

Summary

Women Encounter Empire: Historical Experiences of Indigenous Peoples in Taiwan

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How can we represent the historical experiences of those who left no words or writings about themselves? From that point, how can we renew our historical perspective and understanding of self and others, which have been constructed by marginalizing or excluding certain people, and develop new relationships? As an attempt to respond these fundamental questions, this paper explores the historical experiences of Taiwan's indigenous peoples by focusing on a Tayal woman, Yayutz Bleyh, who was born and raised in northern Taiwan in the late 19th century and early 20th century.

This paper's focus on the personal historical experiences of indigenous girls and women in colonial Taiwan is not on the assumption that they are the subaltern among the subaltern, but instead rooted in a concern to reconsider the image of the colonized based on the "degree of oppression," and to approach experiences and subjects that are often ignored in the history of indigenous peoples as a collective. Racialized categories, as Ann Stoler pointed out, are fixed and fluid at once, and that is why the key challenge is to capture the imbalances of power in the variability of categories, as well as the inherent limits and instability of the order of governance. By tracing the trajectories of individuals, therefore, this paper sheds light on the intermingling of publicly created boundaries and privately bound relationships in the empire.

Yayutz has been studied as an indigenous woman who became the wife of a Japanese man, and has also been highlighted for her higher educational achievement and social status as an indigenous woman in the Japanese colonial system, which led her to play a significant intermediary role between the colonizer and her own people (the Tayal). While this image of Yayutz as a "mediator" or "liminal entity" has been constructed, this article examines some of the fundamental facts that have remained unexplored, particularly her marriage, schooling, and the processes that preceded and followed these events, as well as paying attention to variations among the experiences of northern Tayal women of the same period.

The processes under which Taiwan's indigenous peoples encountered "Japan" were not one-

dimensional, and the struggles and ways individual indigenous women and men coped with the rough waves of imperial racialization were not straightforward. Rather than highlighting Yayutz as an extraordinary indigenous woman, this project draws attention to the branches of experience of northern Tayal women who lived in the same period, and to the historical and social conditions that affected their individual and collective experiences. In doing so, it illuminates the plurality of borders in their lives, and also asks what made (and makes) Yayutz prominent.

How to decipher the biases within the documents remaining is a fundamental issue common to all historical research, but it is an even more serious issue for research seeking to write the historical experiences of people who did not leave their own records. In this paper, we use various materials which have not been fully explored, including textual materials, photographs, and maps, to illuminate the specific space in which Yayutz lived, and also extend our gaze further to the people who lived around her.

By viewing the empire through this indigenous women's' journey, I believe that we can deepen our perceptions of the complexities both of indigenous people's modernity and Japanese empire building.

Rethinking Russia's Dual Citizenship Policy in the 1990s

NAGASHIMA Toru

In the 1990s, Russia pursued the facilitation of dual citizenship with other former Soviet countries. This policy enabled ethnic Russians and Russian-speaking populations living outside of Russia to acquire Russian citizenship as well as the citizenship of their present country of residence. Although Russia tried to conclude bilateral treaties on dual citizenship, most former Soviet countries rejected this proposal, fearing that Russian citizens in their countries would be an instrument for Russian meddling in their internal affairs. At the time, Russia's dual citizenship policy attracted scholarly attention, being construed as an opportunistic and self-righteous policy that Russia pursued after the disintegration of the USSR.

Recent academic research on citizenship policy, however, shows that many countries have been more tolerant toward dual citizenship since the 1990s. This tendency became salient in Europe in the early 1990s. In 1992, the European Parliament began studying dual citizenship issues by establishing the Committee of Experts on Multiple Nationality. The European Convention on Nationality that

concluded in 1997 required signatories to allow dual citizenship under certain conditions. According to an academic study, the percentage of countries in Europe and the Americas that accepted dual citizenship dramatically increased from one-third in 1990 to four-fifths in 2010. Considering these global trends in citizenship policy, we need to reassess Russia's dual citizenship policy in the 1990s not only in the context of the former Soviet space but also in comparison with the citizenship policies of other countries.

This article reexamines Russia's dual citizenship policy in the 1990s and emphasizes the following points.

First, given the variations in citizenship policies of different countries, Russia's dual citizenship policy was not unique. In 1991, Russia established its first citizenship law, which accepted dual citizenship only with those countries that had concluded a bilateral treaty on dual citizenship with Russia. Most former Soviet countries, however, displayed a negative attitude toward such treaties. This led Russia to amend the law in 1993, allowing applicants to acquire Russian citizenship without renouncing their former citizenship. In other words, this amendment enabled the Russian government to confer Russian citizenship on the citizens of other countries without concluding bilateral treaties. Compared with the citizenship policies of other countries, we argue that both elements of Russia's citizenship policy, that is, the citizenship law in 1991 and its amendment in 1993, can be found in other countries' policies and are not unique to Russia.

Second, the Russian government itself was divided in its approach to dual citizenship. The presidential administration, the main advocate of dual citizenship policy, was well aware of the trends of dual citizenship policy in Europe and referred to them when trying to persuade the former Soviet countries to conclude bilateral treaties on dual citizenship. However, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized the negative attitude of former Soviet countries toward dual citizenship and considered it impossible to conclude the treaties. The concerns of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs led to the 1993 amendment of the citizenship law, which enabled the Russian government to grant dual citizenship unilaterally. This schism between the presidential administration and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs remained even after the amendment of the citizenship law.

Third, although Russia's attempts to conclude treaties on dual citizenship failed, the amendment of the law in 1993 resulted in a number of dual citizens in post-Soviet space. Only Turkmenistan and Tajikistan concluded bilateral treaties on dual citizenship with Russia, but Russia unilaterally granted dual citizenship to citizens of other countries. As a result, a large number of former Soviet citizens acquired Russian citizenship without renouncing the citizenship of their country of residence and became dual citizens.

Bordering through (Un)Schooling: The Case of Ethnic Vietnamese in Cambodia

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This paper examines how minority groups are included in and excluded from school education from the perspectives of borders and bordering, drawing on the case of ethnic Vietnamese living in Cambodia. Under the current Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which promote “no one’s left behind,” schools and school education are expected to be inclusive for all. Such global norm is, however, an illusion because modern school education systems cannot avoid exclusion. As modern school education systems are run by and intended to serve the nation-state, the existence of children who live outside the framework of the nation-state, such as children who move across national borders on a daily basis, children who live transnationally as a result of their parents' migration, and children who are undocumented or stateless, is not assumed, and therefore such children find themselves excluded from the system. Based on the fact that schooling itself is founded on the premise of exclusion of others, this paper aims to unpack contradictory role played by Cambodian schools and school education in drawing and redrawing imaginary borders against ethnic Vietnamese.

Based on the existing research in education and border studies, this paper identified and explored three interconnected issues: a) issues surrounding the physical Cambodia-Vietnam border, b) socially constructed bordering against ethnic Vietnamese residing in Cambodia, and c) inclusion and exclusion of ethnic Vietnamese through schooling. These three issues and the relationship among them were explored qualitatively based on a review of the literature, an analysis of interview data collected in four ethnic Vietnamese communities, and an analysis of lower secondary level social studies textbooks.

By reviewing the history of the physical Cambodia-Vietnam border, I detail that the tension between Cambodia and Vietnam over the lower Mekong Delta is a major factor in the emergence of (stateless) ethnic Vietnamese in Cambodia. More specifically, growing tension over the physical Cambodia-Vietnam border in the Mekong Delta after independence from the French colonial occupation, on the one hand, and the loose border control during 1980s till early 2000s, on the other, have enabled mostly undocumented migration of Vietnamese to Cambodia. They remain in Cambodia as “illegal migrants” and their descendants later become stateless.

Together with tensions over the physical border, popular anti-Vietnamese sentiments among Cambodians have also played an important role to constrain ethnic Vietnamese from sloughing off

their statelessness. Through legal, administrative, social, and cultural practices, ethnic Vietnamese have been denied the opportunity to naturalize or “Khmernize” themselves to gain Cambodian nationality. This means that ethnic Vietnamese are not eligible for various civil rights, including access to housing, employment, health and education services in their social life, and they are constantly reminded that they are “outsiders” and excluded from Cambodian society, even when they live far from the physical border.

In relation to both the physical Cambodia-Vietnam border and socially constructed “outsider” images held towards ethnic Vietnamese, schools and school education play two important roles. Firstly, as Cambodian school education is operated for Cambodian nationals, and as completing Cambodian public education is almost the only way for foreign residents to meet naturalization criteria, controlling enrolment in schools is part of a bordering process. Secondly, by producing, reproducing, and transmitting certain images of Vietnam, Vietnamese, and ethnic Vietnamese, school education also engages in the social construction of imaginary borders. An analysis of interview data reveals that schools draw practical boundaries that have higher permeability to ethnic Vietnamese children than officially defined in the Education Law. Furthermore, social studies textbooks either describe Vietnam and Vietnamese as a friendly neighbor rather than as an invader or a competitor, or keep silent on the stateless ethnic Vietnamese and disputes over the physical border. Such nuanced images of Vietnam, which reflect Hun Sen government’s political sensitivity, keep the ethnic Vietnamese invisible in society. Partial border images also limit the possibilities for children in the majority group to unlearn anti-Vietnamese images circulated in society. Schools and school education, therefore, do not have much power to transform the “outsider” images of ethnic Vietnamese, and thus end up perpetuating and reproducing the status quo.

This paper sheds light on the political processes of “bordering” in which schools and school education are involved. Educational literature has treated border issues as a mere context or background, and therefore failed to question how schools include/exclude certain group of people, or how schools engage in bordering processes. However, the findings presented in this paper point to the fact that schools and school education do more than just reproduce constructed images, as they continuously draw and redraw new boundaries that reflect the social and political context. The notion of “bordering” and “permeability” help us understand the inclusion-exclusion relationship not as a linear arrow from exclusion to inclusion, but as a fluid, reversible, and changing relationship reflecting factors outside of schools.

Educational Opportunities and Challenges for Children with Indonesian Roots in Sabah, Malaysia: Permeability in National Education Reaching the Borderlands

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This study aims to clarify the background, current status, and remaining issues for a national education system that reaches out to the border areas and also transcends national borders. Its case study is children who have ties to Indonesia in Sabah, Malaysia. This research included interview surveys of children associated with Indonesia at Indonesian schools such as Sekolah Indonesia Kota Kinabalu(SIKK) in Kota Kinabalu, the capital of Sabah, and at CLCs (Community Learning Centers) scattered throughout Sabah. As a result, through the Indonesian schools provided by the Indonesian government in Malaysia, the current state and issues of the national education system (hereafter the "cross-border national education system") provided to children associated with Indonesia across borders is clarified. In addition, we explain the meaning of an Indonesian school for Indonesian children.

The reasons for focusing on children with connections to Indonesia in this study is because the author conducted a field survey in the area near the Indonesian border in Sabah. While the Malaysian national education system reaches even to its border areas, it contrasts with similar phenomena seen in the border areas between the United States and Mexico, and Thailand and Cambodia. There, children cross borders to go to school (cross-border children) and are considered a dynamic educational phenomena. In contrast, "The national education system that reaches the border region" in Sabah is a static phenomenon.

Research is therefore needed into the lack of cross-border commutation to and from Indonesia despite the increase in exchange of people and goods between Indonesia and Malaysia. To engage with this issue, we focused on children with connections to Indonesia, who have been left behind by the Malaysian government's national education system and school support programs.

Two preliminary surveys were conducted in Sabah. The first survey (March 2019) was conducted in the border area of Sabah, Malaysia, and North Kalimantan, Indonesia, and we visited two public schools on the Malaysian side. Participant observation and interviews with principals and teachers were conducted at a public elementary school in the border area, and interviews with the staff were conducted at the district education office. The second survey (September 2019) was conducted in

Sabah and its suburbs in Malaysia. We visited one SIKK school in Kota Kinabalu, the state capital, and five CLCs in the suburbs, and conducted participant observations and interviews with principals, teachers, and students. The first session was conducted with a group of research collaborators, and the second session was conducted only by the author. The author asked local counterparts to cooperate with the survey.

Based on a field survey in Sabah, East Malaysia, the current situation and problems related to children with ties to Indonesia are considered from the following three perspectives. First, from the case of children with connections to Indonesia in Sabah, Malaysia, the national education system that crosses the border from Indonesia, and the Malaysian national education system that reaches the border area quietly coexist.

Second, the national education system, which aims at “cultivating the people,” still faces various problems. If we take the concept of “access” advocated by UNESCO, it is difficult to say that fair educational opportunities are sufficiently open to children with roots in foreign countries.

Third, there are wide disparities in the quality of education across national education systems and across borders. At SIKK, the quality of education is relatively high in terms of school buildings, facilities and teachers. However, at CLC, a branch school of SIKK, although the access is secure, it is difficult to allocate teachers for all subjects, and the facilities and equipment are insufficient. There are many other issues as well.

Furthermore, from interviews about the children's future prospects, it became clear that the children are going to Indonesian school in order to return to Indonesia someday. In other words, while it can be said that the cross-border national education system provided by the Indonesian government has achieved the goal of “cultivating the nation,” for children who have ties to Indonesia, Indonesian schools serve as a channel for crossing the border and returning to Indonesia in the future. In addition, the function of Malaysian schools to nurture the nation complements the function of Indonesian schools to nurture the nation, thereby determining the permeability of the border region.

Research Trends and Reflections on China’s “Guomen Schools”: Focusing on Policies and Chinese Language Papers (2010–2021)

LIU Jing and KITAMURA Yuto

In recent years, with the acceleration of globalization and regional integration, people’s mobility between China and countries along China’s Belt and Road initiative has rapidly increased. At the same time, this has led to an increasing number of foreign students from neighboring countries attending “Guomen Schools” in China’s land border areas. The term “Guomen School” refers to public schools in border regions, covering all levels of schooling; pre-school, basic, and higher. This paper first reviews China’s policies on “Guomen Schools” and describes how they have been positioned at the national and local levels in China’s social and educational policies. Then, it summarizes the research trends on “Guomen Schools” in China, focusing on the Chinese language literature published from 2010 to 2021. Finally, it discusses issues and prospects regarding research on “Guomen Elementary Schools” in China’s border regions.

Research findings show the followings. First, “Guomen Schools” policies are closely linked to poverty reduction policies, ethnic minority policies, and national development strategies. The poverty reduction policies of the central and local governments have focused on supporting infrastructure development, strengthening facilities, securing budgets, and guaranteeing expenses for “Guomen Schools.” Moreover, to provide high-quality education, the government supports the development, dispatch, and training of teachers at “Guomen Schools.” In addition, as part of the “national treatment,” schooling support measures for foreign students at the compulsory education stage were also implemented through local financial resources. However, support for international students in compulsory education may vary due to disparities in regional development.

Second, research on “Guomen Schools” has developed from four research perspectives, including “history and school functions,” “national education and patriotic education,” “educational quality improvement,” and “governance and educational safety.” Previous studies have focused less on the history and functions of “Guomen Schools,” and these research areas were limited to the border region of Guangxi and Yunnan Provinces. Furthermore, research findings show a shift of research focus from “integration” to “patriotism-oriented.” This shift is considered to be a manifestation of the Chinese government’s revitalization of the Chinese nation and the strengthening of the Party’s control of the state since 2013. With emphasis on quality education for all children, teachers in

“Guomen Schools” are trained to possess a special awareness of national security, expertise, the capacity to handle diversity, and skills. Furthermore, the development of “Guomen Schools” is expected to play an important role in China’s active participation in global governance. High-quality “Guomen Schools” can be offered to the residents of China and its neighbors as public goods in border regions and can be linked to building a “community of human destiny” through education. However, regional governments and others must consider striking a sufficient balance between providing such public goods and implementing education on national security in border areas.

Border studies have shown the concept of “permeability” may change depending on social conditions in the border region. Based on the results of this study, it can be assumed that the current status of the “Guomen School” may also change in the context of China’s changing strategies of “economic development,” “poverty reduction,” “national revival,” and “building a community of human destiny.” Investigating these transformations through fieldwork is a future task of this study. Furthermore, to capture the diversity of border areas, it is necessary to conduct research on “Guomen Schools” in diverse border regions of China through joint research between comparative education researchers.

lobby exhibition called “National Ainu Museum 2020” was held on the first floor of the museum. This exhibition introduced the history of the establishment of NAM and the history of Lake Poroto, where the museum is located. Through the “National Ainu Museum 2020” exhibition, we were able to show the historical process leading up to the establishment of the museum. However, due to the limited exhibition space available, there was little room for detailed commentary about the exhibition. Therefore, the connection between historical events could only be understood from the chronological table provided. Another issue is that the exhibition was only about history, so it does not display the nature and characteristics of the museum, which is still a challenge for NAM that lies ahead of us.

A Study of Changing Views on Education in the Chinese Border Region of Northern Laos

INUI Miki

Laos is currently under the influence of China's "Belt and Road Initiative", which has led to the expansion of trade and investment and the construction of railroads, highways, dams, and other infrastructure. The purpose of this paper is to clarify how the educational views of local Laotians are changing in the wake of the Belt and Road Initiative, looking at residents of northern Laos near the Chinese border.

The method used in this study was to visit schools and conduct interviews in the central area of Luang Namtha Province, which is close to the border. The province has a large ethnic minority population and mountainous terrain, and the level of education is low. However, there is an economic zone in Boten, in the northern part of the province close to the border, where a variety of jobs are available, including trade, mining, and tourism.

Field surveys were conducted in March 2019 and January 2020. Thereafter, additional interviews were conducted through a local coordinator and when necessary online and via email.

Iwashita (2016) defines "border" as meaning of not only physical borders but also non-physical borders. Physical borders are drawn without regard to local conditions. In contrast, new borders created by people's perceptions are called representational borders based on human cognition. Based on these views, this paper focuses on changes in local people's views on education in order to clarify how representational borders are being formed in Luang Namtha Province.

The survey results showed that local people, concerned about the low quality of education in public schools, tended to send their children to Chinese schools, which have pre-school to first semester secondary education. Since the annual tuition is about JPY30,000, families with relatively stable incomes and a passion for education tended to make the choice.

Chinese schools have longer class hours than public schools, and these schools have become indispensable for the middle classes because of the care they provide for children, the Chinese language classes taught by native teachers, and classes where math is taught in Chinese. The schools are well equipped, the teachers are creative in their methods, and the children have a high rate of education and Chinese language proficiency.

Thus, it became clear that the local people, especially middle class families, are changing their

view of education in a way that is in line with the Belt and Road Initiative. In other words, rather than going to public schools where the quality of education is not expected to be high, they study Chinese, work in China or Boten, one step closer to the border, and aim for a higher income in the future.

In other words, Laotian people living in the area regard Boten, as a “representational border” rather than the real border area where the line is drawn. It can be assumed that they live there with a longing for it as a virtual border, and they are motivated to learn by the dream of working there.

While the Belt and Road Initiative continues to gain momentum, COVID-19 temporarily triggered an economic downturn, and it seemed that the Chinese boom had passed. However, now that the border is open, Laotian students who were previously unable to study abroad will begin to do so once more. Therefore, the need to learn Chinese is expected to further increase in the future. However, this trend will widen the gap with those who have no other choice but to receive public education locally, so measures to prevent further widening of the gap are also needed.

