

process is, like Sarah Williams argues in her contribution “only one dimension of an ongoing process of remembering” (p.75). Julia M. Fleischman, however, suggests that the results of forensic medical anthropology in the form of human remains are used quite late during the trials of former Khmer Rouge leaders. Her findings are supported by the contributions of Chhay Visoth (about explicit graffiti) and Magali An Berthon (about textile and clothing), who also make an appeal not to dismiss these forms of evidence.

This special issue dealing with the Cambodian genocide – still a term that requires explanation – also gets its weight from the visual material it presents (including archive photos of the museum itself) and the various interviews the editors held with Cambodian and non-Cambodian artists, who were asked to share details of their relationship with Tuol Sleng and the ways in which their work is influenced by the past.

The interview by Stéphanie Benzaquen-Gautier with American anthropologist Eve Zucker concludes the section with a fascinating account of memory practices of villagers who try to cope with the horror in their community. It also reflects on the fieldwork she conducted in Cambodia – an experience she recounts in her book *Forest of Struggle: Moralities of Remembrance in Upland Cambodia* (2013) – as she tracked the recovery of a village community in the southwest of the country, a site that was a Khmer Rouge base and battleground for nearly thirty years. The interview opens up the question of the remembrance of Khmer Rouge atrocities beyond Tuol Sleng and the urban environment. It points to a nationwide traumatic landscape, which in turn helps to better understand the role of the museum in today’s Cambodian memory politics, and to imagine alternative forms of memorialization of a historical period that continues to haunt generations of Cambodians. This closing paper reminds the reader of the limited space most of the authors have contributed to debates about theoretical issues. Ever since Jean Lacouture’s inapt verdict about the Khmer Rouge as an expression of tropical fascism, allusions to the Gulag or Laogai systems have been scarce. As said, the Khmer Rouge’s mass slaughtering as a means to create an enacted utopia, inspired by Maoist China, comes closer to realities than the many references to Nazi-Germany. An approach as proposed by Dutch sociologist Abraham de Swaan in his book *The Killing Compartments* (2015) might be a way-out to understand and to compare the tragedy that struck the inhabitants of Cambodia between 1975 and 1979.

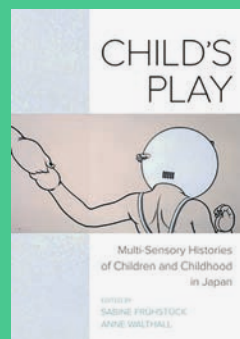
**John Kleinen** Visual anthropologist and historian; Dept of Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam and the Amsterdam International School for Social Science Research (AISSR), J.G.G.M.Kleinen@uva.nl

## Child’s Play

Gwyn McClelland



Monju-kun, Cartoon character as protestor.



### Child’s Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan

Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall (eds). 2017.

Oakland, CA: University of California Press  
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The burgeoning field of the history of emotions has continued to develop in scholarship out of Europe and the United States over the last decades. One fascinating segment of this field describes children’s emotions, or emotions directed towards children in history. However, within such emerging research, there is much less consideration of Asia, and Japan specifically, and this is the gap addressed by this new book, *Child’s Play*. In this collection, Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall perform the somewhat complicated task of ‘combing’ periods of Japanese history in order to highlight issues such as how children were distinguished from adults in Japan and how the study of children and childhood may be analysed in this particular context for emotion, affect, and sensibility. At first glance the scope of the collection appears wide and the subject matter eclectic. Essays muse on wide ranging issues including, for example, the social position of male acolytes in medieval Japanese Buddhist monasteries, boys’ androgynous qualities, and male–male love affairs; the identification of conceptions of childhood for Taisho

period designers of furniture in Japan; or the intricacies of the ideological dynamics of the Asia Pacific War, including ways children’s individual emotions were suppressed and the so-called ‘emotional capital’ of children was utilized in propaganda. Such topics and more, revolving around the concept of childhood and the history of emotions are examined from the perspective of Japanese history, albeit for the most part in recent periods. In short, the editors aim to make understandable the relationship of various identifiable phenomena to our understanding of the history of children and childhood and experiences of affect.

Certainly, this book offers an opportunity to at least partially correct the common bias, which is to examine childhood and children predominantly through a European-American lens. The essays presented were initially outlined at a workshop held at the University of California on 27–28 February 2015. Frühstück and Walthall arrange the essays by historical period and the contributors offer cross-disciplinary and varied viewpoints and methodologies.

A limitation is that the majority of the writing within the volume covers the early 20th century, with the exception of three essays couched as premodern, including two from the Edo period and one from the 19th century. Despite this gap in the contribution toward understanding pre-18th century Japan, the approaches of the authors in Part 2 are compelling, including Jinno Yuki’s study of material objects of the Taisho period and Harold Salomon’s discussion of childhood films in wartime Japan. Salomon surveys films released from 1932 to 1941, a period which reflects the emotional proclivities of the generation immediately before. The materials are sourced from an earlier period, perhaps explaining why the editors decided to place Salomon’s essay in the early 20th century section rather than the preceding wartime series. Of course, the initial Japanese invasion of Manchuria took place in 1931.

The last section of the volume considers contemporary issues that children encounter in Japanese society, ranging from a discussion of the relationship of childhood development to a wider discourse about soccer and the nation, to two ethnographic studies of the treatment in Japan of children with developmental challenges. Kathryn Goldfarb writes about a group of children and institutionalisation, using the case study of Chestnut House, a child-welfare institution located in Tokyo.

It seems no collection on Japan is complete without a reference to the nuclear age, and the final essay provides an example of protest in the shape of a cute character – Monju-kun, a cartoon character modelled after a reactor in Fukui after the 2011 Fukushima disaster. Noriko Manabe discusses how Monju-kun became a symbol of protest, subverting propaganda and disrupting silences around irradiation and the health of mothers and children. In my own oral history research, for which I interviewed survivors of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki, my interviewees were children themselves in 1945. Having grown up in the Taisho and Showa eras, these survivors remember their own negotiation of adulthood over a time of great tumult and disruption. As a result, I read with interest about the reflections of the scholars in this collection on how understandings of childhood and children have been imagined and exhorted within Japan over disparate time periods. Japanologists, historians, and those who have an interest in finding out more about childhood from an East Asian perspective will certainly benefit from reading this book. The editors achieve the cited aim of re-orienting discourse about childhood by considering new, worthwhile and important perspectives from Asia.

Gwyn McClelland  
Monash University, Australia

It is, rather, relational. Specifically, scale concerns how “size interacts with the way individuals perceive and relate to space, jurisdiction, knowledge, time, networks, and management styles”. Scale politics is “the fierce conflicts that emerge when policy communities operating at different levels – national, provincial, municipal, prefectural, county, and township – are forced to integrate to develop a unified regulatory system” (p. 4).

Yasuda finds in China an inability to nest differing scales inside a multilevel regulatory framework because of three perennial problems: an inability to determine the scale of the problem; persistent mismatches across scales of governance; and a lack of sensitivity to scale externalities. The real problem lies with China’s domestic food supply, the largest by volume and strategically important for social stability in China. Yasuda shows how regulation and better food quality found in the export sector does not scale down, while regulation and better quality found across grass-roots sustainable food movements does not scale up for these three reasons. To make his conceptual model and policy

framework as robust as possible, Yasuda tests his findings against other industries in China (environmental protection, fishery management, and aviation safety) as well as food safety regulatory frameworks elsewhere (the European Union, India, and the United States). Yasuda recommends the EU model as offering the best learnings and hope for China’s future.

Yasuda has big ambitions for his scale politics framework. Food safety in China seems to be his first case in what is an ongoing research agenda to “unveil the root causes of the world’s worst regulatory failures, and the solutions to address broken systems of governance”.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Yasuda sees similarities between his research in China and significant incidents elsewhere including the Fukushima meltdown, the BP Deepwater Horizon oil spill, and the Global Financial Crisis.

A research programme such as this aspires to inform and influence regulatory frameworks, governance and policy at a national or international level. Naturally, Yasuda has had to make trade-offs between presenting high-level macro analysis and findings versus revelling in detail. As an anthropologist reviewing this book, I can

only imagine the fascinating insights and stories that are contained in the presumably hundreds of pages of interview transcripts Yasuda used to build his conceptual framework.

Thus, for readers like myself who are also looking for ‘thick description’ surrounding the dynamics of various actors involved in food regulation in China, or for those seeking an investigation into a particular element of the political economy as it pertains to food in China, we will need to listen to Yasuda present his work – presentations I heard are bursting with fascinating stories from the field – and consult other material.

One book that can be read alongside Yasuda’s is Guanqi Zhou’s recently published work *The Regulatory Regime of Food Safety in China: Governance and Segmentation*.<sup>3</sup> Zhou discusses regulatory segmentation in China, and both he and Yasuda are in broad agreement regarding its ill effects. Yet while Yasuda briefly touches on the topic and dismisses it as a failed strategy in managing scale, Zhou builds his entire analysis around it and argues that regulatory segmentation dating back to the 1950s – when redistributive politics allowed food to be siphoned off cheaply from rural collectives to urban work-

units – is the root cause of China’s food safety problems today.

Part of the appeal of Yasuda’s conceptual framework is its ability to incorporate so much analytical territory. Overall, Yasuda’s book will appeal to political scientists and policy analysts researching China, as well as anyone researching or working in the food industries in China. It is also an excellent teaching resource for undergraduate and graduate courses on food and governance in China.

Sacha Cody Australian National University, <http://sachacody.info>

#### Notes

- 1 Yunxiang Yan. 2012. ‘Food safety and social risk in contemporary China’, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 71(3):705–29.
- 2 See John K. Yasuda, <http://www.johnkyasuda.com>, accessed 2 May 2018.
- 3 Guanqi Zhou. 2017. *The Regulatory Regime of Food Safety in China: Governance and Segmentation*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.