu~saigai-ji no sei Bōryoku'" (Testimony record the Great East Japan earthquake disaster (90) "Buried voice twenty-five years of truth—sexual violence at the time of disaster"), *NHK*, accessed March 17, 2021, <https://www.nhk.jp/p/ts/14G1KY68L5/episode/te/DRJ3J8LZ3L/>.

⁹⁵ Nathan Hopson, "Systems of Irresponsibility and Japan's Internal Colony," *The Asia-Pacific Journal Japan Focus* 11, issue 52, no. 2 (December 27, 2013), <https://apjff.org/2013/11/52/Nathan-Hopson/4053/article.html>.

⁹⁶ Hopson, "Systems of Irresponsibility and Japan's Internal Colony."

⁹⁷ The Imperial Household Agency translated the word 痛 (*ita*, literally meaning pain) into "saddened," in "A Message from His Majesty the Emperor," with video, March 16, 2011, <https://www.kunaicho.go.jp/e-okotoba/01/address/tohokujishin-h230316-mov.html>. In contrast, Shinichi Saoshiro of Reuters translated "I am deeply hurt by the grievous situation in the affected areas." Shinichi Saoshiro, "Somber Japan Emperor Makes Unprecedented Address to Nation," *Reuters*, March 16, 2011, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-quake-emperor-idUSTRE72F23520110316>.

reminiscent of his father's radio broadcast, dedicated to "the emperor's subjects," in 1945.⁹⁸ On August 15, 1945, Emperor Hirohito (reigned 1926–1989) appealed for his subjects to "endure the unendurable and suffer what is not sufferable."⁹⁹ With expressions such as "my vital organs are torn asunder," the Emperor Hirohito's declaration of surrender redefined national defeat as the emperor's individual pain. As John Dower puts it, "the emperor proceeded to offer himself as the embodiment of the nation's suffering, its ultimate victim, transforming the sacrifices of his people into his own agony with a classical turn of phrase."¹⁰⁰ Echoing his father's speech, Emperor Akihito named the disaster "*Higashi nihon daishinsai*" (*tr.* the east Japan great earthquake disaster), making it a collective national rather than regional disaster.¹⁰¹

In face of the disaster, many Japanese people were indeed united under the word *kizuna* (絆) Japanese word meaning bonds, after 3/11.¹⁰² Originating from the Chinese character meaning *rope*, *kizuna* generally refers to a bond between people, as emphasized in Emperor Akihito's speech.¹⁰³ It soon became a buzzword in post-3/11 Japan. Tessa Morris-Suzuki defines *kizuna* as solidarity among people, and a love for the family, nation, and region where one was born and brought up.¹⁰⁴ Inculcating *kizuna* was encouraged as a spirit to overcome the disaster by uniting insiders, such as family and members of a community, and by valuing Japanese tradition and culture. An emphasis on "us," the ethnic Japanese, was used politically by the administration of

⁹⁸ Dudden, "The Ongoing Disaster," 348; Saoshiro, "Somber Japan Emperor."

⁹⁹ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 36.

¹⁰⁰ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 36.

¹⁰¹ Dudden, "The Ongoing Disaster," 348; "A Message from His Majesty the Emperor."

¹⁰² "Japanese Public Chooses 'Kizuna' as Kanji of 2011," *BBC News*, December 24, 2011, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-16321999#:~:text=The%20Japanese%20word%20%22kizuna%22%2C,best%20summed%20up%20the%20year.>

¹⁰³ Woo, "United to Be Dispersed," 63–64.

¹⁰⁴ Morris-Suzuki, "Disaster and Utopia," 180–83.

Abe Shinzō (in office 2006–2007 and 2012–2020), who became prime minister of Japan for a second time after 3/11. He used *kizuna* as a campaign catchphrase, promoting a stronger Japan through economic resuscitation and inspiring nostalgia for Japan’s imperial era. The Abe administration’s imperial aspirations, ethnocentric foreign relations, and political conservatism are intertwined with historical revisionism that denies wartime responsibility and emphasizes Japan’s status as victim of the Second World War.¹⁰⁵ Bonds among the Japanese, therefore, contributed to a surge of nationalism after the disaster, essentializing Japanese ethnic community and alienating ethnic and political minorities. The solidarity created after 3/11 excluded the direct victims of the disaster and their communities, who as residents of a marginalized region remained minorities within the nation of Japan.

Chauvinistic nationalism also emerged after the Great Kantō earthquake—the 7.9-magnitude earthquake that occurred on September 1, 1923. Koreans were the largest immigrant group in Japan at the time, as Korea was colonized by Japan from 1910 to 1945.¹⁰⁶ After the 1923 earthquake, as refugees fled the disaster zones for neighbouring cities and prefectures, rumours spread that Korean immigrants and political radicals, including communists and anarchists, were poisoning water wells, setting fires, and plotting to overthrow the government.¹⁰⁷ Fearing a potential mob and protests against the government, the imperial police and government officials abetted the spread of the rumour, directing vigilance groups’ attention

¹⁰⁵ Lisa Yoneyama, “Sovereignty, Apology, Forgiveness: Revisionisms,” in *Cold War Ruins: Transpacific Critique of American Justice and Japanese War Crimes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 111–46; Morris-Suzuki, “Disaster and Utopia”; Woo, “United to Be Dispersed.”

¹⁰⁶ J. Charles Schencking, *The Great Kantō Earthquake and the Chimera of National Reconstruction in Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 26.

¹⁰⁷ Schencking, *The Great Kantō Earthquake*, 27–29.

away from the government and provoking vigilantism against Koreans.¹⁰⁸ Violence toward Japan's colonial subjects lasted over three weeks, resulting in the death of at least six thousand Koreans.¹⁰⁹ Chinese and Okinawan residents in Japan were also among the murdered.¹¹⁰

Disaster utopia was propagated even during this disaster dystopia. After the Great Kantō earthquake, the mobs, and the massacres, the editors of *Taishō Daishinsai daikasai* (The Great Taishō Earthquake and Conflagration) asserted that “painful suffering makes people great. [...] The disaster will turn into wealth and happiness.”¹¹¹ This kind of nationalism based on ethnic essentialism later re-emerged when Japan went through other national crises, such as the economic downfall in post-bubble Japan in the late 1990s.¹¹²

Tanaka's work critically reflects on the solidarity that emerged after 3/11 and the romanticization of communities formed after disaster.¹¹³ Moving beyond solidarity with the Fukushima victims and Japanese citizens, Tanaka uses his work to experiment with transnational empathy and other current social issues in *Provisional Studies* and *Vulnerable Histories*.

¹⁰⁸ Jinhee Lee, “The Enemy Within: Earthquake, Rumors, and Massacre in the Japanese Empire,” *Faculty Research & Creative Activity*, no. 58 (2008): 187–211; Schencking, *The Great Kantō Earthquake*, 27; Mark Pendleton, “Bringing Little Things to the Surface: Intervening into the Japanese Post-Bubble Impasse on the Yamanote,” *Japan Forum* 30, no. 2 (2018): 262.

¹⁰⁹ Schencking, *The Great Kantō Earthquake*, 28.

¹¹⁰ Lee, “The Enemy Within”; Pendleton, “Bringing Little Things”; Weisenfeld, “Designing after Disaster.”

¹¹¹ Quoted from Weisenfeld, *Imaging Disaster*, 161; Dai Nihon Yūbenkai Kōdansha, *Taishō Daishinsai daikasai* (The Great Taishō Earthquake and Conflagration) (Tokyo: Dai Nihon Yūbenkai Kōdansha, 1923), 6.

¹¹² Gluck, “The Past in the Present,” 94; Pendleton, “Bringing Little Things,” 260.

¹¹³ Tanaka, “Koki Tanaka—Visiting Artists and Scholars.”

Provisional Studies: Workshop #7 How to Live Together and Sharing the Unknown

A year before the 2017 Skulptur Projekte Münster, Tanaka organized a nine-day workshop with eight Münster residents of different ages, ethnicities, genders, and cultural backgrounds. Tanaka transformed a former nuclear bunker into a contact zone, in which the participants conducted daily activities together, such as cooking wartime recipes, sleeping, and exercising, as if they were training for an emergency. They also had workshops in which the participants discussed topics of globalization and the refugee crisis in Germany and interviewed each other.¹¹⁴ They learned how to use film equipment from the artist and film crews, and filmed their activities, taking turns as actors, audience, and film crew. Then, they participated in a series of sessions led by four facilitators: Ahmad Alajlan, a globalization expert from Syria, led a session on globalization and community; Kai van Eikels, a scholar of philosophy, theatre, and performance, on “how to react (politically);” Hendrik Meyer, a German sociologist, on the so-called refugee crisis in Germany; and Andrew Maerke, a US writer who resides in Japan, on interviewing each other in a car.¹¹⁵

Awakening the Site’s History: The Workshop

Tanaka calls his Münster project a “relational history.”¹¹⁶ In his production notes, he

¹¹⁴ Over 700,000 refugees fled from war and terrorism in the Middle East, mostly Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq, to Germany in 2016. Sekou Keita and Helen Dempster, “Five Years Later, One Million Refugees Are Thriving in Germany,” Center for Global Development, December 4, 2020, <https://www.cgdev.org/blog/five-years-later-one-million-refugees-are-thriving-germany>.

¹¹⁵ The workshop also involved Tami Tanagisawa’s Daytime Task, but it was not included in the final film and the exhibition, therefore, this paper omits Tanagisawa’s workshop.

¹¹⁶ Tanaka, *How to Live Together: Production Notes*, 27–28.

compares the Kyoto Municipal Museum of Art in Japan and Haus der Kunst in Munich in Germany, noting that both municipal museums were turned into basketball courts for the army during the period of US occupation in postwar Japan and Germany. He suggests that “each sites’ unique and disparate history also possesses an element that connects them.”¹¹⁷ Based on this idea, Tanaka uses the history of his workshop site in Münster to invoke postmemory in his participants. Marianne Hirsch defines postmemory as “a structure of inter- and trans-generational transmission of traumatic knowledge and experience,” such as memory of the war or colonization that one never experienced in one’s life, but that one understood from one’s family and ancestors’ stories or learned from history.¹¹⁸

As a garrison city between 1883 and 1945, Münster was the centre of modern tank warfare in West Germany; it was a birthplace of tank production, and there were schools for combat troops.¹¹⁹ During the Second World War, the city endured forty-nine raids in 1943 and fifty-three in 1944.¹²⁰ Aerial bombing killed 1,294 citizens and erased 90 percent of the historic Old Town.¹²¹ October 10, 1943, is Münster’s “Black Day,” as chronicles of German cities declare, when 236 US B-17s bombed the city of Münster on a Sunday afternoon, aiming precisely at the stairs of the medieval cathedral.¹²² Dropped in clear weather, these bombs were

¹¹⁷ Tanaka, *How to Live Together: Production Notes*, 28.

¹¹⁸ Marianne Hirsch, “The Generation of Postmemory,” *Poetics Today* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 106.

¹¹⁹ Ralf Raths, “From Technical Showroom to Full-Fledged Museum: The German Tank Museum Munster,” in *Does War Belong in Museums? The Representation of Violence in Exhibitions*, ed. Wolfgang Muchitsch (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2013), 83.

¹²⁰ Jörg Friedrich, *The Fire: The Bombing of Germany, 1940–1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 196.

¹²¹ Friedrich, *The Fire*, 196.

¹²² The aiming at the cathedral staircase is vividly described by Seth Paridon, “Mission to Munster,” *The National WWII Museum New Orleans*, November 20, 2017, <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/mission-munster>.

aimed at the city centre, targeting the people there.¹²³ As it inevitably harms civilians, area bombing is usually conducted only in poor weather conditions when exact targeting is impossible; however, the British and the US armies justified the tactic at the end of the Second World War to induce the German government to use its resources for the victims and thereby deplete its supplies.¹²⁴ The Münster raid was later called a “carnival of death” by US activists.¹²⁵ Experience of such fatal disaster was perhaps the backdrop of Aegidiimarkt, “a large scale ‘panic room’ in the face of a potential nuclear threat” built during the Second World War.¹²⁶

In the Münster city centre, Tanaka organized the workshop in the Aegidiimarkt, a red-brick, multi-purpose complex that has a long history of communal activities (Fig. 3.22). It is in the centre of Aegidiiplatzes (*tr.* Aegidii plaza), where the convent of a Cistercian monastery had been located, from 1180 until its closure and demolition in 1821.¹²⁷ The new building, built in 1830, was used as a Prussian infantry barracks. After the First World War, it was used by the police force as an administration and main supply office, before it was destroyed during WWII.¹²⁸ The site of rubble was then used as a parking lot and nuclear bunker during the Cold War.¹²⁹ The current Aegidiimarkt complex was built on the site in the 1970s to house a

¹²³ Bellamy, “Ethics of Terror Bombing,” 41–65.

¹²⁴ Ronald Schaffer, “American Military Ethics in World War II: The Bombing of German Civilians,” *Journal of American History* 67, no. 2 (1980): 322.

¹²⁵ Bellamy, “Ethics of Terror Bombing,” 41–65.

¹²⁶ Nicolas Whybrow, *Contemporary Art Biennials in Europe: The Work of Art in the Complex City* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), 90.

¹²⁷ “Legenden und Aufreger rund um den Aegidiimarkt” (Legends and scandals around the Aegidiimarkt), *Münster Geschichten, Documente und Bilder* (Münster stories, documents and pictures), accessed March 22, 2021, <https://www.sto-ms.de/gastautoren/lesen-h%C3%B6ren/aegidiimarkt/>.

¹²⁸ “Legenden und Aufreger rund um den Aegidiimarkt.”

¹²⁹ Sophia Trollmann, “Koki Tanaka, Provisional Studies: Workshop #7. How to Live Together and Sharing the Unknown,” in *Skulptur Projekte Münster 2017*, ed. Kasper König, Britta Peters, and Marianne Wagner (Spector Books, Leipzig, 2017), 300–1; Wikipedia, s.v. “Aegidiimarkt,” last modified April 12, 2018, <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aegidiimarkt>.

combination of commercial and residential spaces, in addition to public spaces such as a library, community college, church, and parking lot.¹³⁰ Until 2015, the underground parking area (Parkhaus Aegidiimarkt) was a designated shelter to accommodate up to three thousand people in the event of a crisis of weapons of mass destruction.¹³¹ The underground bunker was a place for survivors to await death or plan for a future in the event of an apocalyptic situation. Tanaka used this history of Münster and the Aegidiimarkt as a stage.

When Tanaka conceived of this project, he imagined a community that would be “not local communities or ethnic communities, but another, more open form of community.”¹³² Upon his request to have as diverse participants as possible, local curatorial assistants from Münster recruited eight participants.¹³³ Three of these recruits were Germans: Stephan Biermann, Rolf Tiermann, and Rolf’s wife, Annette Hinricher. Five were Münster residents from non-German ethnic backgrounds: a Moroccan German woman, Tasnim Baghdadi; a Turkish Moroccan man, Isa Selçuk Dilmen; a Swedish French woman, Anna Mondain-Monval; a Black American woman, JoAnn Osborn; and a Palestinian woman with an Israeli passport, Lina Zaher.¹³⁴ This

¹³⁰ Aegidiimarkt is also close to the LWL Museum for Art and Culture in Münster, one of the organizers and key venues of the Skulptur Projekte Münster. The size of the entire plaza is not available, but a panoramic view is available at “Aegidiimarkt in Münster,” *Stadtpanoramen*, June 2001, <https://www.stadtpanoramen.de/muenster/aegidiimarkt.html>.

¹³¹ Trollmann, “Koki Tanaka, Provisional Studies,” 300. Parkhaus Aegidiimarkt can now accommodate 780 cars.

¹³² Koki Tanaka, *How to Live Together: Production Notes* (Münster: Skulptur Projekte Münster, 2017), 82.

¹³³ Tanaka, interview. Tanaka also said that he usually asks the local curatorial team to recruit participants from diverse backgrounds, in terms of ethnicity, gender, and so on. The coordinator of Tanaka’s work in Münster was Sophia Trollmann.

¹³⁴ Hereafter, I use the first names of the participants and the moderators, who are also actors in Tanaka’s films, which is how they address each other in the workshop and how they appear in Tanaka’s production notes. Tanaka calls them actors/participants throughout his text in *How to Live Together: Production Notes*, a pocket-sized paperback stacked in the exhibition space for distribution.

composition could be seen as equally divided as four Europeans and four visual minorities, or four participants in their twenties and four middle-aged participants. Representing each group metonymically, participants spoke about their family history, their cultural identities, and the disasters that their ancestors had experienced. As all were then living in Münster, they also discussed the refugee crisis in Germany.

The workshop was held October 1–9, 2016, as if it were a gathering in commemoration of Münster’s Black Day and German Unity Day, which commemorates the re-unification of Germany on October 3, 1990. On Day 1, the workshop began with the cooking of wartime recipes (Fig. 3.23). After dining together, the participants conducted a nighttime walk and overnight stay in a gym at the Aedigimarkt (Fig. 3.24). On Day 2, the participants learned how to use the film equipment from Tanaka and the crews, including the photography director, Hikaru Fuji, during a Filming Workshop (Fig. 3.25). Then, the participants filmed and moderated the workshop, Dialogue about Globalization and Community, which included a lecture on globalization by Ahmad followed by discussion. On Day 3, Kai facilitated the workshop How to React (Politically). Kai led the eight participants on a walk to descend ten stories from the rooftop to the underground parking lot, and had participants continue their conversations. After a workshop on making group formations that rely on another person’s body in the underground parking lot (Fig. 3.26), he took the participants to the empty shop on the first floor for another session, requiring them to offer an alternative decision in response to a previous decision, one after another, without opposing the previous decision. After a day off, Day 4, Hendrik gave a lecture on the “Refugee Crisis” in Germany on Day 5. Taking turns, the participants moderated the session and filmed the lecture and the discussion. Days 6 and 7 were devoted to free time, during which Tanaka and his crew visited the participants individually and captured their daily

activities.

The participants met again at the Aedigiimarkt on Day 8 for Andrew's workshop, Interview in a Car, which took place in the underground parking lot (Fig. 3.27a and 3.27b). Andrew first outlined different kinds of interviews, such as job interviews, interviews for refugee applications, and therapeutic interviews. He and Tanaka then gave out a list of interview questions and put participants in pairs to interview each other in a car. While the pairs were interviewing each other, the others were listening to the conversation through headsets, sitting around the table. Reflective Dialogue on How to Live Together, on Day 9, began at the underground parking lot, where the participants had a final discussion at the round table. They moved the dining table and chairs to the empty shop on the first floor for the final dinner together, in which Andrew and Kai joined later (Fig. 3.28).

Throughout the workshop, Tanaka mobilized the participants through the vertical layers of the building as the sessions took place in four main spaces of the building: the empty store on the ground floor, the gym (which was presumably on the second or third floor), the underground parking lot, and the stairs. The Day 1 workshop, Cooking Wartime Recipes, and the final reflective dialogue on How to Live Together were held in the empty store, where the sunlight shone in through a glass façade. The overnight stay on Day 1, the Filming Workshop, and the sessions with Ahmad on globalization on Day 2 and with Hendrik on the refugee crisis on Day 5 were held in the gym. The workshop How to React (Politically) with Kai on Day 3, the interview workshop with Andrew on Day 8, and the final reflective dialogue on Day 9 took place in both the empty store and the underground parking lot and involved walking up and down the stairs.

Discordance, Tension, and Action: The Exhibition

During the 2017 Skulptur Projekte Münster, Tanaka displayed the workshop in eleven edited films and three photographic prints. The exhibition was held in a semi-basement flat and the forecourt of a multi-purpose, multi-story building, which is directly opposite from the Aegidiimarkt and a block away from the LWL Museum for Art and Culture, Münster. The eleven short films were presented on flat-screen TV monitors in the common area and projected on the walls in three small rooms (see again Fig. 3.1 and Fig. 3.29). The audience could watch the videos while sitting at the same round table that the participants had used during the workshop. In one room of the cellar, a video was projected on the wall (Fig. 3.29). In two other rooms, videos were projected on plywood (Fig. 3.30), or two pieces of doors put together, placed against the tiled walls (Fig. 3.30). Cups and plates used by the participants during the workshop were arranged neatly by the entrance of the common area (Fig. 3.32). A colour photograph of the roundtable at the workshop and a link to the full video clips were printed on each paper and attached to the wall by the entrance too (Fig. 3.33). Two large, colour photographic prints stood in the forecourt showing two scenes during the workshop: one print showed the participants sleeping together in the gym, and the other showed the round table and chairs placed in the underground parking lot of the Aegidiimarkt (Fig. 3.34).

As a metaphor for the entire workshop, the four-minute, fifty-second introductory video displayed in the common area began by showing the exterior of the Aegidiimarkt and the underground parking lot. Then it shows the participants walking downstairs to the underground parking lot. Workers in the building rotate handles to operate ropes and pulleys, as if they are operating an elevator and opening doors to the underground parking lot. Participants enter the

former wartime shelter, an index of the war and people's wartime anxiety.¹³⁵ In the bunker, participants imagine the time when the disaster struck the city. This scene symbolically defines the Münster workshop as a mnemonic device to invoke the transgenerational memory of past disasters and a device to imagine a disaster to come.

Debates and interruptions constantly appear throughout the video documentation of the workshop, even though all participants spoke with respect and generosity to each other. For example, during the first workshop, *Cooking a Wartime Recipe*, scheduled by Tanaka to generate conviviality, the participants display dissensus and boredom as they consolidate their ideas, reminding the viewer of the expression "too many cooks spoil the broth." The eight participants modify the recipe to provide vegetarian and lactose-intolerant options, and Lina suggests cooking German and Palestinian recipes. For the first and the only time, Tanaka intervenes in the conversation to remind them of the task. Similarly, while setting the stage for Ahmad's lecture on Day 2, the participants debate miscellaneous details, such as whether they will sit on chairs, gym balls, or a mix of the two. After a time-consuming discussion, Tasnim announces, "So, I will make a democratic decision." JoAnn interrupts, and Lina tries to utter something but sighs, having failed to get anyone's attention.

The participants frequently contradict each other's ideas as well as the tasks suggested by Tanaka and the moderators. This appears apparently in Kai's workshop on Day 3. On arriving in the underground parking lot, Kai asks the participants to make group formations, improvising their poses based on the poses of their collaborators (see again Fig. 3.26). When they return to the empty shop, Kai leads another experimental session requiring participants to offer an alternative decision in response to a previous decision, one after another, without opposing the

¹³⁵ Tanaka, *How to Live Together: Production Notes*, 68.

previous decision. This series of activities, as I understood them, were to encourage participants to think about our dependence on one another through making a group formation and careful responses rather than instant reactions. The participants end up making several improbable decisions, such as making a cat president. When they laugh at these silly jokes, Kai wraps up the workshop by emphasizing compromise and concession. Tasnim ends by saying that the workshop was a “fun play” for a while but became “unsatisfying” and ultimately “completely collapsed” as people ended up suggesting unrealistic suggestions to avoid opposing other people.

Although the workshop has some failures, the participants’ dialogue also provoked unexpected, meaningful insights. During the workshop on the refugee crisis in Germany on Day 5, participants discussed how group selfishness and antagonism toward others can be disguised as nationalism. When Stephen expresses discomfort about the German flag being used as a symbol of antagonism and nationalism in Hendrik’s presentation, JoAnn notes that national flags are being used by right-wing extremists in other countries as symbols of their vision. She exclaims, “It’s a kidnap of a flag!”¹³⁶ This discussion leads to insightful observations about nationalism, multiculturalism, and prejudice. They also discuss so-called *concerned citizens*, those who say they would like to help but not when it affects them locally and directly. JoAnn responds that this is not nationalism but a NIMBY problem. She calls for considering such issues matters of community rather than nation. This conversation suggests that passive empathy is exercised in a comfort zone; when distant others become neighbours, passive empathy turns into antagonism.

During this workshop, the participants reaffirm the need for action, rather than passive

¹³⁶ Later, Stephen and Tasnim continue the discussion of the German flag during their interview in a car on Day 8. Tasnim says, “(The) whole (issue of) flag and nationalism is connected to intolerance.”

empathy. Hendrik says there are too many refugees dying in the Mediterranean and suggests that the European Union should take more action to help them. When JoAnn asks what the point of this discussion is and why Hendrik does not take any action, Hendrik responds that he has no power and that he is not responsible for politics and economics. JoAnn raises her voice: “Oh, you do have power! Discussing is fine, but I am tired of people discussing, discussing, and discussing. Just do a little thing. Maybe you can start doing something for starving people in the city of Münster.” JoAnn’s anger seems tied with Boler’s critique of passive empathy, which “produces no action toward justice but situates the powerful Western eye/I as the judging subject, never called upon to cast her gaze at her own reflection.”¹³⁷ A subversive relationship is created between Hendrik and JoAnn, the moderator and the participant, similar to the one described by Jacques Rancière, who pits the ignorant schoolmaster against the emancipated spectator.¹³⁸ JoAnn denounces Hendrik as a passive intellect who does not recognize his power. Not everyone agrees with JoAnn or her way of communication, however. When JoAnn calls Hendrik to action and demands he take responsibility, Anna tries to defend him, and Lina’s facial expression conveys either disagreement or frustration.

If participants learn about concession in Kai’s session and action in Hendrik’s session, they practice vulnerability and responsibility to each other on Day 8 in Andrew’s Interview in a Car. Before beginning the interview, Andrew explains the invasive and coercive nature of interviews, as interviewing requires asking about intimate topics. Thus, he says, an interview

¹³⁷ Boler, “Risks of Empathy,” 259.

¹³⁸ Jacques Rancière, “The Emancipated Spectator,” *Artforum*, no. 45 (2007): 271–80. Rancière suggests that the emancipated spectator is the opposite of the passive spectator in theatre. He explains the concept with a schoolmaster who tries imposing knowledge on an ignorant pupil, who, in fact, has more capability to understand and apply knowledge to his life differently than the teacher.

involves vulnerability, and the people asking questions are responsible for the vulnerability of the other, as interviews expose the interviewees. The vulnerability and tensions caused by the interview, however, can sometimes create bonds between the interlocutors. This interview is used as a device of empathetic unsettlement. When the interviewee's stories are presented as testimonial speaking, the interviewers and the listeners are practicing responsibility that oscillates between feeling for the interviewee's concerns and relating to one's own experience.

Andrew's interview session on Day 8 is reminiscent of Suzanne Lacy's *The Roof Is on Fire* (1993–1994; Fig. 3.35a and Fig. 3.35b), a piece of new genre public art in which Lacy invited local racialized youth to talk about violence in a car parked on a building rooftop in Oakland, California.¹³⁹ If Lacy's work took the issue of underground juvenile violence and stereotyping out into an open-air environment, Tanaka's interview session helped the participants, who were isolated in a car in a dark underground parking lot, imagine the fear, tensions, and intimacy felt by the people who gathered at the shelter after Münster's Black Day. In both Lacy's and Tanaka's works, the intimacy created by interviewing in a car allowed interviewees to articulate their personal stories and concerns more freely. This intimate setting also encouraged them to talk about personal concerns and family histories; that is, they related the broader discussion to their current personal issues. Some of them continued discussion from the previous workshops with Ahmad and Hendrik, moving back and forth between personal stories and current social issues, such as nationalism, multiculturalism, and the traumatic experiences of their ancestors.

Tanaka's use of the site's history is reminiscent of Hi Red Center's *Shelter Plan* (1964),

¹³⁹ The young participants of *The Roof Is on Fire* spoke about broad issues that they face, including media stereotypes, racial profiling, and underfunded public schools.

for which Hi Red Center measured the bodies of their colleagues to produce tailor-made bomb shelters in preparation for a future disaster (Fig. 3.36). This event took place in a room at the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, which makes the event a site-specific artwork. Frank Lloyd Wright's addition to the 1890 original hotel, designed to resist Japan's frequent earthquakes, survived the 1923 Great Kantō earthquake.¹⁴⁰ Although the building suffered minor damage, legend has it that the Imperial Hotel stood alone after the earthquake, as a journalist obtained a telegram message to Wright from Baron Kihachiro Oukura, his patron in Japan: "HOTEL STANDS UNMANGLED AS MONUMENT OF YOUR GENIUS CONGRATULATIONS."¹⁴¹ This celebration of the star architect sounds callous, considering that the earthquake left approximately 140,000 people dead and much of the infrastructure of Tokyo and Yokohama collapsed. Using this historical site, once a symbol of endurance, survival, and hope in the face of doom, Hi Red Center proposed to create tailor-made shelters, each of which could host only one person, making survival a lonely task, detached from others.

While Hi Red Center proposed to make a solitude shelter, Tanaka attempted to imagine disaster through collective action and dialogue. Instead of celebrating an individual artist as genius, like Wright, Hi Red Center presented a sense of collectivism: the artists worked as a collective, and they invited their colleagues, including Yoko Ono and Nam June Paik, who were active in Japan, the United States, and Germany, into their shelters. Extending this circle, Tanaka created a community that included himself, the participants, moderators, and film crews. The film crews also appear in the films displayed in the exhibition, showing them teaching the

¹⁴⁰ Ian Thomas Ash, "Imperial Times: The Wright Imperial, Part 2," Imperial Hotel, October 2017, https://www.imperialhotel.co.jp/e/our_world/column/the_wright_imperial_2.html; "Imperial Hotel Lobby (Reconstruction)," Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, accessed May 15, 2021, <https://franklloydwright.org/site/imperial-hotel-lobby-reconstruction/>.

¹⁴¹ Bryce Walker, *Earthquake* (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1982), 153.

participants how to use film equipment. Together, they experimented with how to live together in situations of uncertainty and explored possibilities of fostering an extended transnational circle of empathy, through empathetic unsettlement and testimonial listening.

What kind of community, then, was formed in this former disaster site? The participants of *Provisional Studies* formed a diverse and multicultural microcosm of society, in which conflicts are inherent due to asymmetric power relationships between people. Tanaka explained that what he created is a “fictive community”—a community in which “each person brings their own communal experiences to a group,” in which they all “intersect and mix in a temporary convergence.”¹⁴² Tanaka borrowed the title for his piece from Roland Barthes’s 1977 lecture series *How to Live Together*,¹⁴³ in which Barthes suggests ways to foster convivial communal life using thirty concepts. Among these concepts, Tanaka refers to “idiorrhymy,” the form of life in primitive monasteries where monks keep different schedules to respect individual biorhythms.¹⁴⁴ Barthes suggested idiorrhythmy as a form of collective living in a utopian “fantasy.”¹⁴⁵ Except for three free days of individual activity, however, Tanaka’s workshop did not follow idiorrhythmy, as all activities took place at the same time for the whole group. His workshop did not idealize the community. Tanaka’s idea behind the fictive community, rather, is

¹⁴² Tanaka, *How to Live Together: Production Notes*, 82. Commenting on the community presented in Tanaka’s previous work, *Possibilities for Being Together: Their Praxis*, in Japan, the artist Suchan Kinoshita said that such a group could not be considered a community but a situation. The art critic Shinya Sugawara called what was produced in *Provisional Studies* a “community of spectators.” I disagree with both ideas, as a group of these participants can be considered a temporary community, and they are not spectators but participants of the artwork.

¹⁴³ Roland Barthes, *How to Live Together: Notes for a Lecture Course and Seminar at the Collège de France* (1976–1977), trans. Kate Briggs (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013). Tanaka clarified that he did not read Barthes’s text but suggested the book for the viewers.

¹⁴⁴ Tanaka, *How to Live Together: Production Notes*, 2–14.

¹⁴⁵ Barthes, *How to Live Together*, 6.

similar to what Nicholas Bourriaud calls the *social interstice*, a term borrowed from Karl Marx, as a form of relational art that creates “a space in human relations which fits more or less harmoniously and openly into the overall system, but suggests other trading possibilities than those in effect within this system.”¹⁴⁶

Discussions lead in uncertain directions throughout the workshop, as participants speak from their own positions, revealing different ethnic backgrounds and social status. The participants’ social status is presented through dialogue and video footage that show their activities on free days. For example, Annette runs her own business and practices art as a hobby; Isa is a refugee from Morocco in Germany and struggles with communication. When Andrew suggests “emancipation” as a discussion topic on day nine, Isa talks about Muhammad moving from Mecca to Medina, and JoAnn speaks about Black American history. Tensions emerge as they perform communal activities. Cameras capture subtle facial expressions and gestures; their awkwardness, intimacy, annoyance, disapproval, and fatigue reveal unspoken tensions. Reflecting on the workshop, Rolf says, “We were all equal in the car interview.” But Tasnim disagrees: “Even if the setting was equal, people are different; (one) person is more privileged than another.” In this way, *Provisional Studies*, via an intense nine-day workshop, highlights the conflicts and asymmetrical power relations that unavoidably exist in a diverse society.

Provisional Studies presents discord and tension, while seeking to generate empathetic understanding. Although discord caused some discussions to fail or seem superficial, the workshop was meaningful in that the participants did not remain passive spectators; instead, they acted as emancipated spectators and *parrhesiastes*, those who speak the truth even when it may

¹⁴⁶ Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics*, 16; Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol 1. trans. Ben Fowkes, intro. Ernest Mandel (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1976), 172.

displease the interlocuter.¹⁴⁷ It is uncertain whether transnational empathy was indeed generated among the participants. Yet Tanaka's strategies of crossing time and space and of having participants from diverse origins interact with each other through heated debates certainly suggest a new means of reflecting on the suffering of others in visual art, without presenting those suffering from disaster as a spectacle.

Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)

Zainichi Koreans and Hate Speech Rallies

Tanaka conceived *Vulnerable Histories* soon after *Provisional Studies*. While *Provisional Studies* explored how to live together when about 300,000 refugees from the Middle East were seeking asylum in Germany, *Vulnerable Histories* focused on discrimination against Zainichi Koreans in Japan. Koreans immigrated to Japan after the Japan–Korea treaty of 1876, and by 1909 there were 790 Koreans in Japan.¹⁴⁸ The number increased during the colonial period

¹⁴⁷ Michel Foucault, “The Meaning and Evolution of the Word ‘Parrhesia’: Discourse & Truth, Problematization of Parrhesia—Six Lectures Given by Michel Foucault at the University of California at Berkeley, Oct–Nov. 1983,” Foucault.info, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://foucault.info/parrhesia/foucault.DT1.wordParrhesia.en/>. *Parrhesia* is a Greek word that translates to “free speech” in English and meant “speaking truth” in Greco-Roman culture. According to Foucault, speaking truth involves saying what one thinks is important and contributing to the community, even though it may displease the interlocuter and thereby threaten the speaker's safety. Foucault argues that the speaking of truth is a gesture toward “criticism instead of flattery and moral duty instead of self-interest and moral apathy.”

¹⁴⁸ Tong-hyon Han, “Zainichi Koreans and Racism in Japan,” *Vulnerable Histories (An Archive)*, by Koki Tanaka et al. (Zurich: Migros Museum für Gegenwartskunst & JNR, 2019), 101; Jang Hawon, “The Special Permanent Residents in Japan: Zainichi Korean Posted on January 2019,” *Yale Review of International Studies*, January 2019, <http://yris.yira.org/comments/2873#:~:text=The%20aforementioned%20figure%20of%20484%2C627,the%20Japanese%20Ministry%20of%20Justice.>

(1910–1945), and by 1945, there were about 2.3 million Koreans in Japan.¹⁴⁹ These Koreans were called *Chōsen-jin* (Joseon people) in Japan, the colonial subjects of the fallen Joseon dynasty. Many of them remained in Japan after the end of the period of colonization due to political turmoil in the Korean peninsula.¹⁵⁰ They are the first Zainichi Koreans.

These Koreans in Japan with *Chōsen* nationality became stateless when two governments were established on the Korean peninsula after the Korean War (1950–1953).¹⁵¹ In 1991 an agreement between the foreign ministers of Japan and South Korea gave Zainichi Koreans “special permanent residency,” and by 2018 there were about 330,000 Zainichi Korean special permanent residents in Japan.¹⁵² These ethnic Korean residents in Japan and their children, together with those ethnic Koreans who acquired Japanese citizenship by naturalization, are all referred to as Zainichi Koreans.¹⁵³

Zainichi Koreans have been subject since the colonial period to discrimination in Japan.¹⁵⁴ The first generation of Zainichi Koreans experienced massacres and lynchings after the Great Kantō earthquake, in 1923. When the conflicts between Korea and Japan were exacerbated by historical and territorial disputes, Zainichi Koreans faced direct threats by Japanese xenophobic extremists. Most alarming in all this were the hate speech rallies against Zainichi Koreans held at Zainichi Korean schools. Zainichi Koreans had begun establishing their own schools during the colonial period to maintain their identity and language, and the number of

¹⁴⁹ Han, “Zainichi Koreans and Racism in Japan,”101.

¹⁵⁰ Han, “Zainichi Koreans and Racism in Japan,”102.

¹⁵¹ Han, “Zainichi Koreans and Racism in Japan,”103; Rika Lee, “Stateless Identity of Korean Diaspora: The Second Generations in Prewar Hawai'i and Postwar Japan,” *The Japanese Journal of Policy and Culture* 28 (March 2020): 56, 61.

¹⁵² Han, “Zainichi Koreans and Racism in Japan,”106.

¹⁵³ Han, “Zainichi Koreans and Racism in Japan,”106.

¹⁵⁴ Lee, “Stateless Identity of Korean Diaspora,” 62.

these schools increased in the 1950s and the 1960s, with the support of Chongryon, an association of Zainichi Koreans who were sympathetic to North Korea.¹⁵⁵ *Chōsen gakkō* (Joseon school) refers to these schools, which still maintain their cultural and political inclination to North Korea.¹⁵⁶ *Kankoku gakkō* (Korean school) refers to those schools that are affiliated with South Korea and supported by Mindan (the Korean Residents Union in Japan). These two types of Zainichi schools provide two different Korean perspectives on the history, language, and geography of Korea and Japan, which differ from that provided in Japanese schools.¹⁵⁷

The ultranationalist group Zainichi Tokken wo Yurusanai Shimin no Kai (the Association of Citizens against the Special Privileges of Zainichi Koreans, hereafter Zaitokukai) first staged hate speech rallies against Zainichi Koreans at the Kyoto No. 1 Korean Elementary School in 2009. Holding national flags of Japan, they shouted threats such as “We will kill you!” “Korean cockroaches, get out!”¹⁵⁸ They damaged the facilities of the school playground, and their loud chanting frightened students and teachers, who were traumatized by the event.¹⁵⁹ The school filed a lawsuit in 2010, and in December 2014, the Japanese Supreme Court demanded Zaitokuaki pay the school ¥12.26 million in compensation.¹⁶⁰ In 2011, the Osaka High Court also affirmed the one to two-year prison sentences, with a four year stay of execution, handed to members of Zaitokukai by the Tokyo District Court.¹⁶¹ Still, hate speech rallies against Zainichi

¹⁵⁵ Justin McCurry, “Japan's Korean Schools Being Squeezed by Rising Tensions with Pyongyang.” *Guardian*, September 15, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/15/japan-korean-schools-tensions-pyongyang>.

¹⁵⁶ Han, “Zainichi Koreans and Racism in Japan,” 103.

¹⁵⁷ McCurry, “Japan's Korean Schools Being Squeezed by Rising Tensions with Pyongyang.”

¹⁵⁸ Ayako Hatano, “Can Strategic Human Rights Litigation Complement Social Movements? A Case Study of the Movement Against Racism and Hate Speech in Japan,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* (May 2019): 228.

¹⁵⁹ Hatano, “Can Strategic Human Rights Litigation Complement Social Movements?” 229.

¹⁶⁰ Hatano, “Can Strategic Human Rights Litigation Complement Social Movements?” 241.

¹⁶¹ Hatano, “Can Strategic Human Rights Litigation Complement Social Movements?” 242.

Koreans continued. According to the Japanese government study, there were 347 hate speech demonstrations reported in 2013, and the number increased to approximately 1,200 between April 2012 and September 2015.¹⁶²

Sharing Postmemory and Unsettling Empathy

In response to these events, *Vulnerable Histories* shows the journey of two protagonists, Woohi Chung and Christian Hofer, who agree to learn about xenophobia against Zainichi Koreans in Japan and share their traumatic experiences as ethnic minorities.¹⁶³ Woohi is a third-generation Zainichi Korean, and Christian is a Swiss national whose maternal great-grandparents immigrated from Japan to the United States around 1900. Woohi and Christian both experienced racial discrimination in the countries where they grew up and live.

Tanaka invited Woohi and Christian to Tokyo for a nine-day filming, from March 28 to April 9, 2018. They exchanged letters outlining their family histories before they met. In Tokyo, they cooked *jijimi* (Korean-style pancakes) together and attended a lecture by a Zainichi Korean sociologist, Tong-hyun Han, about the hate speech rallies. After watching some rallies on YouTube, the two protagonists visited Kawasaki, where some of the rallies had taken place. At parks in Kawasaki, they read legal statements banning hate speech. They also visited Arakawa, where Zainichi Koreans had been killed and buried after the Great Kantō earthquake. At Housenka, a private archive house in Arakawa, they learned from the Japanese activist Masao

¹⁶² Craig Martin, “Striking the Right Balance: Hate Speech Laws in Japan, the United States, and Canada,” *Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (March 2018): 461.

¹⁶³ Likewise with the participants in *Provisional Studies*, I use the first names of the participants of *Vulnerable Histories* hereafter, following how they appear in Tanaka’s publication. They are also protagonists of the film. Koki Tanaka et al., *Vulnerable Histories (An Archive)* (Zurich: Migros Museum für Gegenwartskunst & JNR, 2019).

Nishizaki about the mass burial of Zainichi Koreans by the Arakawa River. At night, in a car parked facing the Arakawa River, Christian interviewed Woohi. Their final conversation was filmed at a bar, where the two protagonists reflected on their journey and conversed with Tanaka.

For the exhibition of *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)* at the Migros Museum of Contemporary Art in Zurich, Tanaka turned the documentation of the workshop into a film consisting of five chapters, an epilogue, and an appendix, which documented the participants' activities together on a day off from the workshop (Fig. 3.37).¹⁶⁴ The film was split into seven short videos and displayed as six single-channel videos and one two-channel video (the appendix) (Fig. 3.38). In addition, photographs of a display of family photographs provided by Woohi and Christian that had been used for the workshop (Fig. 3.39) were printed and installed on seven movable walls (Fig. 3.40). The letters of the two protagonists and Tanaka's reflective notes were also printed on brown paper and attached to the walls (Fig. 3.41).

In conjunction with the exhibition, Tanaka also published a book, *Vulnerable Histories (An Archive)*, in 2018, which contains the letters of Woohi and Christian and photographs taken during the filming (Fig. 3.42). The book also includes Tanaka's reflective notes outlining the filming activities in chronological order, the Zainichi Korean sociologist Tong-hyun Han's essay "Zainichi Koreans and Racism in Japan," and an essay about the film by Elsa Himmer, the director of the Migros Museum.¹⁶⁵ For an exhibition with the same title at Art Sonje Center, in Seoul, in 2019, Tanaka turned the seven film clips into a 78-minute single-channel video.¹⁶⁶

The strategies that Tanaka employed in *Provisional Studies* to generate empathetic

¹⁶⁴ This exhibition was commissioned by the Migros Museum and was held from August 25 to November 11, 2018.

¹⁶⁵ Tanaka et al., *Vulnerable Histories (An Archive)*.

¹⁶⁶ The exhibition at the Art Sonjae Center was Tanaka's first solo exhibition in South Korea, and it was held from October 30 to December 20, 2020.

unsettlement also appear in *Vulnerable Histories*. Collaborative cooking is used as an ice-breaking activity. The nine-day filming wrapped up with an interview in a car and a final reflective discussion. Site-oriented activities summoned Zainichi Koreans' transgenerational trauma of xenophobia and linked to the protagonists' personal experiences in the present. Tanaka uses various *lieux de mémoire* in this film: the sites where hate speech rallies had taken place in Kawasaki; the burial site by the Arakawa River; and Housenka, which preserved the archive of the killed Zainichi Koreans.¹⁶⁷

An element not employed in *Provisional Studies* are the family photographs. In the space facing Chapter 1, Tanaka placed eight movable walls on which Woohi's and Christian's family photos are printed (see again Fig. 3.39 and Fig. 3.40). Hirsch discusses family photographs as a medium of postmemory.¹⁶⁸ Family photographs, Hirsch says, provide a connection between familial/affiliative memories, which belong to a private domain, and more distant archival/cultural and social/national memories, which belong to an institutional domain.¹⁶⁹ She suggests that postmemorial work "strives to *reactivate* and *reembody* more distant social/national and archival/cultural memories."¹⁷⁰ Family photographs of the protagonists in *Vulnerable Histories* allow us to connect the recent hate speech rallies to the postmemory of Woohi, a third-generation Zainichi Korean, and Christian, a fourth-generation Japanese immigrant now living in Switzerland, weaving together private, familiar, and archival memory sites.

The display in the exhibition at the Migros Museum shows how Tanaka designed the filming activities to present Woohi's and Christian's postmemories. Videos and photographs are

¹⁶⁷ Nora, "Between Memory and History"; See the chapter 2 of this dissertation for *lieux de mémoire*.

¹⁶⁸ Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory," 104.

¹⁶⁹ Hirsch, "Generation of Postmemory," 115.

¹⁷⁰ Hirsch, "Generation of Postmemory," 111, 115.

grouped in chapters. In Chapter 1, titled “Two Letters,” Woohi’s and Christian’s voices read letters detailing their family history. Woohi’s voice reading her letter to Christian about the Zainichi Koreans runs through the scene, in which Woohi teaches Christian how to cook *jijimi*, which her mother used to make at her *izakaya* (a Japanese pub). Her *jijimi* recipe is an effort that Zainichi Koreans made to live in Japan, to adapt to the tastes of Japanese people but maintain a Korean recipe. In her letter, Woohi explains that she went to Zainichi schools associated with both North Korea and South Korea; that her family called her by her Japanese name, Yuki; and that she felt like an outsider when she revealed her Korean name, Woohi, to those outside her community. She also talks about the different ways her father and mother adapted to Japanese society. After cooking, Woohi and Christian sit on a couch and share their family photographs. Christian’s voice reading his letter runs as the video shows their family photographs. In his letter, Christian introduces his maternal great-grandparents, who migrated from Japan to the United States around 1900 and were forced to live in relocation camps after the Japanese military attack on Pearl Harbor during the Second World War.¹⁷¹

Titled “Situation,” the video for Chapter 2 shows Han giving a lecture on Zainichi Koreans. The video is displayed on a flat TV screen mounted on a movable wall made of wooden panels (see Fig. 3.38 again). Behind the video is an enlarged black-and-white photographic print of a Zainichi Korean school. A secondhand sofa is placed in front of it, so that viewer can watch the film of Han giving the lecture and see the Zainichi school photo at the same time. Four layers of time exist in this scene: the Zainichi Korean school in the distant past; Han’s lecture in the recent past; the gallery visitor observing them both in the exhibition; and the viewer looking at this exhibition photo now. These layers of time remind us that the treatment of

¹⁷¹ Christian Hofer, “Letter to Woohi Chung,” *Vulnerable Histories (An Archive)*, 81.

Zainichi Koreans is a transgenerational traumatic issue, one that brings experiences of the past into the viewer's present.

Chapters 2 and 3 both focus on law, the universal language of justice. Chapter 2 focuses entirely on Han's lecture, which is fully captioned in English. Han introduces the history of Zainichi Koreans and explains that laws are not strong enough to prevent hate speech. The Act to Curb Hate Speech, an anti-hate speech act enacted in 2006, does not outlaw hate speech per se; as it states, it is *trying* to resolve the issue. Han also points out that Japanese immigration policies aim to exclude foreigners from Japanese society. After focusing on Han, the camera rotates around the classroom to show Woohi and Christian, sitting along with other audience members.

Titled "Kawasaki," Chapter 3 portrays Woohi and Christian reading legal statements against hate speech at sites where hate speech rallies have taken place: the Zainichi Korean community in Kawasaki, a city on the outskirts of Tokyo. The video starts with Woohi reading out the Act to Curb Hate Speech from the booklet in her hands while she walks in Fumiji Park.¹⁷² The text of the legal statement in Japanese and English is juxtaposed on the screen. At Sakuragawa Park in Kawasaki, sitting on the staircase of a slide in the park, walking around, Woohi and Christian continue reading legal documents that define and ban hate speech.¹⁷³ Woohi reads in Japanese, and Christian reads in English. Their performance, announcing these legal statements in calm voices under bright sunlight, starkly contrasts with the hate speech

¹⁷² The full name of this act is Provisional Disposition Order/A Motion for Orders of Provisional Disposition to Prohibit Hate Demonstrations, and it was announced on June 2, 2016, at Yokohama District Court, Kawasaki Branch.

¹⁷³ Woohi reads the Resolution on Dissolving Hate Speech, which was issued by the House of Councillor's Committee on Judicial Affairs, to clarify the scope of the anti-hate speech law. Christian reads the Rabat Plan of Action on the prohibition of advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility, or violence, proposed by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

rallies that they watch.

In between the enunciation of the laws, the film inserts the scene in which Woohi and Christian watch video clips of hate speech rallies in Kawasaki. Angry protesters shout statements such as, “We will tie up their necks and slowly strangle them—every one, until they are gone from Japan! [...] Kill!” Then the film shows Woohi and Christian walking in Kawasaki, surrounded by peaceful scenes, such as people riding a bicycle and children playing at the playground. The calm voices of Woohi and Christian reading the legal documents function as a counteraction, or a quiet protest, symbolically cancelling the hate speech. As Han comments in the bar scene at the end, hearing Woohi and Christian reading them was emotional. Because the statements were articulated by ethnic minorities, themselves victims of racial discrimination, their performance is nuanced; their voices convey emotion, but also the force of a legal act. Although they had to re-shoot this scene several times because the wording of the laws is difficult, the repeated reading of these documents may have been empowering for the two protagonists. As these documents state, in judicial language, hate speech is illegal.

The film reaches its climax during the interview in a car parked near the Arakawa River. As Christian asks Woohi’s feeling about visiting the Arakawa River and Housenka, Woohi reflects on her own traumatic experiences as the target of xenophobia. Christian leads the interview, and Woohi explains that her father concealed his Korean roots and that she had to endure the complexities of her identity and stigmatization. Woohi is silent for a moment, sheds tears, and then explains in a determined voice that she overcame her trauma by training in cultural studies to better understand herself, while simultaneously enduring and resisting the discrimination.

Christian plays the role of interviewer, and excellent listener, throughout the film. He

asks how Woohi feels after each activity. In the car, Christian also performs as someone who bears a similar experience, but he does not assimilate his experience with hers. Christian says he feels “disgusted” watching the hate speech videos, and he compares them to hate speech he has seen in Europe. The situations are designed to focus on Woohi’s emotional change as she learns about and tells her own personal story and the transgenerational memory of Zainichi Koreans. Christian also tells his family history, which is a postmemory for Christian, as he experienced the discrimination of the relocation camps indirectly, through the stories of his ancestors.

The film ends with an epilogue titled “Reflective Bar.” At a small bar in a residential area, Woohi and Christian reflect on the filming. Tanaka joins the conversation as he serves a plate of food. Later, Han and Tanaka sit at the bar and discuss the protagonists’ reactions during the filming. The film ends by panning the bar, at night, where film crews and facilitators, including Han and Andrew,¹⁷⁴ join the closing reception.

With *Vulnerable Histories*, Tanaka strives to generate empathetic unsettlement, as defined by LaCapra and Bennett, and transnational empathy. Bennett bases her concept of empathy on Nikos Papastergiadis, who defines empathy in art as “a process of *surrender* to the other and to learn with the other, but also the catch that transforms your perception.”¹⁷⁵ For Christian, Woohi’s wound is the pain of a distant other. In what is presented in the film, he attentively participates in the journey to learn about xenophobia against Zainichi Koreans. He listens to the stories and reflects on his own experience and similar xenophobic incidents taking place in Europe. He appears to be exercising the empathy that Papastergiadis describes as “a

¹⁷⁴ Andrew Maerke, the moderator of the interview workshops in *Provisional Studies*, participates in many of Tanaka’s projects.

¹⁷⁵ Nikos Papastergiadis and Mary Zournazi, “Faith Without Certitudes – with Nikos Papastergiadis,” in Mary Zournazi, *Hope: New Philosophies for Change* (New York: Routledge; Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 2002), 96.

dynamic process: of going closer to be able to see, but also never forgetting where you are coming from.”¹⁷⁶ Reflecting on her own wounds, Woohi reinstates her will to resist discrimination in her interview in a car.

Conclusion

This chapter explored how art can address the suffering of distant others without turning it into a visual spectacle and generate transnational empathy. Using LaCapra’s and Bennett’s concept of empathetic unsettlement, I have shown how art that addresses traumatic experience can aim for critical self-reflection instead of passive empathy, which Boler criticized for functions to please the audience’s narcissistic self-satisfaction of morality (being on the “right side” of the issue) without leading to action. Japanese art after 3/11 has transitioned from Japanese Neo Pop to socially engaged, collaborative, and durational practice, in which artists are exploring new ways to discuss disaster and divorcing themselves from the tradition of “disaster art” in Japanese art. In the series of works discussed in this chapter, Koki Tanaka strives to generate transnational empathy through collaborative workshops with participants.

Provisional Studies and *Vulnerable Histories* present the artist’s and participants’ search for an inclusive post-disaster or post-traumatic community. Through a carefully organized site-experimental workshop, *Provisional Studies*, Tanaka mobilized participants to practice concession, action, and responsibility. Using a historical nuclear bunker and communal space as his stage, Tanaka reactivated the site’s history in Münster and revived and extended the artistic practice of postwar Japanese Fluxus, integrating it into contemporary relational art and

¹⁷⁶ Papastergiadis and Zournazi, “Faith Without Certitudes,” 95–96.

conversational practices. These participants manifested a microcosmic community in a contact zone, revealing conflicts and intimacy by sharing stories, having debates, and performing communal activities during their nine-day workshop. *Vulnerable Histories* recounts the transnational and transgenerational stories of xenophobia experienced by two ethnic minorities, Zainichi Koreans and Japanese migrants, bridging memories of the protagonists with those of their ancestors. During this nine-day journey and filming workshop, the protagonists exchanged family histories, learned about the historical roots of the racial discrimination against Zainichi Koreans, read legal documents that ban hate speech rallies, and reflected on their own wounds. Both *Provisional Studies* and *Vulnerable Histories* suggest an unsettled, empathic, and transnational vision to address disaster, feel the pain of others, and foster communities that embrace difference with openness.

These two works provided the participants with an opportunity to face their own wounds and learn about those of distant others. It is unknown whether Tanaka's workshops provide participants with the impetus to act in the future. Even if they do, their impact might not be instantly visible. Regardless, *Provisional Studies* and *Vulnerable Histories* suggest strategies and aesthetics to respond to disaster or traumatic events. Through dialogic workshops requiring collective action, and through using the history of the site which invokes personal memory and postmemory, Tanaka and his works invite us to contemplate how to live together in the face of disaster and difficult histories.

Conclusion: Connections in Friction in Disturbance Regimes

This dissertation discusses how art projects produced by Korean and Japanese artists address transnational issues of migrant labour, wartime sexual violence, and xenophobia at the outbreak of disaster. The artists presented in this dissertation engaged with local participants at various levels, remaining as cultural observers or crossing the boundaries between art, life, and political activism. In their art, each of them addresses the stories of socially marginalized communities and victims of systemic abuse or violence. Mixrice represents the ambivalent desires of migrant workers from Southeast Asia in Korea; IM Heung-soon presents contested memories of the Vietnam War in Korea; Kim Seo-kyung and Kim Eun-sung use their statues to call for a state apology from both Japan and Korea for wartime atrocities and sexual violence against women; and Koki Tanaka explores forming inclusive communities during the surge of xenophobia against refugees in Germany and Zainichi Koreans in Japan. Each of these artists are striving to generate transnational empathy and contribute to social justice. Their works demonstrate the possibilities and limitations of artistic practices to complicate and contribute to a discussion on transnational social issues, helping us to consider the ethical representation of distant others and their suffering.

To return to the questions raised in the introduction: How does art address transnational issues that stem from antagonism and conflict within a nation or between nations? What kind of relationships are created in these contact zones? Do these artworks compromise or empower local communities who contribute to the artwork as collaborators, participants, interviewees, or audience?

Created as a travelogue of the artists' trip to Butwal, Nepal, and through collaboration with migrant workers in Korea, Mixrice's *Return* presents multifaceted aspects of migration by

highlighting the ambivalent desires of migrant workers in the exploitative system of neoliberalism and the global labour market. The display of *Return* at the 2006 Gwangju Biennale revealed asymmetrical power relationships between the artists and their participants, by capturing subtle tensions between the artists and the Butwal residents. *Return* portrays migrant workers' unfulfilled desire in the global hegemonic system, which drives the workers into exploitative (illegal) labour migration. As has seen in the comic strips of *Return* and their later projects, Mixrice appropriates migrant workers' creative work in exchange for the artists' participation in the workers' activism and presentation of the activism to Korean audience. This collaboration shows how complicity can be a strategy to create opportunities for the subaltern to speak in the context of the systemic exclusion of the migrant workers in the Korean art scene.

Works by IM Heung-soon and Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, discussed in chapter 2, elicit the viewer's critical reflection on contested memories and calls for apology to those who suffer from South Korea's participation in the Vietnam War. IM's works represent the contested and silenced memories of Korean veterans and Vietnamese people who experienced the war, by incorporating research, interviews, and site visits into a "mockumentary," which includes fictive narratives and images.¹ Although provoking some ethical concerns about the representation of victims of sexual violence, namely, in *Reborn II*, his works invite viewers to witness the stories of those who have been silenced. IM's work presents the contested testimonies and memories of the survivors, where critical testimonial reading and self-reflection on one's positionality are required of the audience.

Created and installed in close collaboration with activists, works by the Kims stand as a call for a state apology for wartime atrocities. The Kims show how art can be a symbol and a

¹ For the definition of "mockumentary" and IM's film, see chapter 2 of this dissertation.

strategy of intervention in international politics, where each nation prioritizes its own political agendas and trades apologies for the normalization of transnational relationships. They use their sculptures, *Sonyeosang* and *Vietnam Pieta*, to raise awareness and provoke audience action—that is, to join transnational activists, bring attention to state sanctioned sexual violence, and call for an apology.

Leading the socially engaged, collective, and non-representational practice in post-3/11 Japanese art (referring to the date of the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami), the workshops organized by Tanaka exemplify how art can address disaster and trauma through curated dialogues and site visits that draw empathetic responses among the participants. Tanaka's site-specific workshops summon memories of past disaster and invite the participants and the audience to reflect on their own experience in the present. These workshops, grounded in 1960s Japanese Fluxus practices and contemporary dialogic practice, invite participants to engage in collective action and critical self-reflection. His works suggest a new aesthetic strategy for encountering the suffering of distant others in times of increased xenophobia with active rather than passive empathy.

Allies or Accomplices

To further evaluate the relationship between these artists and their participants, and whether they compromise or empower the participants, I would like to employ the concepts of *allies* and *accomplices*, terms that have been recently redefined in scholarly discussions around the Black Lives Matter² and Indigenous rights movements. Grounded in interest convergence and moral

² The Black Lives Matter movement developed from 2013 as an online hashtag movement,

conviction, white scholars and activists self-identify as allies of people of colour and/or other socially disenfranchised groups, such as Indigenous, Black, and LGBTQ people.³ Allies are members of the privileged group who “act against the oppression(s) from which they derive power, privilege and acceptance.”⁴ Allies, by this definition, are currently criticized for positioning white scholars and activists as those who provide assistance to people of colour, who require this help; this dynamic maintains the hierarchical system of privilege and oppression and romanticizes the relationship between those who can help and those who need help.⁵ In contrast, activists and academics of the Black Lives Matter movement have suggested accomplice as an alternative paradigm, a role for one who is not directly involved but who wishes to support the oppressed.⁶

Positioning themselves as white scholars who fight “white, hetero-patriarchy” but who do not wish to be “benevolent supporters,” Jessica Powell and Amber Kelly also point to “risk” as the key factor separating allies from accomplices.⁷ Allies do not take on risk; their actions are as passive as posting on social media or wearing Black Lives Matter T-shirts. In other words, as

#BlackLivesMatter, in response to the acquittal of Trayvon Martin’s murderer. The hashtag movement was initiated by activists Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, who are central in the organization “Black Lives Matter Global Network” in the United States, the UK, and Canada. It is a global network of activists and abolitionists who call for the abolition of white supremacy and systemic racism and promote direct action to support Black communities. Black Lives Matter, Official Website, accessed February 20, 2022, <https://blacklivesmatter.com/>; Black Lives Matter Canada, Official Website, accessed February 20, 2022, <https://www.blacklivesmatter.ca/>.

³ Jessica Powell and Amber Kelly, “Accomplices in the Academy in the Age of Black Lives Matter,” *Journal of Thought and Praxis* 6, no. 2 (2017): 45.

⁴ Powell and Kelly, “Accomplices in the Academy,” 45.

⁵ Powell and Kelly, “Accomplices in the Academy,” 45–46; Indigenous Action, “Accomplices Not Allies: Abolishing the Ally Industrial Complex,” May 4, 2014, <https://www.indigenousaction.org/accomplices-not-allies-abolishing-the-ally-industrial-complex/>.

⁶ Powell and Kelly, “Accomplices in the Academy,” 43.

⁷ Powell and Kelly, “Accomplices in the Academy,” 43.

Powell and Kelly write, allies “fail to participate in any meaningful actions.”⁸ Accomplices, by contrast, integrate risk and action into their work.⁹ Accomplices participate in the activism with a hammer to destroy the system that sustains the hegemony. The activist group known as Indigenous Action¹⁰ emphasizes this risk in a 2014 statement that likewise differentiates between ally and accomplice: “The risks of an ally who provides support or solidarity [usually on a temporary basis] in a fight are much different than that of an accomplice. When we fight back or forward, together, becoming complicit in a struggle toward liberation, we are accomplices.”¹¹ Indigenous Action lists academics and intellectuals as one group who can tend toward allyship, aligning them with what Hal Foster and Grant Kester call “parachuters” and “aesthetic evangelists.” Saying that academics and intellectuals can often be patronizing in their allyship, Indigenous Action explains that an intellectual acting as accomplice would “strategize with, not for and not be afraid to pick up a hammer.”¹²

In this conclusion, I draw on the concepts of allies and accomplices to better understand the relationship between travelling artists and local participants in the contact zone. This contemporary concept helps to extend the 1990s discussion of community art in Foster’s “artist as ethnographer” and Kester’s “aesthetic evangelists.” It also builds on James Clifford’s reciprocal, although asymmetrical, discussion of interactions in the contact zone created by the ethnographer’s travel to a foreign community.¹³ Foster’s and Kester’s critical stances on

⁸ Powell and Kelly, “Accomplices in the Academy,” 45.

⁹ Powell and Kelly, “Accomplices in the Academy,” 46.

¹⁰ Founded in 2001 with the original name Indigenous Action Media, Indigenous Action is a volunteer group of artists, designers, writers, and agitators who provide strategic communications and actions for Indigenous communities’ land defense. “About,” Indigenous Actions, accessed February 20, 2022, <https://www.indigenouaction.org/about-2/>.

¹¹ Indigenous Action, “Accomplices Not Allies.”

¹² Indigenous Action, “Accomplices Not Allies.”

¹³ Foster, “Artist as Ethnographer?”; Kester, “Aesthetic Evangelists”; Clifford, “Travelling

community art are equivalent to the research strategy associated with what some Indigenous scholars have called “helicopter research.” In her research on the Yukon, Gertrude Saxinger aptly describes helicopter researchers as researchers who “come into a community for a short period of time and (do) not provide feedback about the knowledge they gained from local interlocutors.”¹⁴ Akin to helicopter researchers, parachute artists sell participants’ stories to art world audiences. They are involved in the community for a short period and make art that resembles the documentation sometimes created by ethnographers.

In this dissertation, what I have implicitly and explicitly asked of each artwork, by way of analytic lever, is: Do the artists engage with their participants as allies or accomplices? And why does this distinction matter to socially engaged art in a transnational context today?

In Mixrice’s *Return*, I argue, the artists started off as accomplices but eventually retreated into something more akin to allies. In their early practice, before *Return*, Mixrice refused to create objects for display in art institutions, in order to participate in actions organized by illegal migrant workers instead. Mixrice engaged in a durational practice that involved them in the life and activism of the workers by, for example, baking pancakes with the slogan “anti-deportation” at street demonstrations, broadcasting songs composed and sung by migrant workers, mingling in their hideout spaces, and occasionally hiding them from police busts. In participating in what were considered illegal activities, Mixrice crossed the boundaries of artistic performance, political action, and life, putting themselves at risk.

Since *Return*, Mixrice has no longer been taking such a strategy. The 2004 launch of

Cultures,” 98.

¹⁴ Gertrude Saxinger and First Nation of Na-Cho Nyäk Dun, “Community Based Participatory Research as a Long-Term Process: Reflections on Becoming Partners in Understanding Social Dimensions of Mining in the Yukon,” *The Northern Review*, no. 47 (August 2018): 187.

Korea's Employment Permit System for Hiring Foreign Workers systemically enabled easy deportation of illegal workers. As many of their collaborators/participants were subsequently deported, anti-deportation activism was no longer relevant. Members of Mixrice continued to explore the issue of migration, but they refrained from taking a risk. For example, their work *Underground Tunnel* (2010; Fig. 4.1 and Fig. 4.2), created in a similar style to the mural and photographs of *Return*, illustrates underground tunnels in Gaza, Palestine, through which chocolate bars, sheep, and people travel across the borders with Egypt and Israel. The dialogue log between Mixrice members and an activist named Philip provides the story of the underground tunnels being used for the migration and transportation of people, food, and goods. In their dialogue, the members of Mixrice show their interest in visiting the tunnel, which they had heard was dangerous. However, whether they had any interaction with the people in Gaza, like they did in *Return*, or whether they just presented the journalist's story as part of their art exhibition remains unknown.

IM makes a meaningful contribution by initiating a conversation about a difficult history but does so in a problematic way in *Reborn II*. The relationship between IM and the Vietnamese women who appear in IM's film obfuscates the specific forms of violence enacted, as IM refrains from using the word "rape" or "sexual violence" and wishes the audience to see the women in his *Reborn II* as general victims of war, not as victims of wartime sexual violence.¹⁵ His effort to present the women in his film as general victims of war may reflect the social climate, in which victims have been silenced by the social norms that framed victims of sexual violence in terms of shame and guilt. But the presentation of the Vietnamese women in the film might also be likened to helicopter research. Indeed, IM had limited resources and accessibility, which prevented him

¹⁵ IM, email to Kwon, January 19, 2021.

from building a long-term, reciprocal relationship with these Vietnamese women. Even the Korean activists who have, over a period of twenty years, built a relationship with survivors and their communities are required to obtain permission from the Vietnamese government to visit, and their activities in the villages are monitored by government officials.¹⁶ Importantly, we need to think about *what next?* As the activist Ku Su-jeong says, we are no longer in the stage of activism to make disclosure; we are now in the stage to find better ways to sustainably support the victims and their community.¹⁷

Conversely, the Kims take risks and use those risk as a strategy to raise public awareness about wartime sexual violence. They take risk by placing their work in public places, as opposed to the protected space of an art museum. Their statues have been vandalized, threatened to be relocated, and withdrawn from exhibitions. The more threats their *Sonyeosang* and *Vietnam Pieta* receive, the more attention the artists, the “comfort women,” and their activism receive. Unfortunately, the artists are often challenged by nationalists in both Japan and South Korea. “It’s a kidnap of a flag!” says JoAnn in Tanaka’s *Provisional Studies* about the use of the German flag by extreme nationalists. *Sonyeosang* has similarly been kidnapped and mobilized to inculcate anti-Japanese sentiment in Korea, exacerbating conflict and antagonism between the two nations. Created against this backdrop, *Vietnam Pieta* reaffirms the artists’ use of art-based activism to promote historical justice and demonstrate solidarity for victims of wartime violence; at the same time, it reveals Korea’s complicated, even contradictory, desire for an official apology from Japan.

¹⁶ Ku, interview with the author, January 16, 2021. Ku also explained that it is hard to find victims of sexual violence committed by Korean soldiers in Vietnam, unlike the survivors of massacre who are easily found in the villages where massacres occurred.

¹⁷ Ku, interview with the author, January 16, 2021.

Tanaka's interests have developed gradually from exploring collective actions with strangers in a situation that metaphorically resembles 3/11 to focusing on generating empathetic experience to foster an inclusive society. This change is reflected in the participants he recruited. In his early works, before *Provisional Studies*, the participants were not obviously socially marginalized. In *Provisional Studies*, the unequal power and social status of Münster's local participants is revealed during the course of the nine-day workshop. The change is even more explicit in *Vulnerable Histories*: its two protagonists, Woohi and Christian, have both experienced racism as ethnic minorities, in Japan and Switzerland, respectively. By focusing on Woohi's trauma and by discussing hate crimes against Zainichi Korean communities in the past and the present, *Vulnerable Histories* points to problems in Japan's exclusionary concepts of ethnocentric nationalism and citizenship, which have led to an increase in xenophobia.

Tanaka's work can be seen, at first glance, as presenting participants as the objects of observation for the audience in an exhibition, and the artist can be seen as directing the participants like a puppet master. His early works shown at the Venice Biennale, for example, *A Haircut by 9 Hairdressers at Once (Second Attempt)* (2010, See again Fig. 3.7), might be criticized for presenting participants as quasi-anthropological specimens observed in a fishbowl. Close observation of the video documentation and Tanaka's production notes for *Provisional Studies* and *Vulnerable Histories*, however, demonstrates that his works create a community within a fishbowl, in which reciprocal interactions take place among participants, film crews, moderators, and the artist. Tanaka presents the participants, the moderators, the collaborators, the film crews, and himself as a community exploring how to live together. In both projects, film crews appear in the film and photographic documentation, holding boom mics, cameras, and lighting equipment. In Münster, the film crews teach the participants how to use the equipment

so that the participants can become the film crew. Before shooting *Vulnerable Histories*, Tanaka organized several study sessions for the cast and film crew to learn about the history of Zainichi Koreans.¹⁸ These activities are similar to what Clifford describes as the mutual and reciprocal interactions created in a contact zone, where a cultural observer also becomes an object of observation in the eyes of the locals.¹⁹ As Tanaka has stated, “filming is making a community,” and in *Provisional Studies* and *Vulnerable Histories* the filming workshop becomes an extended community in which Tanaka, the participants, and the film crews collectively learn, act, and experiment with unsettling empathy.²⁰

The artists and artworks discussed in this dissertation explore transnational issues from the early 2000s to the present. These artists fight against injustice. They have raised their voices and social consciousness to make their concerns known inside and beyond their respective societies. The impact of such work may not be instantly visible, and many of these issues remain relevant and controversial.

Epilogue

Since I began this dissertation in 2017, some of the issues discussed in this dissertation have been aggravated and other social issues have (re-)emerged. Some artists have continued to fight against discrimination and censorship, while others have been expelled for failing in their aim.

When the 2019 Aichi Triennale closed one of its exhibitions, titled *After “Freedom of Expression?”* in August 2019, after receiving complaints and terrorist threats against installation

¹⁸ Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories*, 22.

¹⁹ Clifford, “Travelling Cultures,” 98.

²⁰ Tanaka, “Koki Tanaka—Visiting Artists and Scholars.”

of the Kims' *Sonyeosang* variation *Statue of a Girl of Peace* (Fig. 4.3), Tanaka picked up a hammer. Along with his friends and participating artists, Tanaka initiated an artist statement criticizing the censorship and calling for the exhibition to reopen.²¹ The statement was released on August 6 and, by August 10, had garnered the signatures of eighty-seven artists. Tanaka was also the only Japanese artist who signed a statement titled "In Defense of Freedom of Expression," initiated by five artists from the Caribbean and Latin America and one from Korea on August 12, 2019, urging the Triennale to reopen the closed exhibition and demonstrate a commitment to freedom of expression.²²

On August 21, 2019, Tanaka also issued a second statement, criticizing the Triennale's declaration of a safety concern as the pretext for its censorship.²³ In this statement, to protest the situation and "to think about it as our problem," he announced that he was turning his "work" into "a performative situation" that he called "assembly," extending the two-day event originally scheduled for the Triennale's Performing Arts program to every Saturday for the duration of the Triennale.²⁴ At the assembly viewers were invited to watch his film *Abstracted/Family* (2020), which challenges the fictional image of the "Japanese" as a homogenous race, and engage in dialogue with, and be guided by, the performers who had experienced discrimination (Fig. 4.4).²⁵ This work created what Dylan Robinson calls listening as a sonic encounter, which he bases on

²¹ "Statement by the Artists of Aichi Triennale 2019 on the Closure of *After 'Freedom of Expression?'*" *Art iT*, August 6, 2019, https://www.art-it.asia/en/top_e/admin_ed_news_e/201937?fbclid=IwAR1U7CXwzV4uIFkajv2CnD3sSHQ1KI Ei4-6BUofILERPn7QT_oKPA13DRTs.

²² "Artists Decry Censorship of Aichi Triennale, Demand Removal of Their Works," *Artforum*, August 13, 2019, <https://www.artforum.com/news/artists-decrying-censorship-of-aichi-triennale-demand-removal-of-their-works-80480>.

²³ Koki Tanaka, "A Delayed Statement on the Reframing of My Work," *Art iT*, August 21, 2019, https://www.art-it.asia/en/top_e/admin_ed_news_e/202620.

²⁴ Tanaka, "A Delayed Statement on the Reframing of My Work."

²⁵ Tanaka, "A Delayed Statement on the Reframing of My Work."

Pratt's notion of the contact zone, to practice "critical listening positionality."²⁶ Robinson defines critical listening positionality as a decolonial practice that "seeks to promote questions regarding how we might become better attuned to the particular filter of race, class, gender, and ability that actively select and frame the moment of contact between listening body and listened-to sound."²⁷

Since this time, Tanaka has continued to criticize a lack of gender and ethnic consciousness in the Japanese art scene. For example, in his April 21, 2021, diary-like review of *Bubbles / Debris: Art of the Heisei Period 1989–2019*, curated by influential Japanese curator and art critic Sawaragi Noi and held at the Kyoto City Kyocera Museum of Art, Tanaka criticized the exhibition's appeal to the sense of victimhood in Japan, presenting contemporary Japanese art as a metaphor of victimhood that does not allow critical self-reflection.²⁸

Mixrice faced a crisis in 2020 after accusations that Mixrice member Yang Chulmo had over the previous ten years been taking advantage of his position as an influential senior artist and juror of many grants and exhibitions to sexually harass young female artists.²⁹ Many post-Minjung artists and curators, whose careers developed along with the alternative spaces in the early 2000s, became powerful figures leading contemporary art in Korea. Mixrice was one of

²⁶ Robinson, *Hungry Listening*, 11.

²⁷ Robinson, *Hungry Listening*, 11.

²⁸ Koki Tanaka, "Hidzuke no aru nōto, moshikuwa nikki no yōna mono (6) atama no naka no yami (sono 2) — 3 tsuki 16-nichi kara 4 tsuki 19-nichi" (A notebook with a date, or something like a diary (6) Darkness in my head (Part 2) — March 16 to April 19), *Genron Alpha*, April 21, 2021, https://www.genron-alpha.com/gb060_02/; The exhibition defined Japanese art of the Heisei era (1989–2019) from the collapse of the economic bubbles and art after 3/11. For more about the exhibition and Sawaragi Noi's definition of the Heisei era, see "Bubbles / Debris: Art of the Heisei Period 1989–2019," *Kyoto City Kyocera Museum of Art*, accessed December 8, 2021, https://kyotocity-kyocera.museum/en/exhibition/20210123-0411#tab_cont01.

²⁹ Association of Women Artists (AWA), "Yeoseong-yesul-in-yeondae Misulgye Y Seonghuilong Sageon-e Dehan Ibjangmun" (AWA's statement on the Y-sexual harassment case in the art world) Facebook, June 28, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/speakout.awa/posts/2006501869493183>.

them. The disclosure of Yang's behaviour, called the "artist Y sexual harassments incident," was the outcome of online activism called "*misulgye_nae_seongpongnyeok*" (#sexual_violence_in_the_art_world), which aimed to disclose sexual violence in the Korean arts and literature communities. Activism began in 2016, during South Korea's new wave feminism, which is called "feminism reboot," and continued during the global #MeToo movement.³⁰ As a result, Yang admitted his sexual harassment, announced that he would discontinue creative activities, and Cho Jieun subsequently expelled him from Mixrice.³¹ In her official statement, Cho noted that Yang's actions "contravened the values, directions, and the methods of practice that Mixrice has pursued."³²

Accusations against Yang and his initial response sparked criticism against some Korean art institutions for their lukewarm reaction to victim testimony. One of the first generation of alternative spaces, the Art Space Pool, for example, failed to address sexual violence perpetrated by key members, including Yang, and to change its male-dominant, patriarchal environment.³³

³⁰ Sohn Hee-jeong, "Peminijeum Ributeu: Hanguk Yeonghwareul Tonghae Boneun Poseuteu-Peminijeum, Geurigo Geu Ihu" (Feminism reboot: Post-feminism in Korean movies, and its aftermath), *Munhwa Gwahak* (Culture science) 38 (September 2015): 14–47; Park Sohyun, "'#Misulgye_nae_seongpongnyeok' Undonggwa Misulsahagui Gwaje: #Mitu Un-dong Sidae Peminijeum Misulsa Ributeu Reul Wihayeo" ("#Sexual Violence_in_Art World" movement and the challenge of art history: For the feminist art history reboot in the #MeToo era), *Journal of Korean Modern & Contemporary Art History* 38 (December 2019): 131–61.

³¹ Jeon Honip, "'Misulgye seonghuirong uihok' Yang Chulmo jakga 'chaegimjigetda, changjakaengwi an-hal-geot'" (Accused of sexual violence, artist Yang Chulmo said "I will discontinue creative activities"), *Hankook Ilbo*, June 19 2020, <https://www.hankookilbo.com/News/Read/A202006191551000012>.

³² Cho Jieun, "Annyeonghaseyo. Mixrice Cho Jieun-immida" (Greetings, this is Cho Jieun of Mixrice), Facebook, June 30, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/jieun.cho.986>; The current members of Mixrice are Cho Jieun, Ko Gyeol, and Kim Jungwon. These three members also work as the collective ikkibawiKrrr (2021–), a combination of Korean words meaning moss and rocks, and an onomatopoeic word Krrr. "ikkibawiKrrr," *Documenta 15*, accessed February 20, 2022, <https://documenta-fifteen.de/en/lumbung-members-artists/ikkibawikrrr/>.

³³ Lee Sunghye, "Ateu Seupeiseu Pulgwa Yeongwandoen Seongpoglyeog Munjee Daehan Jigjeon Dilegteoui Ibjangmun" (Statement from the previous director on the issue of sexual

Once called “the advanced base of Post-Minjung Art,”³⁴ the Art Space Pool permanently closed in January 2021 as a result of criticism in the art community and subsequent discord among its board members and past directors as they attempted to handle sexual violence of its members. The debates provoked during the “artist Y sexual harassments incident” and the subsequent closure of the Art Space Pool demonstrated a lack of critical self-reflection about sexual violence and discrimination within the Korean art community and institutions. They also left questions about how the Korean art community should handle such cases and bring about institutional and systemic transformation. Women artists, critics, and curators collectively released statements calling for the abolishing of sexual violence based on power relationships and for bringing about systemic change in the art community, instead of considering the case as an isolated incident.³⁵

During the heated debate over Art Space Pool, in 2020, I was invited to write a review on a project by Against the Dragon Light, a collective of South Korean curators in their twenties. Named Hashtag_a (#a), their project aims to create an online archive and metadata of socially engaged practice in Seoul, Singapore, Taipei, and Hong Kong.³⁶ As I was witnessing the flow of collective empathy, catharsis, fury, and frustration, with call-outs on social media in the art and academic communities both within and outside of Korea, I wrote that a higher standard of critical

violence related to the Art Space Pool) Facebook, July 8, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/933857486639164/posts/3356657891025766/>.

³⁴ Baek, “Dongsidae Hanguk Daeangongganui Jwapyo,” 48.

³⁵ Women’s Association of Culture and Arts (WACA), “Y Seonghuilong Sageon-eun Jeonhyeongjeog-in Misulgye Wilyeog-e Uihan Seongpogyeog-ida: Sageonhaegyeol-eul Wihan Jedo Gaeseon Yogu” (The Y sexual harassment case is a typical sexual violence by the power of the art world: A demand for systemic improvement to resolve the case.) uploaded June 22, 2020. <http://www.waca2017.org/doc11/>; AWA, “Yeoseong-yesul-in-yeondae Misulgye Y Seonghuilong Sageon-e Dehan Ibjangmun.”

³⁶ Hashtag_a, artist website, accessed February 25, 2022, <http://hashtag-a.com/>. The current members of Against the Dragon Light are Moon-seok Yi (b. 1989) and Eugene Hannah Park (b. 1992).

self-awareness might be expected of those who call themselves socially engaged practitioners.³⁷

In summer and fall 2021, I taught an undergraduate course, Art as Social Practice, at the University of Alberta. Many of my students and I engaged in critical perspectives, through ethical and political lenses, as feminist supporters of Indigenous rights, the Black Lives Matter movement, and decolonial initiations. As students linked the topics introduced in class to their real-life experiences in the present, the discussion sometimes led to harsh criticism of artistic practices of the past. I was concerned whether we were seeing these artistic practices from the viewpoint of a kind of “purism” that Alexis Shotwell finds devastating, as we are explicitly and inexplicably complicit in our nonsensical, real world in a “disturbance regime,” to use Anna Tsing’s term.³⁸ In her 2014 paper, Tsing defines today’s world as a disturbance regime, as we are all living in a “blasted landscape.”³⁹ Acknowledging this condition, she finds a model for rebuilding in the matsutake mushrooms that were planted at Hiroshima after the 1945 atom bomb attack and that grew naturally in the shade at Fukushima after the 2011 nuclear meltdown.⁴⁰ Echoing Tsing, Shotwell calls for “delineating forms of life of disturbance in relation to what forms of life they sustain or proliferate.”⁴¹

Adrienne Maree Brown points out the destructive power of punitive justice employed as collective action in the call-out culture of social media.⁴² Instead of engaging in a cycle of

³⁷ Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon, “Archiving as a Method of Socially Engaged Art: Hashtag_a’s Witnessing, Documenting, and Empathy-making,” Gyeonggi Creation Center Artist-in-Residence Catalogue (Ansan, Korea: Gyeonggi Creation Center, 2021), 45–51.

³⁸ Alexis Shotwell, *Against Purity: Living Ethically in Compromised Times* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 9; Anna Tsing, “The Gentle Art of Mushroom Picking,” in *The Multispecies Salon*, ed. Eben Kirksey (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 92.

³⁹ Tsing, “The Gentle Art of Mushroom Picking,” 92.

⁴⁰ Tsing, “The Gentle Art of Mushroom Picking,” 87–109.

⁴¹ Shotwell, *Against Purity*, 9.

⁴² Adrienne Maree Brown, *We Will Not Cancel Us: And Other Dreams of Transformative Justice* (Chicago, CA: AK Press, 2020), 41.

blaming and shaming, and publicly punishing an individual, Brown suggests that we need to engage in “principled struggle,” which is a struggle for the “sake of something larger than ourselves and are honest and direct with each other while holding compassion.”⁴³ She emphasizes self-reflective participation and responsibility to seek transformative justice. Brown suggests that real-time transformation of social injustice, in contrast to instant actions on social media, requires stating one’s needs and setting functional boundaries.⁴⁴ She suggests asking oneself: “how can my real-time actions contribute to transforming this situation?”⁴⁵ Brown’s call for principled struggle resonates with Stef Craps’s reverberation of LaCapra’s empathic unsettlement and Bennett’s concept of empathic vision as a “critical and self-reflective empathy as conducive to the establishment of a truly inclusive post-traumatic community marked by openness to and respect for otherness.”⁴⁶

As I write this conclusion, I critically reflect on my own positionality in my critical readings of the artistic practices and works discussed in this dissertation. My perspective reflects my situated knowledge as a Korean immigrant in Canada, one who received a postcolonial Korean education, including some university-level education, and then a settler Western education in Canadian universities, living and working in the territory of the First Peoples of Canada as a feminist and supporter of the rights of gender and ethnic minorities.

I also try to see the institutional frames and the capitalist art systems that limit the possibility of artistic experimentation. Artists, curators, activists, and academics have called for the redefinition of the structures of inclusion. Sara Ahmed, for example, critically revisits the

⁴³ Brown, *We Will Not Cancel Us*, 21.

⁴⁴ Brown, *We Will Not Cancel Us*, 41, 73.

⁴⁵ Brown, *We Will Not Cancel Us*, 71–73.

⁴⁶ Craps, “Linking Legacies of Loss,” 192.

institutional structure of inclusion in academia.⁴⁷ Ahmed argues that institutions should take diversity as “a narrative of repair” for racism, which is often considered an injury to the institution’s reputation.⁴⁸ As a step to do so, Ahmed argues for the critical reconstruction of diversity and inclusion politics within cultural and intellectual institutions. In his study of Indigenous music that delivers the stories of Indigenous communities’ suffering in non-representational ways, Robinson also suggests redefining the structures of inclusion, rather than importing Indigenous content and increasing representation to Canadian art in a way that “fits” settler cultural parameters and fulfils the mission to enrich Canadian art.⁴⁹

Artists in East Asia are leading these calls and the emerging discourses of inclusion and diversity by connecting transnational issues, from migration and gender to environmental justice, to the lives of people within and beyond their nations. Artists working on the concepts of sexuality and in solidarity with LGBTQ people have had an especially noticeable presence. For example, the Japanese artist Tomoko Kikuchi explores the gradual acceptance of homosexuality and bisexuality in rural areas of China by following migrant drag queen performers at funerals in her photograph series *Funerals under Neon Light* (2014). The climate crisis has also emerged as a threat that requires urgent action. Making the climate crisis a key agenda item, the Taipei Biennale has focused on the Anthropocene a number of times: in *Art in the Age of Anthropocene*, curated by Nicholas Bourriaud, in 2014; in *Post-Nature—A Museum as an Ecosystem*, curated by Mali Wu and Francesco Manacorda, in 2018; and in *You and I Don’t Live on the Same Planet*, curated by Bruno Latour and Martin Guinard, in 2020.

⁴⁷ Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

⁴⁸ Ahmed, *On Being Included*, 17.

⁴⁹ Robinson, *Hungry Listening*, 6.

Finally, ultra-nationalistic voices calling for the prioritization of the national over global or transnational solidarity has been evident in many countries in the late 2010s, in line with growing political conservatism. This tendency to turn away from both regional and transnational ties for the supposed benefit of the nation is demonstrated by Brexit and various nations' political responses to the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2021, there are growing military tensions in the Asia-Pacific region, between Mainland China and Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Xinjiang; among North Korea, South Korea, and Japan; and in the Southeast Asian nation of Myanmar. The works introduced in this dissertation suggest how art can offer critical ways to respond, raise a voice in solidarity with the victims, and call viewers to action. How artists in these nations will respond to these new conflicts and their very real effects on the lives of people and societies remains to be seen. But as the artworks in this dissertation and the critical response to them suggest, art can be an important response to injustice, violence, war, and disaster. At transnational contact zones, in the disturbance regime, these artworks suggest how to make connections in friction.

Figures

Introduction



Figure 0.1. Exhibition view of *Mass and Individual: The Archives of the Guyanese Mass Games*, 2016. Curated by Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon and Wonseok Koh. Photo by Bara Studio.

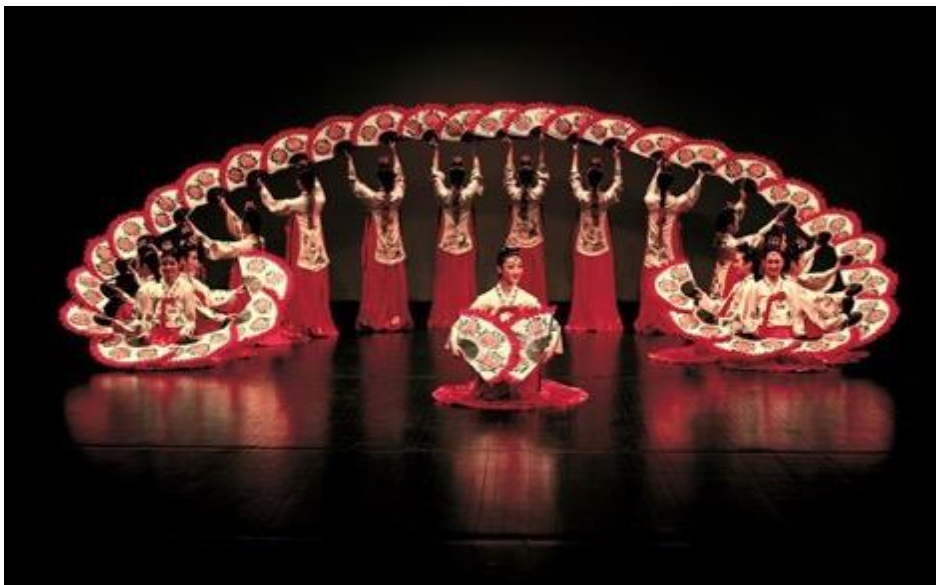


Figure 0.2. Yunjoo Kwak, *Triumph of the Will*, 2006. One photograph of the series. Lambda print, 123 × 200 cm. Image courtesy of the artist.



Figure 0.3. Unknown photographer, a page from the 1984 Mass Games Photo Album (Performers holding fans), 1984. Photographic prints on an album, 38 x 31.5 cm. Allied Arts Unit, Georgetown, Guyana. Photo by the author, 2016.



Figure 0.4. Unknown photographer, *Untitled* (Performers holding fans and flags in the 1990 Mass Games), 1990. Chromatic photographic print, 8 × 12.5 cm. Allied Arts Unit, Georgetown, Guyana. Digital photo by Kim Kyung Ho, Asia Culture Center, Gwangju, South Korea, 2016.



Figure 0.5. Kimsooja, *A Needle Woman*, 2005. 8 channel video installation, silent, 6:33 loop. Stills from Tokyo (Japan), Shanghai (China), Mexico City (Mexico), London (England), Delhi (India), New York (U.S.), Cairo (Egypt), Lagos (Nigeria). Image from the artist website.

Chapter 1.



Figure 1.1. Mixrice, exhibition view of *Return*, Gwangju Biennale, 2006. On the wall: Three black-and-white mural paintings (5 × 10 m), twenty-three chromatic photographic prints (50 × 70 cm). On the bench: a book, a set of four postcards (21.0 × 29.7 cm), and an imaginary world map (21.0 × 29.7 cm). Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

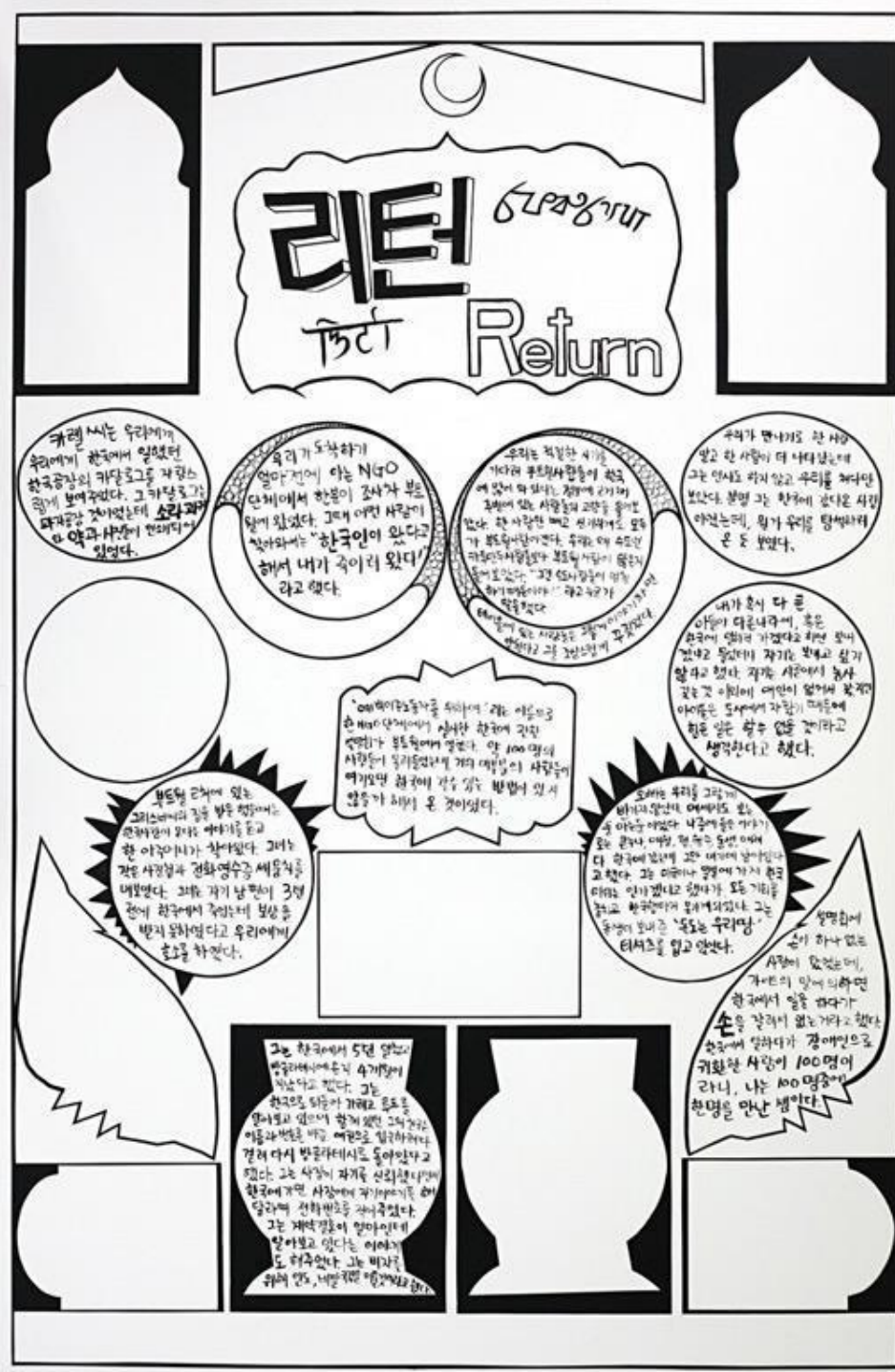


Figure 1.3. Mixrice, the second mural of *Return*, 2006. Acrylic, gouache, and ink on wall, dimensions variable. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.



Figure 1.4. Mixrice, part of the third mural of *Return*, 2006. Acrylic, gouache, and ink on wall, dimensions variable. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.



Figure 1.5 Mixrice, photographs of *Return*, 2006. Chromatic photographic prints, 50 × 70 cm. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.



Figure 1.6. Mixrice, photographs of *Return*, 2006. Chromatic photographic prints, 50 × 70 cm. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.



Figure 1.7. Mixrice, photographs of *Return*, 2006. Chromatic photographic prints, 50 × 70 cm. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.



Figure 1.8. Mixrice, *Return*, 2006. Installation detail of the imaginary map (open: 21.0 × 29.7 cm), the book including comics and text (dimensions unknown), and a set of four postcards (21.0 × 29.7 cm) (from left to right) placed on the crafted bench. Image courtesy of the artists.



Figure 1.9. Lim Ok Sang, *The Earth IV* (a.k.a. *Land 4*), 1980. Oil on canvas, 104 × 177 cm. Image from the artist's website, accessed February 12, 2022.



Figure 1.10. Oh Youn, *Marketing I – Scene of Hell*, 1980. Mixed media on canvas. 131 × 162 cm. Private collection. Image from Kwon Chong-sul, “Gungnip Hyeondae Misulgwan: Talsingmin, Inyeom, Jeonjaeng, Minjuhwa... Hyeondaesa Gwantonghaneun Asiaui Geupjinjeog Yesul” (MMCA: Colonialism, ideology, war, democratization... Progressive Arts of Asia that penetrate the contemporary history), *Minjungui Sori* (Voice of minjung), February 7, 2019.



Figure 1.11. Unknown artist, *Gamno Taenghwa* (a.k.a. *Gamno-do*) (Nectar Ritual Painting; Painting of Buddha Giving a Sermon), 1681. Seoul, South Korea. Image from Cultural Heritage Administration of the Republic of Korea, accessed February 12, 2022.



Figure 1.12. Kim Bong Jun, *Mansang Chunhwa* (tr. Ten thousand figures and a thousand pictures), 1981. colour on silk, 200 × 250 cm. Image from Kim Bong Jun, “Heungeul Modu Pogwalhaneun ‘Sinmyeong’ Iyamallo Areumdaumui Bonseongida” (Spiritual joy that embraces all excitements is the nature of the aesthetic), *Pressian*, September 13, 2021.



Figure 1.13. Diego Rivera, *History of Mexico: Mexico Today and Tomorrow*, 1935. (detail, South Wall) Fresco, 749 × 885 cm, Palacio Nacional, Stairway, Mexico City. Photo by Dirk Bakker, collection of Detroit Institute of Art. Image from ARTstor, February 12, 2022.



성남프로젝트

'성남모더니즘'
 일시: 1998년 10월 16일(일) ~ 11월 4일(수)
 장소: 서울시립미술관 2층 207호, 208호, 209호
 후원: 서울시립미술관

'성남과 환경미술'
 일시: 1998년 10월 19일(화) ~ 10월 25일(일)
 장소: 성남시정오터
 후원: 성남시

성남모더니즘 / 성남과 환경미술
 1998. 비디오, 설치미술, 조각, 판, 목판에 등
 세기 성남프로젝트 김홍진, 김태현, 박유석, 박찬경, 박해연, 임홍순, 조지은

백희룡(백희룡(한국미술가)) **그런데 왜 좋은 것을 만들지 않는 사람들, 교양인
 이라 해도 좋은 것을 만들지 않는 사람들 교양인이라 해서 그런 관심을 지어
 아깝나?**

박준혁(이승재(오기)) **연드는 열매 맺지 못하는 것은 때로가 때문이겠죠.**

이포용(박찬경(오기)) **누군가가 그것이 예술이라고 말하면, 그것은 예술입니다.**

박준혁(이승재(오기)) **무엇이 아름다운 예술이라고 말하는 사람은 누구일까요?**

은 케치제(오기) **아름답다'는 것은 우리가 그것을 즐긴다는 것 이외에는 별
 다른 의미가 없습니다.**

박준혁(이승재(오기))

그들 '성남프로젝트'는 한국의 도시를 주제로 상황에 따라 구성원과 이름을 달리하는 '변신그룹'으로 김홍진, 김태현, 박유석, 박찬경, 박해연, 임홍순, 조지은 등이 현재
 성원으로 있으며, 이번 전시에서 분담한 작업내용은 다음과 같다. (성남시정 오터에 전시된 작품은 괄호안에 따로 표기함)

- 비디오 1 임홍순/조지은 • 비디오 2 김태현 (성남시정) • 프로젝트 슬라이드 사진 박해연/조지은
- 설치 1 (다이어그램) 박유석 • 설치 2 (꽃과 양말) 박해연 • 설치 3 (비탈길 기술기) 박해연/조지은/임홍순 • 설치 4 (미니어처) 김홍진 (성남시정)
- 사진 1 (성남시 '건축물예술장식물') 김태현/박찬경 • 사진 2 (의류공방) 박해연 • 그림 김태현 (성남시정) • 글 박찬경 • 텍스트, 일러스트레이션 박유석
- 도록 아인장 (성남문화연구소 기획실장)이영철 (제2회 '도시와 영상 - 의식 주권' 콜라주) 하종근 (성남문화연구소장)

이 프로젝트는 전시된 작품의 일부입니다. (11/01) 박유석

Figure 1.14. Seongnam Project, the first page of the brochure (total four pages) introducing the exhibition *Seongnam Modernism* (October 16–November 4, 1998) and *Seongnam and Environmental Art* (October 19–25, 1998). Designed by Park Yong-seok. Image from Art Space Pool, accessed December 1, 2021.



Figure 1.15. flyingCity, *The Power of Chunggyecheon*, part of *Chunggyecheon Project*, 2003. Digital print, 100 × 447 cm. Image from Shin, “Art in the Post-Minjung Era Urbanism, Public Art, and Spatial Politics,” 260, Plate 14.



Figure 1.16. Claes Oldenburg, *Spring*, 2006. Steel, cast aluminum, aluminum; painted with acrylic polyurethane, 21.3 m high × 5.5 m diameter at base of sculpture. Cheonggyecheon Stream, Seoul. Photo by Jaebum Kim, 2021. Photo courtesy of the photographer.



이주노동자들이 대만에 돌아 가면 대부분 병을 사고 집을 짓는다. 집을 짓다 돈이 보채라면 공작을 위한 기둥만 남겨 놓는다. 가족을 누군가가 또 이주노동자로 간다면, 원하는 집을 다 지을 수 있을 것이다.
When migrant workers from Nagai they leave and build houses when going back home. And when they run out of budget, the houses are often left unfinished showing pillars. If another family member would go abroad, the construction will be completed.

Figure 1.17. Mixrice, *Untitled*, part of *Return*, 2006. Chromatic photographic print. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.



선물 개봉, 부트왈
Opening the presents, Butwal

Figure 1.18. Mixrice, *Opening the Present, Butwal*, part of *Return*, 2006. Chromatic photographic print. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.



Figure 1.19. Mixrice, *Messages to Dhaka* (frontispiece and page 1), part of *Return*. 2006. A seven-page black-and-white comic strip printed in a book (p. 14–20). Art Space Pool Archive, Seoul, South Korea. Photo by the author, 2018.



Figure 1.20. Mixrice, *Messages to Seoul* (left: frontispiece, right: p. 5), part of *Return*, 2006. Black-and-white comic strip, originally printed in the book (p. 23–31). Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.



Figure 1.21. Mahbub Alum (dir.), *Returnee*, 2009. 22 minute film. Video still of Masum and his family, from KMDb (Korean Movie Database), accessed December 1, 2021.



Figure 1.22. Mixrice, part of *The Illegal Lives*, 2010. A multimedia installation including stage props, photographs, and video documentation of the stage play “The Illegal Lives,” directed by Jahangir Allam, dimensions variable. Image from Kim Miryun, “21-segi sanghwangjuui yesul?” (Twenty-first century art of the Situationists International?), *Newsmin*, July 6, 2013.



Figure 1.23. Mixrice, *500 Men, Games and Free Gifts: 1 pack of Q-tips, 1 pack of napkins, 1 pen, 1kg of sugar, 1 photo frame and 1 pack of potatoes*, 2010 and 2018. Single-channel video, (7min 40sec), 4 light panels, dimensions variable. Image from Park, “Our Rootless Journey of Life, Mixrice,” *The Artro*. May 28, 2019.

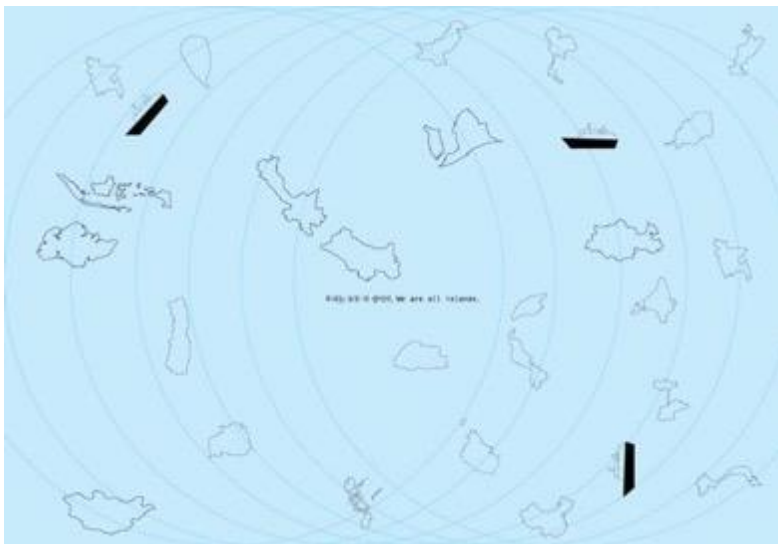
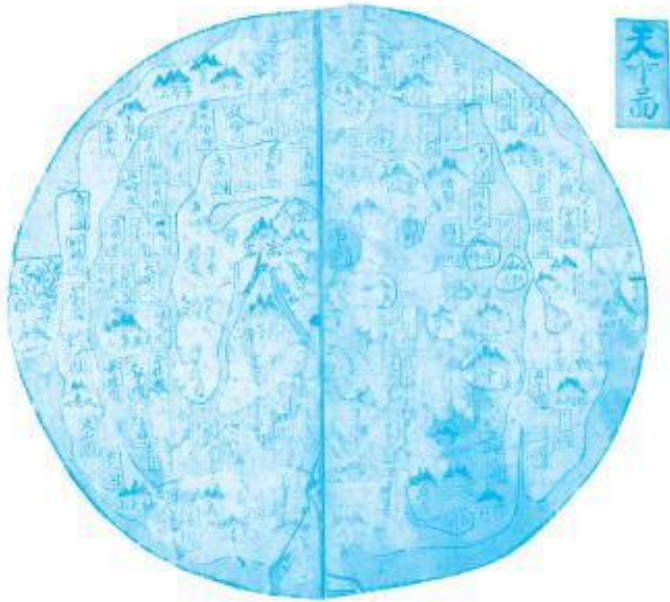


Figure 1.24a and 1.24b. Mixrice, *The Imaginary Map*, part of *Return*, 2006. C-print on paper, 21.0 x 29.7 cm. Image from the artist website, accessed November 3, 2017.

Top (Fig. 1.24a): the inside. The map was folded twice and stacked on the bench. The Chinese characters on top right translates to “the map under the sky” or “the map of the world.”

Bottom (Fig. 1.24b): the cover page. The Korean and English text in the middle: “We are all islands.”

Chapter 2.



Figure 2.1. Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, *Vietnam Pieta*, 2016. Bronze sculpture on marble podium, 90 × 90 × 180 cm. Gangjeong Peace Center, Jeju Island, Korea. Photo by the author. The letters inscribed in the podium mean *Vietnam Pieta* and the last lullaby (*Lời ru cuối cùng* in Vietnamese, *Majimak jajang-ga* in Korean).

Figure 2.2. IM Heung-soon, installation view of two videos: (left) *Short Dream I II*, 2008/2009. Photo-based single-channel video, 14 min 26 sec; (right) *Reborn II – One Day a Man Came to Me Claiming Himself as a Reincarnation of a Fallen Soldier*, 2018. At the exhibition *Voiceless – Return of the Foreclosed*, SeMA. Photo by Kim Sang-tae. Image available at the artist blog, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://blog.naver.com/imheungsoon/221302072624>.

Figure 2.3. IM Heung-soon, frontispiece of *Ireon Jeonjaeng (This War)*, 2009. Book, 25 × 16.6 cm. Image from Asia Art Archive, accessed February 12, 2022, <https://aaa.org.hk/en/collections/search/library/im-heung-soon-this-war>.

Figure 2.4. IM Heung-Soon, *The Miracle of the Han River*, 2008/2018. Video installation aluminum plate, paper box, wire, dimensions variable. Installation view at SeMA 2018. Image available at the artist's website, accessed December 1, 2021, <http://imheungsoon.com/the-miracle-of-the-han-river/>.



Figure 2.5. The image of the Santa Claus installation at Đà Nẵng Air Base. *Vietnam War Diary 1964–1975*, ed. Chris Bishop (London: Hamlyn, 1990), 139. Photo by the author.

Figure 2.6. IM Heung-Soon, *The Donuts Diagram A. part of a series of Donuts Diagrams*, 2008. (left) Surveys on Dispatching Troops (privates) to the Vietnam War in 1989; (right) Reasons for participating in war (in interviews of 2004–2008). C-print, 87.5 × 122 cm. Image available at IM, “Dear Heung-Soon.” *Trans Asia Photography Review* 3, issue 1 (Fall 2012), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0003.102>.

Figure 2.7. IM Heung-Soon, *The Donuts Diagram B. part of a series of Donuts Diagrams*, 2008. c-print, 87.5 × 122 cm. (left): Spatial distribution of the war wounds. After the Fierce Tiger’s Operation 5 in the Vietnam War, 1966; (right): Reasons for participation in the Vietnam War (in interviews of 2004–2008). Image available at IM, “Dear Heung-Soon.” *Trans Asia Photography Review* 3, issue 1 (Fall 2012), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0003.102>.

Figure 2.8. IM Heung-Soon, *Short Dream I II*, 2008/2009. Photo-based single-channel video, 14min 26sec. Image available at Àngels Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain, accessed December 1, 2021, <http://angelsbarcelona.com/en/artists/im-heung-soon/projects/short-dream/521>.

Figure 2.9a. IM Heung-Soon, *Reincarnation*, 2015. 2 channel video installation, HD video, 23min 34sec. Installation view at MoMA PS1, 2015. Image available at Àngels Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain, accessed December 1, 2021, <http://angelsbarcelona.com/en/artists/im-heung-soon/projects/reincarnation/514>. (The caption reads: “We will listen to your story and send it to Korea, Ma’am”)

Figure 2.9b. IM Heung-Soon, *Reincarnation*, 2015. 2 channel video installation, HD video, 23min 34sec. Video still. Image available at the artist’s website, accessed December 1, 2021, <http://imheungsoon.com/reincarnation/>. (The caption reads: “You know, sometimes ghosts appear in those places”)

Figure 2.9c. IM Heung-Soon, *Reincarnation*, 2015. 2 channel video installation, HD video, 23 min 34 sec. Video still. Image available at the artist’s website, accessed December 1, 2021, <http://imheungsoon.com/reincarnation/>. (A Vietnamese woman lies in bed after an interview with the activists.)



Figure 2.10. Michelangelo, *Pietà*, 1497. Marble sculpture, 69 × 76.7 × 174 cm. St. Peter's Basilica, Rome. Image from Wikimedia Commons, accessed February 12, 2022.



Figure 2.11. Käthe Kollwitz, *Pietà*, 1938. Patinated bronze sculpture, 36.8 × 28 × 39.1 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Canada. One of a series of bronze casts titled *Pietà*, 1937–1939. Image from the National Gallery of Canada, accessed February 24, 2022.



Figure 2.12. Tomiyama Taeko, *Gwangju Pieta*, 1980. Lithograph, dimensions unknown. Gwangju Museum of Art, Gwangju, South Korea. Image from Park Ho-jae, “Il Jalgaga Saegin ‘5wol Gwangju’ <Tomiyama Taeko> Jeon Yeollyeo” (Opening of the exhibition *Tomiyama Taeko*, the Japanese artist’s prints of “Gwangju in May”), *Pressian*, December 21, 2018.



Figure 2.13. Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, *Pyeonghwaui Sonyeosang* (Statue of a Girl of Peace), 2011. Bronze sculpture on the marble podium, 180 × 160 × 136 cm. Original statue, studio view before installation. Photo courtesy of the artists.



Figure 2.14. Kim Seokyeong and Kim Eunsung, *Vietnam Pietà*, 2015. Installation views. Bronze sculpture, 32 × 32 × 50 cm. The Đà Nẵng Museum, Đà Nẵng, Vietnam. Photo by Kwon Hyun Woo, 2016. Image from Kwon Hyun Woo's facebook, accessed December 4, 2018.



Figure 2.15. Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, *Vietnam Pietà*, 2015. Bronze sculpture, 32 × 32 × 50 cm. The Đà Nẵng Museum, Đà Nẵng, Vietnam. Photo by the author, 2019.



Figure 2.16. Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, *Vietnam Pietà*, 2015. Bronze sculpture, 32 × 32 × 50 cm. The War and Women's Human Rights Museum, Seoul, South Korea. Photo by the author, 2019.

Chapter 3.



Figure 3.1. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies: Workshop #7 How to Live Together and Sharing the Unknown* (hereafter, *Provisional Studies*), 2017. Action and workshops, installation of the video documentation in four rooms, booklet, installation of photographic prints (dimensions variable). Photo by Henning Rogge, the 2017 Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany, Image from *Skulptur Projekte Archiv*, 2017.



Figure 3.2. Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)*, 2018. 3 single-channel video on monitor (colour, sound), 3 single-channel video projection (colour, sound), two-channel video on monitors (colour, no sound), inkjet print on paper, UV-ink on craft paper, inkjet on wallpaper, movable walls, secondsashand sofas, carpet. Dimensions variable. Production photo. Image from Aoyama Meguro, Tokyo, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 3.3. Kenji Yanobe, *Sun Child*, 2011. Fibreglass reinforced plastic, steel, neon, others. 620 × 444 × 263 cm. Fukushima, Japan. Image from Taylor Dafoe, “This Giant Sculpture of a Child in a Hazmat Suit Was Meant to Inspire Hope—Then People Got Creeped Out,” *Artnet*, August 30, 2018.



Figure 3.4. Takashi Murakami, *500 Arahat*, 2012. (detail) Acrylic on canvas mounted on board 302 x 10,000 cm. Private collection. Image from Daisuke Kikuchi, “Takashi Murakami: The 500 Arhats,” *Japan Times*, November 3, 2015.



Figure 3.5. Takashi Murakami, *Lion Peering into Death's Abyss*, 2015. Acrylic, gold leaf and platinum leaf and gold on canvas mounted on aluminum frame, 150 × 300 cm. Image from “Leo Looks into the Abyss of Death,” *Arthive*, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 3.6. Koki Tanaka, *A Piano Played by Five Pianists at Once (First Attempt)*, 2012. Collaboration and video documentation (57 min). The University Art Galleries, University of California, Irvine, 2012. Video displayed in Tanaka's exhibition *Abstract Speaking: Sharing Uncertainty and Collective Acts*, the Japan Pavilion, the 55th Venice Biennale, 2013. Image from the University Art Galleries, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 3.7. Koki Tanaka, *A Haircut by 9 Hairdressers at Once (Second Attempt)*, 2010. Production still. The project was produced for the “Nothing related, but something could be associated,” Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, 2010. Video displayed in Tanaka’s exhibition *Abstract Speaking: Sharing Uncertainty and Collective Acts*, the Japan Pavilion, the 55th Venice Biennale, 2013. Image from “Koki Tanaka,” Tanaka, Aoyama Meguro, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 3.8. Koki Tanaka, *A Pottery Produced by 5 Potters at Once (Silent Attempt)*, 2013. Production still. Video produced for *Abstract Speaking: Sharing Uncertainty and Collective Acts*, the Japan Pavilion, the 55th Venice Biennale, 2013. Image from “Koki Tanaka,” Aoyama Meguro, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 3.9. *Architecture Possible Here? Home-for-all*, 2012. The Japan Pavilion, the 13th Venice Architecture Biennale. Curated by Toyo Ito, with participation of architects Kumiko Inui, Sou Fujimoto, and Akihisa Hirata and photographer Naoya Hatakeyama. Photo by Nico Saieh. Image from Basulto, “Venice Biennale 2012.”



Figure 3.10. *Architecture Possible Here? Home-for-all*, 2012. (Study model detail) The Japan Pavilion, the 13th Venice Architecture Biennale. Curated by Toyo Ito, with participation of architects Kumiko Inui, Sou Fujimoto, and Akihisa Hirata and photographer Naoya Hatakeyama. Photo by David Basulto, ArchDaily. Image from Basulto, “Venice Biennale 2012.”



Figure 3.11. Koki Tanaka, *Abstract Speaking—Sharing Uncertainty and Collective Acts*, 2013. Installation view, the Japan Pavilion, the 55th Venice Biennale. Photo by the artist. Image from “Koki Tanaka,” Aoyama Meguro, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 3.12. Koki Tanaka, *Precarious Tasks #1: Swinging a flashlight while we walk at night*, 2012. Collective acts, photo documentation. Idogaya, Yokohama, September 29, 2012. Image from “Koki Tanaka,” Aoyama Meguro, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 3.13. Koki Tanaka, *A Behavioural Statement (or, An Unconscious Protest)*, 2013. Collective acts, photo documentation. The Japan Foundation, Tokyo, October 5, 2012. Image from “Koki Tanaka,” Aoyama Meguro, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 3.14. WAWA, cover of *WAWA Newspaper* vol. 16 (September 2016), the final edition.

Image from Woo, “United to be Dispersed,” *Archives of Asian Art* 69, no. 2 (2019): 61.



Figure 3.15. Ikeda Manabu, *Meltdown*, 2013. Acrylic ink on paper mounted on board, 122 x 122 cm. Chazen Museum of Art, Madison, WI, United States. Image from the Chazen Museum of Art, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 3.16. Akira Tsuboi, *The Morning Sun That Should Have Come*, 2011. Oil on wood panel, collage. 117 x 191 cm. Image from the artist’s website, accessed February 18, 2022.



Figure 3.17. Koki Tanaka, *Dialogue in the Public (JR Yamanote Line, Tokyo)*, 2012. Public talk, documentary leaflet, duration: about one hour while a train goes around Tokyo, October 30, 2012. Photo by Keigo Saito. Image from Tanaka, *Selected Projects Vers. 1*, 40.



Figure 3.18. Hi Red Center, *Yamanote Incident*, 1962. Happening. Photograph by Murai Tokuji. Image from Claudia Siefen-Leitich, “About Hi-Red Center and the Yamanote Line Incident,” *Desistfilm*, April 11, 2020.



Figure 3.19. Koki Tanaka, *Dialogue in the Public (JR Yamanote Line, Tokyo)*, 2012. (detail) Public talk, documentary leaflet, duration: about one hour while a train goes around Tokyo, October 30, 2012. Photo by Keigo Saito. Image from Tanaka, *Selected Projects Vers. 1*, 40.



Figure 3.20. Koki Tanaka, *Untitled*, 2007. Action, photo documentation. Fourteen-metre raft made from scrap materials. Participants: Ken Sasaki, Motoi Murabayashi, and Koki Tanaka. Image from “Koki Tanaka,” Aoyama Meguro, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 3.21. *The Play*, *Current of Contemporary Art*, 1969. Happening. Styrofoam raft. Yodo River, July 20, 1969. Photo by Higuchi Shigeru. Image from Mark Jarnes, “The Play Since 1967: Beyond Unknown Currents,” *Japan Times*, October 18, 2016.



Figure 3.22. Aerial view of the Aegidiimarkt, Münster. Photo by Christian Wolff, 2017, Image from Google Street View, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 3.23. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Photographic documentation of workshop Day 1. Cooking Wartime Recipes. An empty shop, Aegidiimarkt, Münster, Germany. Image courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3.24. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Photographic documentation of workshop Day 1–2. Overnight Stay at Aegidiimarkt. Gym, Aegidiimarkt, Münster, Germany. Image courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3.25. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Photographic documentation of workshop Day 2 (Rolf and JoAnn filming Ahmad's lecture). Dialogue about Globalization and Community with Ahmad Alajlan. Gym, Aegidiimarkt, Münster, Germany. Image courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3.26. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Photographic documentation of workshop Day 3. How to React (Politically), facilitated by Kai van Eikels. Parkhaus Aegidiimarkt, Münster, Germany. Video still from Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017, accessed May 16, 2021.



Figure 3.27a (left) and 3.27b (right). Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Photographic documentation of workshop Day 8. Interview in a Car, facilitated by Andrew Maerkle, Parkhaus Aegidiimarkt, Münster, Germany. Images courtesy of the artist.

18a. Andrew gives a talk about the nature of interview in the car park.

18b. Isa and Anna conduct an interview in a car.



Figure 3.28. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Photographic documentation of the workshop Day 8. Reflective Dialogue on How to Live Together. An empty shop, Aegidiimarkt, Münster, Germany. Image courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3.29. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Installation view, Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany, 2017. Photo by the author.



Figure 3.30. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Installation view, Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany, 2017. Photo courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3.31. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Installation view, Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany, 2017. Photo courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3.32. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Installation view, Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany. Photo courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3.33. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Installation view, Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany. Photo courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3.34. Koki Tanaka, *Provisional Studies*, 2017. Installation view in the forecourt, Skulptur Projekte Münster, Germany. Photo courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3.35a and 3.35b. Suzanne Lacy, Annice Jacoby, and Chris Johnson, *The Roof Is on Fire*, 1993–1994. Performance with 200 students, Oakland, CA. Image from the artist website, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 3.36. Hi Red Center, *Shelter Plan*, 1964. Happening, Imperial Hotel, Tokyo. Selected video stills by Motoharu Jonouchi, video transferred from 16 mm film. Namjun Paik and Yoko Ono being measured and observed by Hi Red Center artists. The Nagoya City Art Museum, Japan. Image from Midori Yoshimoto, "Fluxus Nexus: Fluxus in New York and Japan," *Post*, July 9, 2013.



Chapter 1: Two Letters
Reading 1: International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965)
 Single-channel video on monitor (color, sound)
 24:09 mins



Chapter 2: Situation
 Single-channel video on monitor (color, sound)
 14:36 mins



Reading 2: Provisional disposition allegation case of prohibition for hate speech (2016)

Chapter 3: Kawasaki
Reading 3: Resolution on the elimination of hate speech (2016)
Reading 4: Rabat Plan of Action (2012)
 Single-channel video projection (color, sound)
 22:15 mins



Chapter 4: Housenka, Arakawa River
 Single-channel video projection (color, sound)
 19:44 mins



Chapter 5: Night
 Single-channel video projection (color, sound)
 19:35 mins



Epilogue: Reflective Bar
Reading 5: Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)
 Single-channel video on monitor (color, sound)
 18:33 mins



Appendix: Day off
 Two-channel video on monitors (color, no sound)
 03:58:29 mins (total duration)

Figure 3.37. Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)*, 2018. Five chapters, an Epilogue, and an Appendix. Image from “Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)*,” Migros Museum of Fine Art in Zurich, Switzerland, 2018. Exhibition brochure.



Figure 3.38. Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories*, 2018. Installation view of chapter 2 video, with enlarged photographic print of a Zainichi Korean school mounted on a movable wall. Migros Museum of Fine Art in Zurich, Switzerland, 2018. Image courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3.39. Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories*, 2018. Production still from single-channel film, 4K, 16:9, with colour and sound, 78 minutes. Image from “Koki Tanaka: *Vulnerable Histories* (A Road Movie), Pia Arke, Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, Bouchra Khalili, Alexander Ugay: *Dust Clay Stone*,” *e-flux*, October 28, 2020.



Figure 3.40. Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories*, 2018. Family photographs installed on seven movable walls. Migros Museum of Fine Art in Zurich, Switzerland. Image courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3.41. Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories*, 2018. Installation view of Letters from Woohi to Christian and from Christian to Woohi. Migros Museum of Fine Art, Zurich. Image courtesy of the artist.



Figure 3.42. The cover of Koki Tanaka et al. *Vulnerable Histories (An Archive)*, 2018. Image from “Koki Tanaka, *Vulnerable Histories (An Archive)*,” JRP Editions, accessed February 16, 2022.

Conclusion



Figure 4.1. Mixrice, *Underground Tunnel*, 2010. Dialogue log, acrylic wall drawing, dimensions variable. Image from the artist website, accessed February 20, 2022.



Figure 4.2. Mixrice, *Underground Tunnel*, 2010. Dialogue log, acrylic wall drawing, dimensions variable. Image from Mixrice et al. *Badly Flattened Ground* (Seoul: Unknown publisher, 2010), 94.



Figure 4.3. Kim Seokyung and Kim Eunsung, *Pyeonghwai Sonyeosang (Statue of a Girl of Peace)*, 2011. Colour on glass-reinforced fibre, 180 × 160 × 136 cm. Aichi Triennale, Nagoya, Japan, 2019. Photo by the artists. Image from Daylor Dafoe, “Facing Public Threats Over a Sculpture, Japan’s Aichi Triennale Censors Its Own Exhibition About Censorship,” *Artnet*, August 5, 2019.



Figure 4.4. Koki Tanaka, *Assembly*, extended project of *Abstracted/Family*, 2019. Performative event. Toyota Municipal Museum of Art, Nagoya, Japan. Aichi Triennale 2019. Photo courtesy of the artist.

Bibliography

- “2006 Soejiyeok Saenghwal-hwangyeong Gaeseoneul wihan Gonggongmisul Saeob Pyeonggabogoseo” (2006 the public art projects to enhance living condition of marginalized local communities: Art in City Project 2006 — evaluation report). Seoul: Korea Arts Management Service, 2007. In Korean.
- Adorno, Theodor W. *Prisms*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, (1963) 1983.
- “Aegidiimarkt in Münster,” Stadtpanoramen, June 2001.
<https://www.stadtpanoramen.de/muenster/aegidiimarkt.html>.
- Afro-Asian Networks Research Collective. “Manifesto.” *Radical History Review* 131. May 2018: 176–82.
- Agongne. “Beteunam Sahoejeong Gieom A-MAP.” (Social enterprise for fair-trading in Vietnam, A-MAP). *Asia Fair Trading Network* (blog) February 19, 2014.
https://m.blog.naver.com/PostView.naver?isHttpsRedirect=true&blogId=afn_01&logNo=150185428369. In Korean.
- Ahmed, Sara. *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 3012.
- Ahn, Yonsun. “Korean ‘Comfort Women’ and Military Sexual Slavery in World War II.” PhD diss., University of Warwick, UK, 1999.
- _____. “Together and Apart: Transnational Women’s Activism in the “Comfort Women” Campaign in South Korea and Japan.” *Comparative Korean Studies* 23, no. 1 (2015): 93–116.
- _____. *Whose Comfort? Body, Sexuality and Identities of Korean “Comfort Women” and Japanese Soldiers during WWII*. Singapore: World Scientific, 2019.
- Alam, Mahbub. “Mingle in for Communication and Friendship.” Lecture at the York Centre for Asian Research (YCAR), York University, Toronto, ON. November 13, 2018.
- Alberro, Alexander. *Art After Conceptual Art*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006.
- _____. Response to “Questionnaire on ‘The Contemporary.’” Special issue, edited by Hal Foster et al., *October* 130 (Fall 2009): 55–60.
- Allam, Jahangir, and Mixrice, “The Thing That Makes Us Move.” Mixrice et al. *Badly Flattened Ground*. Seoul: Unknown publisher, 2010, 74.
- “Announcement by Foreign Ministers of Japan and the Republic of Korea at the Joint Press Occasion.” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan’s official website. December 28, 2015.
https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/na/kr/page4e_000364.html.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Andrews, Julia F. “Traditional Painting in New China: Guohua and the Anti-Rightist Campaign.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 49, no. 3. (August 1990): 555–77.
- Andrews, Julia F., and Kuiyi Shen. *The Art of Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
- Andrieu, Kora. ““Sorry for the Genocide”: How Public Apologies Can Help Promote National Reconciliation.” *Millennium Journal of International Studies* 38, no. 1 (2009): 1–22.
- Angeles, Leonora C., and Gerald Pratt. “Empathy and Entangled Engagements: Critical-Creative Methodologies in Transnational Spaces.” *GeoHumanities* 3, no. 2 (2017): 269–78.
- Anreus, Alejandro. “Los Tres Grandes: Ideologies and Styles.” In *Mexican Muralism: A Critical History*, edited by Alejandro Anreus, Robin Adele Greeley, Leonard Folgarait, 37–55.

- Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
- Arai, Andrea G. “‘The Wild Child’ of 1990s Japan.” In *Japan after Japan*, edited by Tomiko Yoda and Harry Harootunian, 216–38. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Armstrong, Charles K. “Juche and North Korea’s Global Aspirations.” Working Paper #1. *North Korea International Documentation Project*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2009.
- “Artists Decry Censorship of Aichi Triennale, Demand Removal of Their Works.” *Artforum*, August 13, 2019. <https://www.artforum.com/news/artists-decrying-censorship-of-aichi-triennale-demand-removal-of-their-works-80480>.
- “Atonement Project.” *Digital Museum: The Comfort Women Issue and the Asian Women’s Fund*. 2007. Accessed June 22, 2021. <https://awf.or.jp/e3/index.html>.
- Ash, Ian Thomas. “Imperial Times: The Wright Imperial, part 2.” *Imperial Hotel*. October 2017. https://www.imperialhotel.co.jp/e/our_world/column/the_wright_imperial_2.html.
- Association of Women Artists (AWA). “Yeoseong-yesul-in-yeondae Misulgye Y Seonghuilong Sageon-e Dehan Ibjangmun” (AWA’s statement on the Y-sexual harassment case in the art world). Facebook, June 28, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/speakout.awa/posts/2006501869493183>.
- Avenell, Simon. “From Kobe to Tōhoku: The Potential and The Peril of a Volunteer Infrastructure.” In *Natural Disaster and Nuclear Crisis in Japan: Response and Recovery after Japan’s 3/11*, edited by Jeff Kingston, 53–77. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Bae, Ji-sook. “Arsonist Blames President Roh.” *Korea Times*. February 14, 2008. https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2008/02/117_18955.html.
- Bae, Myungji. “The Full-scale Development of Video Art: Korean Video Art Since the 1990s.” Translated by Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon. In *Korean Art 1900–2020*, by Bae Myungji et al. Seoul: MMCA, forthcoming.
- Baek, Ji-sook. “Dongsidae Hanguk Daeangongganui Jwapyo” (Constellation of alternative space in contemporary Korean art). *Wolganmisul* (Art monthly). February 2004, 48. In Korean.
- Baik, Tae-ung. “Justice Incomplete: The Remedies for the Victims of the Jeju April Third Incidents.” In *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The Korean Experience*, edited by Soon-Won Park, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daqing Yang, 94–113. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Balandier, George. “Le ‘Tiers monde’: Sous-développement et développement.” *Population* (French Edition) 11, no. 4 (1956): 737–41.
- Barthes, Roland. *How to Live Together: Notes for a Lecture Course and Seminar at the Collège de France (1976–1977)*. Translated by Kate Briggs. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.
- Basulto, David. “Venice Biennale 2012: Architecture. Possible Here? Home-for-all: Japan Pavilion.” *ArchDaily*. August 30, 2012. <https://www.archdaily.com/268426/venice-biennale-2012-architecture-possible-here-home-for-all-japan-pavilion>.
- Bay, Kyung-yoong. “From Seoul to Saigon: Gook Meets Charlie.” In *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The Korean Experience*, edited by Soon-Won Park, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daqing Yang, 114–30. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Beck, Ulrich. *The Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1992.
- Beck, Ulrich, and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim. *Individualization*. London: Sage, 2002.
- Bellamy, Alex J. “The Ethics of Terror Bombing: Beyond Supreme Emergency.” *Journal of*

- Military Ethics* 7, no. 1 (2008): 41–65.
- Belting, Hans. “Contemporary Art as Global Art: A Critical Estimate.” In *The Global Art World: Audiences, Markets and Museums*, edited by Hans Belting and Andrea Buddensieg, 38–73. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2009.
- Bennett, Jill. *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, (1994) 2004.
- Birrell, Anne. *The Classic of Mountains and Seas*. London: Penguin Books, 1999.
- Bishop, Chris. ed. *Vietnam War Diary 1964–1975*. London: Hamlyn, 1990.
- Bishop, Claire. “Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics.” *October* 110 (Fall 2004): 51–79.
- _____. “The Social Turn: Collaboration and Its Discontents.” *Artforum* 44, no. 6 (February 2006). <https://www.artforum.com/print/200602/the-social-turn-collaboration-and-its-discontents-10274>.
- _____. *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*. London and New York: Verso, 2012.
- _____. *Radical Museology: Or, What’s “Contemporary” in Museums of Contemporary Art?* 2nd ed. London: Koenig Books, 2014.
- Black Lives Matter Canada’s official website. Accessed February 20, 2022. <https://www.blacklivesmatter.ca/>.
- Black Lives Matter’s official website. Accessed February 20, 2022. <https://blacklivesmatter.com/>.
- Boal, Augusto. *The Theatre of the Oppressed*. Translated by Charles A. and Maria-Odilia Lean-McBride. New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1985.
- Boler, Megan. “The Risks of Empathy: Interrogating Multiculturalism’s Gaze.” *Cultural Studies* 22, no. 2 (1997): 253–73.
- Boone, M. Elizabeth. *Spain and America at the World’s Fairs and Centennial Celebrations, 1876–1915*, University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2019.
- Bourne, Randolph S. “Trans-National America.” *Atlantic Monthly*, no. 118 (July 1916): 86–97.
- Bourriaud, Nicolas. *Relational Aesthetics*. Translated by Simon Pleasance and Fronza Woods. Dijon: Les Presses du Réel. 2002.
- Boxill, Bernard R. “The Morality of Reparation.” In *Today’s Moral Problems*, 2nd ed., edited by Richard A. Wasserstrom. New York: Macmillan, 1979.
- Brecht, Bertolt. “Conversation about being Forced into Empathy.” In *Brecht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic*, edited and translated by John Willett, 270–72. New Delhi: Radha Krishna, 1978.
- Brook, Timothy. “Tokyo Judgment and the Rape of Nanking.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (August 2001): 673–700.
- Brown, Adrienne Maree. *We Will Not Cancel Us: And Other Dreams of Transformative Justice*. Chicago, CA: AK Press, 2020.
- Bryan-Wilson, Julia. *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009.
- “Bubbles / Debris: Art of the Heisei Period 1989–2019.” *Kyoto City Kyocera Museum of Art*. Accessed December 8, 2021. https://kyotocity-kyocera.museum/en/exhibition/20210123-0411#tab_cont01.

- “Buddhist Painting—Artistic Masterpiece of Korean Buddhist Art.” *Antique Alive* (blog). Accessed April 14, 2021. http://www.antiquealive.com/Blogs/Korean_Buddhist_Painting.html.
- Buffenstein, Alyssa. “Skulptur Projekte Münster 2017 Announces List of Participating Artists.” *Artnet*, February 23, 2017, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/skulptur-projekte-munster-2017-artists-869663>.
- Chae, Eun-young, and Yang Chulmo. “Yangcheolmo <Maseok Iyagi> Yesulgamdok” (Yang Chulmo, the director of *Maseok Story*). *Art Council of Korea Webzine*, no. 3 (2002): 56–61. http://www.arko.or.kr/zine/artspaper2008_03/pdf/056.pdf. In Korean.
- Chae, Young-gil. “Damunhwasaehoe Byeonhwagwajeongui Jaehaeseok Ijumin Juchewa Isan Gongnonjangui Hyeongseong” (Rethinking multicultural social change: Immigrant agents and diasporic public sphere in Korea). *Eollongwa Sahoe* (Media and society) 17, no. 2 (2009): 49–86. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Chang, Iris. *The Rape of Nanking: The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*. New York: Basic Books, 1997.
- “Chim↑Pom.” Taguchi Art Collection. Accessed February 15, 2022. <https://taguchiartcollection.jp/en/artists/chim-pom/>.
- Cho, Ji-hoon. “Mixrice — ‘Ijue daehan kkeunjilgin jilmun’ (Mixrice — the persistent questions on migration). *Independent Film Magazine: Indie-Alt-Zine* 42 (December 2012): 94–104. In Korean.
- Cho, Jieun. “Annyeonghaseyo. Mikseuraiseu Jojieunimnida” (Greetings, this is Cho Jieun of Mixrice) Facebook, June 30, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/jieun.cho.986>. In Korean.
- Cho, Younghun, and Cho Younghun. *The Yellow Pacific: Multiple Modernities and East Asia*. Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2020. In Korean.
- Choi, Chungmoo, “The Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory: South Korea.” *Positions Asia Critique* 1, no. 1 (1993): 77–102.
- Choi, Ha-young. “Moon’s Apology Ignored in Vietnam.” *The Korea Times*. November 15, 2017. https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2017/11/120_239305.html.
- Choi, Haeree. “Jogukgwa Minjogeu Wihan Chum (Dance for the fatherland and the people of the nation).” *Minjog Mihag Yeonguso Symposium* (Research association for the national art aesthetics symposium), May 24, 2018. In Korean.
- Choi, Jong-il, “Kishida il-oesang, Yesan Churyeonedo Gukga Baesang Anida Gangjo” (Kishida Japanese foreign minister emphasized “no national reparation” even though using the national budget). *News1*. December 28, 2015. <https://www.news1.kr/articles/?2528347>.
- Choi, Sooran. “The South Korean ‘Meta-Avant-Garde,’ 1961–1993: Subterfuge as Radical Agency.” PhD diss., The City University of New York, 2018.
- Choi, Taeman. “1980nyondae Hanguksaheowa Minjungmisul: Daejungsobisahweui Sigakimijiwa Bipanjok Riolrijeumui Jaego” (Korean Society of the 1980s and Minjung Misul: Visual images of mass consumer society and re-thinking of critical realism). *Misulriron-gwa hyeonjang* (Art theory and field) 7 (2009): 7–32. In Korean with English title.
- Choi, Yeul. “1980nyondae Minjungmisulrone Giwongwa Hyeongsong” (The origin and formation of Korean public art theories in the 1980s). *Misulriron-gwa Hyeonjang* (Art theories and scenes) 7 (June 2009): 35–60. In Korean.
- Choi, Yeul, and Choi Taeman. *Minjungmisul 15nyeon: 1980–1994 (Minjung art fifteen years: 1980–1994)*. Seoul: Samgwa kkum, 1994. In Korean.

- Chong, Doryun. "Reviews, Yokohama Triennale 2011." *Artforum* 50, no. 3 (November 2011): 266.
- _____. *Tokyo 1955–1970: A New Avant-Garde*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012.
- Chouliaraki, Lilie. *The Spectatorship of Suffering*. London: Sage, 2006.
- Chun, Jin-sung. "Eogabjeog 'Yeogsa'e Daehan Jaehyeon-ui Jeongchihag" (The politics of representation on repressive 'history'). *Gyosusinmun* (Professor news). December 3, 2006. <https://www.kyosu.net/news/articleView.html?idxno=12100>.
- Chung, Shinyoung. "IM Heung-soon." *Artforum* 58, no. 9 (May/June 2020): <https://www.artforum.com/print/reviews/202005/im-heung-soon-82891>.
- Clifford, James. "Museums as Contact Zones." In *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, 188–219. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Clifford, James. "Travelling Cultures." In *Cultural Studies*, edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler, 96–116. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Coomaraswamy, Radhika. "Report of the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, its Causes and Consequences, Accordance with Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1994/45." *UN Commission on Human Rights*, distributed on January 4, 1996. <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/commission/country52/53-add1.htm>.
- Craps, Stef. "Linking Legacies of Loss: Traumatic Histories and Cross-Cultural Empathy in Caryl Phillips's Higher Ground and The Nature of Blood." *Studies in the Novel* 40, no. 1 (2008): 191–202.
- Dai Nihon Yūbenkai Kōdansha. *Taishō Daishinsai daikasai (The Great Taishō Earthquake and Conflagration)*. Tokyo: Dai Nihon Yūbenkai Kōdansha, 1923. In Japanese.
- Dafoe, Taylor. "This Giant Sculpture of a Child in a Hazmat Suit Was Meant to Inspire Hope—Then People Got Creeped Out." *Artnet*. August 30, 2018. <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/fukushima-sculpture-sun-child-1340366>
- _____. "Facing Public Threats over a Sculpture, Japan's Aichi Triennale Censors Its Own Exhibition about Censorship." *Artnet*. August 5, 2019. <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/censorship-aichi-triennale-2019-1617214>.
- De Ceuster, Koen. "The Nation Exorcised: The Historiography of Collaboration in South Korea." *Korean Studies* 25, no. 2 (2002): 207–42.
- Debord, Guy. *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967). Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. New York: Zone Books, 1994.
- _____. "Toward a Situationist International" (1981). In *Situationist International: Anthology*. Revised and expanded edited by Ken Knabb, 38–43. Translated by Ken Knabb. Berkeley, CA: Bureau of Public Secrets, 2006.
- Derrida, Jacques. *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness* (1997). Translated by Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Deutsche, Rosalind. *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996.
- "Diego Rivera, *History of Mexico: Mexico Today and Tomorrow*, 1935." *Artstore*. February 12, 2022, https://library-artstor-org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/#/asset/ADETROITIG_10313471950.
- Dower, John. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999.
- Dudden, Alexis. "The Ongoing Disaster." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 71, no. 2 (May 2012): 345–59.
- Fackler, Martin. "No Apology for Sex Slavery, Japan's Prime Minister Says." *New York Times*.

- March 6, 2007, A9–10.
- Favell, Adrian. *Before and After Superflat: A Short History of Japanese Contemporary Art 1990–2011*. Hong Kong: Blue Kingfisher, 2012.
- Felshin, Nina. *But Is It Art? The Spirit of Art As Activism*. Seattle: Bay Press, 1995.
- Foster, Hal. “The Artist as Ethnographer?” In *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology*, edited by George E. Marcus and Fred R. Meyers, 302–09. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- _____. *The Return of the Real: The Avant-Garde at the End of the Century*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996.
- Foucault, Michel. *Language, Counter-memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, edited by Donald F. Bouchard. Translated by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977.
- _____. “The Meaning and Evolution of the Word ‘Parrhesia’: Discourse & Truth, Problematization of Parrhesia — Six Lectures Given by Michel Foucault at the University of California at Berkeley, Oct–Nov. 1983.” *Foucault.info*. Accessed May 10, 2021. <https://foucault.info/parrhesia/foucault.DT1.wordParrhesia.en/>
- Friedrich, Jörg. *The Fire: The Bombing of Germany, 1940–1945*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Gablik, Suzy. “Connective Aesthetics.” *American Art* 6, no. 2 (Spring, 1992): 2–7.
- “*Gamno Taenghwa*.” Cultural Heritage Administration of the Republic of Korea. Accessed February 12, 2022. http://www.heritage.go.kr/heri/cul/culSelectDetail.do?s_kdcd=&s_ctcd=11&ccbaKdcd=12&ccbaAsno=12390000&ccbaCtcd=11&ccbaCpno=1121112390000&ccbaLcto=26&culPageNo=1&header=region&pageNo=2_1_1_0&returnUrl=%2Fheri%2Fcul%2FculSelectRegionList.do&assetname=&pageNo=1_1_2_0.
- Gaonkar, Dilip Parameshwar. “On Alternative Modernities.” In *Alternative Modernities*, edited by Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, 1–23. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.
- García Canclini, Néstor. *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.
- Gluck, Carol. “The Past in the Present.” In *Postwar Japan as History*, edited by Andrew Gordon, 64–95. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- González, Jennifer, and Adrienne Posner. “Facture for Change: US Activist Art Since 1950.” In *A Companion to Contemporary Art Since 1945*, edited by Amelia Jones, 212–30. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- Gramsci, Antonio. “The Formation of the Intellectual.” In *Selections from Prison Notebook* (1971), edited and translated by Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, 134–147. London: ElecBook, 1999.
- Groys, Boris. “Comrades of Time.” *e-flux* 11 (December 2009). <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/11/61345/comrades-of-time/>.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory* (1925). Translated and edited by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Han, Hae Soo. “Yang Chulmo: Mixrice — Poseuteuminjung’iraneun Mareun Silchido Jochido Anayo” (Yang Chulmo: Mixrice — I neither like or dislike the world post-Minjung). *Musulsegye* (Art world) 5 (2016): 94–96. In Korean.
- Han, Hong-gu. “Haksaleun Haksaleul Natgo...” (Massacre gives a birth to another massacre...) *Hankyoreh* 21. May 4, 2000. <http://legacy.h21.hani.co.kr/h21/data/L000424/1p944o09.html>.

- _____. “Hangukgwa Beteunam Jeonjaeng” (Korea and the Vietnam War). *Naeireul Yeoneun Yeoksa* (History that opens tomorrow) 4 (January 2001): 115–26.
- _____. “Park Chung-hee Jeonggwonui Beteunam Pabyeong-gwa Byeongyeong-gukga-hwa” (Construction of a garrison state: Korea and the Vietnam War). *Yeoksa Bipyeong* (History critique) 62, no. 4. (2003): 120–39. In Korean.
- _____. “Chamjeonginyeombiwa Wilyeongbi, Geuligo Bukkeuleoum” (War memorials, memorials for the fallen, and shame). *Hankyoreh*, March 15, 2013.
https://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/society_general/578281.html
- Hanguk Jeongsindae Munje Daechaek Hyeobuihoe (Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan), *The Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies I*. Seoul: Hanul Publishing, 1993.
- Hashtag-a (artist website). Accessed February 25, 2022. <http://hashtag-a.com/>.
- Han, Tong-hyon. “Zainichi Koreans and Racism in Japan.” *Vulnerable Histories (An Archive)*, by Koki Tanaka et al., 101–109. Zurich: Migros Museum für Gegenwartskunst & JNR, 2019.
- Harootunian, Harry, and Tomiko Yoda. Introduction to *Japan after Japan*, edited by Tomiko Yoda and Harry Harootunian, 1–15. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Hartman, Geoffrey. “Tele-suffering and Testimony in the Dot Com Era.” In *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, edited by Barbie Zelizer, 111–24. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000.
- Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry Into The Origins of Cultural Change*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1990.
- Harvie, Jen. *Fair Play: Art Performance and Neoliberalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Hatano, Ayako. “Can Strategic Human Rights Litigation Complement Social Movements? A Case Study of the Movement Against Racism and Hate Speech in Japan.” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 14 (May 2019): 228–74.
- Helguera, Pablo. *Education for Socially Engaged Art*. New York: Jorge Pinto Books, 2011.
- Hirsch, Marianne. “The Generation of Postmemory.” *Poetics Today* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 103–28.
- Hite, Katherine. *Politics and the Art of Commemoration: Memorials to Struggle in Latin America and Spain*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. “Introduction: Inventing Traditions.” In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 1–14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hochschild, Arlie Russell. “Global Care Chain and Emotional Surplus Value.” *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism*, edited by Will Hutton and Anthony Giddens, 130–46. London: Jonathan Cape, 2000.
- _____. “Love and Gold.” In *Global Women: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in The Global Economy*, edited by Hans Bertram, Nancy Ehlert, 15–30. New York: Holt, 2002.
- Hong, Ji-suk. “Nomuhyeon Jeongbuwa Gonggongmisul” (Roh Moo-hyun administration and public art). *Naeireul Yeoneun Yeoksa* (History that opens tomorrow) 46 (March 2012): 217–232. In Korean.
- Hong, Kal. *Aesthetic Constructions of Korean Nationalism: Spectacle, Politics and History*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Hong, Kyung-han. “Yongmeogeodo ssan jiyeok sangjing johyeongmul” (Local symbolic installation that deserved blame). *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, October 9, 2019.
<https://www.khan.co.kr/opinion/column/article/201910092033025>. In Korean.

- Honip, Jeon. “‘Misulgye seonghuirong uihok’ Yang Chulmo jakga ‘chaegimjigetda, changjakaengwi an-hal-geot’” (Accused of sexual violence, artist Yang Chulmo said “I will discontinue creative activities”). *Hankook Ilbo*, June 19, 2020. <https://www.hankookilbo.com/News/Read/A202006191551000012>. In Korean.
- Hopson, Nathan. “Systems of Irresponsibility and Japan’s Internal Colony.” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 11, issue 52, no. 2 (December 27, 2013). <https://apjif.org/2013/11/52/Nathan-Hopson/4053/article.html>.
- Howard, Keith. *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women: Testimonies*. London: Cassell, 1995.
- Hyun, See-won. “Minjungmisului Yusangwa Poseuteu Minjungmisul” (Legacy of Minjoong art and ‘post-Minjoong art’). *Hyeondaemisulsayeongu* (Journal of History of Modern Art) 28 (December 2010): 7–39. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Hwang, Sang-cheol. “Yangminhaksal Pongno’neun Heomhan II!” (‘Exposure of civilian massacre’ is a rough work!). *Hankyoreh* 21. March 9, 2020. <http://legacy.h21.hani.co.kr/h21/data/L000228/1pau2slo.html>. In Korean.
- Ikeda, Asato. “Japan’s Haunting War Art: Contested War Memories and Art Museums.” *disClosure: A Journal of Social Theory* 18 (April 2009): 5–32.
- _____. “Ikeda Manabu, the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake, and Disaster/Nuclear Art in Japan.” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 11, issue 13, no. 2 (2013): 1–11.
- “Ikeda Manabu, *Meltdown*.” Chazen Museum of Art. Accessed February 20, 2022. <https://chazen.wisc.edu/collection/25004/meltdown/>.
- “ikkibawiKrrr.” *Documenta 15*. Accessed February 20, 2022. <https://documenta-fifteen.de/en/lumbung-members-artists/ikkibawikrrr/>.
- IM Heung-soon (artist website). n.d. Accessed May 19, 2021. <http://www.imheungsoon.com/>.
- IM, Heung-soon. *Ireon Jeonjaeng (This war)*. Anyang, South Korea: Doseochulpan Achim Midieo, 2009. In Korean and English.
- _____. “Dear Heung-Soon.” *Trans Asia Photography Review* 3, issue 1 (Fall 2012), Special issue of “The Aftereffects of War in Asia: Histories, Pictures and Anxieties.” Translated by Young Min Moon. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0003.102>.
- _____. “Voiceless Return of the Foreclosed.” IM Heung-soon (artist blog). Uploaded June 19, 2018. Accessed January 13, 2022. <https://blog.naver.com/imheungsoon/221302072624>.
- “IM Heung-Soon, *Reincarnation*, 2015.” Angels Barcelona. Accessed December 1, 2021 <http://angelsbarcelona.com/en/artists/im-heung-soon/projects/reincarnation/514>.
- “IM, Heung-soon. *Ireon Jeonjaeng*.” Asia Art Archive. Accessed February 12, 2022. <https://aaa.org.hk/en/collections/search/library/im-heung-soon-this-war>.
- “Imperial Hotel Lobby (Reconstruction),” Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation. Accessed on May 15, 2021. <https://franklloydwright.org/site/imperial-hotel-lobby-reconstruction/>.
- Indigenous Action. “Accomplices Not Allies: Abolishing the Ally Industrial Complex.” May 4, 2014. <https://www.indigenousaction.org/accomplices-not-allies-abolishing-the-ally-industrial-complex/>.
- Foundation for Justice and Remembrance’s official website, June 9, 2016. <http://foundationforjustice.org/intro>.
- Iriye, Akira. *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Pivot, 2012.
- Izumi, Mariko. “Asian Japanese State Apology, National Ethos, and the Comfort Women Reparations Debate in Japan.” *Communication Studies* 62, no. 5 (2011): 473–90.

- Jackson, Shannon. *Social Works: Performing Art, Supporting Publics*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Jacob, Mary Jane, Michael Brenson, and Eva M. Olson. *Culture in Action: A Public Art Program of Sculpture Chicago*. Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1995.
- Japan Foundation. "About the Japan Foundation." Accessed February 15, 2022, https://www.jpf.go.jp/e/about/outline/about_02.html.
- "Japan Pavilion at the 54th Venice Biennale." *e-flux*. March 14, 2011. <https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/35569/japan-pavilion-at-the-54th-venice-biennale/>.
- "Japan Pavilion at the 59th International Art Exhibition, La Biennale di Venezia in 2022," Japan Foundation. Accessed February 15, 2022. <https://www.jpf.go.jp/e/project/culture/exhibit/international/venezia-biennale/art/59/index.html>.
- "Japanese Public Chooses 'Kizuna' as Kanji of 2011." *BBC News*. December 24, 2011. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-16321999#:~:text=The%20Japanese%20word%20%22kizuna%22%2C,best%20summed%20up%20the%20year.>
- Jarnes, Mark. "The Play Since 1967: Beyond Unknown Currents." *Japan Times*, October 18, 2016. <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2016/10/18/arts/openings-outside-tokyo/play-since-1967-beyond-unknown-currents/>.
- Jenkins, Matthew D. "Natural Disasters and Political Participation: The Case of Japan and the 2011 Triple Disaster." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 19, no. 3 (2019): 361–81.
- "Jeonjaeng Ginyeom Saeopoe" (tr. war memorial institute). *All Public Information in-One*. July 13, 2021. <http://www.alio.go.kr/popReportTerm.do?apbaId=C0115&reportFormRootNo=10101>.
- Jordan, Cara M. "Joseph Beuys and Social Sculpture in the United States." PhD diss., The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2011.
- Justice for Lai Dai Han. "Who Are the Lai Dai Han?" Accessed February 24, 2022, <https://www.laidaihanjustice.org/who-are-the-lai-dai-han/>.
- "Kaempein: Bukkeureoun Yeoksae Yongseoreul Bilja" (Campaign: Let's beg forgiveness for our shameful past). *Hankyoreh 21*. October 28, 1999. <http://legacy.h21.hani.co.kr/h21/data/L991018/1p94ai0g.html>.
- Kang, Jeung-gu. "Nogeulliui Haewoneul Neomeo Beteunam Haksarui Chamhoe-ro!" (Beyond the settlement of Nogeunri, toward repentance of the Vietnam massacre!). *Yeoseonggwa Pyeonghwa* (Women and peace) 1 (September 2000): 280–91.
- Kaprow, Allan. "Assemblages, Environments and Happenings." (1966) In *The Twentieth-Century Performance Reader*, edited by Michael Huxley and Noel Witts, 261–68. London: Routledge, 2002.
- "Käthe Kollwitz Pietà." National Gallery of Canada. Accessed February 24, 2022. <https://www.gallery.ca/collection/artwork/pieta>.
- Kee, Joan. *Contemporary Korean Art: Tansaekhwa and the Urgency of Method*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.
- Kester, Grant H. "Aesthetic Evangelists: Conversion and Empowerment in Contemporary Community Art." *Afterimage* (January 1995): 5–11.
- _____. *Conversation Pieces: Community and Communication in Modern Art*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004.
- Keita, Sekou, and Helen Dempster. "Five Years Later, One Million Refugees Are Thriving in Germany." Center for Global Development, December 4, 2020.

- <https://www.cgdev.org/blog/five-years-later-one-million-refugees-are-thriving-germany>. Khatchadourian, Haig. "Compensation and Reparation as Forms of Compensatory Justice." *Metaphilosophy* 37, no. 3/4 (July 2006): 429–48.
- Ki, Hye-kyung. "Munhwa Byeondonggiui Misul Bipyeong: Misulbipyeongyeonguhoe('89~'93)-ui Hyeonsiljuuironeul Jungsimeuro" (Art criticism during the culturally turbulent times— Focusing on the realist attitude of Research Society for Art Criticism [1989–1993]). *Hanguk Geunhyeondae Misulsahak* (Journal of Korean Modern and Contemporary Art History) 25 (2013): 111–43. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Kikuchi, Daisuke. "Takashi Murakami: The 500 Arhats." *Japan Times*. November 3, 2015. <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2015/11/03/arts/openings-in-tokyo/takashi-murakami-500-arhats/>.
- Kim, Bong Jun. "Heungeul Modu Pogwalhaneun 'Sinmyeong' Iyamallo Areumdaumui Bonseongida" (Spiritual joy that embraces all excitements is the nature of the aesthetic). *Pressian*, September 13, 2021. <https://news.v.daum.net/v/20210913072105109>.
- Kim, Chang Rok. "Beopjeok Gwanjeomeseo Bon '2015 Hanil Oegyojanggwan Habui'" (A legal examination of the 2015 agreement by foreign ministers of the Republic of Korea and Japan). *Democratic Legal Studies* 60 (March 2016): 45–77. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Kim, Hong-hee et al. *Gwangju Biennale 2006: Fever Variations vol. I*. Gwangju: Gwangju Biennale Foundation, 2006. Exhibition catalogue. In Korean.
- Kim, Hyeon-joo. "Feminist Art of 1980s in Korea: Uri Botmurl Tja Exhibition." *Hyeondaemisulsayeongu* (Journal of History of Modern Art) 23, no. 6 (2008): 111–40. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Kim, Hyun-a. *Jeonjaengui Gieok, Gieogui Jeonjaeng (Memories of war, war of memories)*. Seoul: Chaekgalpi, 2002. In Korean.
- Kim, Hyun-hwa, "Park Chung-hee Jongbue Munyejungheungjongchaekkwu Hyondaemisul" (The culture and arts revival policy of president Park Chung-hee and Korean modern art). *Misulsanondan* (Art history forum) 42 (June 2016): 131–59.
- Kim, Hyung-gon. "Hangugjeonjaeng-ui Gongsiggieoggwa Jeonjaeng-ginyeomgwan" (Official memories of the Korean War and war memorials). *Hanguk Eonlon Jeongbo Hagbo* (Journal of communication & information) 40 (Winter 2007): 195–358.
- Kim, Jang-un. "Jiyeog, Gongdongche, Segye: Je 4hoe Gwangjubienalle Chocheong Gugje Wokeusyob-Gongdongchewa Misuleul Tonghae Balabon Yesulgau Insig." (Art of local relevance and globalism: Insights from the 4th Gwangju Biennale Invited Groups' International Workshop—Community and Art." *Misurirongwa Hyeonjang* (Art theories and scenes) 24 (2017): 27–51. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Kim, Jihoon. "Testimonies, Landscapes, and Reenactments in Im Heung- Soon's Documentary Works." *Interventions* 23, no. 5 (2021): 728–53.
- Kim, Jong-kil. *Contemporary Korean Art Chronology: 1987–2017*. Seoul: Deerbooks, 2018. In Korean with English title.
- Kim, Miryun. "21-segi Sanghwangjuui Yesul?" (Twenty-first century art of Situationists International?). *Newsmin*. July 6, 2013. <http://newsdg.jinbo.net/detail.php?number=2636&thread=14r04r11>.
- Kim, Puja. "Hangugui 'Pyeonghwau Sonyeosang'-gwa Taljinsil-ui Jeongchihak" ("The Girl Statue of Peace" in South Korea and post-truth politics: Reviewing colonialism and male-centered nationalism and gender in Japan). *Journal of Korean Women's Studies* 33, no. 3

- (2017): 279–322. In Korean with English abstract.
- Kim, Sangdon, Song Young-ho, Song Juyeong, and Yun In-ji, *Hanguginui Ijunodongjawa Damunhwahoe Daehan Insik* (The awareness of the Korean people about migrant workers and Damunhwa society). Seoul: Idam Books, 2010. In Korean.
- Kimsooja (artist website), Accessed February 21, 2022.
http://www.kimsooja.com/videos_multichannel.html
- “Kim Sooja: A Needle Woman.” *MoMA*, July 1, 2001. Accessed February 21, 2022.
<https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/4732>.
- Kim, Yeong-beom. “Jibhabgieog-ui Sahoesejeog Jipyong-gwa Donghag” (Socio-historical horizons and dynamics of collective memory). *Sahoesa Yeonguui Ilongwa Silje* (Theory and practice of social history research), by Ji Seung-jong, Kim Kyung-il, Kim Yeong-beom, Park Myung-gyu, and Park Young-eun, 157–211. Seoul: Hangug Jeongsin Munhwa Yeonguwon, 1998. In Korean.
- Kim, Yeonghui, Kim Chaewon, Kim Chaehyeon, Lee Jongsuk, and Jo Gyeonga. *Hangukchumtongsa (The history of Korean dance)*. Seoul: Bogosa, 2014. In Korean.
- Kim, Young-na. *Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea: Tradition, Modernity, and Identity*. Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 2005.
- _____. “Korean Avant-garde Movements: Issues and Debates.” *Journal of Korean Modern & Contemporary Art History* 21 (2010): 235–59.
- Koh, Kyung-tae. *1968 2wol 2il: Beteunam Pongni Pongneot, Haksal, Geurigo Segye* (February 12, 1968: Vietnam Phong Nhì and Phong Nhât, massacre, and the world). Seoul: Hankyoreh Publishing, 2015. In Korean.
- “Koki Tanaka.” *Skulptur Projekte Archiv*. 2017, accessed February 16, 2022.
<https://www.skulptur-projekte-archiv.de/en-us/2017/projects/201/>.
- “Koki Tanaka, Vulnerable Histories (An Archive),” JRP Editions, accessed February 16, 2022,
<https://migrosmuseum.ch/en/products/koki-tanaka-vulnerable-histories-an-archive>.
- “Koki Tanaka: *Vulnerable Histories (A Road Movie)*, Pia Arke, Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, Bouchra Khalili, Alexander Ugay: *Dust Clay Stone*.” *e-flux*, October 28, 2020, <https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/354924/koki-tanakavulnerable-histories-a-road-movie-pia-arke-theresa-hak-kyung-cha-bouchra-khalili-alexander-ugaydust-clay-stone/>.
- “Koki Tanaka.” *Aoyama Meguro*, Accessed February 20, 2022, <http://aoyamameguro.com/koki-tanaka/>.
- Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan’s official website. n.d. Accessed December 1, 2018. <http://www.womenandwar.net>.
- Ku, Su-jeong. “Ah, Momseolichyeojineun Hanguggun!” (Ah, the Korean army that makes us shudder!). *Hankyoereh* 21, May 6, 1999.
<http://legacy.h21.hani.co.kr/h21/data/L990426/1p944q0c.html>. In Korean.
- Kuryliw, Valentina. *Holodomor in Ukraine, the Genocidal Famine 1932–1933: Learning Materials for Teachers and Students*. Toronto: CIUS Press, 2018.
- Kwak, Tae Yang. “Hangugui Beteunamjeonjaeng Chamjeon Jaepyeongga” (Re-evaluating South Korean participation in the Vietnam War). *Yeoksa Bipyeong* (History critique) 107 (May 2014): 202–32. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Kwon, Chong-sul. “Gungnip Hyeondae Misulgwan: Talsingmin, Inyeom, Jeonjaeng, Minjuhwa... Hyeondaesa Gwantonghaneun Asiaui Geupjinjeog Yesul” (MMCA: Colonialism, ideology, war, democratization... Progressive art of Asia that penetrates the contemporary history), *Minjungui Sori*, February 7, 2019

- <http://www.vop.co.kr/A00001376805.html>. In Korean.
- Kwon, Heonik. *After the Massacre: Commemoration and Consolidation in Ha My and My Lai*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Kwon, Hyunwoo. “Beteunamui Kkamtureul Asimnikka?” (Do you know cãm thù in Vietnam?), Facebook, March 19, 2021.
https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?id=100790201428177&story_fbid=280867146753814. In Korean.
- Kwon, Insook. “Militarism in My Heart: Women’s Militarized Consciousness and Culture in South Korea.” PhD diss., Clark University, 2000.
- Kwon, Miwon. “One Place after Another: Notes on Site Specificity.” *October* 80 (Spring 1997): 85–110.
_____. *One Place After Another: Site-Specific Art and Locational Identity*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004.
- Kwon, Vicki Sung-yeon. *Mass and Individual: The Archive of the Guyanese Mass Games*. Seoul: Arko Art Center and Korea Arts Council, 2016. Exhibition catalog.
- _____. “Guyanese Mass Games: Spectacles that ‘Moulded’ the Nation in a North Korean Way.” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 20, issue 2 (2019): 180–203.
- _____. “The Sonyōsang Phenomenon: Nationalism and Feminism Surrounding the “Comfort Women” Statue.” *Korean Studies* 43 (2019): 6–39.
- _____. “Contested Memories, Precarious Apology: The Vietnam War in Contemporary Korean Art.” *Asian Studies Review* (December 2020):
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10357823.2020.1852176>
- _____. “Archiving as a Method of Socially Engaged Art: Hashtag_a’s Witnessing, Documenting, and Empathy-making.” In *Gyeonggi Creation Center (GCC) Artist-in-Residence Catalogue*, edited by GCC, 45–51. Ansan, Korea: Gyeonggi Creation Center, 2021.
- LaCapra, Dominick. *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004.
- _____. “Trauma, History, Memory, Identity: What Remains?” *History and Theory* 55 (October 2016): 375–400.
- Laclau, Ernesto, and Chantal Mouffe. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso, 1985.
- Lacy, Suzanne. *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art*. Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1995.
- _____. “The Oakland Projects,” Suzanne Lacy (artist website). Accessed April 20, 2021.
<https://www.suzannelacy.com/the-oakland-projects/>.
- Latimer, Tirza True. “Discrepant Modernisms.” *American Art* 30, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 2–6.
- Lee, Hyun. “IM Heung-soon: 7 Keywords Highlighting the History of Isolation.” *The Artro*. February 28, 2018.
http://www.theartro.kr/eng/features/features_view.asp?idx=1493&b_code=31.
- Lee, Jinhee. “The Enemy Within: Earthquake, Rumors, and Massacre in the Japanese Empire.” *Faculty Research & Creative Activity*, no. 58 (2008): 187–211.
- Lee, Joyce. “Tabaimo: Japanese Pavilion at Venice Art Biennale 2011.” *Designboom*. June 11, 2011. <https://www.designboom.com/art/tabaimo-japanese-pavilion-at-venice-art-biennale-2011/>.
- Lee, Kyong Rae, and Lee Kwangsuk. “Dongsidae ‘Daehanggieok’ui Girokwa Yongsanchamsa Saryereul Jungsimeuro” (Documenting contemporary ‘counter-memories’: Focused on the Yongsan tragedy). *Korea Society of Archival Studies* 53 (July 2017): 45–77. In Korean with

English title and abstract.

- Lee, Mahbub, dir. *Returnee*. 2019. Uploaded on Dec 4, 2013. Accessed February 20, 2022. <https://youtu.be/8peJoc4nIMY> (part 1); <https://youtu.be/26FY9XHM6hE> (part 2); https://youtu.be/Z8v9_PY15vE (part 4); <https://youtu.be/P4-qwZLXYIQ> (part 5).
- Lee, Na-young, “The Korean Women’s Movement of Japanese Military ‘Comfort Women’: Navigating between Nationalism and Feminism.” *The Review of Korean Studies* 17, no. 1 (2014): 71–92.
- _____. “Ilbon-gun ‘Wianbu’ Un-dong Dasi Bogi — Munhwajeok Teurauma Geukbokgwa Gonggamdoen Cheongjungui Hwaksan” (Rethinking the Korean women’s movement of Japanese military sexual slavery: Overcoming cultural trauma and constructing an empathetic audience). *Sahoewa Yeoksa* (Society and history) 115 (2017): 65–103. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Lee, Namhee. “Introduction: Minjung, History, and Historical Subjectivity.” *The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea*, 1–20. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- Lee, Rika. “Stateless Identity of Korean Diaspora: The Second Generations in Prewar Hawai‘i and Postwar Japan.” *The Japanese Journal of Policy and Culture* 28 (March 2020): 55–69.
- Lee, Sohl. “Images of Reality / Ideals of Democracy: Contemporary Korean Art, 1980s–2000s.” PhD diss., University of Rochester, 2014.
- Lee, Sul-hee. “Bipanjeok Hyeonsil Insik Misul” (Art of critical awareness of reality). In *1990-nyeon Ihu, Hangugui Misul* (Korean art after 1990), by Yun, Nan-jie, et al. 169–97. Seoul: Sahoepyongnon-academy, 2017. In Korean.
- Lee, Sunghye. “Ateu Seupeiseu Pulgwa Yeongwandoen Seongpoglyeog Munjee Daehan Jigjeon Dilegteoui Ibjangmun” (Statement from the previous director on the issue of sexual violence related to the Art Space Pool). Facebook, July 8, 2020. <https://www.facebook.com/933857486639164/posts/3356657891025766/>.
- Lee, Tae-ho. “Maekulmisulpeurojekteureul Tonghan Jiyeogui Jaebalgyeon” (Re-discovery of village through village art projects). In *Gonggongmisul, Maeuri Misurida* (Public art: Village is art), edited by Maeul Misul Project Committees, 255–83. Paju, Kyunggi-do: Sodong, 2002.
- Lee, Youngjin. “Commemoration of Kamikaze Soldiers and the Politics of Death in the Post-War Japan.” PhD diss., Seoul National University, 2011. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Lee, Yunju. “Beteunam Jeonjaeng Sagwaga Gin Gwanjeomseo Gugige Doumdoel geot” (Apology to the Vietnam War would eventually benefit the national interests). *Hankook Ilbo*, November 16, 2019. <https://www.hankookilbo.com/News/Read/201911151341093018>. In Korean.
- “Legenden und Aufreger rund um den Aegidiimarkt” (Legends and scandals around the Aegidiimarkt). *Münster Geschichten, Dokumente und Bilder* (Münster stories, documents, and pictures). Accessed March 22, 2021. <https://www.sto-ms.de/gastautoren/lesen-h%C3%B6ren/aegidiimarkt/>.
- “Leo Looks into the Abyss of Death.” *Arthive*, Accessed February 20, 2022. https://arthive.com/artists/74321~Takashi_Murakami/works/514662~Leo_looks_into_the_abyss_of_death.
- Lim, Ji-hyun. “Inyeomui Jinboseong-gwa Salmui Bosuseong” (The progressiveness of ideology and the conservatism of daily life), in *1988 Jisigin Ripoteu: Hanguk Jwapau Mokso-ri*

- (1988 intellectuals report: Voice of South Korea's left), edited by *Hyeondaesasang* editorials. Seoul: Minumsa, 1980. In Korean.
- _____. "Victimhood." In *The Palgrave Handbook of the Mass Dictatorship*, edited by Paul Corner and Lim Ji-hyun, 427–40. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- _____. *Gieok Jeonjaeng: Gahaejaneun Eotteoke Hisaengjaga Doeonneunga* (Memory war: How assailants became victims). Seoul: Humanist, 2019. In Korean.
- Lim, Ji-hyun, and Jung Hee-jin. *Gieok Jeonjaeng* (Memory war). Book talk at Sogang University, Seoul, May 24, 2019. In Korean.
- Lim Ok Sang (artist website). n.d. Accessed February 12, 2022.
http://oksanglim.com/bbs/board.php?bo_table=gallery_year&wr_id=94&page=17
- Lionnet, Françoise, and Shu-mei Shih. "Introduction: Thinking through the Minor, Transnationally." In *Minor Transnationalism*, edited by Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, 1–23. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.
- Lippard, Lucy R. *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972*. New York: Praeger, 1973.
- Lippard, Lucy R., and John Chandler. "The Dematerialization of Art." *Art International* 12, no. 2 (February 1968): 31–36.
- Martin, Craig. "Striking the Right Balance: Hate Speech Laws in Japan, the United States, and Canada." *Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (March 2018): 455–532.
- Marx, Karl. *Capital*. Vol. 1. translated by Ben Fowkes, intro. Ernest Mandel. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1976.
- Massumi, Brian. "Introduction: Like a Thought." In *A Shock to Thought: Expression after Deleuze and Guattari*, edited by Brian Massumi. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- McCurry, Justin. "Japan's Korean Schools Being Squeezed by Rising Tensions with Pyongyang." *Guardian*, September 15, 2014.
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/15/japan-korean-schools-tensions-pyongyang>.
- Medina, José. "Toward a Foucaultian Epistemology of Resistance: Counter-Memory, Epistemic Friction, and guerrilla Pluralism." *Foucault Studies* 12 (October 2011): 9–35.
- Mercer, Kobena. *Discrepant Abstraction*. London: Institute of International Visual Arts, 2006.
- Mignolo, Walter. *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Misztal, Barbara A. "Theorizing Remembering." In *Theories of Social Remembering*, 50–74. Maidenhead, UK: Open University Press, 2003.
- Mitter, Partha. "Interventions: Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery." *Art Bulletin* 90, no. 4 (December 2008): 531–48.
- Mixrice. "Return." (artist website) n. d. <http://mixrice.org/rt/rtmain.html>.
- _____. *A Frog in the Valley Travelled to Sea*. Seoul: Media Bus, 2010.
- "Mixrice." *Korea Artist Prize*. Accessed February 20, 2022.
<http://koreaartistprize.org/en/project/mixrice/>.
- Moon, Young Min, and Mixrice. "'The Illegal Lives': Art Within a Community of Others." *Rethinking Marxism* 21, no. 3 (2009): 403–19.
- Moon, Young-min. "Beyond Minjung and Minjung Art." In *IM Heung-soon: Toward a Poetics of Opacity and Hauntology*, edited by The National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Korean Art. Seoul: MMCA, 2018.
- Morgan, Hilary. "Art for Art's Sake." *Grove Art Online*, s.v. Accessed February 19, 2022.

- <https://www.oxfordartonline-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000004365>.
- Mōri, Yoshitaka. "Subcultural Unconsciousness in Japan: The War and Japanese Contemporary Artists." In *Popular Culture, Globalization and Japan*, edited by Matthew Allen and Rumi Sakamoto, 171–91. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- _____. "New Collectivism, Participation and Politics after the East Japan Great Earthquake." *World Art* 5, no. 1 (2015): 167–86.
- Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. "The End of Japan's Very Long Post-War Era." *East Asia Forum*, December 29, 2016. <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2016/12/29/the-end-of-japans-very-long-postwar-era/>.
- _____. "Disaster and Utopia: Looking Back at 3/11." *Japanese Studies* 37, no. 2 (2017): 171–90.
- Mukherji, Parul Dave. "Whither Art History in a Globalizing World." *The Art Bulletin* 96, no. 2 (2014): 151–55.
- Munroe, Alexandra. *Japanese Art after 1945: Scream against the Sky*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994.
- Nguyen, Dong. "Peace Foundation Offers Statue to Apologize for S. Korea's War Atrocities in Vietnam." *VNExpress*. October 12, 2016. <https://e.vnexpress.net/news/travel-life/peace-foundation-offers-statue-to-apologize-for-s-korea-s-war-atrocities-in-vietnam-3482178.html>.
- Nguyễn, Văn Sơn. "Người Cor với tiếng kèn amáp mùa Xuân" (The Cor with the sound of a spring trumpet). *Văn Hóa Nghệ Thuật*, January 22, 2021. <http://vanhoanghethuat.vn/nguoi-cor-voi-tieng-ken-amap-mua-xuan.htm?fbclid=IwAR24vp6RVx15ZpVrF1lcJZ5m-IB2xr4ikMnr5DSYXzOy7rQBWgyuOyTssE8>. In Vietnamese.
- Nguyen, Viet Thanh. *Nothing Ever Dies: Vietnam and the Memory War* (2016) (Korean title: *Amugeot-do Sarajiji Anneunda*). Translated from English to Korean, Bu Hee-ryung. Seoul: The Bom, 2019.
- Niksch, Larry. "Japanese Military's 'Comfort Women' System." *Congressional Research Service Memorandum*. April 3, 2007, 5.
- Nobles, Melissa. *The Politics of Official Apology*. York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Noh, Hyung-seok. "Cheonggyecheon Deulmeo-ri Oldenbeogeu Johyeongmul Nollan" (Controversy over Olenberg's installation at Cheonggyecheon Stream entrance). *Hankyoreh*, November 30, 2005. https://www.hani.co.kr/arti/culture/culture_general/83926.html. In Korean.
- Noh, Hyung-suk, "Urineun Jakpum Daesin Gwangyereul Mandeuneun Jalgadeurida" (We are the artists who make relations not artworks). *Hankyoreh*, October 18, 2016. <http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/culture/music/766224.html>. In Korean.
- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*." *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7–24.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. *Poetic Justice: The Literary Imagination and Public Life*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.
- _____. "Compassion & Terror." *Daedalus* 132, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 10–26.
- Ock, Hyun-ju. "Time to Apologize for Korea's Own War Crimes in Vietnam." *Korean Herald*. November 9, 2017. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20171109000945>. In Korean.
- "OLTA." Tokyo Arts and Space, October 1, 2017. <https://www.tokyoartsandspace.jp/en/creator/index/O/687.html>.
- Oh, Il-hwan. "Gangjedongwon Hanin Pihaeja Misugeum Munjeui Ihaewa Jeongae: Hanilhoedam

- Munseoreul Jungsimeuro” (Arrearages matters of victims of forced mobilization through Korea–Japan talks on claims until 1965). *The Historical Review of Soong Sil University* 34 (June 2015): 341–77. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Oh, Sang Hak. “Joseonhugi Wonhyeong Cheonhadoui Teukseonggwa Segyegwan” (The characteristics and the worldview in circular world map made in the late Joseon dynasty). *The Geographical Journal of Korea* 35, no. 3 (2001): 231–47. In Korean.
- Ong, Aihwa. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.
- _____. *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Otsuki, Tomoe. “Visualising Nuclear Futurism and Narrating Queer Futurity in Yanobe Kenji’s *The Sun Child* and Tawada Yōko’s *The Emissary*.” *Asian Studies Review* (December 2020). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2020.1849027>.
- “Our Magic Hour: How Much of the World Can We Know?” *Yokohama Triennale 2011*. Accessed May 9, 2021. <https://universes.art/en/yokohama-triennale/2011>.
- Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “dark tourism.” Accessed February 25, 2022. <https://www-oed-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/view/Entry/47295?redirectedFrom=dark+tourism#eid1260870680>.
- Pan, Zhongqi. “Dilemmas of Regionalism in East Asia.” *Korea Review of International Studies* 10, no. 2 (November 2007): 17–29.
- Papastergiadis, Nikos, and Mary Zournazi. “Faith Without Certitudes—With Nikos Papastergiadis.” In Mary Zournazi, *Hope: New Philosophies for Change*, 78–96. New York: Routledge; Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 2002.
- Paridon, Seth. “Mission to Münster.” *The National WWII Museum New Orleans*. November 20, 2017. <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/mission-munster>.
- Park, Chan-kyong. “Gaenyeommisul Minjungmisul Haengdongjuuireul Ihae Haneun Gibonjeogin Gwanjeom” (A fundamental perspective for understanding conceptual art, Minjung art, activist art). *Forum A* 2 (July 1998): 20–23. In Korean.
- _____. “Gaenyeomjeok Hyeonsiljuui Noteu” (Notes on conceptual realism). *Forum A* 9 (April 2001): 14–18. In Korean.
- _____. “Minjungmisulgwau Daehwa” (Conversation with Minjung Art). *Culture Science* (December 2009): 149–64. In Korean.
- Park, Chank-kyong, and Yang Hyun-mi. “Gonggongmisulgwa Misurui Gonggongseong” (Public art and publicness of art). *Munhwagwahak* (Culture science) 53 (Spring 2008): 95–125. In Korean.
- Park, Eun-young, “Haeoe-eseo Gaechoedoen Hanguk Hyeondaemisul Jeonsi” (Contemporary Korean art exhibitions held abroad). In Yun, Nan-jie, et al. *1990-nyeon Ihu, Hangugui Misul* (Korean art after 1990), 27–54. Seoul: Sahoepyeongnon-academy, 2017. In Korean.
- Park, Ho-jae. “Il Jakgaga Saegin ‘5wol Gwangju’ <Tomiyama Taeko> Jeon Yeollyeo” (Opening of the exhibition *Tomiyama Taeko*, the Japanese artist’s prints of “Gwangju in May”), *Pressian*, December 21, 2018. <https://www.pressian.com/pages/articles/222212?no=222212#0DKU>. In Korean.
- Park, Juwon. “Our Rootless Journey of Life, Mixrice.” *The Artro*. May 28, 2019. https://www.theartro.kr/eng/features/features_view.asp?idx=2286&b_code=32.
- Park, Sohyun. “#Misulgye_nae_seongpongyeok’ Undonggwa Misulsahagui Gwaje: #Mitu Undong Sidae Peminijeum Misulsa Ributeu Reul Wihayeo” (“#Sexual Violence_in_the Art

- World” movement and the challenge of art history: For the feminist art history reboot in the #MeToo era.” *Journal of Korean Modern & Contemporary Art History* 38 (December 2019): 131–61. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Park, Soon-Won, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daqing Yang. Introduction to *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The Korean Experience*, edited by Soon-Won Park, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daqing Yang, 1–14. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Park, Soyang. “Forgetting and Remembering in Postcolonial South Korea: the Minjung Politics and Art of the 1980s and 1990s.” *Korean Association of History of Modern Art* 18 (December 2005): 43–72. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Park, Su-hyun. “Pyeonghwamaeul Gangjeong, Beteunamjeon Apeum Pumneunda” (Peace village Gangjeong, embraces trauma of the Vietnam War). *Jnuri*. April 20, 2017. <http://www.jnuri.net/news/articleView.html?idxno=32112>. In Korean.
- Park, Tae Gyun. (Memory of the Korean War and the Vietnam War, and the vicious circle of entering into wars). *Gukje Jiyeok Yeon-gu* (International and local research) 20, no. 2 (2011): 155–83. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- _____. *The Vietnam War*. Seoul: Hankyoreh Publishing, 2015. In Korean with English title.
- Patnaik, Prabhat. “Neo-liberal Capitalism and Its Crisis.” *International Development Economics Associates*. October 24, 2017. <https://www.networkideas.org/news-analysis/2017/10/neo-liberal-capitalism-and-its-crisis/>.
- Pedwell, Carolyn. *Affective Relations: Transnational Politics of Empathy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Pendleton, Mark. “Bringing Little Things to the Surface: Intervening into the Japanese Post-Bubble Impasse on the Yamanote.” *Japan Forum* 30, no. 2 (2018): 257–76.
- Perini, Julie. “Art as Intervention: A Guide to Today’s Radical Art Practices.” In *Uses of a Whirlwind: Movement, Movements, and Contemporary Radical Currents in the United States*, edited by Team Colors Collective, 184–97. Sterling, UK: AK Press, 2010.
- Podesva, Kristina Lee. “A Pedagogical Turn: Brief Notes on Education as Art.” *Fillip* 6 (Summer 2007). <https://fillip.ca/content/a-pedagogical-turn>.
- Powell, Jessica, and Amber Kelly. “Accomplices in the Academy in the Age of Black Lives Matter.” *Journal of Thought and Praxis* 6, no. 3 (2017): 42–65.
- Prashad, Vijay. *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*. New York: The New Press, 2007.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. “Arts of the Contact Zone.” *Profession* (1991): 33–40.
- Prosser, Jay. Introduction to *Picturing Atrocity: Photography in Crisis*, edited by Geoffrey Batchen et al., 7–13. London: Reaktion Books, 2012.
- Qian, Fengqi, and Guo-Qiang Liu. “Remembrance of the Nanjing Massacre in the Globalised Era: The Memory of Victimisation, Emotions and the Rise of China Source.” *China Report* 55, no 2. (2019): 81–101.
- Ra, Won Sik. “80-nyeondae Misurundongui Seongchal” (Reflection on the ’80s art movement), *Misulsegae* (Art world). December 1991, 148–53. In Korean.
- Rancière, Jacques. “The Emancipated Spectator.” *ArtForum*, no. 45 (2007): 271–80.
- Raths, Ralf. “From Technical Showroom to Full-fledged Museum: The German Tank Museum Münster.” In *Does War Belong in Museums? The Representation of Violence in Exhibitions*, edited by Wolfgang Muchitsch, 83–98. Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2013.
- Reckitt, Helena. “Forgotten Relations: Feminist Artists and Relational Aesthetics.” In *Politics in a Glass Case: Feminism, Exhibition Culture and Curatorial Transgressions*, edited by

- Angela Dimitrakaki and Lara Perry, 131–56. Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2013.
- “Returnee (Riteoni),” *KMDB (Korean Movie Database)*. Accessed June 1, 2021. <https://www.kmdb.or.kr/db/kor/detail/movie/A/05030>.
- Rhee, Jooyeon. “Gendering Multiculturalism: Representation of Migrant Workers and Foreign Brides in Korean Popular Films.” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 14, issue 7, no. 9 (2016). <https://apjjf.org/2016/07/Rhee-2.html>.
- Ritter, Gabriel. “Out of the Ordinary: Koki Tanaka.” *Art Asia Pacific*, no. 84 (2013). <http://artasiapacific.com/Magazine/84/OutOfTheOrdinaryKokiTanaka>.
- Robinson, Dylan. *Hungry Listening Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sound Studies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2020.
- Ryu, Byung-hak. “Seoulsimini beorigo sipeun gonggongjohyeongmul 1ho” (Number one public art installation that Seoul citizens would like to throw away). *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, July 9, 2010. <https://www.khan.co.kr/article/201007091746025>. In Korean.
- Samuels, Richard J. *3.11: Disaster and Change in Japan*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013.
- Saoshiro, Shinichi. “Somber Japan Emperor Makes Unprecedented Address to Nation.” *Reuters* March 16, 2011. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-quake-emperor-idUSTRE72F23520110316>.
- Saruya, Hiroe. “Protests and Democracy in Japan: The Development of Movement Fields and the 1960 Anpo Protests.” PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2012.
- Sassen, Saskia. “Spatialities and Temporalities of the Global: Elements for a Theorization.” *Public Culture* 12, no. 1 (2000): 215–32.
- _____. “Territory and Territoriality in the Global Economy.” *International Sociology* 15, no. 2 (June 2000): 372–93.
- Sato, Doshin. “Geundaeui Chogeuk” (Overcoming modernity). Translated by Choi Jae-hyuk. *Dongasia Misurui Geundaewa Geundaeseong* (Modernism and modernity of art in East Asia), edited by Hong Seon-pyo, 9–40. Seoul: Haggogjae, 2009. In Korean.
- Sawaragi, Noi. *Nihon/Gendai/Bijutsu* (Japan/modern/art). Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1998. In Japanese.
- _____. *Bakushinchi no Geijutsu 1999–2001* (The art at ground zero 1999–2001). Tokyo: Shōbunsha, 2002.
- Saxinger, Gertrude, and First Nation of Na-Cho Nyäk Dun. “Community Based Participatory Research as a Long-Term Process: Reflections on Becoming Partners in Understanding Social Dimensions of Mining in the Yukon.” *The Northern Review*, no. 47 (August 2018): 187–206.
- “Seongnam Project.” Art Space Pool. Exhibition catalogue. Accessed December 1, 2021. <http://www.altpool.org/>.
- Schaffer, Ronald. “American Military Ethics in World War II: The Bombing of German Civilians.” *The Journal of American History* 67, no. 2 (1980): 318–34.
- Schencking, J. Charles. *The Great Kantō Earthquake and the Chimera of National Reconstruction in Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.
- Schenk, Gerrit Jasper. “Images of Disaster: Art and the Medialization of Disaster Experiences.” In *Catastrophe and the Power of Art*, ed. Mori Art Museum. 145–49. Tokyo: Mori Art Museum and Heibonsha Ltd., 2018. Exhibition catalogue.
- Schneider, Arnd. “Appropriations.” In *Contemporary Art and Anthropology*, edited by Arnd Schneider and Christopher Wright, 29–51. London: Routledge, 2006.

- Schubert, Leanne, and Mel Gray. "The Death of Emancipatory Social Work as Art and Birth of Socially Engaged Art Practice." *British Journal of Social Work* 45, no. 4 (2015): 1349–56.
- "Screening/Assembly: Abstracted/Family." Aichi Triennale 2019. n.d. Accessed February 28, 2022. <https://aichitriennale2010-2019.jp/en/artwork/A70.html>.
- Seaton, Philip A. *Japan's Contested War Memories: The "Memory Rifts" in Historical Consciousness of World War II*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Seok, Mihoa. "4-nyeonganui Jaepan, Geurigo Gukjeongwoni Gonggaehan 15-geulja" (Four years of trials, and the fifteen characters that the National Intelligence Service released). *Ohmynews*, May 21, 2021. http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/View/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0002745016. In Korean.
- Seol, Dong Hoon. "Hangukgwa Ilbonui Oeguginnodongja Jeongchaek Bigyo" (Comparative analysis of the foreign labor policy in Japan and Korea). *The Korea Journal of Japanese Studies* 21, no. 5 (2005): 201–31. In Korean with English title.
- Seoul Museum of Art (SeMA). "Voiceless — Return of the Foreclosed." *SeMA Newsletter* (Spring/Summer 2018): 6–7. In Korean.
- Shim, Kwang-hyon. "Saeroun Misul Undonggeun Piryohanga?" (Is a new art movement necessary?). *Forum A 2* (July 1998): 17–20. In Korean.
- Shin, Chunghoon. "Art in the Post-Minjung Era Urbanism, Public Art, and Spatial Politics." *Hanguk Geunhyeondae Misulsahak* (Modern and contemporary Korean art history) 20 (December 2009): 246–68. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- _____. "Seoul Art 'Under Construction' — From the Late 1960s to the New Millennium." PhD diss., Binghamton University State University of New York, 2013.
- _____. "Sanopssahwe, Daejungmunhwa, Dosie Daehan 'Hyeonsilgwa Bareon'ui Yanggajok Taedo." (Ambivalence in Hyeonsilgwa Baron's relationship to industrial society, mass culture, and the city). *The Journal of Korean Society of Art Theories* 16 (December 2013): 41–69. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- "Shōgen Kiroku Higashinohon Daishinsai (90) Umoretta koe 25-nen no Shinjitsu ~ saigai-ji no sei Bōryoku" (Testimony record Great East Japan Earthquake (90) "Buried voice twenty-five years of truth—sexual violence in time of disaster"). *NHK*. Accessed March 17, 2021. <https://www.nhk.jp/p/ts/14G1KY68L5/episode/te/DRJ3J8LZ3L/>. In Japanese.
- Sholette, Gregory. "New from Nowhere: Activist Art and After, A Report from New York City." *Third Text* 45 (Winter 1999): 45–56.
- Shotwell, Alexis. *Against Purity: Living Ethically in Compromised Times*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016.
- Siefen-Leitich, Claudia. "About Hi-Red Center and the Yamanote Line Incident." *Desistfilm*. April 11, 2020. <https://desistfilm.com/about-hi-red-center-and-the-yamanote-line-incident/>.
- Sieg, Linda. "Japan Won't Apologize Again for WW2 Sex Slaves." *Reuters News*. March 4, 2007. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-sex-slaves-idUST21899920070305>.
- Smith, Terry. "The Contemporaneity Question." In *Antinomies of Art and Culture: Modernity, Postmodernity, Contemporaneity*, edited by Terry Smith, Okwui Enwezor, and Nancy Condee, 1–22. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- _____. Response to "Questionnaire on 'The Contemporary.'" Special issue, edited by Hal Foster et al., *October* 130 (Fall 2009): 46–54.
- _____. *What Is Contemporary Art?* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- _____. *Contemporary Art: World Currents*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2011.

- Soh, Sarah C. “Japan’s Responsibility toward Comfort Women Survivors.” *Japan Policy Research Institute Working Paper No. 77*. Oakland, CA: Japan Policy Research Institute, 2001. <http://www.jpri.org/publications/workingpapers/wp77.html>.
- _____. *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Sohn, Hee-jeong. “Peminijeum Ributeu: Hanguk Yeonghwareul Tonghae Boneun Poseuteu-Peminijeum, Geurigo Geu Ihu” (Feminism reboot: Post-feminism in Korean movies, and its aftermath). *Munhwa Gwahak* (Culture science) 38 (September 2015): 14–47. In Korean.
- Solnit, Rebecca. *A Paradise Built in Hell: The Extraordinary Communities that Arise from Disaster*. London: Penguin Books, 2010.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. “Can the Subaltern Speak?” In *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*, edited by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, 21–78. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.
- _____. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- “Statement by the Artists of Aichi Triennale 2019 on the Closure of *After ‘Freedom of Expression?’*” *Art iT*. August 6, 2019. https://www.art-it.asia/en/top_e/admin_ed_news_e/201937?fbclid=IwAR1U7CXwzV4uIFkajv2CnD3sSHQ1KIEi4-6BUofILERPn7QT_oKPA13DRTs.
- Sung, Wan-kyung. “Geurimeun Amhoga Aniya” (A picture is not a password). *Madang* (December 1981): 140–49. In Korean.
- _____. “Hangungmisure Binnagan Gwaejok” (The wrong trajectory of Korean art). *Gyeganmisul* 14 (Summer 1980): 133–42. In Korean.
- _____. “The Rise and Fall of Minjung Art.” In *Being Political Popular*, edited by Sohl Lee, 188–203. Seoul: Hyunsil Publishing, 2012.
- Supangkat, Jim. “Multiculturalism/Multimodernism.” In *Modern Art in Africa, Asia and Latin America: An Introduction to Global Modernisms*, edited by Elaine O’Brien, Evelyn Nicodemus, Melissa Chiu, Benjamin Genocchio, Mary K. Coffey, Roberto Tejada, 106–19. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.
- Tabuchi, Hiroko. “Prime Minister Denies Women Were Forced into WWII Brothels.” *Washington Post*, March 2, 2007, A9.
- Tai, Hue-Tam Ho. “Introduction: Situating Memory.” In *The Country of Memory: Remaking the Past in Late Socialist Vietnam*, edited by Hue-Tam Ho Tai, 1–17. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Tanaka, Koki. *Selected Projects Vers. 1*. January 19, 2015. Accessed December 2017 (no longer available at the website). http://kktnk.com/koki_tanaka_works.html.
- _____. “Koki Tanaka—Visiting Artists and Scholars.” *San Francisco Art Institute Official* (Vimeo). November 1, 2016. <https://vimeo.com/190404306>.
- _____. *How to Live Together: Production Notes*. Münster: Skulptur Projekte Münster, 2017.
- _____. *Provisional Studies: Workshop #7 How to Live Together and Sharing the Unknown*. 2017. <https://vimeopro.com/kktnk/ps7/>.
- _____. “Hidzuke no aru nōto, moshikuwa nikki no yōna mono (6) atama no naka no yami (sono 2) — 3 tsuki 16-nichi kara 4 tsuki 19-nichi” (A notebook with a date, or something like a diary (6) Darkness in my head (Part 2) — March 16 to April 19). *Genron Alpha*. April 21, 2021. https://www.genron-alpha.com/gb060_02/.
- _____. “A Delayed Statement on the Reframing of My Work.” *Art iT*. August 21, 2019.

- https://www.art-it.asia/en/top_e/admin_ed_news_e/202620.
- Tanaka, Koki, Doryun Chong, Britta Fäber, Hou Hanru, and Stefan Krause. *Precarious Practice: Koki Tanaka. Artist of the Year by Deutsche Bank*. Ostfildern, Germany: Deutsche Bank Artshop, 2015.
- Tanaka, Koki, Heike Munder, Woohi Chung, Christian Hofer, Elsa Himmer, Tong-hyon Han, *Vulnerable Histories (An Archive)*. Zurich: Migros Museum für Gegenwartskunst and JNR, 2019.
- The 4th Gwangju Biennale Invited Group's International Workshop Community and Art*. Gwangju & Seoul: Gwangju Biennale & Forum A, 2002. In Korean.
- "The Artist Statement by the Artists of Aichi Triennale 2019 on the Closure of *After 'Freedom of Expression?'*" *Art iT*. August 6, 2019. https://www.art-it.asia/en/top_e/admin_ed_news_e/201937
- The Imperial Household Agency*. "A Message from His Majesty the Emperor." March 16, 2011. <https://www.kunaicho.go.jp/e-okotoba/01/address/tohokujishin-h230316-mov.html>.
- The Korea–Vietnam Peace Foundation's official website. Accessed January 1, 2019. <http://www.kovietpeace.org/>.
- Thompson, Nato. "Living as Form." *Living as Form: Socially Engaged Art from 1991–2011*. edited by Nato Thompson, 16–33. New York: Creative Time Books, 2012.
- Tiampo, Ming. *Gutai: Decentering Modernism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Tomii, Reiko. *Radicalism in the Wilderness: International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016.
- Tomorrow Girls Troop. "TGT Pink Mask." Tomorrow Girls Troop (artist website). Accessed December 1, 2019. <https://tomorrowgirlstroop.com/mask-1/>.
- Trollmann, Sophia. "Koki Tanaka, Provisional Studies: Workshop #7. How to Live Together and Sharing the Unknown." In *Skulptur Projekte Münster 2017*, edited by Kasper König, Britta Peters, and Marianne Wagner, 300. Leipzig: Spector Books, 2017.
- Tsing, Anna L. *Friction: Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- _____. "The Gentle Art of Mushroom Picking." In *The Multispecies Salon*, ed. Eben Kirksey, 87–109. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014.
- Tsuboi, Akira. "*Mu shu butsu*." Akira Tsuboi (artist website). Accessed February 18, 2022. http://dennou.velvet.jp/site/images/book/tbn/eng/eng_bookTBN_for_site.pdf.
- Turner, Caroline. "Art and Social Change." In *Art and Social Change: Contemporary Art in Asia and the Pacific*, edited by Caroline Turner, 1–13. Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2005.
- Turner, Caroline, and Jane Webb. *Art and Human Rights: Contemporary Asian Contexts*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 2016.
- Ueno, Chizuko, *Nationalism and Gender*. Translated by Beverley Yamamoto. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2004.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). "About Viet Nam." n.d. Accessed May 20, 2021. <https://www.vn.undp.org/content/vietnam/en/home/countryinfo.html>.
- University Art Galleries, University of California, Irvine. "A Piano Played by Five Pianists at Once (First Attempt)." Accessed February 20, 2022, <https://uag.arts.uci.edu/exhibit/piano-played-five-pianists-once-first-attempt>.
- "U.S. Relations with China 1949–2021." *Council on Foreign Relations*. 2021. <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-relations-china>.
- Vogel, Sabine B. *Biennials—Art on a Global Scale*. Vienna: Springer Verlag, 2010.

- Wada, Haruki. "The Comfort Women, the Asian Women's Fund and the Digital Museum." *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 6, no. 2 (2008). <https://apjjf.org/-Wada-Haruki/2653/article.html>.
- Walker, Bryce. *Earthquake*. Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1982.
- Wang, Hong, and Yunfeng Ge. "Negotiating National Identities in Conflict Situations: The Discursive Reproduction of the Sino-US Trade War in China's News Reports." *Discourse & Communication* 14, no. 1 (2020): 65–83.
- Wang, Meiqin. *Socially Engaged Art in China: Voices From Below*. New York: Routledge, 2019.
- WAWA Project artist website. Accessed February 15, 2022, <https://wawa.or.jp/en/>.
- War and Women's Human Rights Museum. "Explore the Museum." (n.d.). Accessed December 1, 2020. http://www.womenandwarmuseum.net/contents/general/general.asp?page_str_menu=2201.
- Weisenfeld, Gennifer 1. "Designing after Disaster: Barrack Decoration and the Great Kantō Earthquake." *Japanese Studies* 18, no. 3 (December 1998): 229–46.
- _____. *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905–1931*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002.
- _____. *Imaging Disaster: Tokyo and Visual Culture of Japan Great Earthquake of 1923*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
- Whybrow, Nicolas. *Contemporary Art Biennials in Europe: The Work of Art in the Complex City*. London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020.
- Williams, Bradley W. "Transnationalism." *Global Society Theory* (n.d.) Accessed May 2, 2021. <https://globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/transnationalism/>.
- Wollam Pabyeongyongsa Mannamui Jang (the Vietnam Veterans Meeting Place) official website. <http://www.vws.or.kr/>.
- Women's Association of Culture and Arts (WACA). "Y Seonghuilong Sageon-eun Jeonhyeongjeog-in Misulgye Wilyeog-e Uihan Seongpogyeog-ida: Sageonhaegyeol-eul Wihan Jedo Gaeseon Yogu." Uploaded June 22, 2020. <http://www.waca2017.org/doc11/>.
- Woo, Jung-Ah. "United to Be Dispersed: The WAWA Project and Community Art after the Great East Japan Earthquake." *Archives of Asian Art* 69, no. 2 (2019): 55–72.
- _____. "The Conceptual Turn of Korean Art After the 1990s." Translated by Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon. In *Korean Art 1900–2020*, by Bae Myungji et al. Seoul: MMCA, forthcoming.
- Yamashita, Young-ae. "Revisiting the 'Comfort Women': Moving Beyond Nationalism." In *Transforming Japan: How Feminism and Diversity are Making a Difference*, ed. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow, 366–89. New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2011.
- Yang, Eun-hee. "The Globalization of Contemporary Korean Art and the Era of the Biennales." Translated by Vicki Sung-yeon Kwon. In *Korean Art 1900–2020*, by Bae Myungji et al. Seoul: MMCA, forthcoming.
- Yang, Hyunah. "2015-nyeon Hanil-oegyojanggwanui 'Wianbu' Munje Habuieseo Pihaejaneun Eodie It(eot)Na?: Geu Naeyonggwa Jeolcha" (Where have the victims of "Japanese military sexual slavery" been located in the Korea–Japan foreign ministers' agreement in 2015?). *Democratic Legal Studies* 60 (2016): 13–44. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Yang, Hyunah. "Jeungeongwa Yeoksasseugi Hangugin 'Gun Wianbu'ui Jucheseong Jaehyeon" (Testimony and writing history: Representation of Korean military "comfort women"'s subjectivities). *Sahoewa Yeoksa* (Society and history) 60 (December 2001): 60–96. In

- Korean with English abstract.
- Yeoh, Brenda S.A. "Transnational Migration and Families on the Move in Asia: Negotiating Intimacies and Identities Across Borders." Keynote speech at the conference Identity and Transnational Mobility in and out of Korea. Goethe University of Frankfurt, February 22, 2018.
- Yoneyama, Lisa. *Cold War Ruins: Transpacific Critique of American Justice and Japanese War Crimes*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016.
- Yoshida, Takashi. *From Cultures of War to Cultures of Peace: War and Peace Museums in Japan, China, and South Korea*. Portland, ME: Merwin Asia, 2014.
- Yoshihama, Mieko, Tomoko Yunomae, Azumi Tsuge, Keiko Ikeda, and Reiko Massai. "Violence Against Women and Children Following the 2011 Great East Japan Disaster: Making the Invisible Visible Through Research." *Violence Against Women* 25, issue 7 (2019): 862–81.
- Yoshimi, Yoshiaki, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Yoshimoto, Midori. "Fluxus International: New York, Tokyo, and Beyond." In *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945–1989 Primary Documents*, edited by Doryun Chong, Michio Hayashi, Kenji Kajiya, and Fumihiko Sumitomo, 196–97. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012.
- _____. "Fluxus Nexus: Fluxus in New York and Japan." *Post*. July 9, 2013. <https://post.moma.org/fluxus-nexus-fluxus-in-new-york-and-japan/>.
- Yu, Hye-jong. "Dansaekwawa Yesure Jeongchisong" (Monochromatic painting and the politics of art). *Hangukgeunhyeondaemisulshak (Journal of Korean Modern & Contemporary Art History)* 32 (December 2016): 338–45. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Yun, Chung Ro. "Hangugui Beteunam Jeonjaeng Ginyeomgwa Gieogui Jeongchi" (The politics of memory and commemoration of the Vietnam War in Korea). *Sahoewa Yeoksa (Society and history)* 86 (2010): 149–80. In Korean with English abstract.
- Yun, Nan-jie. "Honsonggongganeurossoe Minjungmisul" (Minjung art as space of hybridity). *Hyeondaemisulsayeongu (Journal of History of Modern Art)* 22 (December 2007): 271–311. In Korean with English title and abstract.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage Publications, 1997.