住友コンフェレンス 2023:

アジアの日本研究(1):歴史と比較からのアプローチ

Sumitomo Conference 2023:

Japan Studies in Asia (1): Approaches from History and Comparative Studies

園田 茂人 (SONODA Shigeto) 日野 孝俊 (HINO Takatoshi) 林 佩欣 朴 敬珉 福田 円 Jo Ann HO Pauline Gidget ESTELLA YOSHIMURA Mako





住友コンフェレンス2023:

アジアの日本研究(1):歴史と比較からのアプローチ

Sumitomo Conference 2023:

Japan Studies in Asia (1): Approaches from History and Comparative Studies

よし	ごめに ······ 1
	園田 茂人/SONODA Shigeto
1	開会の辞4
	Opening Session
	園田 茂人/SONODA Shigeto
_	日野 孝俊 / HINO Takatoshi
2	セッション1:植民地支配の遺産と歴史認識問題(日本語) · · · · · · 8
	Session 1: Heritage of Colonial Rule and History Recognition Issues (Japanese)
	「東郷実と近代台湾農業調査体系の構築」
	"Minoru Togo and the Construction of Modern Agricultural Survey System in
	Taiwan"
	(2) 朴 敬珉/PARK Kyungmin
	「在朝日本人/朝鮮引揚者による日韓請求権の歴史的問題、1945-1965」
	"Historical Issues of Korea-Japan Claims by Japanese Settler in Korea/Japanese
	Repatriate, 1945-1965"
_	(3)福田円/FUKUDA Madoka
3	Session 2 : Comparing "Japan" and ASEAN (English) · · · · · · · 37 セッション 2 :日本とアセアンを比較する(英語)
	(1) ジョアン・ホー/Jo Ann HO
	"A Comparative Study between Japan and Malaysia: Attitude and Willingness
	to Donate Organs"
	「臓器移植に対する態度と意識に関する日本とマレーシアの大学生の比較研究」
	(2)ポーリン・ギジェット・エストラ/Pauline Gidget ESTELLA
	"Global Journalism Competence and Issues of Pedagogy"
	「グローバルなジャーナリズム能力と教育の諸問題」
	(3) 吉村 真子/YOSHIMURA Mako
4	総括討論 (英語・日本語)
	Overall Discussion (English and Japanese)
	SONODA Shigeto 林 佩欣
	朴敬珉
	Jo Ann HO
	Pauline Gidget ESTELLA
	HINO Takatoshi

はじめに

—— 園田 茂人 (東京大学)

本報告書は、2023 年 10 月 25 日にオンラインで実施された Sumitomo Conference 2023 での様子を、ほぼ忠実に再現したものです。

冒頭の開会の辞で住友財団常務理事の日野孝俊氏が指摘していたように、財団設立時の1991年に始まる「アジア諸国における日本関連研究助成」は、すでに多くの助成対象者を生み出してきたにも関わらず、これに関連する学術イベントを行ってきませんでした。同財団のHPには「主として東アジア・東南アジア諸国を対象とし、各国の研究者による日本に関連する研究(日本研究、対象に日本を含む比較研究・国際関係研究・交流史研究等)を助成することにより、これら各々の国において日本理解を深めて頂く素地を形成し、ひいてはアジア諸国と日本の間の相互理解増進の一助としようとするものです」と助成の趣旨が記されているものの、その「日本理解の深まり」や「相互理解の増進」を確認する作業をしてこなかったのです。2021年から同助成プログラムの選考委員を拝命し、実際に提出された申請書を読む中で、過去の助成金受給対象者に集まってもらい、その成果報告を行うだけでなく、これを対外的に発信することで、このプログラムの趣旨を、今後申請書を提出するかもしれない研究者を含め、より多くの人に理解してもらう必要があるのではないか、と思うようになりました。

折しも私が勤務する東京大学東洋文化研究所では、2022 年からグローバルアジア研究(Global Asian Studies)プログラムが立ち上がり、日本のアジア研究とアジアの日本研究の間の実のある対話を推進するようになっていましたが、住友財団に欠けていたものを GAS プログラムが補うことができるのではないか、そんな発想から住友財団のスタッフと協議をし、また住友吉左衞門理事長のご意見を伺う中で、同財団から助成金を頂くことで(2023年度その他の助成「アジアの日本研究と日本のアジア研究の実のある対話を

求めて:住友財団『アジア諸国における日本関連研究助成』助成金受給者による成果報告会の実施」代表者:園田茂人)、今回のコンフェレンスが実施される運びとなりました。

コンフェレンスを実施するにあたり、財団から 2018 年度の助成金受給者のリストを頂き、(1) 受給者同士での創発的な対話がなされる可能性がある、

- (2) 申請書の評価段階で高く評価され、その報告内容の高さが期待できる、
- (3) 出身地域や性別、テーマなど、報告者内部に十分な多様性がある、といった諸点を考慮にいれつつ、個別に交渉を行って報告者を特定し、実際のプログラムを作り上げたのが2023年7月6日。それから3か月強の間に報告者に準備をしていただきつつ、コンフェレンスの宣伝を行うという、少々忙しいスケジュールで作業が進みました。過去/現在の助成プログラム関係者にもご協力いただきたいと思い、今回は、福田円先生(法政大学)と吉村真子先生(法政大学)にも、討論者としてご参加いただくことにしました。

韓国、台湾、ドイツ、マレーシアと、報告者が居住する地域をオンラインで結んだコンフェレンスが成功裏に実施され、絶えず多くの聴衆の前で報告や議論が進んだこと、そして何よりも本報告書が出来たことに喜びを感じます。特に、この報告書をまとめる基礎資料となったビデオの収録・編集作業に取り組んでくれた Alleson Villota 君と、本コンフェレンスを財政的に支えて下さった住友財団に感謝したいと思います。

なお、本報告書に収録されている内容は、別途、YouTubeの動画として視聴することが可能になっています。(https://www.youtube.com/@SumitomoConference2023/featured.)動画のテロップと対比してみていただければわかるように、読みやすさを大切にしていることもあり、本報告書では園田が若干文章を手直ししています。ご関心の向きは、以下のURLから動画にアクセスしていただければと思います。

この小さな報告書が、多くの方の目に留まることを祈っています。

開会の辞 Opening Session

SONODA Shigeto:

それでは時間になりましたので、会議を始めたいと思います。As the time has come, we would like to start the conference. 注意に書かれていますように、まずはこの会議の様子を録画させていただくことをご了解いただきたいと思います。As you can see from the notice, today's conference will be recorded. So please remember that the video will be taken here.

同時に日本語か英語、私は今、両方使っていますが、これからはどちらかの言語が使われることになりますので、お手元の翻訳機能等をお使いになっていただけるとよいかと思います。As the notice says, we will be using either English or Japanese, even though I'm now using both languages. So, I think it's better for the audience to use the function of Zoom's subtitle translation function.

それではプログラムに入りたいと思います。「住友コンファレンス 2023 アジアの日本研究 (1):歴史と比較からのアプローチ」ということで、これから3時間に及ぶ会議を始めたいと思います。まずは住友財団常務理事・事務局長の日野孝俊様からご挨拶をいただきます。それでは日野様、よろしくお願いいたします。

HINO Takatoshi:

Hello everyone. Thank you all for joining us today. Welcome to the Sumitomo Conference 2023. I am Hino, an executive director of the Sumitomo Foundation. It is a great pleasure to host this conference in cooperation with the University of Tokyo. The Sumitomo Foundation was established in 1991 by twenty companies of

the Sumitomo Group. The Sumitomo Group has been in existence for four hundred years since the early 17th century, and is said to be the oldest conglomerate in the world. The chairman of the foundation, Dr. Sumitomo Kichizaemon, is the 17th head of the Sumitomo family.

The foundation had several grant programs, one of which is the grant for Japan-related Research in Asian Countries, which provides grants to Asian researchers who are conducting research on Japan. I know everyone is worried about the present situation of the Middle East. The main purpose of this grant is to help deepen understanding of Japan in Asian countries, which in turn will help promote mutual understanding between Asian countries and Japan. Last year, we received 600 applications from 19 countries and as a result of the selection process, we awarded 68 grants totaling fifty million yen. Over the past thirty-two years, the Foundation has received more than ten thousand applications and provided grants totaling about one thousand four hundred million yen, equal to ten million dollars to one thousand eight hundred recipients.

However, until now, the foundation has not held any ceremonies such as a grant presentation ceremony or presentation meeting by grant recipients. And our interaction with past grant recipients has been limited to meeting each of them separately. We had hoped to create an opportunity for the more than 1800 past grant recipients to interact with each other, and the University of Tokyo proposed this idea, which led to today's conference. Today, this is the very first edition. We have selected four outstanding grantees from the year of 2018 grantees to present their work. Two discussants will be also set up. So, we would like to make the conference not just the presentation but the forum for discussion. We hope that the research will develop from these presentations, and that mutual understanding between Japan and other countries will deepen. Today's session will be three-hours long, but I hope you will enjoy and join us until the end. And people who have not heard of the Sumitomo Foundation before, I would like to encourage you to apply for the grant. Thank you.

SONODA Shigeto:

Thank you, Mr. Hino, for your introduction of this program. I'm sorry that my self-introduction was a little bit delayed. My name is Sonoda, serving for Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia at the University of Tokyo. UTokyo's or GAS program's initiating this program has two reasons. One is a very individual reason. Because I'm now serving for the Sumitomo Foundation's grant as one of the selecting members. But the second reason, which is more important than the first one, is because our Institute set up a new program called Global Asian Studies, which tries to promote dialogue between Asian Studies in Japan and Japan Studies in Asia. Formerly, our Institute has nurtured Japanese scholars who mostly studies about Asia, excluding Japan, which is very conventional way of thinking on the relation between Japan and Asia. But recently, we become more and more interested in promoting communications between Asian scholars in Japan and Japan scholars in Asia, so that we can nurture a more mutual understanding or to encourage the scholarship from Asia, from different angles, from different disciplines. And that's the reason why I proposed to Mr. Hino or the Sumitomo Foundation to have this kind of opportunity to exchange ideas based on the findings by the grant recipients of the Sumitomo Foundation's grant. Today, I'm very happy to have two sessions today, one of which will be conducted in Japanese, titled 「植民地支配の遺産と歴史認識問題」which is (about the) heritage of colonial rule and historical recognition issues. This session will be conducted in Japanese because both presenters are from Taiwan and South Korea who are much better in using Japanese rather than English. And Dr. Fukuda will be serving as a discussant. This is the explanation about the Session One.

Then, we will have a second session starting at 3:25 Japan Standard Time. The session title is "Comparing Japan and ASEAN." We have two presenters from both Malaysia and the Philippines. The Filipino scholars are now based in Germany, but they will be presenting their own research findings. I am very happy to invite Professor Yoshimura of Hosei University to serve as the discussant. We will be using the last twenty minutes for wrap up or overall discussions on the concrete topics which

are pointed out by four presenters or two discussants. Okay, the time has come to start the presentations.

時間が来たので、私の説明はこれで終わりにして、まずは第1セッション「植民地支配の遺産と歴史認識問題」ということで、台北大学の林佩欣先生に「東郷実と近代台湾農業調査体系の構築」というテーマで、25分間のご報告をお願いします。

それでは、林先生、よろしくお願いいたします。



セッション1:植民地支配の遺産と 歴史認識問題(日本語)

Session 1: Heritage of Colonial Rule and History Recognition Issues (Japanese)

(1) 林佩欣(台北大学)

「東郷実と近代台湾農業調査体系の構築」

Dr. LIN Pei-hsin (National Taipei University)

"Minoru Togo and the Construction of Modern Agricultural Survey System in Taiwan"

林 佩欣:

はい、どうもありがとうございます。まずはこの調査はどんな調査なのか。 農家経済調査は、農家の経済調査、経済状態を明らかにするため、その農家 の財産状態、収支、経済などに関する一切の経済的事項について行われた調 査です。私の研究分野は近代台湾の統計調査制度ですが、この調査システム は戦前期に発展したものです。戦前期に科学的な植民地統治を遂行する過程 で、統計制度は重要な基礎事業であって、台湾総督府による統計調査は社会、 経済、教育、殖産など各地域に及んでいます。中には、台湾にとって立国の



鶯歌庄役場における統計書類(1924年)

基礎というべき重要産業である農業にかかわる調査も含まれています。

なぜこのテーマを研究したのか。実は終戦後の1949年6月から、台湾では中国農村復興聯合委員会(農復会)による経費援助で、「農業基本調査」という、戦後初めての農業に関する諸調査が行われていました。これら一連の農家基本調査のなかで、規模が最大なのは「農家経済調査」でした。1950年に実施され、1960年までに5回行われています。

1960年代の台湾では経済建設計画が施行され、農業社会から脱出して産業社会に入ろうとするところでした。農家経済調査は当時台湾農村社会の労働力や家計収支を明らかにすることを通じ、経済建設計画に対して効率的な機能を果たしました。従来、戦後台湾の農村改革については、農復会による援助を背景とし、アメリカの影響で実施されたイメージが強いものの、戦後の農家諸調査は日本統治期との連続性があります。



農業基本調査による報告書(1950年と1951年)

ちなみに、戦後の農業資本調査を担当したのは、林開煥という人物でした。 林開煥は台湾総督府の統計実務者であり、台北帝国大学の理農学部を卒業し、 専門は農林関係統計でした。戦前期に林は臨時国勢調査部から台湾総督府米 穀局に移動し、戦後までずっと農林関係部局に勤めていました。 植民地期における台湾の農業基本調査は、1920年から台湾総督府植民殖産局の主導のもとで始まりました。これ以来、統治末期の1943年まで続けて行われ、研究成果として膨大な農業基本調査シリーズが残されました。この調査成果は植民地期台湾の農業の特徴を表しており、台湾総督府が農業政策を設定する際の参考根拠になりました。

農家経済調査は農業基本調査の一環として実施されましたが、農業基本調査に先立って1918年6月に実施され、計3回行われました。戦前期から戦後に至るまで、長い期間台湾社会に影響を与えた経済調査は、そもそもどのような理論で形成され、構築されたのか。戦前期に日本が台湾で制度化した農家経済調査の構造を明らかにするとともに、その体系が近代台湾の農業生産や産業発展にいかなる影響を及ぼしたのかを解明するのが、本報告の目的です。

植民地期台湾の農家経済調査を構築したキーパーソンは、東郷実(とうごう・みのる)という人物です。植民地期台湾の農家経済調査を構築したキーパーソンが東郷実であり、1881年11月鹿児島で生まれた農学者、植民政策学者、政治家です。札幌農学校時代に、農政学の体系を確立したとして知られる高岡熊雄に師事し、卒業後、1906年5月に台湾に渡って彰化庁技師として、台湾における業務をはじめました。1908年1月から台湾総督府技師に任ぜられ、殖産局農商課勤務に就きました。1909年3月から1913年



東郷実による『台湾農業殖民論』(1914年)

8月までは、台湾総督府の助成によってベルリン大学に留学。札幌農学校出身、台湾総督府地方官吏、ドイツ留学、さらに台湾総督府高等官を経た東郷は、 それによって独自の台湾農業政策を形成します。

東郷実の農業調査意識はいつ始まったのか。農村調査経験は札幌農学校時代からでした。卒業論文を執筆するため、日本各地の農村に赴き、農民の生計状態や農村の現状を調査しました。1906年4月の渡台直前に公刊した『日本植民論』で、東郷は全国主要農村の現地調査を通じて、人口過剰の農民が十分な土地面積を有していないことを実感し、積極的な農業植民による土地の拡大の必要性を主張しました。また1908年1月、東郷は台湾の各地に農会事業の視察、農事調査に関する視察を始めました。同年4月から『台湾農事報』に3回にわたって「台湾農業の現況」という文章を投稿し、島内出張で集めた情報をもとに、台湾農業の問題点について解決案を提出しました。

では、どうして台湾で農家経済調査を実施する必要性があったのでしょう。 東郷によると、農業の地位を知るには、全人口のうち農業従事者の割合がどれほどであるかを知る必要がある、とりわけ各地域で専業農業者と兼業農業者がそれぞれどのような割合になっているかを知る必要がある、といいます。 農業者世帯の人数は、農業経営が順調に行われるか否かを決める重要な要因である。台湾では農業者の世帯規模は一定せず、数百人以上の大家族もあり、小家族による零細経営もあった。そのため、各地方の大中小農家の分布状況を調査すべきであり、それによって農家経営の実態も判明する。農業経営者は必ずしも自分の農地をもって耕作しておらず、他人の所有地を借耕することもある。農業人口と農耕地面積はどのような関係があるのかを知るため、各地方の農家に関する経済状態を究明する必要があるというわけです。

農業従事者のうち、自作者と小作者はどのような割合を占めるのか、労働力と耕作地の割合はどのようであるか、小作制度についてどのような革新策を行うべきか。農地の生産力を促進するため、これらの問題を、調査を通じて究明すべきだと主張します。農業に関する各施設の建設方針を誤らないた

め、まず台湾の農業に関わる起源、農法、および各種の農政問題を調査して研究すべきであって、台湾農業の抱える問題は詳細な調査を通じないと解決できず、特に優先的に調査を実施すべきは農家の経営状態である。東郷は、こう考えたのです。

では、実際どのように農業調査を実施したのか。農業調査の第一歩は、台 湾農会の制度化を促すことだと東郷は考えました。日本本土の農家経済調査 を見習ってのことです。

1907年に、日本の全国農事会は帝国農会と改称します。帝国農会は農業技術、経済発展および改良を目的として設立されたので、農業技術の指導、農業に関する調査研究、農産物価格の統制、小作争議の抑制、農民の福利増進などの事業に取り組みました。1913年から1915年まで、農商務省の委託により、日本ではじめての全国規模での簿記調査が帝国農会により実施されました。府県農会の担当者はその指導のもとに、各農家に記帳させて調査を実施し、日本農家経済調査史上は画期的な調査でした。

台湾における最初の農会は、1900年9月に設置された三角湧農会(現在の新北市三峡区に位置する)です。それ以来、ほかの地域にも続々設置されたものの、活動はなかなか活発になりませんでした。農業政策を遂行させるため、その第一歩として台湾の農会を完備させ、その農会に農業政策の宣伝や米の改良や、米の商品化の役割を果たさせようと、東郷は考えました。

東郷の建言により、1908年12月に、台湾総督府は「台湾農会規則」を発表し、設置していない地方庁には強制的に農会を設置させました。この時期、日本で全国農事会は帝国農会と改称し、諸機能を果たしたので、東郷は日本の経験に根拠して台湾で農会を設置させることを考えたのだと思われます。

農家の経済調査の進展は、日本の南進政策と深く関係しています。なぜな

ら第一次世界大戦後、日本の商品が大量に南洋に流通するようになり、再び 南進論の高揚期を迎えたからです。南洋ブームの訪れとともに、東郷は南洋 経営を狙って熱帯圏を統治するため、南洋に関する研究調査が必要であると 考えました。

1915年、東郷は台湾総督府に対して

- 1. 官吏を現地に派遣して考察させること
- 2. 学術探検会を派遣すること
- 3. 南方調査局を設置すること
- 4. 台湾で熱帯殖民に関する高等 教育機関を設立すること
- の4点を、南洋経営に関する基本施策として提案しました。

また1917年3月、東郷は「農業調査会施設置ノ義」という意見書を台湾総督府に提出しましたが、これには以下の3つの理由があります。

- 1. 抗日勢力に対抗し、不安定な状態であったものの、早速殖産局を設置して産業に関する調査を行い、調査結果に応じて植民地方針を定める。
- 2. 従来台湾において蓄積した熱帯産業の開発経験と学術の経験を基礎とし。母国及び植民地、対「支那」、南洋諸島と、台湾との関係を探求する必要性がある。
- 3. 日本の南下による熱帯領有を主張し、台湾と南洋を含めその熱帯圏農業を有効に開発するため、調査を実施するのは必要な作業である。

農業調査を通じて、東郷は何を明らかにしたかったのか。東郷が考案した「農業調査要項」では、農業だけでなく、農業に関連する台湾の気候や台湾のほかの産業、経済市場、農業金融、さらに、日本本土、日本の植民地、「支那」、南洋地方との関係など、全般的に究明すべきはずです。事実、これら一連の農業調査が、台湾の農業に対してどのような政策と将来をもたらすことになるのか。東郷は、これらの点についても関心を持ちました。

東郷にはベルリン大学への留学経験があり、プロイセンにおけるアウタルキー、いわゆる自給自足経済を高く評価していました。だだし、ここでいう「アウタルキー」の食料と原料の自給は日本本土に限られていませんでした。食料と原料の自給は国家生存上の条件ではあったものの、植民地を外して内地のみを考えるなら、目的は達成できない。植民地を含め、全体的に考えて総合的な農業政策を確立すべきだと、東郷は考えました。しかし結局、東郷の意見書は台湾総督府に受け入れられませんでした。

1918年以降の台湾において、南方に関する調査機関は2つありました。南洋調査機関については、1918年6月に、台湾総督府は官房統計課を改組して官房調査課を設立し、「南支南洋其他海外二於ケル制度及経済調査二関スル事項」の調査業務を担当しました。台湾農業調査については、1918年4月に農家経済調査が先に実施され、「農業基本調査」も1920年6月に開始されました。調査担当機関は台湾総督府殖産局です。また1920年6月には、台湾総督府が農業基本調査の調査計画を発表しました。1943年まで行われることになった農業基本調査にあって、農家経済調査は3回実施されました。



台湾農村経済調査第一報の表紙(1920年)

以下、各段階の調査の特徴について紹介しましょう。

第1期は1918年4月から。初めての農家経済調査では、台湾の農家が自

分で記帳を実施するのは困難だと考えられたので、調査担当員が一人一戸を担当し、一年間にわたって農家の収支を聴き取って記帳する形式で実施しました。調査担当員は地方庁や農会に勤め、長年地方農業指導を従事し、農家に通暁した吏員から選びました。調査成果については、1920年10月に「農業基本調査書」シリーズの第一冊として、『台湾農家経済調査 第一報』が発表され、また1923年5月に同シリーズの第五冊として、『台湾農家経済調査 第二報』が発表されました。また、農家経済調査の結果によって、台湾農家経済の特徴及びこれからの台湾農業の発展方策も「本島農家経済の特性」、「台湾農業発展の方策」と題して、『台湾農事報』で発表されました。

第2期の調査は1931年3月から。これは台南にある有名なダムの嘉南大圳の建築と関係があります。嘉南大圳の建設費を補助するため、1920年に「公共埤圳嘉南大圳組合」が成立した後、嘉南大圳組合は大圳潅漑区内の農家各戸に「水租」を支払わせています。嘉南平原で各地域が平等に水を得られるため、八田与一は「三年輪作法」という農作方法を考案しました。1年目には稲を栽培し、2年目にはあまり水を必要としないサトウキビ、そして3年目には水をまったく必要としない雑穀類の栽培をする輪作農法です。水租は当時の農家にとって大金だったので、関係農民40数万人は多額な水租に苦しみ、3年輪作のために作物は減収し、生活は困窮しました。1928年台湾



大圳潅漑区の農家が苦労していることを指摘する新聞記事

民衆党は全島党員大会で「嘉南大圳3年輪作反対」を決議し、1929年台湾 農民組合はそのスローガンに「埤圳管理権の奪回、嘉南大圳3年輪潅漑政策 反対」を掲げました。1930年9月には、烏山頭系統の通水が始まるととも に水租が増徴されたため、大規模な水租不納運動が始まりました。

二回目の調査は茶作農家、米作農家、蔗作農家、三年輪作農家および雑作の農家を対象としました。選ばれた農家には郡技術員の監督のもとで、自記式により毎日の収支を記帳させ、技術員がこれを調査簿に整理して記入したのです。調査の成果としては、1934年3月に「農業基本調査書」シリーズの第32冊として、『農家経済調査 其の二 茶作農家』が発表され、1936年3月に同シリーズの第34冊として、『農家経済調査 其の三 蔗作農家』が発表され、さらに1938年3月に同シリーズの第37冊として、『農家経済調査 米作農家』が発表されました。三巻の構成は同様で、個別の農家について所有地、土地利用状況、農家の財産、農業の収支、家計費、農家所得などを一覧表の形で表示しています。

第3期は1936年8月から。三回目の調査は米作農家250戸を対象とした生計費調査です。1918年以降、日本本土では米不足や物価の高騰が厳しくなりました。国民の生計を解明するため、各研究所や政府機関や民間企業による家計調査が盛んになり、「家計調査ブーム」を迎えました。1930年代に



農業経済調査報告書シリーズ第37巻(1938年)

入ると、「米穀法改正委員会」が開催され、米の最高価格が家計費を根拠に 計算することが決められ、その根拠として家計調査が一層重要になりました。

1937年1月に、台湾総督府官房調査課も台湾の給料生活者、交通労働者と工場労働者に対して家計調査を実施することを決めました。米作農家の生計費調査がこの時点で行われたのも「家計調査ブーム」によるものと考えられます。調査成果は1938年3月に「農業基本調査書」シリーズの第37巻としてまとめられ、『米作農家生計費調査』となりました。

まとめに入ります。

近代台湾の農家経済調査システムは、いくつかの要因で形成され構築されてきました。東郷実は札幌農学校とドイツ留学の学識により、日本帝国の食料や原料の自給自足論を主張し、その目的を達成するため、本土には存在しえない熱帯産業を持つ南方を占有する必要があると主張しました。さらに、その熱帯産業を十分に開発するため、それなりの調査を実施すべく、植民地期における台湾の農業基本調査が展開されることになりました。その調査方法は、日本本土で形成された調査経験に倣っています。すなわち台湾総督府は各地の農会の機能を固め、それらに台湾総督府に協力させて農業政策の推進につとめ、農家経済調査を遂行したのです。

第二次世界大戦後に国民党政府は、台湾総督府の統計担当者を利用し、統計書の編成を通じて植民地期の統計資料を把握しました。それを通じ、従来の台湾の統計制度を理解して参考しながら、似た調査政策の方針を決めました。戦後の農家経済調査の実施は、まさにこうした例の一つです。台湾総督府が完備させた農業経済調査は、終戦後、1950年から台湾総督府時代の統計実務家であった林開煥のもとで引続き実施されました。引用された農家経済調査のノウハウは、のちの国民党政府による農業政策や経済発展の立案に大きな影響を与えています。

このテーマに関して、助成金のお陰もあって昨年、本を1冊出版しました。 『支配と統計』という本です。財団に感謝します。私の報告は以上です。



『支配と統計』(2022年、ゆまに書房)

(2) 朴 敬珉(国民大学校)

「在朝日本人/朝鮮引揚者による日韓請求権の歴史的問題、1945-1965」

Dr. PARK Kyungmin (Kookmin University)

"Historical Issues of Korea-Japan Claims by Japanese Settler in Korea/ Japanese Repatriate, 1945-1965"

朴 敬珉:

ご紹介にあずかりました、国民大の朴敬珉と申します。住友財団の厚い支援を受けて、日韓関係を超えて、日中関係までも含めるのが、この研究を始める際の動機だったのですが、日韓関係だけでもまとめるのが難しいので、今日報告する内容ぐらいでまとめさせていただきました。これを基に今後の日韓関係と日中関係との歴史問題を比較し、今後の研究を進めていきたいと思っています。

今日の発表のためプレゼンの PPT を用意するつもりでしたが、時間の問題もありまして、原稿に基づいてお話しした方がよいと思っています。というのも私、博士課程の時、指導教授にいつも飲み会の際に、「朴君、品を落とさないように」とよく言われて、原稿なしに言うと必ず変なことを言う癖があるからです。ですので、今日は原稿を元にお話し、時間が少しぐらいは残ると思いますので、その際には PPT を使い、写真の資料をお見せしながら締めくくりをしたいと思います。

今日の発表の題目は、「在朝日本人/朝鮮引揚者による日韓請求権の歴史的問題」です。時期的には、先ほど園田先生がお話してくださったとおり、ちょうど1945年8月、敗戦以降の日韓関係の始まり、その時点から始めております。1965年といえば1965年体制、つまり日韓国交正常化交渉という条約体制、日韓協定というものが結ばれ、戦後の日韓関係がこの協定と条約をもとに今の日韓関係まで推進・蓄積されていたと思うのですが、その始まりの1965年までが、今日の発表の対象期間になります。原稿を読みながら少

しずつ補足いたしますので、その点ご了承ください。

まず、序論です。

欧米型の近代国家と帝国建設に向けて突進した日本は急上昇し、没落しました。その過程で、大日本帝国の統治下の中核であり、人的、物的な供給源であった朝鮮に日本人が存在しました。その日本人、つまり本研究でいう朝鮮在住、特に植民地期の在朝鮮日本人でありますが、これは日韓併合条約が発効・締結される前から、つまり日清戦争や日露戦争を経ながら朝鮮半島に移住して定着を試みた日本人を想定しています。彼らは敗戦を経て日本に引揚げますが、中には引き続き朝鮮半島に居残り、定着を試みたいという方々がいらしたものの、そういう人たちも含めて在朝日本人に注目しています。

彼らは 1945 年敗戦以降、本国への引揚げと定着の際、とりわけ朝鮮米軍 政庁に没収された私有財産が、日韓国交正常化交渉の請求権問題へと変化と する過程で、それをどのように認識し対応を模索したのか。これが本研究の 射程かつ分析対象です。

関連した既存の研究では、在朝日本人の引揚げ過程それ自体に注目するか、日韓国交正常化交渉、いわゆる日韓会談の請求権問題に対する実証に重点が置かれています。在朝日本人の引揚げ過程に関する研究は歴史学の方で行われていて、後者の日韓会談の研究は、日本がサンフランシスコ講和条約を経て国際社会に独立するその前の1951年10月に日韓の予備会談が開かれますが、だいたいそのあたりから、つまり1945年から日韓予備会談が開かれる1951年の10月の前までの6年間ぐらいが空白として置かれているため、51年から65年までの日韓会談研究が蓄積されています。

本研究では、在朝日本人であった方々が朝鮮引揚者になり、その引揚者の 植民地認識とそれと関連した対応が日韓の請求権問題にどのような影響を与 えたのか、その影響力に陰りが見え始めたのはいつからなのかを、通史的に 分析したいと思います。また、彼らの対応の仕方について、植民地期と戦前と戦後の連続性にどのような側面があるのかという問題意識も持っており、それと関連して、連続しているものは何なのかという疑問に対する答えは、植民地期とほぼ同様に、官民協力の枠内で植民地主義を戦後でも形は異なるであるにせよ踏襲したのではないのか。そうであるとするならば、その引揚者たちは、果たしてどのようなつながりを通して政府当局との相互作用を試みたのか、そしてその過程において、彼らは対韓請求権を主張し続けたのか。もしその権利を取り下げたのであれば、彼らが最後の最後まで守り抜こうとしたものは一体何だったのか。これらの問いに答えるのが本研究の目標です。

本論は3節で構成されています。第1節では日韓請求権問題の前史として、 敗戦直後の在朝日本人を通して朝鮮半島で引き続き定着を試みる構想が、京 城日本人世話会と朝鮮総督府との官民協力の枠内で推進されます。京城日本 人世話会を構成する人物たちは、朝鮮総督府の高級官僚出身の人たちが中心 になっている団体です。京城が中心で、これをもとにした朝鮮半島全国地域 での日本人世話会が設立されます。これが民間団体であれば、朝鮮総督府が 解体される前にある程度の財産と機能も世話会の方に移譲されるのですが、 敗戦直後の朝鮮半島では、この官民協力が再構築されます。ところが米軍政 の私有財産没収により、その構想が挫折する経緯を確認します。

構想の挫折は、在朝日本人が朝鮮引揚者になり、日本国内の革新勢力の批判、主に新日本文学会という団体が中心なのですが、そういう革新勢力の一部を担う人たちは、在朝日本人、つまり朝鮮引揚者に対して、「彼らこそ日本帝国主義の走狗であり、傀儡である」とか「植民地統治の搾取をした本人である」といった批判をします。その批判に直面した引揚者たちは、このような批判に後押しされる形で、在外財産補償要求への活動とともに、政府当局と協力する中で、戦前の植民地統治の正当性を総決算するために、私有財産がどれぐらいの規模であったのかを数字として表すべく、熱心に調査をします。それをバックアップしたのが日本政府であり、その数字とともに、その数字への解釈なり説得力を持たせるために、分厚い報告書を作成したのが

『日本人の海外活動に関する歴史的調査』です。これは日本の植民地・占領地を対象とする30冊以上にも及ぶシリーズなのですが、中でも朝鮮編などは1000ページを超える一番分厚い調査の結果が生み出されますが、その過程を追跡します。

第2節では、日本帝国の没収された私有財産に関する調査研究を終えた引揚者たちが、朝鮮半島の南北分断体制の中で、「日韓関係の正常化に備え、旧植民地支配の知識と経験を活用せよ」との役割論を提起し、活動の場を模索します。それと同時に、彼らが日韓会談の日本側の首席代表と交渉関係者との接点を設けて、情報の共有に加えて植民地統治の正当性をすり合わせた可能性を発見します。

また、日韓会談の停滞と朝鮮戦争の停戦協定の締結により、彼らの関心事項は日朝、つまり北朝鮮に移ります。日朝の未帰還者問題、いわゆる敗戦後38度線の北側に抑留されソ連占領下に置かれた日本人技術者などを指す問題です。その未帰還者問題に移り、その交渉の結末が再び日韓関係の正常化の推進へと回帰したことを浮き彫りにします。

第3節では、日本政府の対韓請求権と久保田日本側代表の発言の撤回、岸信介首相の非公式特使として8月、矢次一夫の派遣により触発された引揚者たちの批判と反発の論理を探り、加えて日韓両国の会談再開への合意により、引揚者たちが請求権問題の交渉条件を受け入れた様相に注目します。その過程で、引揚者が政府当局との接点を設けて何を強調しようしたのか、そして漸次、官民協力の枠内に亀裂が生じることによって、彼らの影響力が低下する側面を浮き彫りにします。

このような分析を通して、引揚者たちが以前とは異なり、請求権交渉の内幕に接近できないまま日韓会談が停滞する責任論を米国に向けて提起した背景と、その意図が明らかになると思います。以下が詳細な目次なのですが、時間の関係で結論に移り、その分析の結果を説明したいと思います。

第一節 帝国の引揚げと遺産――官民協力の踏襲

- (1)解放空間を越え敗戦国日本へ
- (2) 在外財産補償要求と国会へ
- (3) 植民地統治正当化の総決算---「数字」と『歴史的調査』

第二節 解放国と敗戦国の衝突---官民協力の維持

- (1) 予備、第一次、第二次会談——日韓関係への偏重
- (2) 第三次会談の決裂と日朝関係への転換

第三節 対立の解消? ——官民協力の亀裂

- (1) 第四次会談 ---対韓請求権と久保田発言の撤回
- (2) 第五次会談——米国責任論の浮上
- (3) 請求権問題の帰結――委任と排除

分析結果です。

まず解放空間。朝鮮半島における私有財産の保護を当然視した在朝日本人たちは、米国の日韓分離政策が確立したことによって、私有財産の没収とともに総引き揚げを命じられました。つまり、米国は日本人の私有財産を没収するのか、あるいは在朝日本人を引き続き在留させ、彼らに在留資格を与えるのか、そういった政策に対して何ら決定されたこともなく、1945年12月あたりに最終決定が下ります。私有財産は没収され、引き続き朝鮮半島に定着を希望していた日本人も引き揚げを命じられることになります。

彼らは敗戦国日本へと引き揚げた後、没収された私有財産を国家補償問題へと置き換え、官民協力の枠組みを再構築しながら対応を模索しました。その過程で、革新勢力を通して拡散される戦前の植民地統治への批判に直面しました。特に戦後の日本では、GHQもこういった革新勢力やリベラルな論調に便乗していましたので、GHQの対日占領政策に反映されることを憂慮した朝鮮引揚者は、GHQだけでなく日本政府にも積極的に働きかけました。これを後押ししたのが、日本内での革新勢力が日本人引揚者に向けた批判です。これに対して彼らは、財産補償要求の正当性を確保するため、朝鮮植民地支配は内鮮融和の平和的実現の道のりであったと強弁し、財産被害の規模を算出します。

その結果をもって、各界各層に働きかけます。政党にも働きかけますが、これだけでは限界があるというので、引揚者出身自らが国会議員になります。 実際、何人かが当選して国会入りを果たすのですが、このように国会への進 出を果たし、政府への圧力を高めます。こうした引揚者の対応が、対日講和 の賠償軽減を図る日本政府の意図と符合し、外務省と大蔵省共管の在外財産 調査会に集まりました。

この調査会は、戦後日本で再構築された官民協力の一種の完全体であり、ここで生成された植民地統治実績の数字と『歴史的調査』朝鮮編こそ、植民地認識の到達点でありました。こうした過程で見られるように、引揚者の役割と影響力は戦後、非常に大きなものでした。また、引揚者団体の中核を占めていた同和協会、これは日韓国交正常化交渉が推進される過程とつながって、中央日韓協会と発展的に解体されるのですが、これは植民地期の中央朝鮮協会とつながるものです。つまり、中央朝鮮協会が戦後、朝鮮総督府官僚を中心に同和協会に統合され、これが日韓会談と連動し、中央日韓協会へと生まれ変わるのです。

朝鮮戦争が早めた公職追放解除に合わせて、旧在朝日本人の有力者たちが復帰することにより、同和協会と日本政府当局との接点が設けられ、日韓問題が議論されるようになりました。そして彼らは日韓関係の正常化を念頭に置きながら、両国の民間レベルにおける活躍の場を設け、引揚者たちの知識と経験を生かすべきだとする主張を行いました。しかし、彼らは、朝鮮戦争の停戦協定の締結と久保田発言を機に、北朝鮮の平和攻勢を背景に、北朝鮮内のいまだ引き揚げができなかった日本人抑留者の帰還問題の解決に没頭しました。つまり、日韓関係は停滞し、朝鮮戦争が休戦体制に入り、体制移行期には北朝鮮との日朝関係にその活動の場を求めたのです。彼らは日本人の抑留者の帰還に没頭し、実際の交渉にもつながったのですが、その結果、引揚者たちが要求した抑留者の生存確認に関しては、「ほぼ全員死亡した」との通知を受けます。そのため彼らは日朝関係を断念し、日韓関係の正常化に意欲を示すようになりました。

日朝から日韓関係へと力点が移動する前に、この抑留者問題の結果を通して朝鮮引揚者たちが主張していたのは、日本人の人権が蹂躙されたという、自らの被害者意識です。後とのつながりは薄いかもしれませんが、これは、日本人の拉致問題を通して被害者意識を形成させる先取り事例でもあります。ともかく、ここで日朝から再び日韓関係に重点が移動することになった点が重要です。他方で日韓会談は中断されていましたが、韓国側が日韓会談の再開の条件として提示した日本側の対韓請求権と久保田発言を岸信介政権が撤回すると、引揚者たちは「無責任である」と強く批判しました。彼らは、「久保田発言の撤回は植民地統治の理念と遺産を否定する行為であって、対韓請求権の取り下げは、対韓請求権者の同意なしに国が行うことはできない」と指摘しました。にもかかわらず、彼らは日韓関係の正常化が妨げられることを望んではいませんでした。

その一方で、彼らは、岸内閣が日韓交渉に弾みを持たせるために試みた矢次特使の非公式派遣に激怒しました。引揚者からすると、朝鮮に関する知識や経験もほぼ持たない人物が日韓交渉に干渉し、しかも引揚者たちとの事前の相談もなしにそのような外交を進めたことは、受け入れがたい行為だったのです。

興味深いことに、岸政権と引揚者との官民協力の枠内に亀裂が入り始め、引揚者たちの日韓請求権問題に対する情報力と影響力に陰りが見え始めました。このような中で注目すべきことは、引揚者の代表者たちが日本側の首席代表を訪れ、岸内閣の対韓請求権撤回の同意とともに、韓国側の対日請求権の中で認めるべきことは自発的に認め、前向きに解決することを文書で提出した点です。この文書を通して、彼らは「韓国人個人の対日請求権を尊重し、是認せよ」と促しました。

結局のところ、旧在朝日本人、朝鮮引揚者が日韓請求権問題を通して実現を図りたかったことは、日本政府による国家補償と朝鮮植民地支配への正当なる認識の共有の二つであったと思います。しかし、二者択一に追い込まれ

た彼らにとって、断じて譲れない領域は後者の方でした。つまり、彼らは対 韓請求権という財産の権利は諦めても、朝鮮統治といった歴史の名誉を失う わけにはいかなかったのです。なぜならば彼らにとって、朝鮮植民地支配の 結実は、帝国の膨張と近代国家建設という時の時代精神や価値体系に対する 応答であり、輝かしい遺産であったからです。

したがって、植民地統治を否定されることは、彼らの生命線を横切ることに他ならず、このような彼たちの執念が日韓関係において請求権に拘るより、1965年日韓請求権協定及び基本条約を含めた諸条約の締結以降、異なる形での内鮮融和の完結を夢見る名誉を選択させたのです。

ほぼ時間を使いきったと思いますので、質疑応答の中で参考資料をお見せ できればと思います。以上です。ありがとうございました。

(3) 討論者 福田 円(法政大学)

Discussant: FUKUDA Madoka (Hosei University)

園田 茂人:

それでは、質疑応答に移りたいと思います。討論者をお願いしているのは、法政大学の福田円先生です。福田先生も我々と同じように、住友財団の審査に関わってくださっている先生でして、本日はパワーポイントも用意してコメントしてくださります。このコメントの中に質問があって回答を引き出すようでしたら、コメントの時間を短くして、報告者のリプライも入れた形で時間を管理したいと思います。25分でお願いします。

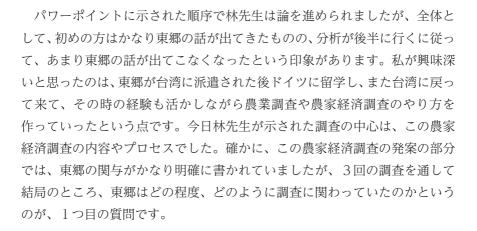
福田円:

ありがとうございます。ご紹介いただきました法政大学の福田です。私も 園田先生と同じように審査に関わらせていただいたというご縁で、今日この 場に呼んでいただきました。私自身は戦後の国際政治、特に中国と台湾の関 係を研究していまして、必ずしも今日のお二人の専門に合致した討論者では ないと思うのですが、そうであるからこそできるような、一般的な視点から の質問を、いくつか投げかけさせていただきたいと思います。

まず、林先生のご報告ですけれども、「東郷実と近代台湾農業社会調査体系の構築」ということで、東郷をキーパーソンとして捉えながら、戦前に作られた台湾の農業調査が戦後に引き継がれていく過程をお話しされました。 非常に興味深い、段階を追って歴史的な過程が後付けられた、私のようなこの時代に詳しくない者が聞いてもよくわかるご報告でした。

林報告へのコメント

- 東郷実と近代台湾農業調査体系の構築
 - 農業調査会の設置を提案「農業調査要項」
 - 台湾派遣後のベルリン留学→日本帝国のアウタルキー
- 戦前期に日本が台湾で制度化した農家経済調査
 - 農業調査会は設置されず、総督府発産局が農業基本調査を担当
 - 3回の農家経済調査→アウタルキー達成のための調査?
 - 調査結果がどの程度実態を表すか。バイアスの存在
- 植民地期台湾への影響
 - 「決して無意義ではなく、台湾社会の発展に大きな影響」→どのように?
- 戦後台湾への影響
 - 中華民国の土地改革と「農業基本調査」「農家経済調査」
- 戦前から戦後への繋がりができる媒介、プロセスは?



それと併せて、やはり興味深かったのは、東郷の構想全体が、ドイツ時代の影響を受けて、日本帝国のアウタルキーを達成するための調査のような、非常に包括的なものだったという点です。そこで、それは3回の農家経済調査を通して、そういうことが言えるのかどうかを確認したい。これが2つ目の質問です。

それから、その後この3回の調査が、全体として植民地期の台湾にどういう影響を及ぼしたかに関しては、これはアウタルキー達成のための調査だったのかということとも関わってくると思いますが、林先生はわりと大きなま

とめ方をされています。具体的にどういった面で農家経済調査がなされたのか、台湾の社会に対してどのような貢献があったのか、当時の宗主国であった日本にどのような意味があったのかについて、もう少し詳しくご説明いただきたいと思いました。

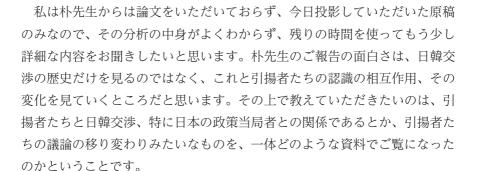
今日のご報告の面白いところは、戦前から戦後への連続性が明確に描かれていたところだと思いますが、この中で、中華民国の土地改革――これは戦後台湾の歴史を考える上でも非常に重要な政策だったと思いますが――、そのはじめの段階でなされた調査が、戦前期に東郷が発案した農家経済調査の流れを汲んでいたと書いてあります。ですが、その具体的なプロセスは、今日のご報告、ないしはいただいた論文の中では明確に説明されておらず、もっと知りたいと思いました。

論文から推測するに、戦後土地改革をしようと思った中華民国政府は、戦前のやり方を様々な資料で知って、それを引き継ぐなり参照したということだと思いますが、ここで何が媒介になったのか。例えば、それを推進していた人物と日本との間に関係があったとか、プロセスがもう少し知りたいと思いました。林先生のご報告への個別の質問は、この大きく分けると3つ、細かく分けると4つです。

次に、朴先生のご報告です。私は日韓交渉が専門外で、ちょっと的外れなご質問もあるかもしれませんが、非常に刺激的なご報告だったと思います。在朝日本人や、そこから派生した引揚者が、日韓請求権の問題にどのように関わってきたかということを、戦後の日韓協定が結ばれるまでの時期を、順を追って分析したものです。朴先生の場合、それを3つのプロセスに分けてご覧になったわけです。今日のご報告でも示されましたが、このパワポにある1から3にまとめたプロセスだったと思います。時間の関係上、この部分については省略したいと思います。

朴報告へのコメント

- 在朝日本人/朝鮮引揚者による日韓請求権の歴史的問題、1945 1965
- 在朝日本人/朝鮮引揚者の植民地認識と対応
 - 終戦後、朝鮮半島での定着構想の挫折←米軍政の私有財産没収
 - 1)引き揚げ後、在外財産補償要求に至るプロセス
 - 2) 役割論の提起、官民協力の維持、日韓←→日朝
 - 3)請求権問題の交渉条件受け入れ、官民協力への亀裂と影響力低下
- 史料について
- 日韓の請求権問題(交渉)との相互作用
 - 「数字」や「歴史的調査」はどのように出されたか?植民地主義の継続??
 - 引揚者と政府当局の接触はどのように変化していったか?
 - 政府当局者との接触が引揚者の認識に与えた影響は??



以下、色々とお聞きしたいことがありますが、時間の関係もあるので、2 つに絞ってお話したいと思います。

今日のご報告の中で、刺激的な主張の一つは、戦後に交渉をしたけれども、引き揚げ者や彼らと密接な関係があった日本の政策当局者たちの認識が、植民地主義の継続だったのではないかという主張です。これをどのようなところに見出すのか。今日のお話だと、最後のところで歴史の名誉を、財産の権利よりも優先しているところに植民地主義の継続を見た、というお話だったと思います。ですが、それ以外の部分、数字や歴史的調査の内容にも、そうした植民地主義の継続が見られるのか。あるいはその交渉の中で、随所にそういうものが出てくるのか。そもそも、何をもってそうした植民地主義の継

続を主張されているのかについて、お聞きしたいと思います。

最後の質問ですが、引き揚げ者と政府当局が協力したり亀裂していったり しながら、あるいはその影響力の強弱が変化しながら、日朝、日韓交渉が続 いていくわけですけれども、そのバランスの変化です。この局面では、政府 が引き揚げ者に影響を与えるとか、逆に引き揚げ者たちの主張や認識が政府 の当局者や交渉担当者に影響を与えるような局面もあったのか、そういう相 互作用について、上の3つの時期との関係で、もう少し整理していただけた らより面白いと思った次第です。なので、朴先生に個別にお聞きしたいこと は、大きく分けてこれら3つです。

最後に、コメンテーターなので少しまとめないといけないと思い、お二人 に共通する質問をしたいと思います。これは大きな質問なので、答えたいと ころだけ答えていただければ結構です。

お二人への質問

- 1945年を超えた視点一植民地支配の遺産と歴史認識問題
- 植民地支配の遺産…どのような「遺産」か?
 - 統計システムの継承→ポジティブな遺産? 請求権問題、植民地主義→ネガティブな遺産?

 - 「遺産」が戦後に受け継がれるプロセス どのように受け継がれ、意識されるか??
- 歴中認識への影響
 - ポジティブな遺産はポジティブな認識、ネガティブな遺産はネガティブな認識に?

今日のこの1つ目のセッションの題目が「植民地支配の遺産と歴史認識問 題」いうことで、どちらの先生の報告も 1945 年という終戦を超えた視点に 立って、その前後を橋渡しするような研究になっていたところが、大変に面 白かったと思います。朴先生のご研究は、その内容としては 45 年以降を扱っ ていますが、その前の時代をどのように認識するかという問題を巡って議論 が展開されていくので、こういう形の研究も貴重な 1945 年を越える研究だ と思いました。

いくつか、より深く考えたいポイントがお二人の報告を通じて出てきたと思います。それを3つに分けてお話ししたいのですが、1つ目は、植民地支配の遺産といっても様々な遺産があることが、今日お二人のご報告を聞いただけでもよくわかりました。今日のお二人のご報告からは、林先生が扱った統計システムの継承は、わりとポジティブな印象を受けますが、朴先生の請求権問題や植民地主義の継承は、何となくネガティブな印象があります。こういう受け止め方で間違いないか、いや、そうではないというご意見が、もしもお二人の先生からあれば是非お聞きしたいと思います。

2つ目は、遺産が戦後に受け継がれるプロセスですね。どのようにそれが受け継がれて、意識されていくか。おそらく受け継がれていても争点化しなかったり、意識されなかったりするものもあるでしょうし、どこかの時点で、今日的にもっと議論すべき遺産だということで意識されることがあるわけです。そうした意味では、朴先生が報告された内容は、戦後すぐに争点化した遺産だったと思いますが、林先生の統計の問題は、おそらくあまり人々が感じない間に、中華民国政府が日本統治時代のやり方を受け継いでいたというものではなかったかと思います。だとすれば、これらが遺産であるという意識が生じるのは、だいたいいつ頃のことだったのか。もしも、林先生にお考えがあればお聞きしたいと思います。

最後に、歴史認識への影響ですが、ポジティブな遺産があればポジティブな歴史認識につながっていくし、ネガティブな遺産、争点化するようなものを引き継いでいると、歴史認識にもマイナスの影響が出るといった具合に、単純な理解になりがちかもしれません。これについても、そういった理解でよろしいのかどうか。台湾で統計システムが継承されたことは、日本が残した正の遺産としてポジティブに捉えられ、韓国での植民地主義の継続はネガティブな遺産として日韓の間に残っていくという、そういう単純な理解でよ

ろしいのかどうか。これは、研究をなさったお二人の先生から聞いてみたいと思います。残り時間が限られていますので、答えられるところだけレスポンスをいただければと思います。どうもありがとうございました。

園田 茂人:

福田先生、どうもありがとうございました。今のスライドを残しておいてください。

福田円:

わかりました。

園田 茂人:

それでは4分ほど使っていただいて、それぞれ林先生と朴先生にお答えいただきますが、福田先生のお話は、相互認識を深めるような問いだったと思いますので、回答の方、よろしくお願いいたします。

林 佩欣:

素晴らしいコメントをいただいて、どうもありがとうございます。こういう問題はとても複雑な問題ですけど、できる限り答えさせていただきたいと思います。

まずは東郷実がどの程度、どのように調査に関わっているのかという問題について。私は戦前期台湾における農家経済調査を全部紹介したのですが、東郷は1回目の調査に参加して調査システムを構築したものの、2回目と3回目の調査の際には、調査の計画者ではありませんでした。しかし日本の経験に倣い農会を制度化させるとか、日本と同様に農会の担当者が農民を指導して、そしてその指導の下で各農家に記帳させたといった調査方法は、東郷が日本から台湾に紹介したものです。このような調査システムやその調査結果が台湾に与えた影響は決して小さくありません。

台湾社会の発展にどのような影響があるのかについて。台湾では 1960 年代に土地改革が実施されました。しかしその過程で、台湾の社会構造は大きく変わった。その際、農村の状態はどうなったのか。例えば農村住民の生活はどのように変化したのか、経済生活はどうなったのか、こういった状況を把握していないと、土地改革や工業化は進められません。そのため農業基本調査はとても必要で、実施しないといけません。戦後の台湾に張漢裕という有名な経済学者がいて、戦前期の2つの農家経済調査と戦後の2つの調査を比較研究したことがあります。彼によると、4つの農家調査経済調査は基本的に同じで、戦前と戦後の台湾社会に関する農民生活や経営状態や経済状態など、どのように変化したのか、この4つの調査結果によって比べればわかるといいます。

最後の質問について。戦前期の統計システムは戦後の統治者によってどのような存在なのかについて問題ですが、すべてがポジティブであったわけではなかったものの、国民党政府が台湾に来たとき、台湾を全然理解していなかった。しかし台湾をうまく接収して統治するため、戦前期の統計資料を利用せざるを得なかった。そして、戦前期の台湾籍の統計実務家が手伝う過程で戦前期の統計システムのノウハウを理解し、統計書を整理することで台湾の状況を理解し、統治に進めていきました。お答えになっているかどうかわかりませんが、答えはここまでです。どうもありがとうございました。

園田 茂人:

ありがとうございました。福田先生、次、朴先生のご質問のスライドにしていただいて。朴先生、お答えの方をお願いいたします。

朴 敬珉:

まず資料についてですが、事前にもっと詳しい内容を提示するよう、論文 を提供すべきだったのですが、申し訳ないと思います。資料は、私が注目し ている引揚者たちが残した資料です。朝鮮半島では冒頭に申し上げた京城日 本人世話会のような団体が会報を残しています。それが手書きで残されてい たり、同和協会なり中央日韓協会といった団体が月一回あたり会報を発行したり、あるいは何十周年の資料も出したりするのですが、こうした散在している資料を1か所に集めたのが、学習院大学の東洋文化研究所にある「友邦文庫」です。朝鮮半島出身の研究者で、自身も引揚した経験をもち、日本の各大学に所属して活動してこられた方もいらっしゃるのですが、彼らが拠点にしたのが学習院大学で、財団の支援を受けて資料が集まっている。そこにある引揚者団体の資料を主に利用しました。

引き揚げ問題では、加藤聖文先生の膨大な資料の編集の資料も使わせていただきました。私の学問的アイデンティティは政治学ですが、歴史学の力を借りて書いたもので、大きく依存したのは、高麗大で共に働いた李淵植という方の研究です。君島(一郎)という朝鮮銀行の副総裁を務めた人の手書きの日記が残っており、そこに日本政府当局者たちとの接触の記録が残っているのですが、私にはくずし字を読む能力はないので、李先生の実証を参考にさせてもらいました。また後半の日韓国交正常化交渉の話については周知のとおり、2005年度に韓国政府が関連の政府文書を公開し、日本側も公開したので、日韓会談に関する外交文書はそちらの方で閲覧しました。

植民地主義についてですが、今回の発表の際に依拠した議論が、スタンフォード大学の Uchida Jun という方の、まだ日本語には訳されてないと思いますが、Brokers of Empire という本です。そこでの議論が植民地主義で、特にその政策を推進する際に官民が一体になる。朝鮮半島では民間領域に、日本人でありながら朝鮮人の立場もわかるし、日本政府の立場もわかる。その両者をつなげる存在が在朝日本人であって、そこにいろいろな団体がある。この植民地主義政策の推進も官民一体で行うといったやり方、政策活動のやり方が戦後もほぼそのまま続くという意味で、Uchida 先生の議論は戦後の僕の研究にも適用できるのではないかと考えました。ただ、理論的にも非常に複雑な議論を招きかねないので、なるべく書かないようにしたのですが、今日の発表にはこれが出てしまい、不十分な答えだとは思いますが、これで答えの代わりにさせていただきたいと思います。

相互作用の変化過程ですが、短めに1点だけ申し上げますと、この発表の研究を始める際、日本の親韓派を類型したいという思いが強かったのですね。その典型が岸信介であり、戦後の日韓関係というと、やはり岸信介が思い浮かびます。ところが実際に調べてみると、岸は満州と縁故があったのに日韓関係に意欲を示したのは不思議で、朝鮮半島に経歴なり職歴を持っていた人たちが、なぜ戦後に親韓派として復活できなかったのかという問題が浮かび上がり、それを調査研究することにしたのです。

現在からみると、冷戦に対する認識や感覚というものが彼ら親韓派を分ける重要な基準になっているようです。岸信介は反共という意味で、日韓関係をうまくしていかなければならないと考える。ところが引揚者たちには、冷戦思考がほぼない。むしろ植民地期の経験によって日鮮融和や日鮮友好が重要であると考える、朝鮮との縁故を持った親韓派であり、これに対して岸信介は反共親韓派です。岸以降、縁故を持たない無縁の親韓派を中心とした日韓関係に移っていると思うのですが、そういう構想を持って今研究をしている状況です。答えが長くなりましたが、以上です。

園田 茂人:

どうもありがとうございました。5分ほど延びてしまいましたけれども、 大変良い質疑応答ができたと思います。お二人の報告者と福田先生、ありが とうございました。 3

Session 2: Comparing "Japan" and ASEAN (English)

セッション2:日本とアセアンを比較する(英語)

(1) Jo Ann HO (Universiti Putra Malaysia)

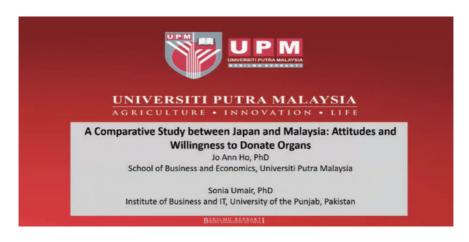
"A Comparative Study between Japan and Malaysia: Attitude and Willingness to Donate Organs"

ジョアン・ホー(マレーシア・プトラ大学)

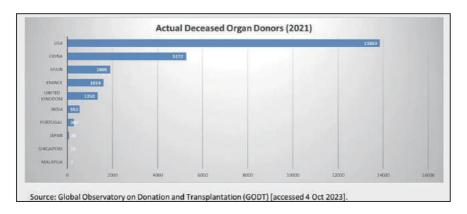
「臓器移植に対する態度と意識に関する日本とマレーシアの大学生の 比較研究」

Jo Ann HO:

Good afternoon, everyone. My name is Jo Ann and I'm from the School of Business and Economics, Universiti Putra Malaysia. Together with my co-researcher Sonia Umair, I am delighted to share with all of you our study entitled "A Comparative Study between Japan and Malaysia: Attitudes and Willingness to Donate Organs".



This would be the presentation outline for my talk today. And before I start, allow me to define the term organ donation. Organ donation is the process of removing tissues or organs from a live or recently deceased person, which is the donor to be used in another live person, which is the recipient who needs a transplantation. Now one organ donor can save eight lives, and the advantages of an organ donation is that people who have been previously been very ill and in hospital much of the time, can become productive members of society once again. Organ transplant recipients can often enjoy a significantly improved quality of life where they can return to work, engage in normal activities, and they require fewer hospital appointments. Apart from that, organ transplantation can also allow healthcare systems to have a more efficient use of resources. When we have organ transplantation, which often involves a one time surgery followed by maintenance, whereas if you have a person with or a patient with a chronic organ failure, they can consume a substantial portion of resources over time. By prioritizing organ transplantation, healthcare systems can actually allocate resources more efficiently.



Now, around the world, there has been an increased demand for organs and posthumous organ donors. However, the supply of organs is relatively low. If we look at the chart that I'm sharing here, we can see that among the developed countries the US, Spain, France, United Kingdom has a relatively high rate of organ donation. But in Japan, compared to other developed countries, the number of organ

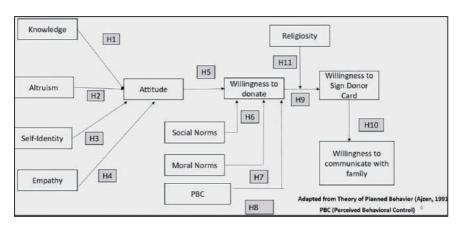
donations in Japan is still relatively low, and we can see that among the Southeast Asian countries, Malaysia has one of the lowest organ donation rates when we compare among Southeast Asian countries. There is a need to better understand society's behavior towards organ donation and to identify factors which can help increase the organ donation rates.

There are three key research gaps that have formed the motivation of this study. The first research gap is that little is known about one of the significant barriers to organ donation, which is family consent, particularly in Asian cultures. An individual's discussion with the family about their willingness to donate is one of the most important factors in turning willingness into actual behavior, and such discussion is actually very helpful and necessary for the family to be prepared when the time comes for the consent to be given. However, little is known about the organ donation discussions with family, particularly in Asia, because talking about that is something that is considered taboo in Asian culture, and especially when you want to talk about death to the elderly, it's considered disrespectful and it denotes bad luck. The research gap here underscores the need to investigate the willingness to communicate decision to be an organ donor.

The second research gap is that there is a lack of data in the literature regarding attitudes and barriers towards understanding organ donation. Especially, the literature is lacking in data from developing countries and how these intentions in developing countries compares to intentions in more developed countries. Additionally, the previous research has predominantly focused on Western nations and often exhibit selection bias by targeting specific populations, such as medical students or healthcare professionals. Thus, there is a need to update the literature on organ donation intentions, and also to have more cross-cultural investigations into organ donation intentions.

And finally, religion. Religiosity has been missing in previous organ donation

models. Religiosity here refers to the faith that a person has in God and the extent to which they are pursuing a path considered set by God. Religion has been found to have a significant influence on a person's decision making. But despite the importance of religiosity in decision making, many of the organ donation models, such as those by Horton and Horton, Kaufman and Smith and Morgan, they did not address this important factor. This research gap brings about three research questions that form the basis of our study. The first research question is what are the factors that influence the willingness to donate organs for both Japan and Malaysia? Does willingness to sign the donor card lead to willingness to communicate this intention to the family? And finally, does religiosity moderate the relationship between willingness to donate and willingness to sign the organ donor card?



Above is the conceptual research framework for our study. It is developed on the basis of the theory of planned behavior, which states that a person's willingness towards a specific behavior depends on their attitude for that behavior, the social norms and the perceived behavioral control. Attitude here refers to how much the person likes or dislikes organ donation, which in turn affects their intentions. The intention here is the willingness to donate. Our study here suggests that, individuals with positive attitudes towards organ donation are more likely to be willing to donate their organs. And this willingness to donate organs depends on having, if they

perceive that, or if the individuals perceive that there are this intention is going to be socially acceptable or encouraged by society, or if they believe that the intention is going to be morally right, which is moral norms. And if they believe that it is a behavior that is easy to engage in, right? Perceived behavioral control. From that attitude, it leads to willingness to donate and from willingness to donate, individuals' will then are more likely to take the practical steps to sign the organ donor card. And once they are willing to sign the donor card, what our study says that they are also more likely to communicate their wishes to their family regarding this intention.

As to our methodology, we use survey methods. We distributed questionnaires. And we received about 456 questionnaires from Japan and 400 questionnaires from Malaysia. Our respondents were undergraduate students because these are the potential organ donors in the future, and we wanted to gauge their intention. We had undergraduate students from two public universities in Malaysia and four universities in Japan. We used partial least squares structural equation modeling to analyze the data, and our final analysis consisted of a usable response rate of 51% from Japan and 77% in Malaysia.

ETHODOLOG	Υ
Data Collection Method	Questionnaires (456 Japan ; 400 Malaysia)
Respondents	Undergraduate students from two universities in Malaysia and four universities in Japan
Statistical Tool	Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modelling (PLS-SEM)
Useable Response Rate	• Japan: 51% • Malaysia: 77%

Now I'll go on to the analysis and the results. Based on the respondent's profile, we had a relatively good distribution of gender for both countries Malaysia and Japan. In terms of religious affiliation, you could say that most of the respondents in Malaysia had a religious belief. Only about 1.3% did not have any religion. However, in Japan, you can find that 77% of the respondents stated that they did not have any religious belief. In terms of internal consistency or reliability, both data from Malaysia. You can see here the Cronbach's alpha, the composite reliability as well as for Japan all met the minimum requirements. The data had reliability to rate.

Respondent's Profile	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent	
	Mala	ysia		Japan	
Gender	5.111.40				
Male	133	43.5	138	58.97	Table 1: Respondent's
Female	173	56.5	96	41.03	Profile
Religion					
Shinto	8	2.60	20	8.55	37 1 CD 1
Islam	172	56.20		****	Number of Respondents:
Buddhist	74	24.20	28	11.97	Number of Respondents: Malaysia = 306; Japan = 23-
Christian	16	5.20	4	1.71	Total and Action Control Control
Hindu	32	10.5	.777		
None	4	1.30	180	76.92	
Others			2	0.85	
Ethnicity					
Japanese	1	0.30	225	96.15	
Malay	175	57.2	+		
Chinese	86	28.1	6	2.56	
Indian	39	12.7			
Others	5	1.60	3	1.28	

In terms of the results, these are the results. I will be discussing the results in terms of the research questions that I shared with all of you earlier. The first research question was: What are the factors that influence the willingness to donate for both Japan and Malaysia? And you can see here that willingness to donate as denoted by WTD and we are looking at p-values that are less than 0.05. For Japan, the factors that influence willingness to donate were moral norms and perceived behavioral control. Whereas for Malaysia, it was attitude, moral norms, and perceived behavioral control. What our results show that in Japan and Malaysia, if people believe that the process of organ donation is manageable, it's convenient, it's accessible, they are more likely to express their intention to donate. And in terms of moral norms, the

influence of moral norms on organ donation intention in both countries highlight the ethical dimensions of this decision.

Construct	Indicato	Loading	Cronbach's Alpha	AVE	CR	Table II:	Мезен	rement	Model fo	rRef	ecti
Altruism	AL1	0.637	0.837	0.505	0.877				Model 10	LICE	ceu
	AL5	0.638				Construc	ts (Ma	avsia)			
	AL6	0.724									
	AL7	0.665									
	AL8	0.76									
	AL9	0.765									
	AL11	0.77				22 10 20 1			Cronbach's		
Attitude	AT1	0.84	0.785	0.538	0.852	Construct	Indicator	Loadings	Alpha	AVE	CR
	AT2	0.739				Religiosity	R1	0.838	0.860	0.562	0.877
	AT3	0.616					R2	0.87			
	AT4	0.701					R3	0.893			
	AT5	0.752					R4	0.854			
Empathy	EM2	0.771	0.662	0.595	0.815		R5_R	0.385			
	EM3	0.799					R6_R	0.49			
	EM4	0.744				Self-identity	SII	0.802	0,783	0.697	0.873
Moral Norms	MN1	0.794	0.817	0.578	0.872		512	0.833			
	MN2	0.722					513	0.868			
	MN3	0.842				Social Norms	5N2	0.948	0.526	0.652	0.783
	MN4	0.773					SN3	0.637			
	MN5	0.656				WTC	WTC1	0.867	0.858	0.778	0.913
PBC	PBC1	0.81	0.863	0.645	0.901	1000	WTC2	0,919			
	PBC2	0.812				The same of the sa	WTC3	0.859			
	PBC3	0.809				WTD	WTD1	0.883	0.906	0.779	0.934
	PBC4	0.81					WTD2	0.887			
	PBC5	0.775					WTD3	0.895			
Religiosity	R1	0.838	0.860	0.562	0.877		WTD4	0.867			
	R2	0.87				WT5	WT51	0.905	0.833	0.681	0.892
	R3	0.893					WTS2	0.918			
	R4	0.854					WT53_R	0,575			
	R5_R	0.385					WTS4	0.854			
	R6 R	0.49									

Individuals in Japan and Malaysia who consider organ donation to be moral or ethical obligation are more likely to express their intention to donate. However, attitude was not a significant predictor of willingness to donate for Japan. You can see here attitude to WTD, the p-value was 0.44 indicating non-significance. Now these results suggest that in Japan, while individuals may have a positive attitude towards organ donation based on their self-identity, empathy, or knowledge, because if you look at the results here, knowledge towards attitude, self-identity, empathy towards attitude, they were all significant variables for Japan in terms of the p-values. But these attitudes did not translate into strong intention to donate organs. However, for Malaysia, attitude was significant.

Construct	Indicator	Loadings	Cronbach's Alpha		AVE						
Altruism	ALG	0.732	0.828	0.872	0.532	Table II	II: Me	asuren	ent Mode	el for	
	AL7	0.77				Reflecti	vo Co	netruct	s (Japan)		
	AL8	0.758				Renecti	ire co	ustruci	s (sapan)		
	AL9	0.736				80	V		Cronbach's	0	Sec
	AL10	0.712				Construct	Indicator	Loadings	Alpha	CR	AVE
	AL11	0.667				Religiosity	R1	0.662	0.853	0.889	0.574
Attitude	AT1	0.841	0.759	0.835	0.506	-	R2	0.822			
	AT2	0.751	506	- 17 (2.5)	- 400		R3	0.796			
	AT3	0.627					R4	0.801			
	AT4	0.639					RS_R	0.75			
	AT5	0.677					R6_R	0.702			
COLUMN TO SERVICE STATE OF THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TO SERVICE STATE OF THE PERSON NAMED STATE OF THE SERVICE STATE OF THE PERSON NAMED STATE OF THE SERVICE STATE O	EMI	0.803	0.729	0.833	0.562	Self-Identity	SII	0.554	0.740	0.840	0.647
Empathy	10,000	0.803	0.729	0.833	0.562		SIZ	0.881			
	EM2					a contract of	SI3	0.926			
	EM3	0.797				Social					
	EM7	0.512				Norms	SN2	0.78	0.674	0.822	0.60
Moral	DOM:						SN3	0.84			
Norms	MN1	0.859	0.865	0.903	0.653		SN7	0.712			
	MN2	0.769				WIC	WTC1	0.874	0.805	0.881	0.71
	MN3	0.864				1	WTC2	0.816			
	MN4	0.861				worm	WTC3 WTD1	0.839	0.044	0.050	0.000
	MN5	0.671				WID	WTD1	0.931	0.911	0.938	0.79
PBC	PBC1	0.65	0.840	0.888	0.615	-	WTD3	0.928			
	PBC2	0.806				-	WTD4	0.928			
	PBC3	0.838				WIS	WTS1	0.821	0.833	0.892	0.678
	PBC4	0.885					WTS2	0.925			
	PBC5	0.719				8 -	WTS3_R	0.635			
	1000	0,713				2	WTS4	0.882			

In Malaysia, the individuals with more positive attitudes towards organ donation are more likely to express their intention to donate. In terms of social norms, what was interesting here is that social norms to WTD or willingness to donate was not significant for both Japan and Malaysia. This result is surprising because if you look at both Malaysia and Japan, we have both collectivistic cultures where we value conformity and group harmony. But what we can see here is that these values of conformity, group harmony, it did not translate into organ donation decisions. One possible explanation here is that perhaps, organ donation is a personal and intimate choice that is influenced by personal and family factors, rather than broader social norms. People do not perceive organ donation as a norm within their social circles, maybe because organ donation decisions are usually done privately by people who sign the donor card, and people who sign the donor card don't always discuss or tell it to everybody else. Combined with the lack of visibility and low donation rates, maybe people in both these societies do not see organ donation as a norm in their society.

Now we can see here that willingness to donate does translate to willingness to sign the donor card. And the next research question that we had for our study was, um, does willingness to sign the donor card lead to willingness to communicate this intention to the family? Our results showed that for both countries, the intention to sign the donor card does lead to a willingness to communicate this intention to the family in both cultures (see Table IV).

	Japan				Malaysia				
Paths	Beta	Standard Deviation	t-value	p-values	Beta	Standard Deviation	t-value	p-values	
Attitude -> WTD	0.04	0.06	0.78	0.44	0.113	0.057	1.934	0.03	
Social Norms -> WTD	0.02	0.06	0.19	0.85	-0.051	0.047	1.197	0.12	
Moral Norms -> WTD	0.33	0.06	5.46	0.00	0.192	0.066	2.946	0.00	
PBC -> WTD	0.53	0.05	10.27	0.00	0.58	0.055	10.684	0.00	
Knowledge -> Attitude	0.2	0.08	2.08	0.04	0.285	0.058	4.609	0.00	
Altruism -> Attitude	0.06	0.08	0.6	0.55	0.095	0.055	1.527	0.06	
Self Identity -> Attitude	0.36	0.07	5.56	0.00	0.425	0.055	7.774	0.00	
Empathy -> Attitude	0.2	0.09	2.29	0.02	0.127	0.068	1.905	0.03	
WTD -> WTS	0.38	0.08	4.81	0.00	0.514	0.066	7.81	0.00	
WTS -> WTC	0.36	0.06	5.84	0.00	0.305	0.061	4.843	0.00	

Our third research question was: Does religiosity moderate the relationship between willingness to donate and willingness to sign the donor card? What we found here that for the Malaysian group, religiosity did in fact moderate this relationship. However, for Japan, religiosity did not moderate this relationship. It does not show that the more religious, you're more likely to sign the donor card and to commit willingness to donate. This is consistent with the sample characteristics. If you re-

Country	Path	Beta	t-Value	p-Value	Results
Japan	WTD*Religiosity ->	0.106	1.412	0.159	Insignificant
Malaysia	WTS	0.112	1.822	0.035	Significant

member just now, I did mention that 77% of the respondents in Japan said that they did not indicate any affiliation to any religion, so that could be one of the reasons why religiosity was not significant (see Table V).

What are the theoretical implications of our study? There are three main theoretical implications. The first is that our study affirms the use of theory of planned behavior as a basis for organ donor willingness model. You can see that we have used the whole theory of planned behavior as a totality. We have used all the elements for the theory of planned behavior in terms of the attitude, behavior control, subjective norms, and the intention part. We have also expanded upon this theory by incorporating other relevant factors, such as factors that can influence the attitude, which is altruism, emotional factors such as empathy. We have also put in religiosity to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities involved in organ donation decisions.

The first significant implication was that we extended the use of theory of planned behavior to organ donation contexts. The second one is that we found that there could be a cultural variation in the attitude intention link. Attitude has been consistently found to be a significant predictor of intention to engage in any behavior in previous studies. While attitude was a significant predictor of willingness to donate organs in Malaysia, attitude was not a significant predictor in Japan, so this could indicate a cultural variation in the attitude intention link. And finally, we also identified the boundary conditions in the willingness to donate and willingness to sign the organ donation card. The role of religiosity as a moderator in Malaysia for the Malaysian sample indicates that religious belief can play a significant role in motivating organ donation behaviors.

What are the practical implications? There are basically three practical implications that we can obtain from our study.

The first one is that our results show that it is important to promote family discussions, because this can be, to encourage our results, showing that it is important to encourage policy makers and NGOs to develop initiatives that promote family discussions about organ donation. You know what NGOs, government campaigns and interventions should focus on is training coordinators and healthcare staff with skills and knowledge to facilitate organ donation discussions. It is important to share one's intention with family members and provide resources to facilitate such conversations. The next one is that our results also show that it is important to collaborate with universities to incorporate organ donation education into the curriculum. This can be done through awareness programs, seminars, and workshops on organ donations, which can help shape positive attitudes among young adults who are potential future donors. I think it is very important for Japan and Malaysia. It is actually very important to emphasize the ethical aspects of organ donation in educational initiatives, because our results show that moral norm was an important influencer in the intention to donate. What both these countries can do is that we can highlight that donating organs is the right thing to do morally. And also it is important for the Malaysian counterpart for organ donation agency to emphasize to engage with religious scholars, to have religious engagement. The organ transplant agency in Malaysia can engage with various religious scholars and leaders to educate the public about compatibility of organ donation. Because there are some religions in Malaysia that still think that it is wrong to donate their organs, it goes against their religious teaching. By having conversations and engaging religious scholars and leaders, we can help dispel such misconceptions that organ donations are prohibited by religions and we can encourage more positive attitudes towards organ donations.

There are some limitations to our study. The first limitation is that, because this was a questionnaire survey study, we only collected data at a single point of time. In other words, the attitudes and all these behavioral data that we obtain was collected at a single point of time. Previous studies have shown that attitudes towards a certain behavior can change with time. And so it would be good to actually have a longitu-

dinal study to actually assess whether these attitudes do change over time. We could not access the actual donor behavior simply because it was not ethically right for us to force our respondents to sign the donor card. Even if they said that they had the intention to donate and they were willing to sign the donor card, we do not actually know whether this would be translated into actual behavior.

One of the recommendations for future research, I think much research is needed to understand why there was a disconnect between the person's overall attitude about organ donation and their intention to donate organs among the Japanese. We find that maybe future researchers could investigate the factors such as fear or mistrust regarding the healthcare system or organ transplantation procedures, and how this can influence the Japanese attitude. Or maybe family influence, because we know that in Japan, the culture here places a very strong emphasis on family decisions. If the family members had a negative attitude, does it influence the individual? The individual might be hesitant to go against the family wishes. We could try to understand why there was this disconnect. The second recommendation is to identify factors that influence the willingness to sign donor cards. We can look at how demographic factors such as, gender, education level and even social economic factors that can influence the willingness to sign donor cards. Are there specific demographic groups that are more likely or less likely to sign donor cards. For example, we could also look at how specific psychological barriers such as social stigma. How can that hinder individuals from signing the donor card or even discussing their intentions with family members? And finally, we can investigate the effectiveness of different communication strategies within families. We can look at the role. What are the role played by healthcare professionals and organ donation coordinators in facilitating family discussions? Are these people's involvement or these groups' involvement in family discussion effective? Will it increase organ donation rates? Those are some of the recommendations that we think can take this study forward. With that, I would just like to thank you for your attention and my sincere gratitude also to the Sumitomo Foundation for their funding. Thank you.

(2) Pauline Gidget ESTELLA (Technische Universitaet Ilmenau) "Global Journalism Competence and Issues of Pedagogy" ポーリン・ギジェット・エストラ(イルメナウ工科大学)「グローバルなジャーナリズム能力と教育の諸問題」

Pauline Gidget ESTELLA:

Hello everyone. Thank you for having us. Thank you, Professor Sonoda, for arranging this. This is a really nice initiative. It's late afternoon there. We hope you still have the same energy as we do because it's approaching 9 a.m. here, and we still have this caffeine-fueled energy. We're excited to share with you some of the findings of a Sumitomo-supported project which deals with global journalism competence and issues of pedagogy. I'm Pauline, I teach communication research theory and intercultural communication at Technische Universität Ilmenau in Germany. I used to teach at the University of the Philippines as well. I'm engaged in another comparative research dealing this time with crisis communication across seven countries, six countries in Europe and then USA, funded by the German Research Foundation. If there are some of you who are interested as well in COVID 19 crisis communication, maybe we can talk or connect later. My research interests deal with journalism studies, mis-and disinformation and Global South studies. I'm also joined today by my co-investigator in another part of this project, Jonalyn.

Jonalyn PAZ:

Hi. Good morning. Thank you again for organizing this amazing conference. I'm Jonalyn Paz, or you can call me Andya. I'm currently a PhD student at Central European University in Vienna, and I used to teach also at Far Eastern University in Manila. I'm currently working on a project on climate catastrophe and violence in the Philippines, which is also included in my research interests. If by any chance you're interested in climate change and climate justice, specifically from a postcolonial or decolonial lens, we can also connect. And I'd be happy to connect with you. Thank you.

I'll just be presenting to you a quick structure of our presentation. First, we will go over the relevance of our study and the definition of terms, the concepts that we look at when we were conducting this project, as well as the existing state of research. My colleague here will be presenting to you those parts of the research, and I'll be presenting to you some of the findings and the conclusions.

Pauline Gidget ESTELLA:

First let's talk about what is competence and competency. What exactly do we mean when we say competence or competency? For many people, competency is interchangeable with the term skill or ability. But competency is broader than skill or ability. Competencies include knowledge, skills, abilities or personal characteristics or attitudes. And a cluster of these building blocks constitute successful practice. This competency-based approach is quite common in human resources development research and educational evaluation. We see journalism competence as sort of a model consisting of different competencies. Knowledge, skills, attitudes, personal characteristics. And you can see, in a in a normative perspective, we can say that the more competencies a journalist have, then the more competent he or she can be. That's why we can visualize journalism competence as a sort of a framework.

First, we need to discuss why is it important to talk about journalism competence or journalism education? As we all know, there have been disruptions across different spheres in the world of journalists that affected the world of journalism. For instance, we have the technological upheavals. We are all familiar now with how the internet drastically changed the way we do journalism. And now we have the rise of AI in newsrooms. We all see now the rise of what Sarısakaloğlu (2022) called as "social-technical newsrooms", in which journalists work with AI to produce and disseminate news.

We also have the economic upheavals. We now have the precarious media economy, as well as the loss of jobs in the journalism industry. Across many coun-

tries, we have these declining trust levels in news, as well as populist campaigns that vilify journalism. Now we see so many people shutting off journalism, removing professional journalism from their lives, and they believe that they can have their own sources of information, and they believe that journalism is or journalists are in cahoots with the elite in manipulating the society, and that they'd rather trust their own sources of information. So all of these have massive implications for training and education, and that's why we need to talk about it.

What defines now—who is a competent journalist or who is an ideal journalist? And what defines competence? So now we take a look at the literature on journalism competence. First, I mean overall, we see a disbalance in perspectives. First the literature on journalism competence specifically, the empirical studies that identified the most important competencies are all concentrated in what we call the mainstream West or North America and Europe. It's a highly fragmented body of research. We have most of the studies coming from scholars in these areas in what we call the mainstream West, and therefore the notions of competence are created within Western settings.

When we say empirical studies, we are referring to these surveys with different populations, asking them what the most important competencies are, as well as the content analysis of job postings. And we also see another disbalance. We also see the continuing dominance of the industry perspective. At first, of course, at first glance, there's nothing wrong with asking journalists what the most important competencies are, because after all, who better to ask than the people who do the work themselves? However, there's also a wealth of literature that proves the inertia of journalism, of journalism culture, and that there it is necessary to also include the perspectives of academia or educators, researchers, and students as well, so that we can correct or we can critique notions of journalism competence. Therefore, new starting points are needed based on these research gaps. And the small body of research rarely connects contextual factors or determinants with the notion of journalism competence. For

example, how does the media system affect notions of journalism competence? It is lacking in theory building and competency modeling. And it's a pity because other areas in journalism studies are moving toward or is in this theory building phase. But the field of journalism competence is far from theory building or is just moving toward there. There's not much conceptualization of journalistic competencies as well. When we say critical thinking, what exactly do we mean by that? Do we mean the same thing? And not much is known regarding the dimensions or variables to take into account, especially in global South environments.

Based on these research gaps or research desiderata, we came up with the following objectives. We divided the study into two parts. The first part, section one, to develop a global framework for journalist competencies, to identify key competencies that may not be well articulated in literature, and to conceptualize selected core and emerging competencies. In the second part of the of the study, in which I am joined by my co-investigator, we tried to identify journalistic competencies that are particularly important in the context of Japan, Philippines, Singapore, and Vietnam, and to identify the factors or conditions that may influence notions of journalistic competencies, competence in these four countries, and to map common journalism education traditions in these four countries. Not all of them can be discussed in this presentation because we don't have the time. We will just focus on what we think are the highlights in relation to these objectives.

Our research design. Based on the deficiencies from the state of research, I adopted a qualitative research design with in-depth interviews as primary method. We can utilize or we can use the exploratory nature of this approach because we are after the thickness of critique, debate, and description, and also because I wanted to critique the canon on competence or the literature on competence.

And then a framework of journalism competence was created from literature. Think of it as sort of a synthesis of important literature and journalism competence. The common competencies across the empirical studies that identified important competencies as well as the competency sets of training associations, for example, the European Journalism Training Association, as well as competencies described in critical essays, were consolidated in one framework or were incorporated in one framework. And then this framework was explored or challenged vis-a-vis the environment, professional norms, and other trends through the interviews. And then the interviewee were chosen on the basis of significant industry research and teaching experience. It was a very meticulous search because then we want to include the perspective of the industry to some extent, even though it's already well-articulated in literature. But at the same time, I wanted to capture that unique mindset in which these industry perspectives are informed by research experience as well as teaching experience.

Here are the countries. Thirty-three countries and forty-seven experts from these thirty-three countries. And these countries were also strategically chosen based on different factors. For example, trying to represent the different media systems and different levels of national wealth, as well as the level of robustness of social institutions. For example, how developed the research and development infrastructure is.

GCI*	High	Middle	Low	Tota
WPFI**				
High	Australia (1), Austria (1), Chile (1), Estonia (1), Germany (2), Netherlands (2), New Zealand (1), Norway* (1), Sweden (2), Taiwan (1), U.K. (1), U.S.A. (5)	South Africa (3), Romania (1)	Argentina (1)	24
Middle	Japan (2)	Brazil (1), Croatia (1)	Serbia (1), Uganda (1)	6
Low	China (4), India (2), Malaysia (1), Qatar (1), Russia (1), Singapore (1)	Kazakhstan (1), Mexico (1), Philippines (1), Vietnam (1)	Bangladesh (1), Pakistan (1), Zimbabwe (1)	17
Total	31	10	6	47

· Interviewees chosen on the basis of significant industry, research, and teaching

experience

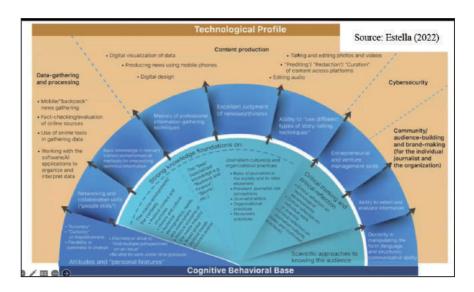
We have here, for example, countries with high levels of global competitiveness. This GCI is global stands for Global Competitiveness Index. And this is published every year by the World Economic Forum. This index ranks countries according to, for example, as I said, its research and development infrastructure, its educational infrastructure. And then I plotted this against the WPFI, which is the World Press Freedom Index. You have here countries with high global competitiveness and also with high levels of media freedom. And then on the other end, you have countries with low levels of global competitiveness and low levels of media freedom. Of course, we are all familiar with the nuances and the differences across different environments. I tried to capture that as much as possible and to represent that as much as possible. But of course, there are limitations to this kind of approach. Nevertheless, we have 33 countries and 47 experts from these countries and also this approach is limited by the willingness of the interviewees to participate in the project. As we all know, in this kind of approach, we are totally at the mercy of our target interviewees. It's particularly difficult as well to convince these experts to participate in the project, or to allot two hours of their time to participate in the interviews

In the second part I am joined by my co-investigator. We zoomed into the pertinent issues and factors in Japan, Philippines, Singapore, and Vietnam. And then we interviewed 2 to 3 experts per country representing selected universities, because we then we want to look at the journalism education as well in these countries.

In the end, for the first part, more than 2300 minutes, or about 34 hours of recordings, roughly 560 pages of material were analyzed through qualitative content analysis in MaxQDA Analytics Pro using Maxqda Analytics Pro software. So here you can see just some fun pictures of us connecting with some of the colleagues that we interviewed in the project. Here you can see an interview, a picture during our interview with an expert from Vietnam, Japan and Singapore.



Now we will move on to the findings.



I know this is a lot to take in, no worries. I will walk you through it. In this framework, you could see that there are two main domains. The Cognitive-Behavioral Base, which is inspired by literature from clinical psychology. And then the technological profile domain, which is inspired by a study by Lopez-Garcia et al. (2017). The main assumption of this framework is that the competencies here in the cognitive behavioral base, should support the performance of the competencies in the technological profile, and that an ideal journalist in a normative perspective should have a strong CBB, short for Cognitive-Behavioral Base, and a strong TP (Technological Profile). So here there are many competencies. For example, in the CBB, the attitudes and personal features for example accuracy curiosity and so on. And then you have the strong knowledge foundations. It is important, for instance, that you, that the journalist has strong knowledge on, say, the political context and the political system that will guide them in performing other competencies. For example, also in the CBB, you have the dexterity in manipulating the form. The choice of words, how you would structure a news article for instance. It's not enough that you know proper grammar. You should know also the character of your audience and the political system, so that you will know what you can do and what you cannot do. And you can then perform that in the technological sphere. When you try to communicate with audiences using digital texts, then you should be equipped with strong knowledge foundations on audience needs, demographics and expectations.

Another important cluster of competencies is critical reflection. This is the stepping point toward transforming the practice. It is not enough for a journalist to be able to produce texts. He or she should also be able to critically reflect on journalistic norms. Are we still doing this right? Is it really the news that people need today? Should we interrogate the structure, the structure of news or news as we know it? Should we change things? Should we change routines? And then you have other competencies here which can be performed with or without technology. For instance, excellent judgment of newsworthiness, ability to use different types of storytelling techniques.

Here you have four clusters' data gathering and processing. Mobile backpack news gathering, fact checking of online news sources, and so on. And then here and working with AI here as well. And then you have your digital visualization of data in the second cluster and then cyber security and the fourth cluster community audience building and brand making for the journalist and organization. So as you can see this framework is flexible. It can be used across different settings. And it is very possible that in some countries they identify or they define a competent journalist if he or she, for example, has not so strong technological profile but strong CBB. And in some countries a strong CBB is not so important compared to a strong TP. Therefore, the definition of a competent journalist varies, and this framework can be used to identify that. Now we will be moving on to the next part.

Jonalyn PAZ:

For the next part, I'll be presenting to you an overview of our research methodology as well as findings from the second part of this study. And thank you, Gidget, for the global overview. And our research is inspired by our previous publication, which looks into the media landscape in South East Asia, and it was published in the *Pacific Journalism Review*. And we have chosen our countries strategically. We wanted to capture the different socio-economic landscapes in different countries in South East Asia as well as Japan. Our chosen countries are Japan, Philippines, Singapore, and Vietnam. And we conducted interviews with professors and key educators of some journalism education institutions in these countries. These include, for example, the Waseda University, Sophia University and Rikkyo University in Japan, the University of the Philippines and the University of Santo Tomas in the Philippines, the Nanyang Technical University and and the Ngee Ann Polytechnic University in Singapore, as well as the Vietnam National University and Academy of Journalism and Communication in Vietnam.

From the interviews, we found that the objectives of journalism education are influenced by different factors, and it's always in a sort of a tug of war between their

goals and interests.

Findings II

· Journalism education is a constant negotiation between



- The source of funding as **an important influencing factor** Experts in consensus that "grasp of academic theory" and "academic research tools" is highly important, but...

For instance, in designing curricula, many educators found themselves struggling in choosing courses to put within a limited number of study units. They asked certain questions, such as whether they should put more courses on developing critical reflection, for instance, and academic research competence, which are important in critiquing journalism practice and helping to improve to better fulfill its normative mission, or if they should insert more courses with greater student demand. They are also sort of negotiating between developing the critical inquiry competencies of journalism students, or if they should put emphasis on developing practical skills. And we also found that the source of funding is important. It's an important influencing factor, such as institutions with funding from the industries tend to cater to their demands. The experts from these countries that we have interviewed think that a grasp of academic theory and academic research tool is indispensable, but this should not be taught in an astral manner, as one of the interviewees in the first study said. This means that the courses in theory and research tools should be as close as possible to practice, and should use real world examples from the practice, and should help the journalists evaluate themselves.

Pauline Gidget ESTELLA:

Very quickly, I will try to describe the different journalism and education traditions in the four countries. In Japan we see a unique setup, I would say. So based on the interviews and also from literature, we see that university education is mostly focused on academic theory and critical inquiry, albeit there are practical skills units, of course, but the in-house company training is the main gateway to the profession. And in the interviews, some of the competencies that were emphasized were upskilling due to automation, comprehensive knowledge and political contexts and cultures, maintaining autonomy or independence in a context in which there is a lot of instrumentalization of journalists because of commercial interests, good grasp of academic theory and academic research tools and audience-oriented ness, or knowing the audience. In the Philippines, the journalism education tradition is mostly industry-centered, meaning the goal is still to cater to the demands of the industry or the notions of competence of the industry, and the most important competencies based on the interviews are audience-oriented ness, comprehensive knowledge and political contexts, and critical reflexivity or norms and routines, or trying to interrogate or critique journalism, journalism norms, or how journalists do things.

Country	Journalism education tradition	Some important competencies
Japan	In-house company training as main gateway to profession University education mostly focused on academic theory and critical inquiry	1) "upskilling due to automation" 2) "Comprehensive knowledge on political contexts and structures", 3) "Maintaining autonomy or independence", 4) Good grasp of academic theory and academic research tools, and 5) Audience-orientedness
РН	Mostly industry-centered (developing countries)	Audience-orientedness Comprehensive knowledge on political contexts and structures Critical-reflexivity (on norms and routines)

Then in Singapore, it appears that journalism education is often a strand or specialization within a broader communication school. And these are some of the competencies deemed important: So upskilling due to automation, probably an outcome of the robust technological infrastructure in such countries, and then comprehensive knowledge on political contexts and structures, maintaining autonomy or independence. Good grasp of academic theory and research tools. A lot of similarities with Japan. And then in Vietnam, from the interviews, we found that it is mostly industry-centered, but at the same time they have to 'toe the line' that is set by the government. We see that there are different units in the journalism school that are focused on, for example, instilling the principles of Marxism-Leninism. These are the most important competencies that were discussed in the interviews as well. I also like to add that for the interviewees from these different countries, we tried to seek the course coordinators or the program coordinators as well, so that they could speak on behalf of journalism education in their own institutions.

Country	Journalism education tradition	Some important competencies
SG	Journalism education as a strand or specialization within a broader communication school	1) "upskilling due to automation" 2) "Comprehensive knowledge on political contexts and structures", 3) "Maintaining autonomy or independence", and 4) Good grasp of academic theory and academic research tools 5) Audience-orientedness
Vietnam	 Mostly industry-centered (developing countries) Propaganda-oriented 	Audience-orientedness Comprehensive knowledge on political contexts and structures Critical-reflexivity (on norms and routines)

Jonalyn PAZ:

To sum it up, the ideal journalist has a strong Cognitive-Behavioral Base, as discussed by my colleague, as well as the Technological Profile. However, this may change depending on the characteristic and profile of the country that the ideal journalist is situated in. Moreover, journalism education is in a constant negotiation. The

goals and interests are influenced by a variety of factors. The journalism curricula, for instance, is often negotiated with a number of study units within the program, and since this research is more exploratory, we recommend that this study be confirmed and in some cases complemented by a research that has a quantitative design. Thank you.

Pauline Gidget ESTELLA:

That's it. These are the presentations and publications taken from some of the findings of the study. And these are the references. Thank you very much for your attention.

Presentations and publications

- Estella, P. (2023, upcoming). Cross-border Journalism and de-Westernization. In M. Löffelholz, L.
 Rothenberger, & D. Weaver (Eds.) Palgrave Handbook of Cross-border Journalism. Palgrave. Temporary
 URL: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/123274208-the-palgrave-handbook-of-cross-border-journalism
- Estella, P.G. (2022). The Covid-19 Pandemic and Global Journalism Competencies: Normative Visions, Debates, And Contextual Realities. In the "28th AMIC Annual Conference - Science Communication: Managing the Now and the Future" Book of Abstracts. Asian Media Information and Communication Centre. Manila. ISSN 2599-4743. p.85. URL: https://amic.asia/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/AMIC-BOOK-OF-ABSTRACTS-2021.pdf
- Estella, P. G. (2021). The journalist's 'toolbox' of competencies in the Digital-Global Age: Reflections on the global state of research. Pacific Journalism Review: Te Koakoa, 27(1 & 2), 194-214. https://doi.org/10.24135/pjr.v27i1and2.1080
- Estella P.G. (2021). Digital populism, digital newswork and the concept of journalistic competence: the Philippine condition. Media International Australia. SAGE. 179(1):80-95. doi:10.1177/1329878X2110033568
- Estella P. G. (2020). Journalism competence and the COVID-19 crisis in Southeast Asia: Toward
 journalism as a transformative and interdisciplinary enterprise. Pacific Journalism Review: Te Koakoa,
 26(2), 15-34. https://doi.org/10.24135/pjr.v26i2.1132

(3) Discussant: YOSHIMURA Mako (Hosei University) 討論者 吉村 真子(法政大学)

YOSHIMURA Mako:

Thank you very much for presentations.

At first, for Doctor Jo Ann, I have a comment and questions for you. Your research and the results are quite interesting. I was interested especially in the survey on younger people who were undergrads. How they consider about donation and how they recognize the donor cards as well. As we usually assume, they might be influenced by their religions, social backgrounds, social norm, and so on. But how do you consider about their concept and images of dead body after this world? It might be different from the consideration of many points. Some might want to keep the body, or the family would like to keep the body after they're dead. And of course, we, especially Japanese, have to discuss how we consider and define the death. Even when the brain stops working or even the heart stops, somebody might not understand the person died. And there is another issue. Even when we understand the concept and the definition of death by medical doctors or scientists, the concept of dead body or after-death world might be various. For instance, Muslims or Christians might believe that they live again in the heaven after death. In that case, they might hesitate and be afraid that their body would be cut, or some part of the body would be taken away.

Moreover, the family presence and their attitudes could be the barriers for organ donation. It is a good point to discuss. Also the role of donor card is important. How much do they consider about signing the donor card? Because it is a good chance to think about donation. But we have to see the system itself. Family might not consider about the card. The doctor or hospital cannot find the donor card automatically. The family should know. The people must check about donor card presence. There should be some systematic measures to recognize donation. The society have to

change for it and all of us have to think about donation, even when we don't sign or we deny to donate the organ. It does not matter whether they sign yes or no for organ donation. It is crucial to consider to sign a donor card. However, many don't consider about the donor cards so much in Japan. So that is a big weak point in Japanese society to go for organ donation.

We also have to think about the cultural nature of Japanese society. Japanese society is not based by/for charity or volunteer activities. As for this, 2011 was the year of Great East Japan Earthquake in Tohoku area and it was a big timing to think about volunteer activities after the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in 1995 that was called "the first year of volunteer". Yet, why don't we move for organ donation in Japan? We still have big barriers to think about organ donation. Especially, it is hard to think that dead body have to be offered or donated for other people or society. So organ donation is thought as a very special behavior and it is taken to be different from general individual services or contributions to the society. It is above the services of charity, volunteer, helping each other concept, and so on.

The system and process for organ donation is important as well. When a person dies or is dying, his/her family faces it in hospital/clinic. In case of those serious situations, organ donation is something we don't think about and it is very difficult to touch. So we have to think about the system and we have to have some specific process or occasions to come close. It can be good if you compare with the case of South Korea. Korean government set up the KONOS by the Organ Transplantation Act (2000). KONOS is the Korean Network for Organ Sharing in English. It is managed by the National Institute of Organ, Tissue, and Blood Management. This is especially for organ donation and offers the information of brain-dead patients. Foundation of KONOS is quite drastic for Korean society. The state has the responsibility. The state has a system. Generally speaking, when medical doctors take care of the patients, it might be difficult for them to explain about the donation to the alive patients or their families before/after patients' death. They might hesitate to push them

to think about organ donation. In South Korea, when they have brain-dead patients, the clinic and the hospital have to report to the KONOS and the KONOS sends the specialists to explain about the chance of donation to the patient family. The state responsibility and liability for the system is quite effective. If you think about this case, it is effective and applicable not only to Japan, but also to Malaysia and some other countries where organ donation rates are very low. If the government or state has the responsibility to set up the system and the institute, it is very different.

And, of course, the Sumitomo Foundation Fellowship is for Japan study. I will ask you again, how do you think about Japanese society for the organ donation? How can you change this situation, especially if you think about Japanese custom and manner and thinking way? So that is the second question.

Next, I have the comment and questions for Dr. Pauline and your colleague.

Thank you very much for the presentation. But maybe because the time is limited, the Japan's case and the explanation is not so much mentioned. So please explain more about the Japan's case. Before today's presentation, I got only one page abstract from you. And there is no mention about Japanese case. So please explain how you recognize, how you evaluate the Japan's system and journalist competence and how to create the education background and training to be a journalist. And how about Japan's case? That should be a main part for your research. You explain about journalist competence in general. So how to make the skill and how to increase the journalist competence especially with Japan's case?

Surely, we have to think. The education and training to be a journalist are very hard as you explain at the end of the presentation. In the case of Japan, on-the-job training is the main method to train journalists at the media companies. According to media studies, education/training to be a journalist is categorized into three types. The first type is by school education on journalism. It is mainly for the Western way,

such as journalism schools in the USA and some other countries (Canada, South Korea, Australia, etc.). The second type is OJT style such as Japan, the UK, etc. The third type is mixing style. This third type is supported by association unions, the guild and so on. This is an interesting point as check did some of the research and studies. So how do you consider the roll of the on-the-job training to train to be a journalist (like Japan's case), not only to skill up and also to obtain the journalist's competence when you compare with school education like the journalist schools or media studies in US or other countries?

Moreover, the UNESCO offered the model curriculum for journalist education. It considered the model education for journalism education and the model curriculum contains three categories. The first category is the practical vocational training such as how to interview, how to investigate, etc. The second is theoretical studies, including the general media studies, ethics as journalists. etc. And the third is the liberal arts which should be the base for journalism and they include social sciences, history, political sciences and so on. In the UNESCO's model curriculum, the first category should be 47%. They are practical such as methods of interviews, investigation, writing, and so on. The second are the journalist theoretical study, ethics, norms, etc. and it is only 10%. The third category for liberal arts is for 43%. When we see that, interestingly, the Japanese-style media studies only allocated 10% in the UNESCO model curriculum for journalist education. How do you think this? And how do you evaluate the Japanese way's merit and demerit?

However, this is not a discussion for media studies or journalist programs. I mean, we should discuss for the practical and actual situations. Currently in Japan, journalist training, and/or journalist education is mainly by on-the-job training within the media companies. How do you consider about that? Maybe you find in the process of researching on Japanese journalism or journalist studies or journalist education studies, Japanese media has a press club system and the other Japanese specific customs and manners. And those can be barriers for press freedom sometimes in

Japan. How do you say about it? It is vital to be professional as journalists. Yet, by the on-the-job training, it's much easier for media industry to train their employees because they are supposed to learn Japanese customs and manners, and how to behave in press club system as well.

Finally, I have one more question. How do you consider about the new situation of social media? If you have social media or SNS, even when the mainstream media do not talk about something such as some political scandals or something unfavorable for the power, the social media can publicize. And then, some of the mainstream media also pick up some of the topic. So the situation is quite different. In that case, especially for Japanese journalists, how do you consider about new situations and the new journalist education? These are my questions. Thank you.

SONODA Shigeto:

Thank you, Yoshimura sensei. Would you scroll up so that we can have a look at the comments for the first speaker? The left time will be used for responses from two presenters. I know that both of you got a lot of complicated questions or comments, but I hope you to pick up in your order to make a systematic response to Professor Yoshimura's comments. Okay, Jo Ann.

Jo Ann HO:

Thank you very much Prof. Sonoda and thank you very much, Prof. Yoshimura, for your questions. Yeah, there are many questions here that you have raised many valid points here. And I do agree that religion, as you mentioned, you know, a lot of families, not just in Japan but also in Malaysia, they do have these concerns that if I were to give away my body, I may not have a good afterlife because there's an element that is missing from my body. If I look at the rates for Japan, live donations are higher than donations of the death because of this. People do not, I mean the relatives do not hesitate to give their needed organs if it is, you know, needed by their relative who needs a kidney for example. So live donations are actually higher.

It's pretty high in Japan itself. I think regarding donations after death. I think the reasons here that Prof. Yoshimura rightly pointed out is, it is that without this whole body intact, I cannot go into the afterlife and I think so, that is why it is actually very important for the medical practitioners and for the organ transplantation agencies to educate family members and also society that, you know, this is not true.

I think in Malaysia we have this concern as well. Some religions in Malaysia think that it is not, it is not prohibited by their religion to give away their body after death. I think there is a need to educate in Malaysia, for example, the religious leaders have to play a role in educating society about this. In Japan, it is a little bit tricky because if I look at my sample, a lot of the Japanese say that they don't have a religion, but I think in this role, then the medical practitioners, the organ transplantation agency would need to play a role in educating, especially the more traditional or older Japanese on this concept. I think the younger Japanese are okay to give organ donations, but they are withheld back by their family members because usually when you give consent for organ donation, it is the family at the end of the day that must give the consent. If the family does not know about this, then the donation cannot take effect.

The other thing is, I was told during my interviews with the Organ Transplantation Agency in Japan, is that it is the doctor who decides whether the organ is suitable or can be removed for organ transplantation. So perhaps there is this mistrust towards the organ transplantation process also. So perhaps people need to be aware of how decisions are made regarding organ transplantation and how decisions are made regarding organ donations. In Malaysia, we have an opt-in system where if we want to donate organs, we have to sign the organ donor card. I think in Japan it is the opt-out system which I am not able to, I think it is the opt out system. I think if Malaysia, for example, has this opt-out system, perhaps organ donation rates would be higher for us. I think for Japan there is a need, on short for, you know, in Japan there is a need for the medical practitioners, the organ transplantation agencies to target

families itself and to talk to them about what organ donation is, and that it is not true that if you don't have your body, you cannot go to the afterlife. I believe it's called *gotai manzoku*.

I was told there was this term that we cannot go to the afterlife, so we cannot rest in peace. So that is the role of religious and social background on it. And yeah, family consent is something that have to be talked about because in Malaysia, for example, we can sign the donor card, but it is actually the family that does not allow it. Family consent, targeting them is actually very, very important. Similarly for Japan itself.

Now, role of donor cards. For Malaysia, it is a lot of people do not know even where they can donate, where they can sign up for the organ donation. I think this is one of the issues. The role of donor cards. If we have the opt-out system, then it doesn't matter. You know you are already in the system. You can donate your organs because you are opt, you are already in the system. And I think this was practiced by Korea when they changed it to opt-out system. The organ donation rates increased. I think although there are discussions that about may not have effectiveness on organ donation rates, but I think it will increase organ donation rates if countries implement the opt-out system.

Well, Japan's individual and service and contributions to society, I do agree again with Prof. Yoshimura that Japanese are very, very helpful, very, very much, very kind people. But I think the act of volunteer here, volunteering, being kind, helping each other, I think it doesn't necessarily represent altruism, you know, which I think Japan is often viewed, we view it as a communal society. But, in reality, I think there's a substantial amount of self-interest that is also evident in the younger Japanese. If I look at my results and you can look at my results. Altruism, which is the role of altruism here, which is being kind, being very helpful, did not influence the attitude of the Japanese to donate organs. You find that altruism may not be

true. It was also not true for Malaysians. I think people don't see donating organs as something that is volunteer. I think they see it as a right for them to make that decision. You know, they don't see that, they don't see it as helping others. And I think that is something that we, we need to, to say that, you know, it is not perhaps not targeting it as an altruistic kind of behavior, I would say. But probably because moral norms is something that is pretty strong, I think we both countries can actually emphasize it as a moral obligation rather than something kind and or something that is volunteering to do.

I hope I have answered the comments that were raised by Prof. Yoshimura, but I do appreciate your suggestions to look into the Korean case study, which is on KONOS, which I definitely will want to look into it to compare how it has actually improved South Korea's organ donation rate. Thank you very much, Prof. Yoshimura. Thank you, Prof. Sonoda.

SONODA Shigeto:

Interactions between Professor Yoshimura and Professor Ho seem to be indicating, consciously or unconsciously, an importance of interdisciplinary approach. I do think that Jo Ann came from medical communication or social psychology, but the questions raised by Yoshimura sensei, who is an economist by discipline, have to do with the different disciplines like philosophy or history or national character or even some medical system in which patients are located.

Pauline, now it's your turn.

Pauline Gidget ESTELLA:

First of all, thank you so much, Professor Yoshimura, for your insightful comments. And first, let me preface my answers with the fact that journalism education literature is still sort of a battlefield. It has a lot of debates. The theory versus practice debate is still ongoing, in a way. The skills versus theory. So the offshoot of this

theory versus practice debate, it's still ongoing. Pretty much.

With that, first I want to say or I want to inform you that in the interviews, the arrangement, or I would say, the system of Japan in which OJT or the on-the-job training or the system in which you become a journalist only through OJT or inhouse company training, was criticized because, in a way, you socialize the journalists into sort of a "journalism culture" (Hanitzsch, 2007). This is how we do things. You should not question this because this is how we have been doing things since the beginning. This is the so-called journalism or occupational ideology. So, because of that, because the journalists see that as the only way into the profession, they also sort of internalized this. This is how we do things. This should not be questioned. This is the only way to do things. In that way, the critical reflexivity, which is very crucial in a profession such as journalism, because journalism is undergoing different changes as of the moment, and is being sidelined by this kind of, of system. Because the supremacy of practical skills training and also the ideology of these media companies take the driver's seat in this situation. It is necessary for us in journalism education to put an emphasis now on critical reflection, because then, journalism, journalism or journalists can be more agile or flexible in the time of changes. For example, in the, I'm so sorry we lack the time earlier, I wanted to include also that there are a lot of information from the interviews, for example, on what the interviewees said about their difficulty in putting or prioritizing units, as well as the different factors that influence journalism education. But we could not cover all of that in the presentation. But they did say something about the pitfalls of such a system in Japan. You are right, Professor Yoshimura, that there are indeed different pathways to being a journalist. But in literature, this journalism as trade system has been criticized already because then, the journalists, even though he or she knows how to write news, produce text, he then maybe lacks the capacity to make sense of the changes.

For example, the rise of AI. What are the sociological implications of the rise of AI on audiences as well as journalists? If you have this sort of academic training that

would allow you to make sense of things and to anticipate changes, also these tools, for example, a grasp of academic theory and academic research tools, then you will be able to anticipate changes and be more agile in the face of these changes because we could not predict changes. Okay. One of the interviewees shared that at one point in time they were training their students to use this type of technology. But then, two years later, the technology is no longer being used. So then should we put emphasis on technological training or practical skills over critical reflection and theory? And you are right, this is a problem not only in Japan but also in many countries. Journalism education still puts emphasis on practical skills development because then they are industry-centered. I mean, of course, collaboration between industry and academe is very important, but this should not sideline theory and critical reflection, which is what's happening now.

Now, what is also interesting is that one of the interviewees shared an idea and also, I anticipate that many other scholars or many other practitioners would question this idea that journalism should be a graduate profession. So, journalism should be like an MA course instead of a bachelor course. Instead, it would be better for a journalist to have a different bachelor's course, say economics, and then take journalism as their master's. It would have been better because then you have diverse career paths. Even though the jobs in journalism are quite precarious, then you can easily shift to other careers. But then that could be questioned by other practitioners especially. So anyway, the reason I said that is because we want to interrogate the prevalent idea that journalism education should be practical skills-centered. And now going back to Japan, one of the challenges or one of the problems that come with this, with this system, is that the journalists then would be socialized into the norms, the practices of the existing media companies. So then, would they question that? Do they have the tendency to question that? That's why in the framework you could see in the cognitive behavioral base, there's this one cluster critical reflection. And that is important. If that is missing, then there's a problem with journalism education. I think I answered three questions here.

How do you evaluate the Japanese way? I already explained the merits and demerits as well as the Japanese system, the professionalization, and the press club system. And then just very quickly, the new situations by social media. Indeed, it has called for reconsiderations in journalism education literature. So social media has eroded the gatekeeping function of journalism. And that's why many journalists also have, for instance, their own Twitter accounts to also show how they do journalism and sort of create a branding for themselves. It's also part of the framework that I showed you earlier. I mean, we don't have the time to discuss the different situations in social media, I mean people, as I said, people now get to choose their source of information and they get to question journalism and they get to, you know, they get to thrive in their own filter bubbles. But now actually, the trend now is, in scholarship, is to look for the implications of AI in newsrooms. So social media, and then AI especially in the coming years. I hope I addressed the questions because I got a message that I only have a minute to finish my response.

Thank you very much, Professor Yoshimura.

4

総括討論(英語•日本語) Overall Discussion (English and Japanese)

総括討論

・4名の報告者への共通の質問 Common question to four who made presentation <住友財団の助成は「各々の国において日本理解を深めて頂く素地を形成し、ひいてはアジア諸国と日本の間の相互理解増進の一助としようとする」ことを目的としていますが、研究や報告を通じて、アジア諸国と日本のどのような相互理解ができる/できたと判断されていますか?

<The purpose of the Sumitomo Foundation's grant is to "create a foundation for deepening understanding of Japan in each country, and ultimately to help promote mutual understanding between Asian countries and Japan." What kind of mutual understanding between Asian countries and Japan do you think was/is possible through your research and presentation?</p>

SONODA Shigeto:

I would like to go into the last session, which is wrap up discussions. Due to the time constraints, I prepared one slide so that every four presenters will make some responses to the same question. This question says: "The purpose of the Sumitomo Foundation grant is to create a foundation for deepening understanding of Japan in each country and ultimately to help promote mutual understanding between Asian countries and Japan. My question is, what kind of mutual understanding between Asian countries, and Japan do you think was or is possible through your research and presentation?"

質問の意味は、「住友財団の研究助成は、アジアと日本の相互理解の一助にすることを目的としているが、これを皆さんの研究や報告を通じてどのようにできたか、あるいはできたと判断しているか」ということで、4人の先

生方に、それぞれ 1 分でレスポンスしてほしいと思います。 I would like every one of you to make quick response within a minute. まず林先生、いかがでしょう。

林 佩欣:

はい、皆さん、今日は会議に出席いただいてありがとうございます。私はこの研究を通じて、アジア諸国と日本の相互理解はできると信じています。私はこの研究を通じ、2019年に北海道大学や一橋大学など、いろいろな研究機関に資料に探しに行き、研究分野と近い先生たちと研究テーマについて意見交換をしました。幸いなことに、東大や一橋(大学)とも同じ研究に興味がある先生と知り合って、これからももっとたくさん交流できると思っています。2019年から今日まで交流が続いていますので、この助成にとても感謝しています。

園田 茂人:

はい、ありがとうございました。では次に朴先生お願いします。

朴 敬珉:

はい、今日は大変ありがとうございました。そうですね、いきなり質問ということで。

園田 茂人:

ごめんなさい。

朴 敬珉:

いいえ、締めくくりとしてよいと思います。最近、韓国に戻って、現在進行している日韓関係について、何らかの学術的な貢献が常に必要であることを思い知らされました。日本では純粋的な研究に偏りすぎ、韓国に戻ってくると政策に研究がつながらないとあまり意味がないということをよく聞いて、なるべく現在と僕の研究をつなげようと思った次第です。EU ほどではないにせよ、何らかの地域秩序や安定や平和に貢献できるようなアジア域内

の共同体を作るためにも、住友財団の支援は非常に重要で、そこに一助できるのが日本と韓国ではないかと思っています。

歴史問題ではいつも喧嘩をしていますが、その歴史問題の根底にある対立をどのように乗り越えてきたのか。私の研究対象である植民地者と被植民地者は仲が悪いものの、私は戦後の日韓関係や将来を見つめて、どのように乗り越えてきたのかを研究してきたつもりです。それが今の日韓関係にどう使えるのかを今後もっと研究し、未来に貢献できればと思います。以上です。

SONODA Shigeto:

ありがとうございました。The next will be Professor Ho. How would you make some instant replies to this question?

Jo Ann HO:

Thank you very much, Prof. Sonoda. Think, um. Well, I would say that, um, the purpose of the Sumitomo Foundation helped in two ways, because my study took me to Japan, specifically Tokyo, to study about the organ donation that was practiced in Japan. And so, I had collaboration with the Japan Organization of Transplantation Network, and also met with a medical doctor from the Japanese Women's Hospital. I think this helped me to foster, um, sharing of knowledge. I understand more about the organ donation practices and experiences in Japan itself, and this helped promote the understanding of organ donation practices in different countries apart from just Malaysia. Because my study also took me to look at university students, and because of that, I had collaboration with scholars from four universities in Japan itself. And I think that was a very, very enriching experience because I would not have had the chance to collaborate with these researchers or these academics, if not for the Sumitomo Foundation. So, I think I think the Sumitomo Foundation met its goal of fostering intellectual dialogue with this study that I conducted and helped a lot. I think that would be my answer for your question, Professor Sonoda.

SONODA Shigeto:

Thank you for your explanation. Finally, Pauline, would you make instant replies?

Pauline Gidget ESTELLA:

Yeah. Through this project, we were able to make connections with academics from not only from Japan, but also in Singapore and Vietnam. And through this, we were able to understand the differences in the journalism education systems as well as the media systems in general of these countries. And that from the from the study, we came to the realization that we can learn from each other's systems and that we can get some aspects of the systems, journalism, education systems of other countries to enrich our own journalism education and to understand what circumstances in those other countries make their journalism education. To ask ourselves, how can we improve or how can we see now our journalism education system, given this set of contextual factors? And probably, my co-investigator can also add a very short response.

SONODA Shigeto:

Thank you very much for your responses. I'm afraid to say that we are running out of time. Finally, I'd like to ask Mr. Hino, if he has any final words after hearing four presentations. Thank you.

HINO Takatoshi:

Thank you everyone. Thank you, all the speakers. discussant, Prof. Fukuda, Prof. Yoshimura, and especially Prof. Sonoda. Really appreciate your effort to arrange today's conference, and I believe everyone on this conference will have some tips for your own research. And our objective mutual understanding will deepen more than ever. I'm looking forward to seeing you on the second conference. I'm looking forward to seeing you not only online, but in the near future in a real meeting. Thank you all.

SONODA Shigeto:

Thank you very much. Now I would like to conclude the concluding session and the conference as well. Thank you very much for participation and see you next time sometime in the future. *Arigatou gozaimashita*.

住友コンフェレンス2023:

アジアの日本研究 (1): 歴史と比較からのアプローチ

Sumitomo Conference 2023:

Japan Studies in Asia (1): Approaches from History and Comparative Studies

2024年2月7日発行

発 行 者 東京大学東洋文化研究所 GAS プログラム

著 者 園田 茂人・日野 孝俊・林 佩欣・朴 敬珉・福田 円・ Jo Ann HO・Pauline Gidget ESTELLA・吉村 真子

編 者 園田茂人

印刷所 株式会社サンワ

住友コンフェレンス2023:

アジアの日本研究 (1): 歴史と比較からのアプローチ

Sumitomo Conference 2023:

Japan Studies in Asia (1): Approaches from History and Comparative Studies

2024年2月7日発行

発 行 者 東京大学東洋文化研究所GASプログラム

著 者 園田茂人・日野孝俊・林佩欣・朴敬珉・福田円・ Jo Ann HO・Pauline Gidget ESTELLA・吉村 真子

編 者 園田茂人

印刷所 株式会社サンワ

INDEX

はじめに

園田 茂人/SONODA Shigeto

1 開会の辞

Opening Session

園田 茂人/ SONODA Shigeto 日野 孝俊/ HINO Takatoshi

2 セッション 1:植民地支配の遺産と歴史認識問題(日本語)

Session 1: Heritage of Colonial Rule and History Recognition Issues (Japanese)

(1) 林佩欣/LIN Pei-hsin

「東郷実と近代台湾農業調査体系の構築」

"Minoru Togo and the Construction of Modern Agricultural Survey System in Taiwan"

(2) 朴 敬珉/ PARK Kyungmin

「在朝日本人/朝鮮引揚者による日韓請求権の歴史的問題、1945 - 1965」

"Historical Issues of Korea-Japan Claims by Japanese Settler in Korea/Japanese Repatriate, 1945-1965"

(3) 福田 円/FUKUDA Madoka

3 Session 2: Comparing "Japan" and ASEAN (English)

セッション 2:日本とアセアンを比較する(英語)

(1) ジョアン・ホー/ Jo Ann HO

"A Comparative Study between Japan and Malaysia: Attitude and Willingness to Donate Organs"

「臓器移植に対する態度と意識に関する日本とマレーシアの大学生の比較研究」

(2) ポーリン・ギジェット・エストラ/ Pauline Gidget ESTELLA

"Global Journalism Competence and Issues of Pedagogy"

「グローバルなジャーナリズム能力と教育の諸問題」

(3) 吉村 真子/YOSHIMURA Mako

4 総括討論 (英語・日本語)

Overall Discussion (English and Japanese)

SONODA Shigeto

林 佩欣

朴 敬珉

Jo Ann HO

Pauline Gidget ESTELLA

HINO Takatoshi