My Neighbour the Animalien: Constructing Japanese national cultural identity from invasive alien animal species discourse in the 21st century

Master of Science in Japanese Studies

Dissertation

Candidate Number:1049430

Word Count: 11956

Abstract

In this study, I analyse the verbal and visual language used in Japanese mass media materials (newspaper pieces and a TV variety show) and state pamphlets to understand why the invasive alien animal as an Other persists despite decades of residency from a cultural angle, rather than ecological. As an example of banal nationalism, I examine this discourse for the languages in which 21st century national identity is expressed and constructed in terms of identity coordinates in space-time. With humans using these 'animaliens' as 'space transformers' and 'time telescopes' for self-reflection in their encounters, I find that invasive alien animals are also opportunistically used as props for teaching national cultural symbol literacy and the languages to express membership to the national culture. These languages are folklore, nostalgia and self-responsibility. Folkloric language turns individual self-exploratory fantasy spaces into nationalised exploratory fantasies. Nostalgia and self-responsibility languages build relationships with past and future-communities that serve the present. The alien animals' Othering persists because it is useful to the majority. This approach to animaliens fills a literature gap where the human cultural coexistence with these animals has been largely ignored in favour of conservation biology.

Keywords: invasive alien species, TV, Other, banal nationalism, identity construction, Japan.

Table of Contents

Table of Images

Acknowledgements

As much as I admire the graceful acknowledgements of Hitchcock at the Oscars, it's not often I get a space to let gratitude be known.

Thank you, first, to Dr Chigusa Yamaura, who gamely supervised me through a subject that neither of us knew much about, but by the end, maybe we found a lot of food for thought.

Second, to Professor Takehiro Kariya, who gave me many hours of his time.

To my family, who made this possible.

To Pattarin and Anna, flatmates on the frontlines of my very loud thinking aloud.

Finally, to my MSc/MPhil cohort matriculated 2020. Thank you for the confidence in me when I had none. What a year it's been.

Animal Species Names

Common English Name	**Common Japanese Name (Romanised)**	**Scientific Name**
Alligator gar	Arigētā gā	*Atractosteus spatula*
Bluegill	Burūgiru	*Lepomis macrochirus*
Channelled apple snail	Sukumi ringo gai/ Jumbo tanishi	*Pomacea canaliculata*
Fire ant	Hiari	*Solenopsis invicta*
Habu	Habu	*Protobothrops flavoviridis (also potentially Protobothrops elegans; Protobothrops tokarensis; depending on the specific Ryukyu Island).*
Japanese pond turtle	Ishigame	*Mauremys japonica*
Largemouth bass	Burakku basu/ ohkuchi basu	*Micropterus salmoides*
Louisiana crayfish	Amerika zarigani	*Procambarus clarkii*
Red-eared slider turtles	(Juveniles) Midorigame/ (Adults) Akamimigame	*Trachemys scripta elegans*
Red-necked longhorn beetle	Kubi aka tsuya kamikiri	*Aromia bungii*
Signal crayfish	Uchida zarigani	*Pacifastacus leniusculus trowbridgii*
Small Indian mongoose	Mangūsu/Fuirimangūsu	*Herpestes auropunctatus*
Water stick insect	Mizukamakiri	*Ranatra chinensis*

Abbreviations

Full Term	Abbreviation
Channelled apple snail	Jumbotanishi
Episode 10	Ep10
Episode 15	Ep15
Fire ant	Fire-ant
Invasive alien animal	Animalien
Invasive Alien Species Act (2005)	IASA
Kinkyū SOS! Ike no Mizu wo Zenbu Nuku Daisakusen	IkeNoMizu
Largemouth bass	Largemouth
Ministry of the Environment	MOE
Red-eared slider turtle	Sliders

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, I will answer the question as to why the 'outsider' status of invasive alien animal species (henceforth to be called animaliens, to save on words) persists in 21st century despite decades, if not a century of residency in Japan. I will do so by demonstrating that the continued imagination of animaliens as Other has been useful to 21st century Japanese national identity construction. This is an example of banal nationalism (Billig 1995). However, given how this nationalism is tacked opportunistically onto environmental education, I will call this 'opportunistic' nationalism.

This study will focus on invasive alien animals, excluding plants, for reasons I will expand in my methodology. It has taken a broad approach in gathering data, drawing from mass media materials and government pamphlets, in part to also show that there is a rich seam of resources to tap regarding animaliens for future study and demonstrate that animalien discourse spreads widely through society enough to warrant being studied outside of ecology.

I have chosen to imagine identity in terms of identity coordinates, expressed as (Space, Time).'Space' represents the three-dimensional present, an imagined multi-layered landscape of the physical environment, cultural and social spaces. 'Time' represents the imagined flow from past to future. Space-time is shared with members of the community, which include human and the non-human, which includes animals, plants, objects and the landscape, i.e. anything the individual might form a relationship with such that can be imagined an extension of the self. This makes a node within space-time that acts as an anchor-point for the self.

As defined by the Japanese Ministry of the Environment (hereon MOE), alien species (*gairaishu*) are living creatures 'not originally present in an area until introduced by human activities from outside' (MOE (nd)) (Appendix 1.1). They are 'invasive' (*shinryakuteki)* for not being 'invited' to co-exist, like the crested ibises of Sado Island or foreign breed

livestock. Whilst internal invasive species (*kokunai gairaishu*) are species moved between the Japanese islands, e.g. the Japanese rhinoceros beetle from Honshu to Hokkaido, they are not the subjects of the Invasive Alien Species Act (adopted in 2004, implemented 2005) (hereon IASA). IASA focuses on species that have come from abroad 'since the Meiji period, in which the movement of goods and people flourished' (MOE (nd)) (Appendix 1.2). Through government promotion and public education efforts, it is largely foreign invasive alien species that have entered public discourse. Hence I have not included internal invasive species in this study.

Since the early 2000s,there has been growing mass media attention and awareness of animaliens. This is, in part, due to the genuine increase in animalien populations in Japan, so more sightings and reportage; in part due to the expansion of mass media to the internet as a platform for reporting sightings and networking amongst the concerned; and in part due to the Japanese state implementing multiple National Biodiversity Strategies, re-branding Japan in 21st century as an eco-conscious resource-mindful nation against a backdrop of international recognition of reckless environmental consumption. The late 1990s saw a worldwide rise in acknowledgment that conserving biodiversity benefited humans (Iwata et al. 2011: 173). Japan, that had defined itself as a resource poor country, received an international reminder of the resource richness in nature. Leading to a re-evaluation of the non-urbanised landscapes (Iwata et al. 2011), a push to relocate Japanese national identity to these landscapes tied identity construction with hands-on engagement with nature and created opportunities to demonstrate national identity through their conservation.

Organisations for animalien eradication appeared nationwide. A 2009 Ministry of Environment survey on animalien eradication projects received responses from 514 district public organisations and 166 civilian organisations across 47 prefectures. (MOE 2009: 5-6). Popular science books have been published on the subject for all ages. In 2017, the first

season of variety show *Kinkyū SOS! Ike no Mizu wo Zenbu Nuku Daisakusen* (trans. *Emergency SOS! The Great 'Pull the Plug on the Pond' Scheme*, hereon to be abbreviated 'IkeNoMizu') was aired in a three hour time slot on national TV, the first of many three hour specials thereafter.

Despite this recent attention, animaliens have been resident in Japan for decades. Channelled apple snails (hereon 'jumbotanishis') arrived in 1981 (MOE 2018b). Red-eared slider turtles (hereon 'sliders') were first imported in the 1920s, booming in the 1950s with the pet trade (Kamezaki 2015). Largemouth bass (hereon 'largemouths') were released in Kanagawa's Lake Ashino for leisure-fishing in 1925 (Senou 2006: 103). What is 'normal' in the Japanese landscape has changed. A survey in 2003 (Ramsay et al. 2007 in Lovich & Yamamoto 2016: 2) found that of near 6000 turtles captured from 802 sites across 46 prefectures, 90% were non-native turtle specie. A generation of Japanese citizens do not remember the absence of these species in the natural environment.

'Shifting baselines' (Knowlton & Jackson 2008), or the idea that each generation has a new understanding of normal, are expected in attitudes towards alien species. Japan has many examples of species assimilated under 'baseline shifts'. One example is the koi carp, the present population being a mixture of continental and indigenous species (Mabuchi 2017).

Lovich & Yamamoto (2016) in their case study of changing designs of Japanese turtle toys suggest that, at least until the 1980s, sliders may have been on their way to cultural normalisation. From the 1950s, Japanese turtle toys took on the red, green and yellow colours of the dominating sliders over the muted dark browns of the native Japanese pond turtle. Similarly, jumbotanishis that escaped breeding facilities were greeted in the early 1980s with attempts at assimilation. Whilst despised as a pest for grazing on young rice, techniques to use them to weed paddies had developed by 1990. Communities tried to re-brand these rice

ravagers as ‘rice guardian snails’ (*inamori-gai*) (Fujiwara 2019).These ‘weedkiller-less’ agriculture experiments continue to this day, but have not become widespread.

Far from accepting the ‘shifting baseline’, the ‘outsider’ status of the animaliens was institutionalised. Building on the first National Biodiversity Strategy (*Seibutsu Tayōsei Kokka Senryaku*) 1995, the IASA ringfenced the non-native invasive species as an environmental danger (Katō 2011: 98). Reinforced through mass media discourse and spread amongst the public in education and community activities, boundaries were demarcated. Their Other status defined by the state, the animalien assimilation process faltered. The reverse excision process has since been opportunistically instrumentalised in the national cultural project of 21st century Japanese identity construction. The animalien narrative has become an opportunity to incorporate and teach the languages by which Japan’s 21st century identity is articulated and membership to the national culture expressed. Close encounters with animaliens provide the opportunity to perform national identity.

Yoshino Kōsaku sets out cultural nationalism as a process to ‘regenerate the national community’, triggered when the community’s cultural identity is sensed to be threatened (1992: 1). The 2000s and 10s saw much reported economic stagnation and decline (Suzuki 2020: 126). Japan’s national identity as an economically vibrant, prosperous, productive community was becoming an increasingly faded photograph. If nurturing cultural nationalism created community cohesion, the cultural equivalent of penguins huddling in a blizzard, the turn of the 21st century was time for it.

Global environmental issues and biodiversity goals provided opportunity for Japan’s re-branding and reconstruction of identity both at home and abroad. Animaliens presented a discourse source that linked Japan to the rest of the world through participation in these issues. The discourse was a conduit by which Japan’s cultural identity could then be performed in the international context necessary for creating a ‘national’. As residents in the

Japanese landscape, animalien discourse gave opportunities for rediscovery and rearticulation of Japanese relationships with the landscape within the context of international biodiversity.

I chose this topic from my own personal experience. Visiting Wakayama prefecture over 20-plus years, I saw jumbotanishi eggs suddenly arrive in the backyard paddy in the late 2000s. In a conversation with an octogenarian local, the jumbotanishis (brought to Japan from South America via Taiwan) became a prop for the old man to explain what was inherently Japanese to him versus 'American', which he insisted the jumbotanishis were. As a sceptical teen with access to Google, I was struck by both the factual inaccuracy and the opportunistic readiness to signal cultural identity. To imagine and express animaliens as Other was, for this old man, one everyday way to perform his national identity.

Whilst much has been written previously on the construction of Japanese national cultural identity versus human Others (e.g. Howell on the Ainu (2004); Fowler (2000), Amos (2011) on burakumin; Rosenberger (1992), Park (2015) for 'the West') there is little on the non-human Other. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney's work on monkeys as mirrors to human society (1987) and Michael Foster's on yōkai (2009), in which he traces booms of yōkai discourse at times of national soul-searching, suggests that there's value to be found in the exercise.

In 21st century identity construction, discourse involving the non-human Other is especially worth paying attention to. Previously Othered humans have become increasingly vocal against their appropriation by the majority (Siddle 2011). Non-humans, however, do not have the voices to resist or challenge Othering. Animaliens can be deployed in contexts that human Others would be inappropriate. To take a non-Japanese example, the 21st update on the trope of 'cowboys versus Native Americans' became the Hollywood movie *Cowboys and Aliens* (2011). The Native American Other that challenges and forces identity exploration of the cowboy protagonists were substituted with space lobster-gorilla creatures. Where Japan's internal tensions with Ainu, burakumin and Zainichi Chinese and Koreans continue

under increasing international scrutiny, appropriation for national identity construction is limited. Faraway foreign cultures, such as the US or China, which once could be appropriated as the Other without resistance are, thanks to the internet, no longer so distant. Animaliens can be conceptualised as both ‘from abroad’ and ‘resident’. Being the ‘alien neighbour’, they can take on the roles of Other formerly performed by both other countries and designated resident ‘outsider’ groups.

Animaliens occupy multiple liminal identities in a way that indigenous animals and humans do not. Arriving in Japan via human decisions and actions, they have a Japanese human ancestry, but they are designated ‘foreign’. Many thrive in the Japanese landscape, suggesting that they ostensibly ‘belong’ but they are narrated as ‘not belonging’ for their effects on the designated indigenous species. They are simultaneously ‘natural’ (reproducing and spreading in nature without further human help) whilst ‘cultural’ (their history is man-made; many are former consumer goods with value and function decided and assigned by humans). Their multiliminality - between human and animal, nature and culture, indigenous and not, belonging and not belonging - means that a human can use animalien in discourse to self-reflect on their position between any one of these points and situate their coordinates of identity. Therefore, every binary relationship animaliens sit between can be seized as an opportunity to consider the non-Japanese Other. Language used to describe the relationship between nature and culture, between human and animal, etc. can all be hijacked to promote cultural nationalism at an everyday level.

Animaliens are also a more generic Other than other foreign artifacts. They lack obvious visual or other sensory cues that suggest where they come from. Food origins can be approximated by flavour profile. Goods are labelled with where they’re produced. Animaliens don’t carry brand symbols, and of the top 10 species most often targeted in the

2009 eradication projects by civilian organisations, only the Louisiana crayfish featured an origin in its name. (MOE 2009 : 14).

This makes animaliens capable of representing a ‘rest of the world’ and a broad sense of ‘international’ in a way that no other Other does. Japanese national cultural identity can therefore, through the animalien Other, be constructed with regards to the entire world. This is in spirit with the international interconnectedness characteristic of the 21st century. Japan’s participation in the global community means sharing in complex global economic crises and environmental issues, such as climate change, that do not necessarily have a single easily identifiable source. The generic Otherness of animaliens gives a platform for constructing identity in the face of planet-wide origin-unspecific threats.

Fig. 1: Threats without origin: the generic Otherness of animaliens, unmapped, on the cover of children’s pamphlet

For these reasons, animalien discourse should provide a rich seam of data for analysing national identity construction in the 21st century, in which nations face adversity without obvious source. Their international participation, in e.g. global biodiversity initiatives, and so identity on the international stage are increasingly defined by these dangers from no specific cultural background. Animalien discourse could give insight into its articulation.

The key questions in this study are therefore the following:

1. How is the animalien Other used in Japanese 21st century national identity construction?
2. How, through animalien discourse, are human relationships with nature articulated to serve national identity construction?

In the first part of the main body, I will show how animalien discourse can be used to construct, adjust and maintain the space coordinate of identity by transforming the space the individual occupies. I will then articulate how this transformed space can be co-opted for teaching symbol literacy necessary for cultural identity.

In the second part, I will show how the same can be done for the time coordinate of identity. In this case, I will discuss how animalien discourse is becomes a platform and training ground for what language is used to express and articulate membership to the community's past and future.

Through the key theoretical frameworks of banal nationalism and the Other, I hope to come to an answer.

1.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis falls into the body of work on what Michael Billig has termed 'banal nationalism', a form of cultural nationalism in which nationalism is performed through the habits of daily experience (Billig 1995). Brian McVeigh (2004) calls this 'everyday nationalism'. Kayama (2002) expressed the casual side of it in 'petit nationalism'(*puchi nashonarizumu*). Fukuda (2018) described how it is often encoded slyly in mass media and re-termed it 'covert nationalism'. I wish to add to this by emphasising the opportunistic nature cultural nationalism can take, in which any encounter with an Other can be an opportunity to perform nationalism and teach how it can be performed. I think of it as 'opportunistic nationalism'.

Cultural nationalism is also usually thought to 'articulate praise of Japan'(Fukuda 2018: 230). Animalien presence, however, is not a topic naturally given over to praising Japan. This dissertation is an example of how cultural nationalism of the banal kind can be found in discourse even when the nation is not directly praiseworthy

As mentioned already, the human Other in Japanese identity construction has been extensively written upon (see above). That, in a field called 'anthropology' or 'humanities', this is the case is unsurprising, but a growing body of work is calling attention to the anthropocentrism of anthropology and for recognition that humans share culture and space with non-humans. Non-humans can be social actors influencing human behaviour. Through metaphor and narrative they affect human perceptions of themselves and the wider world.

Most relevantly to this dissertation, looking at the non-human Other is revealing of the Othering process. Foster's interpretation of yōkai (2009) and Ohnuki-Tierney's monkeys (1987) make for compelling Others because, whilst I've been calling them non-human, they would more accurately be described demi-human. Many yōkai are depicted recognisably humanoid or have human parts. Monkeys are primates, like humans, and there's always one

that looks like someone's uncle. Seeing the human in them, we recognise a potential sliding scale of humanity that reveals the underlying mechanism of the creation and perpetuation of the Other, which is dehumanisation then continued denial of humanity (Mullin 1999: 204; Belcourt 2015: 5). Studying animaliens adds to this body of the demi-human Other for better understanding of the dehumanising process.

An idea I've found useful in this study is Ohnuki-Tierney's description of the monkey as a 'reflexive agent' (Ohnuki-Tierney 1987). A 'reflexive agent' is a vehicle that enables self-reflection. The monkey sits in the human imagination as human plus-alpha, this alpha changing with history, allowing them to go between the human world and another. Looking at the human-plus alpha transcendent monkey, a human can transcend their own individual identity to reflect upon the space they occupy in the world. Animaliens are especially suitable as reflexive agents for 21st century identities. Japanese monkeys as reflexive agents asked humans to ask of themselves, 'Who am I as a Japanese human?' relative to their place in their local Japanese community – a national defined by networked locals. Animaliens expand that to, "Who am I as a Japanese human?" relative to the rest of the world – a national defined by networked nations.

Invasive species discourse has drawn interest for observed parallels in attitudes towards foreign threats and resident ethnic minorities. Subramaniam (2001), for instance, found similarities in the rhetoric of US newspapers between those concerning immigrant labour and biological invasions. Warren (2007) calls these types of discourse examples of 'bioxenophobia' and 'ecological patriotism'.

Whilst my study pertains to invasive alien species discourse in Japanese national identity construction, the focus will not be on racism or xenophobia. This is not because racism is absent, but because my data is from mass media. Japan's relationship with its minority groups in mass media is characterised by silence rather than direct hostility. Whilst, the supremely

useful myth of 'homogeneous Japan' for nation-building persists, racism is buried, even taboo (Shimoji & Ogaya 2020: 127). Publishers are reportedly nervous of blatantly xenophobic books being swiftly labelled (e.g. 'Koreaphobic' (*kenkan)* or 'Sinophobic' (*kenchū*)) and becoming scandal-sources (Fukuda 2018: 231). Where other nations' mass media have found social currency in animalien discourse through its dark resonance with immigrants and marginals discourse, Japanese animalien discourse has to find social currency and reasons to repeat or evoke it in other ways. It adds a different perspective to invasive alien species discourse in nation-building.

Animalien discourse has a clear effect on the ecologists who study them. Debate amongst Anglophonic conservation biologists over the ethics of categorising animals as 'alien' or 'invasive', the moral responsibility towards invasive species, and the innate hubris of humans assuming stewardship of nature is prominent – so much so there are such articles as 'Non-Native Species DO threaten the national environment!' (Simberloff 2005) and 'A call for an end to calls for the end of invasion biology' (Simberloff & Vitule 2014).

Engaging with animaliens, as these examples show, forces moral questions upon humans about their relations with nature. Literature on Japanese human relations with nature commonly cite the interpretation of Pamela Asquith and Arne Kalland (1997), in which nature is perceived as somewhere between 'tamed nature' or 'wild nature' depending on context. 'Tamed' equates to domesticated animals, cooked foods, and 'uchi' cleanliness. 'Wild' is the opposite of undomesticated animals, raw foods and 'soto' impurities. Whilst this may be useful for conceptualising Japan's urban population's relations with nature, which are more likely to be based around controlled voluntary encounters , John Knight's ethnographic work in Wakayama (2003) shows how animals can be seen as rivals who coexist as human equals. His description of a rural relationship with nature, where nature's more likely to choose when you have your encounter, complicates Asquith and Kalland's model.

Kondō Shiaki's work in the Oki Islands (2012) on local cat mythology also complicates the 'tamed/wild' model. Kondo describes cats and humans as sharing 'one culture' on the Oki Islands without distinctions of inside and outside etc. The position that cats on the Oki Islands is that of ''Wild Nature That Incorporates Culture''. This same description could be applied to animaliens. Animaliens also fail to settle into the 'tamed' and 'wild' conceptualisation of how Japanese people relate and engage with nature, as many are formerly 'tamed' creatures escaped or abandoned into the 'wild'. Perhaps precisely because they defy easy categorisation in their relationship with humans they have not attracted the same level of anthropological literature as other animals who 'neighbour' humans, such as pets or livestock, or those permitted to be 'temporary neighbours' in controlled encounters, such as in whaling or hunting.

In terms of anthropological research on animaliens in Japan, what is there is often in education e.g. Chokki (2015) on using Louisiana crayfish in primary school classrooms; Mori, Takahashi & Kayano (2017) on middle school environmental education with signal crayfish, Higa (2020) on invasive alien species presentation in curriculum textbooks. In all cases, the animalien prop's value for being tangible and 'familiar for being close at hand' (*mijika*) was noted. There are species specific articles, such as Kohyama (2008) on invasive beetle species in a computer game, and Nishio (2019) on the jumbotanishi as a social actor. Nishio, in fact, notes that very few (if any) studies have been carried out on jumbotanishi that are not ecological. This can be applied to other animaliens too. The topic of animaliens as a research subject in Japanese anthropology is understudied and underdeveloped. I anticipate that this will likely change soon.

1.2: METHODOLOGY

This study employs discourse analysis of materials produced by mass media and the Japanese Ministry of the Environment that features animaliens as their core themes.

Mass media, especially newspapers, has been described as crucial in the development of an imagined national community (Anderson 2006). State-produced pamphlets destined for the public should carry messages of nationhood that the reader is assumed to agree and identify with if they identify as the national public. In looking for how the 'national' was being created, I was curious to see if the two sources complemented or conflicted.

Whilst I haven't strictly followed it, I found Stuart Hall's (2007) model of media as an 'encoding and decoding' message communication process conceptually useful. In focusing on mass media and state pamphlets, I studied what is being encoded - the messages produced - rather than how they are being decoded – consumed - by intended audiences. I'm neither assuming that these messages are being received exactly as the producers planned nor that I myself am an impeccable decoder.

As discourse, I have included analysis of visual and auditory materials that supplement written and spoken word, as they contribute to the encoding of meaning. Music in TV guides interpretation of words by suggesting emotional responses and cultural associations. Illustrations are a visual narrative language that expand upon and supplement text.

I sampled from newspaper articles and columns published in the Asahi and Yomiuri Shimbuns. The papers were chosen, first, for their wide circulation and to reflect a general reputation of left wing and right wing editorial. Second, they were chosen out of convenience, as I had access to their extensive archives, which enabled coverage of the period I was interested in. Articles were also labelled by whether they appeared in the national or local versions of the paper, something also of initial interest.

I focused on articles from early 2000s to the present day, choosing the period of 21st century 'millennial' identity construction, shaped by global environmental commitments and consciousness and economic stagnation (Siniawer 2014). This period covers the build-up to the IASA 2004, the COP (Conference of Parties) 10 and the Convention on Biological Diversity held in Nagoya, Aichi in 2010, the 2011 - 2020 of the United Nations Decade on Biodiversity and the period of Japan's own implementation of the National Biodiversity Strategy 2012-2020 (MOE 2020).

For studying 21st century Japanese identity construction, I wanted to sample from television. In 2002, a Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (NHK) Broadcasting Culture Research Institute survey found that 23% of the nation spent more than 5 hours a day watching TV, making TV the second biggest consumer of home-time after sleeping (Yoshimi 2014: 126). It's role in the construction of a national communal space-time in the imagination and directing the audience towards national purpose is undeniable (Yoshimi 2014). For this study I chose the TVTokyo variety program *Kinkyū SOS! Ike no Mizu wo Zenbu Nuku Daisakusen* (IkeNoMizu). A prime-time show from 2017, it regularly hosts 3 hour specials, features celebrity guests, such as members of AKB48, and has spawned even a mobile game. Episode 10 (Ep10) (TVTokyo Corporation 2018a) notably features the then Parliamentary Secretary of the MOE, Sasakawa Hiroyoshi, and members of the MOE helping in the pond drainage, showing crossover between state and mass media messages regarding animaliens. Limited by what episodes I could access online, I analysed Episode 15 (Ep15) (TVTokyo Corporation 2018b), sections of Ep10, the mobile phone game and a light novel that seemed inspired by the show's language. My other reason for choosing a variety show is the prevalence of telops (television opaque projector), which aid encoded messages by guiding what the viewer should take away from a frame.

An example of how I viewed telops would be the following (Fig.1):

Fig.2 TVTokyo Corporation (2018a) – IkeNoMizu Ep10.

The bottom right box reads 'The parliamentary secretary also BATTLES' (*seimukan mo funtō*). The colour change to yellow for 'battles' emphasises Sasagawa's efforts and proactivity. It's positioning in the bottom right falls in line with his arm movements, which guide viewer's eyes to the telops and demands recognition of his 'battles'.

The above is supplemented with MOE pamphlets on animaliens for the general public, freely downloadable from the MOE website.

In terms of my methodological limitations, I focused on discourse surrounding animaliens over plants for both practical and conceptual reasons. The practical is that there are over 2000 government-identified and listed invasive alien species. To cover both plants and animals seemed beyond my ability. The conceptual is that I couldn't decide if plants co-existed with humans on the same plane 'in' the landscape or occupied the background in the imagination. This changes the mode of engagement with them, adding complexities that were beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Also, in choosing mass media for animalien discourse samples, it was discourse very much shaped by and appealing to urban middle class ideas of nature and engagement with it. The emphasis on parks and pets and a sense of luxury in being able to choose when or where to engage with animaliens was different from what I glimpsed in specialist agricultural newspapers and farming blogs. These I often did not have full access to, so I did not include any samples in this analysis, but there is potential for there for a different study.

Bearing in mind that what samples I've found has been directed by my media choices, I have conducted this study to answer how the animalien as Other in discourse has been used in Japanese 21st century national identity construction.

SPACE TRANSFORMERS

2.1: SELF-EXPLORATION IN THE LOW FANTASY

In this section, I will analyse animalien discourse for how animalien Otherness is used to position the space coordinate of identity within the imagination of national community.

Generating, adjusting and maintaining the space coordinate of identity is done in two ways: 1) **Self-reflection**, so envisioning one's locus in space both as an individual unit and in relation to other community members; 2) **Negotiation with other community members** through conversations and transactions that strengthen, weaken or change the shape of relationships.

In this study I've focused on the former. Does self-reflection make use of animaliens as the Other to enable general exploration of identity? From what I've observed, yes.

This 'use' takes the form of the 'animaliens as space transformers', in which the Otherness of the animaliens is emphasised in discourse as a reality-bending power. In an encounter with animalien, language suggests that both the literal space - the physical landscape and the environment people live in - and the imagined cultural space of the present overlaying it are transformed away from the day-to-day. Animaliens are creatures of fantasy and fantasy worlds, and their very presence 'fantasticises' the environment they enter.

One example of this is from the internet trend, picked up around 2011 by both the Yomiuri (e.g. Ōtsuka 2011) and Asahi (e.g. Anon 2010; Kudo & Yamamoto 2010), to refer to Tokyo's Tamagawa as the 'Tamazon-gawa'. A portmanteau of 'Tama' and 'Amazon', it reflected local sentiments that the Tamagawa was so full of exotic wildlife that it had become a river from another part of the world, - or, more simply, another world. With its stories of piranhas and guppies (Kudo &Yamamoto 2010), animalien presence had transformed this urban Japanese river into fantasy jungleland. The term was even selected by celebrated civilian activist, Yamasaki Mitsuaki as the title of his book *Tamazongawa* (2012 in

Komemura, Shiosagi et al. 2012), meant to educate on environmental issues and show off 'Tamagawa's appeal' (*Tamagawa no miryoku*) (Komemura, Shiosagi et al. 2012). We can compare this to descriptors of a pond in IkeNoMizu Ep10 as an 'Animalien Hell Pond' (gairaishu jigoku no ike), which is echoed in Ep15, where the first part is described in the corner telop as 'Death battle in the Hell Pond' (Jigoku ike de no shitou). No other reason is given for a pond having become 'Hell' other than the presence of 'monsters' (*kaibutsu/monsutā/bakemono*), the animaliens. The telop stays at the top of the screen for the full half hour segment of the show. The viewer is encouraged to imagine a low fantasy world with animaliens as the key indicator of their arrival in it.

The term 'low fantasy' in literature was defined by Zahorski and Boyer (1982) as the sub-genre of fantasy. In 'low fantasy' an Otherly 'secondary world' exists 'in the here and now', which is the 'primary world' of the reader's reality. Harry Potter is one such example. The fantasy world coexists in parallel with our own. It is invisible, until accessed by special invitation from others or a change in the self that enables it to be perceived. The moment the Other world is encountered, our primary world space transforms into the secondary.

Animalien discourse presenting animaliens as space transformers plays upon their non-specific 'Otherness'. Rather than Chinese or American, they can be fantasy. To engage with them is a chance to imagine oneself in another world, an Other place of the engager's choice.

Much has been made of the Japanese perception of self in that the Japanese word for human '*ningen*' reflects that a human can only be a person on recognition of their bonds to others and accepting their place in interdependent networks (Ohnuki-Tierney 1987: 22). In these networks, people are both embedded and act as an embedder for others. Whilst maybe not uniquely Japanese, it's a useful idea here. We can imagine the present primary world of the self-reflector as a highly complex networked space which could be difficult freely explore identity within.

As animalien discourse creates a temporary low fantasy through the animalien's Otherness, the individual engaging with it can enter a secondary world in their imagination. This world is a space void of their usual networks. There is freedom, within the imagination, to reflect upon their current space coordinate of identity and explore other potential locations for it, i.e. who they wish to be in the here-and-now.

Returning to IkeNoMizu, we see language that reflects the draw of a fantasy secondary world lurking within the real primary world in some of its typically repeated vocabulary and show production choices. Volunteers gather to drain ponds on the back of 'sightings' (*mokugeki jōhō*). The visual language of the show makes much use of grainy photographs and dark mud that just about hides what us beneath. Each case segment begins by introducing the local witness, who describes their sighting and moment of close encounter with the animalien. The emphasis on the witness' story creates narrative contrast when the viewer and volunteer participants are then presented with the opaque undrained pond, the animalien as yet unseen. We are visually given the impression that the animalien is only seen by particular people under specific circumstances – those with the special ability to perceive the secondary world. In a 2014 MOE survey (MOE 2015b: 16-21) on the general publics' animalien awareness, whilst 94.7% of 1063 participants had at least heard of invasive alien species, 98% had not (knowingly) ever seen one in the wild in person. The high narrative awareness that animaliens were 'out there' coupled with the rarity of actually seeing one lends to the perception of there being some 'secret' to seeing them, a gateway to go through.

IkeNoMizu's verbal and visual language is that of urban legends, emphasising the first-hand account to root the tale to grounded details for the 'truthfulness' that separate legend from rumours. More importantly in legend-making, the 'truthfulness', thanks to the lurking and unseen nature of the animaliens, is up for discussion (Dégh & Vázsonyi 1976 in Tree & Weldon 2007: 460) despite the details, keeping the fantasy. We are shown the locals,

introduced to them, and the place is marked on a map of Japan. Tying the sighting firmly to a particular place solidifies the 'existence' of a primary world 'real' gateway to the secondary. IkeNoMizu sets up a narrative promise with the audience that it will make the invisible visible. It will give us access to the secondary world, and temporarily transform the mundane reality space of our imaginations into the fantasy.

The musical language works to further establish the message of animalien as fantasy. The lake in Ep15 is introduced with music from *Pirates of the Caribbean* (Badelt & Zimmer 2003), suggesting fantastical adventure in the hunt for a reported giant fish. Whilst indigenous species are introduced to inoffensive classical music, animalien descriptions are accompanied by soundtrack excerpts from famous fantasy TV shows. The alligator gar, for instance, is presented as a 'giant' fish *(kyodaigyo*) to the theme song from *Attack on Titan* (Sawano 2013*)*, a show in which humans are menaced by giants from beyond their homeland's borders. A discovery of bluegill is backed by music from *Neon Genesis Evangelion* with the track 'Angel Attack' (Sagisu 1995), used in the original series for when an apocalyptic alien from outer space made its appearance.

The humans who engage with animaliens are presented in opposition as indigenous hero protagonists. Cinematography, editing and music takes them on an emotional journey from the first uncertainty of stepping into the drained pond (close up shots of flailing, falling into mud) to the final cathartic triumph of self-realisation (posing with fish under sunlight) when they capture the Other monster. They grow before the viewers' eyes, exploring the self's limits and adjusting the space coordinate of identity accordingly. They do so in a space in which, ostensibly, as in Ep10, normal society's rules do not apply, as ministers, pop idols, scientists, and general members of the public get equally filthy and risk losing thumbs to turtles.

In these examples from IkeNoMizu, we can see how visual, musical and verbal language comes together to paint animaliens as an Other capable of creating temporary fantasy worlds within our own. Void of present society's rules and norms, these temporary fantasies enable the individual to imagine other ways in which they can occupy the present social and cultural landscape. They can explore other potential positions for their space coordinate.

Thus, I have set out how animalien discourse creates space for general identity construction. In the next section, I will move on to how this transformed space of fantasy is useful for nurturing national cultural identity, not only general.

2.2: INDIVIDUAL FANTASY TO NATIONAL FOLKLORE

In 2019, the winner of the 20th Enterbrain Entertainment Grand Prix for light novels was a story titled *Shinryakusei Gairaishu 'Yūsha'* (Karanaka 2019a). The English version of the title reads, 'Invasive Alien Species Braves'. It centres on three 'native' protagonists battling the 'invasive alien' 'braves' - magical heroes - invited from Other worlds, who have since become uncontrollable, destructive resident nuisances.

The language echoes the animalien presentation of IkeNoMizu, which suggests that it is the widely known and accepted for animalien discourse. The alien 'braves' are immortal, so having 'incredible vitality' (*sugoi seimeiryoku*, as in Ep15). They are sexually hyperactive, which matches to 'breeding all over the place' (*hanshoku shimakuri*, Ep15) and squares with the long explanatory segments on interbreeding (resulting in '*ainoko*' in the script and '*zasshu*' in the telops Ep15). The aliens are equipped with 'cheat-skills' that get around the indigenous people's limits. This matches to the narrative of animaliens multiplying uncontrollably for lack of their natural predators (as explained in animalien introductions in IkeNoMizu episodes). The parts of the book are headered in ways similar to IkeNoMizu's set-up. Just as the variety show's 'protagonists' act on reports of animalien sighting or damage, the light novel's parts are headed as 'Case example of Invasive Alien Species Reports of Damage''*(gairaishu higai hōkoku jirei*) that require 'braves eradication' (*yūsha kujo*).

Whilst the encounters with the alien braves serves the protagonists' individual identity construction, the issue is framed as a 'national' one. It isn't the individuals at threat, but the culture of their world. The light novel is subtitled 'The Alien Braves Who Don't Want to Go Home vs the Natives Who Really Wish They Would' (*Kaeritakunai Isekai Yūsha vs Kaettehoshī Genchijin)* (Karanaka 2019b). The protagonists come from different

backgrounds but are unified by their designation as ‘native’. Individual identity construction is done squarely in a national cultural context.

This means that when animaliens transform present spaces into fantasy, individuals are not entirely free to decide the nature of that fantasy. Through surrounding verbal and visual language choice, they are guided to perceive animalien space transformation as ‘national landscape corruption’. Animaliens make the space not ‘non-normal’ but ‘non-national’.

IkeNoMizu uses maps of Japan to mark out sightings and SOS signal sites. Each case is presented as part of a synchronous national emergency. Local incidents are contextualised in a wider national picture. In Ep10, the presence of government officials and *kokuminteki* idol group AKB48 members re-contextualises the local pond-draining exercise as a national project, as performative of national service as being a minister or singing on national TV. In a more obvious example, the first episode of IkeNoMizu was subtitled ‘Protect Japan!’ (*Nippon wo Mamore*!), also repeated in the game. In this way, the entire staging of the animalien encounter is directed from the onset through a nationalistic framework. All discourse is then an opportunity to foster national cultural identity.

One way in which we see this is in the deployment of folklore terminology. In fantasy literature, folklore acts as ‘recognisable material’, so that the ‘unrecognisable’ fantasy can be ‘decoded’ (Sullivan 2001). Folklore is thus distinguished from fantasy in its recognisability. It belongs to and defines the community who share recognition of it. Folklore is communal where fantasy is individual.

Associated with intergenerational communication (parent-figures speak it to children), childhood (when one first hears it) and non-urban ‘natural’ landscapes (where the stories are set), folkloric language signals a space where all these afforementioned are assumed shared, and so, on nationally broadcast TV, signals assumption of a shared national culture. It guides the individual fantasy space created by animalien discourse to one of communal folklore.

Self-reflection induced exploration and identity construction then occurs in a folkloric space of national culture.

Where '*kujo*' (eradication) may be the 'correct' term for animalien removal, IkeNoMizu and newspapers frequently describe the activity as '*taiji*'. This could be to appeal to a family audience. In adult-children communications, the first likely reference a child would have for '*taiji*' is from folktales where heroes set off on '*oni-taiji'* (ogre-slaying) quests. It has, however, also been evoked by the adult writers for adult audiences. In a Q&A about the invasive species watchlist (Okumura 2014) in the Asahi, an imagined general public's questions included, 'Then is it better not to *taiji* them?' (*Jā, taiji shinai hōga īno?*).

Another column differentiated between 'habu *taiji'* and 'mongoose *kujo'* within the same single sentence (Kotsubo 2016), suggesting a distinction. In the habu/mongoose story, people tried to eradicate habu because they bit and caused harm. '*Taiji*' implies a folkloric narrative 'villainy' in which the habu are understood as direct sources of misfortune, so deserve removal. Although mongooses wrecked the ecosystem, they are not seen as direct misfortune sources, those being the humans who introduced them. Relative to the habu's direct harm level to humans, mongooses are not villains, making them narratively undeserving of removal. Hence mongooses face '*kujo*' in this sentence context, although in others *'taiji'* would be valid.

To return to the Q&A (Okumura 2014), the *'taiji'* question was triggered by a negative response to the imagined public's exclamation, 'Then they must be villains!' (*Warui yatsura da!).* The full question can thus be expanded: 'If animaliens are not villains, naturally we do not '*taiji*' to them, so what do we do?'

Other folkloric terms include referring to a pond as 'their (the bluegills) castle' (*yatsu no shiro*), with its undertones of a secret villainous lair in Ep15, or '*bakemono*', translatable as

'monster' but with trickster-like nuances. The alligator gar discovered in Ep15 was described as 'the lord of the pond' (*ike no nushi*), which is repeated emphatically in the mobile game.

Fig.3: Alligator gar game screenshot with label, 'The Lord of the Pond appears!' (Kyotama Inc. & TVTokyo Corporation(2019b))

That animaliens, non-Japanese, are wrapped up in indigenous folkloric terms draws attention to their alienness and, through this irony, the landscape's 'corruption' away from folkloric national homeland is recognised. An alligator gar should not be 'the lord' of a Japanese pond. This is an 'emergency' that warrants an SOS, a corruption of what is 'natural' which a nationally identifying person led by folkloric language would recognise as 'national'.

Participants in IkeNoMizu affirm their own Japanese cultural national identity through demonstrating understanding of folkloric language. The show depicts their peers' approval and recognition of this language, so teaching by example that folkloric language can be a cultural membership signifier. Engaging with animaliens and discussing them is presented as a viable way to both perform national identity and teach how to perform it. The irony of

folkloric language that makes animaliens seem integrated in local narratives is ‘nationally’ entertaining because anyone aligned with the national culture would be in on the joke.

As space transformers, that animaliens distort a landscape away from that which is ‘natural’ makes them conversely useful for teaching what is ‘natural’ in the first place. This doesn’t just stop at the ‘natural’ landscape. The animalien Otherness, interpreted as foreign, extends to teaching the ‘natural’ landscape as ‘national’, but then also to imagine the ‘nationalness’ of the landscape to be a ‘natural’ thing. To take Kyburz’s interpretation, ‘nature’ (*shizen)* implies something that is a ‘spontaneously self-existing totality’ (Kyburz 1997: 273). Something is ‘natural’ if it arises and exists without human intervention. The landscape, comprised of a sky and everything under the sky, is exactly that. Animalien discourse connects national to natural, and implies that ‘national’ cultural identity is a ‘natural’ spontaneously arising thing. Banal nationalism is ‘*shizen*’ to perform.

If we go by Collier & Thomas (1988 in Jandt 2020: 52.6), national cultural identity would be ‘identification with and perceived acceptance into a group that has a shared system of symbols and meaning, as well as norms for conduct’. In short, a national individual needs to have communal symbol literacy.

The animalien on its own enables free self-reflection, exploration and choice of how the animaliens are Other to oneself. Presented as opposition to symbols that are narrated as being a threatened by the animalien, this suggests that the individual should align with these symbols and identify them as fellow Self if animaliens are Other.

Discourse with the animalien Other is an opportunity for teaching the national cultural symbols that are fellow Self and to make them seem ‘natural’, or as ‘natural’ as the landscapes that the animaliens are corrupting. The individual’s understanding of them as ‘of the culture’ is taught to be expected to spontaneously arise from within.

Animalien discourse can thus bring in nature and the landscape to 'naturalise' cultural symbols and make cultural nationalism 'natural' to participate in, as supposedly easy as existing under a sky. Animaliens are therefore often juxtaposed with national cultural symbols in discourse. This teaches the symbols to individuals to read as fellow-Self for being 'not-Other' and worthy of 'natural' alignment, thus directing identity construction towards 'national'.

Largemouths, despite being widespread across Japan, are frequently discussed in the context of Lake Biwa with 421 out of the 1624 largemouth articles in the Yomiuri, 502 of the 2025 in the Asahi, between 2000 and 2021 containing both search terms 'Lake Biwa' (*Biwako*) and 'Largemouth' (*burakkubasu*). This is a clear contrast to the 109 in the Yomiuri and 61 articles in the Asahi that mention largemouths with Lake Ashino (*Ashinoko*), where largemouths were introduced to Japan in 1925. The narrative of Other 'largemouths' versus 'Lake Biwa' is worthy of retelling in a way that Lake Ashino is not.

In 1894 bestseller *Nihon Fukeiron*, Shiga Shigetaka argued that Japan should make its natural landscapes the base of its national identity (Hogari 2005: 24-26). Lake Biwa was included alongside Mount Fuji as a symbol of the nation. Lake Biwa is a cultural symbol, which to appreciate as such signifies membership to the culture. Lake Ashino is not.

Juxtaposing largemouths then with Lake Biwa made for a more socially valuable story because Lake Biwa could symbolise Japan, a story more newspaper readers were invested in than that of a single lake. Via the juxtaposition, the largemouth's animalien Otherness was defined as that of 'anti-national culture' by those who already knew Lake Biwa as a national cultural symbol. For those who didn't, following the narrative cues of the text would teach them four things: 1) they could choose two sides – the fish or the lake; 2) they were expected to define the fish's Otherness as 'anti-national culture'; 3) they were expected to align against the fish if they too were 'not-Other'; and 4) recognising Lake Biwa as fellow 'not-Other', so

familiar and not-anti-national, signalled their participation in approving and preserving the network of symbols that make up the nation's culture – so making themselves 'national'.

Such was the symbolic power of the 'largemouths versus Biwa' story that at the COP10 Convention on Biodiversity in Nagoya, UN delegates were served Lake Biwa largemouth burgers (created for the menu of the Lake Biwa Museum restaurant in 2003) as symbolic of Japan's invasive alien species issues in general (Yamamoto 2010).

In the MOE's animalien public education pamphlets we can see animalien juxtaposition for teaching cultural symbolic literacy and national identity participation with cherry blossom imagery. In the pamphlet regarding the designation of the red-necked longhorn beetle as a 'designated' (*tokutei*) invasive alien species (MOE 2019b), the damage the beetle can cause fruit orchards is listed as the first threat, but it's the threat that one day a Japanese family will not be able to observe cherry-blossom viewing (*hanami*) together that is eye-catchingly illustrated with a weeping child (Fig.4). In the fire-ant pamphlet (MOE 2019a), the section on the fire-ants 'influence on (our) way of life' (*seikatsu he no eikyō)* is represented with a photograph of cherry-blossom viewing. The MOE Youtube video 'Do you know about it? The alien species issue' (*Shitteimasuka? Gairaishu Mondai*) (MOE 2018a) presents animaliens crash-landing upon a map of Japan which is embellished in its finale with falling cherry blossoms. Those accessing these materials are guided to recognise that Japanese national cultural identity is represented by that which the animaliens threaten, and in

accepting animaliens as threateners acknowledge their own alignment with the national symbols.

Fig.4: Tears and no *hanami*, appealing to emotion (MOE2019b)

The implication is that cherry-blossom viewing is something precious, valuable and essential to 'way of life', something that, if we are not on the fire-ants' or beetles' side, we should want to protect. With the fire-ant and beetle as the anti-national culture, so non-Japanese Other, to be Japanese is then represented as to value cherry-blossom viewing, and therefore, cherry blossoms as a symbol.

This symbol literacy approach to teaching national culture is also seen the juxtaposition with animaliens and national heritage sites. IkeNoMizu often locates their animalien hunts in ponds with some culturally symbolic meaning. This may be shrine and temple ponds. Episode 7 (TVTokyo Corporation 2018c), for example, makes much of how they will draining a pond of a temple with 'connections to the famous Sanada clan' (*Sanada-ke yukari*

no otera) on the back of an SOS that a sacred tree had fallen into it (*Ike no hou ni goshinki ga taorete*). Paddy reservoir ponds are another, meaningful for their connection to rice, a 'major metaphor for the Japanese' (Ohnuki-Tierney 1998: 231). Episode 28 takes the crew to a pond at UNESCO world heritage site Tōdaiji in Nara, with much made of cleaning up for the pond for the sake of the Buddha (TVTokyo Corporation (nd)), and Episode 8 sees the draining of the moat of Odawara Castle (TVTokyo Corporation (nd)). Going through the backnumbers of the series, it is very difficult to find an episode that doesn't have some cultural justification for an urgent pond-draining .

Audience members unfamiliar with the location would be able to learn from context that it has value in the national culture through the juxtaposition with the valueless Other non-national animaliens being removed. The valuelessness of the non-national animaliens is further impressed upon the audience in the animaliens' conflation with the rubbish removed in the same process.

The effort by which we see individuals working to clean e.g. Tōdaiji's pond (Ep28) of animaliens teaches viewers that they are in a national culture where Tōdaiji is meaningful enough to broadcast its pond's cleaning on national TV. Therefore, they learn Todaiji as a cultural symbol significant in the national community. In the self-exploratory space of the imagination, to learn a cultural symbol inserts a signpost that guides the positioning of the space coordinate of identity towards a national individual.

In this way an encounter with animaliens - where the self-reflecting individual enters a transformed space for self-exploration and repositioning their space coordinate of identity – can be guided through contextual addition of cultural symbols into becoming a national cultural experience in which national cultural identity is created.

TIME TELESCOPES

3.1: THE LANGUAGE OF NOSTALGIA

In this section, I will analyse animalien discourse for how animalien Otherness is used to position the time coordinate of identity within the imagination of national community.

Like the space coordinate, generating, adjusting and maintaining the time coordinate of identity is also done in two ways: 1) **Self-reflection**, envisioning one's locus in the stream of time, again as an individual unit, but this time in relation to the ancestors and descendants of the community; 2) **Negotiating collective memory and collective future responsibility with others,** so deciding who counts as an ancestor or descendant of the community by which to situate one's coordinate.

I will again be focusing on self-reflection, leaving the latter for further study I've no room for here. In animalien discourse, the animaliens are not only Other in being 'foreign', so out of place, and belonging to other worlds, but perceivable as Other in time.

Unless in possession of very keen and expert eye, one jumbotanishi looks much like any other. A largemouth fished from a pond in Osaka in 2018 is individually indistinguishable from a one fished in Kanagawa in 2003. We'd see it bigger and greyer, but we don't have the eyes to recognise for sure that it is, say, Largemouth Hanako and not Largemouth Fujiko transported between ponds.

In our perceptions, every largemouth might as well be the same individual, not only in the present, but through time. Humans do not register the individual deaths or passing generations of animals in the wild. Every largemouth can, therefore, be imagined as the first largemouth that arrived in 1925 as a single immortal entity. With every member equivalent to the first arrivals, animaliens can all be imagined as belonging to an 'Other' time.

The same could be said for indigenous species, but the difference between animaliens and the indigenous, as already mentioned, is the animaliens' human origins. To belong to an

‘Other’ time in the case of animaliens is to belong to a human cultural community of an ‘Other’ time. Animaliens are the telescopes by which the Other human culture of the past can then be perceived. They are the cultural products of past human decisions and actions. They are relics, even ones only recently abandoned.

David Lowenthal writes, “Relics crucially bridge then and now.” (2013: 13) I would like to add to this that relics not only ‘bridge’ a then and now but necessitate the idea of a ‘then’. The present-time existence of a relic demands an explanation. It creates a void to be filled through narrative imagination.

Lowenthal also writes that relics can be ‘natural features’ and ‘human artifacts’ (381). Animaliens are both. As ‘natural features’ they are part of the landscape, which has been imagined as a ‘temporal link maintained by humans’ (Santos Alexandre 2019: 237), like a thread running through a beaded necklace. As ‘human artifacts’, they transmit a connection with history, a cultural story of how the present has come to be. Through animaliens, people not only imagine past humans but past natural landscapes and past relations between the two.

By the animalien’s Otherness in time, animalien discourse can be therefore be used to reflect upon and explore an individual’s time coordinate of identity, positioning it in space-time through imagined relationships with past and future community members. They are telescopes by which an imagined past can be visualised. Their present presence indicates they can survive time’s flow and presupposes their future existence. This means they can be used to look ahead to the future community too.

The relics’ usefulness is in muteness (Lowenthal 2013: 397) . They show that the past happened but don’t tell how. An individual can interpret the relic then imagine and appropriate a past however is convenient to them. Constructing individual identity can be guided towards an individual ‘national cultural’ identity’ if the relic is, therefore, interpreted by others on introduction. This makes engaging with animaliens an opportunity to teach

individual members of the 'national' community what is the imagined nationally agreed upon shared past cultural community, how to establish relationships with that community, and how to do so in a way that signals membership to the present.

Animalien discourse can be used to equip members of the national community with the favoured language by which relationships with the shared past is expressed. In this study, I've identified two forms: nostalgia and self-responsibility.

Each language builds and expresses a corresponding different relationship with the past community. Broadly speaking I'd like to think of nostalgia language as the mechanism for creating a relationship with passive members of the cultural community. Passive members, in the imagination, do not actively move towards a future. Whilst they leave traces of existence, they do not leave consequences. The language is characterised by loss. Self-responsibility language is the mechanism for building relationships with the active members. It takes into account their forward moving behaviours and consequences.

The script of IkeNoMizu evokes nostalgia language. Presenters reminisce on playing in streams and catching insects in childhood. In Ep15, a presenter introduces an indigenous water stick insect as 'the idol of our childhoods' *(orera no kodomo no koro no aidoru*) with implication of a shared childhood and time in history in '*orera*'. This is repeated with a second stick insect called 'the idol of our time' (*oretachi no jidai no aidoru*). Followed by an emphasis on the water stick insect's rarity versus all the animaliens found in the pond, this past stick insect-abundant and animalien-less landscape is presented as something gone, lost to reminiscence.

Shown validation from fellow participants, the animalien-less past of the presenters' is depicted as belonging to everyone. With the present-day animalien held up as a prop, the lost indigenous species they've replaced and the lost people who lived alongside them can be imagined and mourned. Viewers are invited to share in this yearning for lost community and

taught that expressing nostalgia for this landscape signals membership to that community. On national TV, with this reminiscing being done in a Hiroshima pond by presenters who spent childhoods in Shizuoka (Katō Hideaki) and Saitama (Matoba Kōji), this becomes national community membership. This type of loss-emphatic nostalgia is similar to Boym (2001)'s 'reflective nostalgia'.

We see this 'reflective-type' nostalgia language in the reportage of animalien eradication events. A report of an event at Lake Biwa (Kaji 2018) made note of an civilian organisation called The Association to Return Lake Biwa to What It Was (*Biwako wo modosu Kai*). The children who took part in the event were described 'fishing methods as of olden times' (*mukashi nagara no tsuri*), with no specific indication of what 'mukashi nagara' actually means. The indigenous fishes are 'if things were as they were or should be, they would be caught' (*honrai nara kakaruhazu*).

This term *honrai* often appears in animalien discourse. It carries the nuance of not just a state of how things were, but how something ought to be. When the original network of anti-largemouth civilian organisations was made in 2005, their activities were 'those that would restore the ecosystems that the largemouths destroyed to what they ought to be' (*burakku basu ga kowashita seitaikei wo honrai no jyoutai ni modosou to katsudou wo hajimeta*). Indigenous species are described on the MOE website as 'organisms that exist in their honrai areas of distribution' (*honrai no bunpuiki ni shōsoku/seiiku suru seibutsu*) (MOE (nd)).

The other phrase is '*motomoto*', seen in multiple MOE publicly downloadable documents. *'Motomoto'* can be translated as 'originally', and carries nuances suggesting an ultimate generally agreed upon origin, a sort of beginning of beginnings. In one public awareness poster (MOE 2014), for instance, animaliens are described as 'creatures that were not *motomoto* present' (*motomoto inakatta ikimono)*, which is doubled down upon in the next line in the explanation that humans brought them to 'lands and areas to which they did not

motomoto exist' (*motomoto ha inakatta chiiki ni)*. This is echoed in their explanatory pamphlet for children where they are again creatures that are not 'motomoto'. (MOE 2021: 2)

What or when *'honrai'* or '*motomoto'* actually is regarding landscape is left to the reader and audience's interpretation. The clearest inference is that it's a landscape without animaliens. Animaliens are described by the MOE as those animals that have arrived since the beginning of the Meiji era. (MOE 2021: 2) With this description notably absent in contextualising '*motomoto'* where it would be useful, that makes the imagined past landscape the individual connects with via nostalgia a pre-Meiji, pre-modern, pre-industrial one. Through nostalgia language, animalien discourse situates the '*motomoto*' of 21st century Japanese cultural identity to an imagined pre-Meiji homeland.

In the 2000s, Japan's national identity as a prosperous economically vibrant country was in widely reported a state of crisis (Yano 2010: .232-233 in Suzuki 2020). National soul-searching saw the idea of an 'excessive globalisation' emerge (Takeda 2008: 21). Globalisation had resulted in the economic hubris that led to the Bubble, Bubble bursting, habits of excessive consumption then the perceived moral and social crises of the 90s 'lost decade' (Yoda 2000). Food discourses of the period saw an excess of 'Western' food habits (high in protein and fat) vilified (Takeda 2008: 13) for 'causing' an epidemic of 'lifestyle habit diseases' (*seikatsu shūkan byō*), a term coined by the Ministry of Health, Labour & Welfare in 1996 (Ministry of Health, Labour & Welfare (nd)) suggesting a corruption of Japanese lifestyles with the 'wrong' habits. The IASA, which draws attention to many invasive species that threaten rice and agriculture, was implemented in June 2005. Nurturing through Eating Campaign (Shokuiku Kihon Hō, translation by Takeda 2008: 15), which recentered rice and 'Japanese food' in the national diet and encouraged children's participation in agricultural practices as part of education, was implemented in July the same year. Compounded with the Satoyama Initiative introduced in 2007, these acts and campaigns

would suggest a desire to refocus Japanese identity to the people's relationship with nature and natural landscapes.

There was no need to seek wealth abroad via economic productivity if it could be found at home. Nostalgia language – that of loss - made the idealised past a place of 'yet to be lost' and wealth. This makes it a valuable language for imaging the past community as wealthy. It gives present 21st century members access to an inheritance which, through the sense of continuity landscapes provides, has an illusion of potential reclaimability. This gives hopeful purpose to the community, driving it to the future. Nostalgia language can be forward thinking, as in Boym (2001)'s definition of 'restorative nostalgia', in which nostalgia aims to restore 'home'. This forward-thinking nostalgia language establishes relationships with the imagined idealised future, and through tension with the past and future, the individual's identity coordinate of time is secured.

3.2 : THE LANGUAGE OF SELF-RESPONSIBILITY

The language of self-responsibility in animalien discourse also creates and expresses relationships with past and future community members to position the individual between the two.

The relationship described in self-responsibility is the opposite to that of the lost past and restoration dreams of nostalgia. I've interpreted it as the recognition of a burdensome past and wishes to relieve that burden for the future. It runs in parallel with nostalgia as the tail of the coin, and the animalien Other is used to teach the language of self-responsibility as a means of expressing national membership as well. Self-responsibility is about being aware of the consequences of one's own actions and individually adjusting behaviour to mitigate where necessary.

Language surrounding the IASA for the general public places much emphasis on the role of individual behaviours and actions. The three principles of animalien control in Japan, repeated across multiple pamphlets (e.g. MOE 2021), is 'Don't let them in. Don't throw them away. Don't spread them' (*Irenai, Sutenai, Hirogenai*), command terms directed from government to the people. It also sets the expected tone to be expressed between members of the general public, placing the burden of the anti-animalien action plan on individual behaviours and decisions that reflect the self-restraint (*irenai* - don't desire foreign animals), self-awareness within their own community (*sutenai* - don't burden others by dumping litter outside of the home) and self-awareness of one's local versus other locals (*hirogenai* - don't take your business to other places).

'*Sutenai*' in particular echoes concurrent 2000s discourses on wastefulness and throwaway culture. Using the language of self-responsibility in animaliens discourse tied it into both a public pushback against the materialism of Japan's economic peak years (Siniawer 2014) and a broader state-encouraged national project of encouraging self-

responsibility as a habitual virtue (Hook & Takeda 2007). The language of self-responsibility described and created the new Japanese national identity in contrast to that previous decadence. The new identity was based around responsible, attentive care of one's belongings and self-conscious consumption and saw the purpose of the present as rectifying past mistakes. The present had a duty to shed the 'burden', as the language of self-responsibility asked individuals to recognise, for the sake of the future. The language of self-responsibility to counter years of irresponsible consumption has persuasive power in animalien discourse as many animaliens were imported as luxury consumer goods. Jumbotanishis were imported in the 80s as a gourmet novelty food item, to be sold as 'Escargot of the Paddies' (*suiden no eskarugō*) (Anon 2021). Sliders, of course, were pets.

In Anon (2020) in the Asahi, chief the producer of IkeNoMizu, Itō Takayuki, claimed that the program revealed the 'darkness of humans when we drained the pond' (*Ike no mizu wo nuitara ningen no yami ga detekita*). This 'darkness' is defined as the 'human ego' (*ningen no ego*) which 'thoughtlessly releases living creatures into urban ponds' (*tokai no ike ni muzosa ni ikimono wo hanasu*). Irresponsibility, as shown in the unwillingness to take responsibility for one's individual choices (e.g. in buying a pet) is condemned. This quote comes on pulling a lone Japanese terrapin out of a shrine pond in which, otherwise, only sliders were found. Through the juxtaposition of the shrine setting - a cultural symbol - and the overabundance of sliders, animaliens through the language of self-responsibility become cautionary tales against excessive foreign consumption and the individual 'thoughtless' actions of the past community that have burdened the present with the consequences since.

We see the language of self-responsibility in animalien discourse used to condemn irresponsible consumption in entries in Asahi's *Koe* (Voice) column, in which readers write in on issues close to heart.

Okamoto (2008) writes in to condemn the ease with which animaliens can be bought , compared to her insect-hunting childhood in which animals she wanted to keep had to be learned about and tracked down. She urges readers to stop desiring rare things (*mezurashī mono bakari wo motomezu*) and remember that to 'keep a living creature is to shoulder responsibility' *(ikimono wo kau ni wa, sekinin wo tomonau*).

Children and young people also often appear in *Koe*. One example from a 17 year old (Kosaka 2006) imagines a monologue of someone dismissing the ecosystem, saying, 'Only my own convenience matters' (*jibun dake benri ni nareba ī*), They then condemn this way of thinking and affirm their commitment to responsibility for their own individual behaviour stating that they will start being 'mindful of (their own) closest environment' (*mijika na kankyō wo kangaenagara)* and begin with their 'own personal surroundings' (*jibun no shūi kara).*

A 14 year old Wada (2006) also writes that it isn't foreign species in the wrong, but the humans who imported and kept them for trivial purposes – 'watching, touching, enjoying' (*mitari, sawattari, tanoshindari)* - who 'are truly in the wrong' (*hontō ni warui*). They note that as soon as humans want to stop taking care of them on an individual whim (*shiiku shitaku nakunaru to)* they 'throw away' (*suteru)* the animal 'without a tickle to their conscience' (*heiki de).* The student describes the animals as creatures 'being spun around for the human's own convenience' (*ningen no katte ni furi mawasareru).*

That the national newspaper chose these words as representative of children is notable. Imagining the children of the present makes imagining the future community easier. To put the language of self-responsibility into the mouths of children for the, mostly, adult readership solidifies the adults' relationships of burden (the desire to be rid of them) with the future community and reminds them of these relationships.

This emphasis on self-responsibility regarding one's own behaviour at the time the IASA was implemented - and has been stable in animalien discourse since - is in line with the rhetoric around 2000s surrounding the shrinking domestic state, in which increasing 'demands made by Koizumi administration for (citizens) to exercise self-responsibility' (Hook & Takeda 2007: 95) greased the off-loading of state risks onto the public.

That this general language of self-responsibility was considered widely understandable and recognisable by the public can be seen in this illustration (Fig.5) from the pamphlet (MOE 2015a) explaining Japan's anti-animalien action plan.

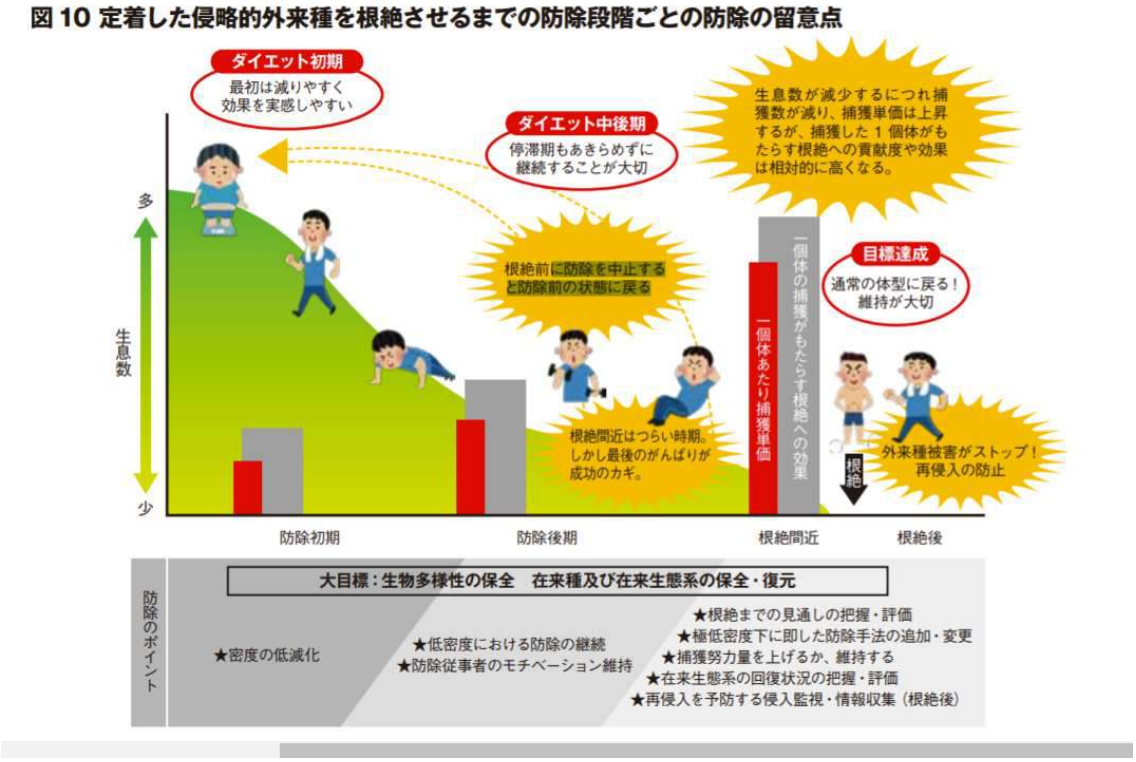

Fig. 5: A national diet plan (MOE2015a)

The visual metaphor compares Japan's mission to remove already 'settled' animaliens from the country to one man's diet course. Who does this man represent? Still alive at the end of his diet course, he doesn't represent Japan's population of animaliens. This man represents Japan itself.

At the beginning, Japanman is overweight, heavy with the burdens of excessive and irresponsible consumption of his past. Through the course of Japan's ideal program of animalien removal, he comes to a difficult middle section where 'losing weight' becomes tricky. The label says that 'that last effort is the key to success' (*saigo no ganbari ga seikō no kagi*). 'Ganbari' carries nuances of personal effort and individual endurance. If 'Japan' fails it is down to individuals failing to recognise their self-responsibility and putting in that personal effort to work towards a healthier, fitter future Japan. This 'ganbari section' corresponds to needing to 'maintain the motivation of animalien removers' (*bōio jūjisha no mochibēshon iji*) in the centre section of the grey panel below. The use of 'ganbari', however, suggests that this maintenance is expected to come from the individual's own sense of responsibility.

I'll conclude this section on animaliens as time telescopes in noting that this diet course ends with an evocation of nostalgia language, as the figure of Japan is described as 'returning to his normal self' (*tsūjō no taikei ni modoru),* now fit, muscular and slimmed down. The yearned for lost 'normality' (undefined, but a national is assumed to know) and the wealth that is health has been regained, whilst the burdens are lost.

Animalien discourse thus helps establish and express an individual's relationships with past and future national communities. It enables the teaching and familiarisation with the languages of nostalgia and self-responsibility, two languages by which individual time coordinate positioning can be done in the national cultural context.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The animalien is a useful outsider. Their Otherness has persisted because it is useful to 21st century identity construction at both the individual level and the national.

As space-transformers, at the individual level, they transform space away from the heavily enmeshed day-to-day to a comparatively freer fantasy, allowing self-reflection and exploration of their imagined landscape of self to posit their space coordinate of identity. As time telescopes, they allow self-reflection on the past and future to situate the individual's time coordinate of identity through relationships with past and future imagined communities.

In isolation, an individual can be free to define the animalien in whatever Other way they like. Surrounded by seniors in the national cultural community, however, who are already literate in the cultural symbols that define it, an individual is rarely free to interpret the animalien as they wish.

Juxtaposed with already established cultural symbols, cultural seniors can use the animalien Other as the 'anti-national' prop by which to teach the juniors national culture, the languages to express it in and how to perform the national cultural identity. Upholding the animalien Other in activities as 'anti-national' in eradication activities etc. is thus shown as one way to perform nation. This affirmation of national cultural identity is not a one-way trench. Seniors also affirm their own national cultural identity in the performance of teaching it.

Mass media, such as TV and newspapers, surround the individual with a network of cultural symbols that both prove the animalien 'not of the culture' and are proved by the animalien to be 'of the culture'. Securing the animaliens' 'anti-national' Otherness on a scale of national narrative, TV and newspapers have recruited animaliens into cultural nationalism. Narratives of encounters with them have been seized as opportunities by both media and the

state to express and thus construct the 21st century Japanese identity, which through animaliens takes shape in relationships with nature, the landscape and wealth to be found in Japan's biodiversity than abroad in economic pursuit.

This has also re-articulated Japan's relationship with nature and the landscape into one of mindful individual responsibility, nostalgia and a source of escape from 'urban' everyday. On one level, is this a re-branding of other 'Japanese identity' narratives? Being mindful of your own behaviour is still being hyperaware of self within the group. Nostalgia is a sidestep away from ancestor veneration. That a national identity sees 'nature' as an escape from 'everyday' says the everyday is expected to be urban, likely middle class.

I've identified three languages in animalien discourse by which national cultural identity is expressed and shaped: folklore, nostalgia and self-responsibility. They're certainly not the only ones. As an 'anti-national' Other, the animalien could through discourse perhaps be used to absorb all sorts of daily languages into the nation-building project to forge relationships through time and make fantastic space, securing those coordinates of identity in national space-time.

If the animalien Other can be as adaptable in discourse as it is in the Japanese landscape then maybe small wonder the animalien Other persists.

5.1 Bibliography: titles translations in square brackets are my own, otherwise as the writer intended; journal titles without provided translation have been left transliterated; author names have been left transliteraed as provided in their papers

1. Amos, T.D., (2011). *Embodying difference : the making of burakumin in modern Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
2. Anderson, B.R.O.G., (2006). *Imagined communities*: *reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* Revised edition., London ; New York: Verso.
3. Anon. (2010). Tensei Jingo – Ikyū Zenji to Araiguma. [Tensei Jingo Column – Monk Ikyū and the Raccoon]. *Asahi Shimbun.* Asahi Kikuzo II Visual [online database]. 5 November. Morning ed. [Viewed 25 June 2021].
4. Anon. (2020). Jidai no Shiori - ‘Medaka ga Kieru Hi’ 2000nenkan – Ozawa Shōji Kuzureru seitaikei he no kikikan [A Bookmark in Our Times Column – ‘The Day the Japanese Rice Fish Disappear’ Year 2000 Edition – Ozawa Shōji - A Sense of Danger in the Unravelling Ecosystem]. *Asahi Shimbun.* Asahi Kikuzo II Visual [online database]. 18 March. Evening ed. [Viewed 12 July 2021].
5. Anon (2021). NewMon@Shiga – Gairaishu – Kyodai Tanishi Suiden ni Higai = Shiga. [NewsGate@Shiga – Invasive alien species – Giant water snails leave destruction in paddies] *Yomiuri Shimbun.* Yomidasu Rekishikan [online database]. 22 April. Osaka morning ed. [Viewed 24 August 2021].
6. Asquith, P.J. & Kalland, A., (1997). *Japanese images of nature : cultural perspectives*, Richmond: Curzon.
7. Badelt, K., & Zimmer, H., (2003). *The Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl Soundtrack* [CD]. London: Walt Disney Records.
8. Belcourt, B.-R., (2015), ‘Animal Bodies, Colonial Subjects: (Re)Locating Animality in Decolonial Thought’, *Societies*, Vol. 5, no. 1, pp.1–11. DOI: 10.3390/soc5010001.

9. Billig, M., (1995). *Banal nationalism*, London: SAGE.
10. Boym, S., (2001). *The future of nostalgia*, New York: Basic Books.
11. Chokki, H., (2015), 'Teaching materials with crustaceans for elementary school in Japan', *Cancer,* Vol. 24, no. pp.121-126 DOI: 10.18988/cancer.24.0_121
12. Cowboys and Aliens., (2011). Directed by Jon Favreau. USA: Universal Pictures.
13. DeLapp, K.M., (2011), 'Ancient Egypt as 'Europe's Intimate Stranger'', in, Vella Bonavita, H. (ed.), *Negotiating identities : constructed selves and others*, Amsterdam ; New York. pp. 171-192.
14. Foster, MD., (2009). *Pandemonium and parade: Japanese monsters and the culture of Yōkai*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
15. Fowler, E., (2000), 'The Buraku in Modern Japanese Literature: Texts and Contexts', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 1-39. DOI: 10.2307/133390
16. Fujiwara, K., (2019), 'The Social Shaping of Rice Cultivation Technology with Reduced Pesticide and Farmer's Agency: A Case Study of the Reduced-Pesticide Use Movement in Fukuoka Prefecture', *Sonraku Shakai Kenkyū,* Vol. 26, No. 1, pp.1-12. DOI: 10.9747/jars.26.1_1
17. Fukuda, C., (2018), 'The Resurgence of Cultural Nationalism in Japanese Mass Media: A Television Representation of Domesticated Enka in Africa', *Japanese Studies*, Vol. 38, no. 2, pp. 229-252. DOI: 10.1080/10371397.2018.1489204
18. Hall, S., (2007), 'Encoding and decoding in the television discourse', in, Gray, A., Campbell, J., Erickson, M., Hanson, S., and Wood, H. (ed.), *CCCS Selected Working Papers Volume 2*. Abingdon: Routledge. pp. 386-398.
19. Howell, D.L., (2004), 'Making 'Useful Citizens' of Ainu Subjects in Early Twentieth-Century Japan', *The Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. 63, no. 1, pp. 5-29.

20. Hook, G., & Takeda, H., (2007), ' 'Self-responsibility' and the Nature of the Postwar Japanese State: Risk through the Looking Glass', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 93-123. DOI: 10.1353/jjs.2007.0016
21. Higa, T., (2020), 'A Study of Textbooks' Treatment of Foreign Invasive Species: Based on Authorized Textbooks of Living Environment Studies and Science for Elementary Schools, and Science for Junior and Senior High Schools', *Kagaku Kyōiku Kenkyū,* Vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 457-467. DOI: 10.14935/jssej.43.457
22. Iwata, Y., Fukamachi, K. & Morimoto, Y., (2011), 'Public perception of the cultural value of Satoyama landscape types in Japan'. *Landscape and Ecological Engineering*, July, pp. 173–184. DOI: 10.1007/s11355-010-0128-x
23. Jandt, F.E., (2020), *An introduction to intercultural communication : identities in a global community* [electronic resource].Tenth edition, Los Angeles: SAGE.
24. Japan, Ministry of the Environment (abbreviated in text to MOE):
    - (nd) *Shinryakuteki na Gairaishu [Invasive Alien Species].* [Viewed 26 August 2021]. Available from: https://www.env.go.jp/nature/intro/2outline/invasive.html#sec1
    - (2009) *Heisei 20nendo Gairaishu Taisaku Jirei tō ni Kansuru Chōsa Hōkokusho – Ankēto Kekka no Gaiyō- [Heisei 20 Report on Research on Invasive Alien Species Strategy Cases etc. – Summary of Survey Results].*[Viewed 25 August 2021]. Available from: https://www.env.go.jp/nature/intro/4document/files_report/mitigation_cases_report.pdf
    - (2014) *Gairaishu Mondai Fukyū Keihatsu Panel 1* [*Invasive Alien Species Issue Public Education Poster Panel]*. [Viewed 25 August 2021]. Available from: https://www.env.go.jp/nature/intro/4document/files/panel_1.pdf

- (2015a) *Gairai Higai Bōshi Kōdō Keikaku [Invasive Alien Species Damage Prevention Action Plan].* [Viewed 24 August 2021]. Available from : https://www.env.go.jp/nature/intro/4document/files/plan.pdf
- (2015b) *Heisei 26nendo Gairaiseibutsu Mondaitō Ninchido Chōsa Gyōmu Hōkokusho Part 2 [Heisei 26 Awareness Levels of Invasive Alien Species Issue etc. Research Report Part 2].* [Viewed 24 August 2021]. Available from: https://www.env.go.jp/nature/intro/4document/files_report/h26_questionnaire_report02.pdf
- (2018a) *Shitteimasuka? Gairaishu Mondai [Do you know about it? The invasive alien species issue?]*. Youtube. [Viewed 27 August 2021]. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M2dd2PcxSvs
- (2018b) *Sukumi Ringo Gai (Jumbo tanishi) wa Nō Sakubutsu ya Seiteikei ni Higai wo Ataeru Osoreno Aru Gairaishu desu [Channelled apple snails (jumbo tanishi) are invasive species that are feared to cause much damage to agriculture and the ecosystem].* [Viewed 27 August 2021]. Available from: https://www.env.go.jp/nature/intro/4document/files/c_sukumiringogai.pdf
- (2019a) *Sutoppu za Hiari [Stop the Fire-ant!]*. [Viewed 26 August 2021]. Available from: https://www.env.go.jp/nature/intro/4document/files/20190314hiari.pdf
- (2019b) *Kubiaka Tsuya Kamikiri ha Gairaiseibutsu Hō ni MotodukuTokutei Gairai Seibutsu ni Shitei saremashita [Red-necked longhorn beetles have become Designated Invasive Alien Species under the Invasive Alien Species Act].* [Viewed 26 August 2021]. Available from : https://www.env.go.jp/nature/intro/4document/files/g_kubiakatsuyakamikiri_shitei.pdf

- (2020) *Posuto 2020 Seibutsu Tayōsei Wakugumi no Kentōjōkyō ni Tsuite [On the Current Situation of Discussions on a Post-2020 Biodiversity Framework]*.[Viewed 27 August 2021]. Available from: https://www.env.go.jp/council/12nature/y120-39b/mat05_1.pdf
- (2021) *Gaikoku kara Yatte Kita Ikimonotachi.* [*The Living Creatures That Came From Abroad*]. [Viewed 25 August 2021]. Available from: https://www.env.go.jp/nature/intro/4document/files/r_gaikokukara.pdf

25. Kaji, S., (2018), ecoKatsuPurasu Shimin Sanka de Gairaigyo wo Herasu Kunitennen Kinenbutsu 'Fukkatsu' no Kizashi. [ecoActionPlus – Removing Alien Fishes with Civilian Help; Signs of Revival at a National Natural Monument]. *Asahi Shimbun.* Asahi Kikuzo II Visual [online database] 28 August. Evening ed. [Viewed 28 August 2021].
26. Kamezaki, N., (2015), 'Overview of the problems concerning freshwater turtles in Japan, especially Trachemys scripta elegans'. *Bulletin of the Herpetological Society of Japan*, no.2, pp. 123–133.
27. Karanaka, H., (2019a). *Shinryakusei Gairaishu 'Yūsha'.* [Invasive Alien Species Braves] Famitsū Bunko. Japan: Kadokawa.
    - – online samples of same work: Karanaka, H. (2019b). *Shinryakusei Gairaishu 'Yūsha'* [trans. as 2019a] [online]. Japan: Kadokawa. Kakuyomu, [Viewed 28th August 2021]. URL: https://kakuyomu.jp/works/1177354054888270934#table-of-contents
28. Katō, M., (2011), 'A research on change of descriptions about 'Conservation of Living things' based on High School Biology Textbooks in Japan'. *Seibutsu Kyōiku,* Vol. 52, no. 3, pp. 96-111 DOI: 10.24718/jjbe.52.3_96

29. Kayama, R., (2002), *Puchi nashonarizumu shōkōgun [Petit Nationalism Syndrome]*. Japan: Chūkō shinsho.

30. Knight, J., (2003). *Waiting for wolves in Japan : an anthropological study of people-wildlife relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

31. Knowlton, N. & Jackson, J.B., (2008), 'Shifting baselines, local impacts, and global change on coral reefs'. *PLoS Biology*, Vol. 6, no.2 :e54, DOI:10.1371/journal.pbio.0060054

32. Kohyama, S., (2008), 'A Consideration of the Influences for the Children's View of Nature - Remarks on the Alien Species Beetles in the Entertainments for Children', *Kankyō Kyōiku,* Vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 42-49. DOI: 10.5647/jsoee.18.1_42

33. Komemura, K., Shiosagi, J., & Satō, Y., (2012). Dokusho Kansōbun, tanoshinde kōryaku Sakubun Puro ga Kotsu Denju – Kodomo no Hondana – Natsu Yasumi Tokushū. [Book Review, approach them with an aim to have fun, essay-pros offer their know-how – The Children's Bookshelf – Summer Holiday Special] *Asahi Shimbun.* Asahi Kikuzo II Visual [online database]. 28 July. Morning ed. [Viewed 14 July 2021].

34. Kondō, S., (2012), ' 'Mister, you must have been bewitched by a cat': Human-Animal Continuity through a Case Study of Cat Bewitchment in the Oki Islands, Shimane, Japan', *Japanese Journal of Cultural Anthropology,* Vol. 76, no. 4, pp. 463-474. DOI: 10.14890/jjcanth.76.4_463

35. Kosaka, Y., (2006). Koe - Wakai Sedai - Kawa no yogore mite kankyō wo kangaeru. [Koe Column – The Young Generation - Thinking on the environment by looking at the polluted river]. *Asahi Shimbun.* Asahi Kikuzo II Visual [online database]. 20 August. Morning ed. [Viewed 30 August 2021].

36. Kotsubo, Y., (2016). Imasara Kikenai+ Kichō na Shu no Mamorikata Shizen ni Makaseta mamadewa Konnan = Teisei/Owabi ari. [I Can't Possibly Ask Now+ Column – How to Protect a Precious Species; Leaving it to Nature has Its Problems]. *Asahi Shimbun.* Asahi Kikuzo II Visual [online database]. 6 August. Morning ed. [Viewed 27 August 2021].
37. Kudo, (?)., & Yamamoto, T., (2010). Kokuren Chikyū Ikimono Kaigi - Gairaigyo no Kawa – 'Tamazon' – Tamagawa he kaezu ni hōryū? 200shu koe. [UN Convention on Biodiversity COP10 – A River of Alien Fishes – 'The Tamazon' – Unable to keep their pets, releasing into the Tamagawa? Over 200 species] *Asahi Shimbun.* Asahi Kikuzo II Visual [online database] 22 October. Evening ed. [Viewed 28 August 2021].
38. Kyburz, J.A., (1997), 'Magical Thought at the Interface of Nature and Culture', in, Asquith, P. and Kalland, A. (ed.), *Japanese Images of Nature: Cultural Perspectives* pp. 257–79. Richmond: Curzon Press
39. KYOTOMA Inc., & TVTokyo Corporation (2019a)., Kinkyū SOS! Ike no Mizu wo Zenbu Nuku Daisakusen ～THE GAME～. [Emergency SOS! The Great 'Pull the Plug on the Pond' Scheme ～THE GAME～]. Mobile App Game. [Viewed 25 August 2021]. Available from: https://ikenomizu.com/
40. KYOTAMA Inc., & TVTokyo Corporation (2019b)., *Alligator gar in IkeNoMizu game* [digital image], in TVTokyo Group., (2019), 'Terebi Tokyo no Daininki Bangumi 'Kinkyū SOS! Ike no Mizu wo Zenbu Nuku Daisakusen' Hatsu Smātofōn Muke Apuri wo Honjitsu Ririsu!'[TVTokyo's Hit Show 'Emergency SOS! The Great 'Pull the Plug on the Pond' Scheme' Releases its First Smartphone App Today!] ,

PRTimes [online]. 15 June. [Viewed 26th August 2021], Available from: https://prtimes.jp/main/html/rd/p/000000941.000002734.html.

41. Lovich, J.E. & Yamamoto, K., (2016), 'Measuring the impact of invasive species on popular culture: A case study based on toy turtles from Japan'. *Hito to Shizen* Vol 27, pp. 1−11. DOI: 10.24713/hitotoshizen.27.0_1
42. Lowenthal, D., (2013). *The past is a foreign country - revisited*, [electronic resource]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
43. Mabuchi, H., (2017), 'DNA ga kataru Nihon no Koi no Monogatari'. [The Koi's Story As Told by DNA]. *Kokkanken Nyūsu,* Vol 36, no. 5. [Viewed 24 August 2021]. Available at: https://www.nies.go.jp/kanko/news/36/36-5/36-5-03.html
44. McVeigh, B.J., (2004). *Nationalisms of Japan : managing and mystifying identity,* Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
45. Ministry of Health, Labour & Welfare, (nd.), 'Definition: Seikatsu Shūkan Byō', *E-Healthnet*. [Viewed 22 August 2021]. Available at: https://www.e-healthnet.mhlw.go.jp/information/dictionary/metabolic/ym-040.html
46. Mori, K., Takahashi, D. & Kayano, A., (2017), 'A Case Study of the Teaching Method Using Invasive Alien Species as Educational Material in a Junior High School Science: Application of "Coding" by Text Mining', *Nihon Kagaku Kyōiku Gakkai Kenkyūkai Kenkyū Hōkoku,* Vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 25-28. DOI: 10.14935/jsser.32.1_25
47. Mullin, M., (1999), 'Mirrors and Windows: Sociocultural Studies of Human-Animal Relationships'. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 28, pp. 201-224.
48. Murayama. K., (2016). Seitaikei mamoru 'Osakana Posuto' Secchi Yamazakisan, Sichizen obu za iyā/Kanagawaken. [Mr Yamazaki, establisher of ecosystem-protecting 'Fish Post', becomes Citizen of the Year/Kanagawa] *Asahi Shimbun*. Asahi

Kikuzo II Visual [online database]. 6 February. Yokohama ed. [Viewed 31 August 2021].

49. Nishio, S., (2019), 'Invasive Alien Species as Actor in Society', *Chiri Kūkan,* Vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 1-19. DOI: 10.24586/jags.12.1_1.
50. Okamoto, A., (2008). Koe – Jishin nai nara ikimono kauna [Koe Column – If you don't have the confidence, don't keep living creatures]. *Asahi Shimbun.* Asahi Kikuzo II Visual [online database]. 20 July. Morning ed. [Viewed 27 August 2021].
51. Okumura, T., (2014). Oshiete – Risuto an ga tsukurareta 'Shinryakuteki Gairaishu'tte Nanikana?. [Teach me! – What are these 'Invasive Alien Species' that they've made a watchlist about?] *Asahi Shimbun*. Asahi Kikuzo II Visual [online database]. 24 December. Evening ed. [Viewed 27 August 2021].
52. Ohnuki-Tierney, E., (1987). *The monkey as mirror : symbolic transformations in Japanese history and ritual*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
53. Ohnuki-Tierney, E., (1998). 'Cherry Blossoms and their Viewing: A window onto Japanese Culture', in, Linhart, S. & Frühstück, S. (ed.) *The Culture of Japan as Seen Through Its Leisure,* Albany: State University of New York Press. pp.213-236.
54. Ōtsuka, H., (2011). Torendo – 'Tamazongawa' to Ogasawaea Shotō'. [Trend – 'Tamazongawa' and the Ogasawara Islands']. *Yomiuri Shimbun*. Yomidasu Rekishikan [online database]. 21 May. Evening ed. [Viewed 7 July 2021]
55. Park, S., (2015), 'Staging Japan: The Takarazuka Revue and Cultural Nationalism in the 1950s–60s', *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 357-374. DOI: 10.1080/10357823.2015.1053430
56. Siddle, R., (2011), 'Race, ethnicity, and minorities in modern Japan', in Lyon-Bestor, V., Bestor, T.C. & Yamagata, A. (ed). *Routledge handbook of Japanese culture and society,* Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge, pp.150-162.

57. Rosenberger, N., (1992), 'Images of the West: Home Style in Japanese Magazines', in, Tobin, JJ. (ed). *Re-made in Japan: Everyday Life and Changing Taste in a Consumer Society,* New Haven ; London: Yale University Press*,* pp. 106-125.

58. Sagisu, S., (1995). *Angel Attacks.* In: *Neon Genesis Evangelion* [CD]. Japan: King Record.

59. Santos Alexandre, R., (2019), 'Being and Landscape: An Ontological Inquiry into a Japanese Rural Community', *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 20, no. 3, pp.232-246. DOI: 10.1080/14442213.2019.1615121

60. Sawano, H., (2013). *TV Anime 'Attack on Titan' Original Soundtrack* [CD]. Japan: Ponycanyon.

61. Senō, H., (2006), 'Gairaiseibutsu Hō wa Burakku Basu Mondai wo Kaiketsu dekiru no ka'. [Can the Invasive Alien Species Act Solve the Largemouth Mass Problem]. *Honyūrui Kagaku [Mammalian Science],* vol. 46, no. 1, pp. 103-109. DOI: 0.11238/mammalianscience.46.103

62. Shimoji, L.Y. & Ogaya, C., (2020) 'Exclusion targeting international marriage couples and their children', in, Shiobara, Y., Kawabata, K. & Matthews, J. (ed). *Cultural and social division in contemporary Japan : rethinking discourses of inclusion and exclusion*, Milton: Routledge, pp. 118-134.

63. Simberloff, D., (2005), 'Non-Native Species DO Threaten the Natural Environment!', *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics*, Vol. 18, no. 6, pp. 595–607. DOI: 10.1007/s10806-005-2851-0.

64. Simberloff, D., & Vitule, J.R.S., (2014), 'A call for an end to calls for the end of invasion biology', *Oikos: A Journal Of Ecology*, Vol. 123, no. 4, pp408–413. DOI: 10.1111/j.1600-0706.2013.01228.x

65. Siniawer, E. M., (2014), ‘‘Affluence of the Heart’: Wastefulness and the Search for Meaning in Millennial Japan’, *The Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. 73, no. 1, pp. 165–186. DOI: 10.1017/S0021911813001745
66. Sullivan, C. (2001). ‘Folklore and Fantastic Literature’. *Western Folklore*, Vol. 60, no. 4, pp. 279-296. DOI:10.2307/1500409
67. Subramaniam, B., (2001), ‘The Aliens Have Landed!’, *Meridians*, Vol.2, no. 1, pp.26-40. DOI: 10.1215/15366936-2.1.26.
68. Suzuki, S., (2020), ‘Multiculturalism or Cultural Nationalism? Representation of Ellie Kameyama as a Conduit and the Other in the NHK Morning Drama Massan’, *Japanese Studies*, Vol. 40, no. 2, pp. 121-140. DOI: 10.1080/10371397.2020.1735932
69. Takeda, H., (2008), ‘Delicious Food in a Beautiful Country: Nationhood and Nationalism in Discourses on Food in Contemporary Japan’, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism,* Vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 5- 30. DOI: 10.1111/j.1754-9469.2008.00001.x.
70. Tree, J., & Weldon, M., (2007), ‘Retelling Urban Legends’, *The American Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 120, no. 3, pp. 459-476. DOI:10.2307/20445414
71. TVTokyo Corporation:
    - (2018a). *Kinkyū SOS! Ike no Mizu wo Zenbu Nuku Daisakusen* [trans. as above] Episode 10. Dairantō! Ningen vs Maboroshi no Kyodaigyo! Wani! Gairaishu 5357 Piki!! [A Great Brawl! Human vs Legendary Giant Fish! A Crocodile! 5357 Alien Species!!] (Aired: 24.06.2018). *Bilibili*. [Last viewed 12th August 2021] uploaded by: 触革应援站 (29.06.2018) Available from: https://www.bilibili.com/video/BV1ns41157aw/?spm_id_from=333.788.recommend_more_video.1
    - (2018b) *Kinkyū SOS! Ike no Mizu wo Zenbu Nuku Daisakusen* [trans. as above] Episode 15. Zenkoku Issei! Nazo no Kyodaigyo zenbu Toru! [The

Whole Country in One Go! Let's Catch All the Mystery Giant Fish!] (Aired: 09.12.2018) *Bilibili*. [Last viewed 12th August 2021]. uploaded by: 前田幻羽 Official_ATC (13.02.2020) Available from: https://www.bilibili.com/video/BV1N7411G74c?p=1

- (2018c). ' 'Ike no Mizu' ga Odawarajō e! O-hori no mizu wo zenbu nukutte honto?: Kinkyū SOS! Ike no Mizu Zenbu Nuku Daisakusen 7' ['IkeNoMizu' goes to Odawara Castle! Are you really going to drain all the water in the moat?: Emergency SOS! The Great 'Pull the Plug on the Pond' Scheme 7']. *TV Tokyo Plus.* [Viewed 24 August 2021]. Available: https://www.tv-tokyo.co.jp/plus/entertainment/entry/2018/016644.html
- (nd). *Kinkyū SOS! Ike no Mizu wo Zenbu Nuku Daisakusen Bakku Nambā.* [Emergency SOS! The Great 'Pull the Plug on the Pond' Scheme Back Catalogue]. [Last viewed 28th August 2021. Available from: https://www.tv-tokyo.co.jp/ikenomizu/backnumber/

72. Wada, M., (2006). Koe – Ningen no Migatte, Seitaikei no Kiki. [Koe Column – Selfish Humans, The Ecosystem Under Threat]. *Asahi Shimbun.* Asahi Kikuzo II Visual [online database]. 29 January. Morning ed. [Viewed 27 August 2021].
73. Warren, C.R., (2007), 'Perspectives on the "alien" versus "native" species debate: A critique of concepts, language and practice', *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol.31, no. 4, pp. 427–446. DOI: 10.1177/0309132507079499.
74. Yamamoto, T., (2010). Kokuren Chikyū Ikimono Kaigi – Burakkubasu wo paku' Bāgā de Gairaishu Taisaku PR (Nagoya). [UN Convention on Biodiversity COP10 – Chow down on that largemouth bass; Invasive Alien Species Strategy PR with Burgers]. *Asahi Shimbun.* Asahi Kikuzo II Visual [online database]. 18 October. Morning ed. [Viewed 26 August 2021].

75. Yoda, T., (2000), ‘A Roadmap to Millennial Japan’, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. 99, no. 4, pp. 629-668. DOI: 10.1215/00382876-99-4-629

76. Yoshimi, S., abridged and translated by Beck, J., (2014), ‘From Street Corner to Living Room: Domestication of TV Culture and National Time/Narrative’, *Mechademia* , Vol. 9, Origins, pp. 126-142. DOI: 10.5749/mech.9.2014.0126

77. Yoshino, K., (1992). *Cultural nationalism in contemporary Japan: A sociological enquiry*. London: Routledge.

78. Zahorski, K.J., & Boyer, R.H., (1982), ‘The Secondary Worlds of High Fantasy’, in, Schlobin, R.C. (ed.), *The Aesthetics of Fantasy Literature and Art* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. pp. 56-81.

5.2 Appendices

1: Ministry of the Environment Japanese Text and Transliteration

1.1 'not originally present in an area until introduced by human activities from outside'

- もともとその地域にいなかったのに、人間の活動によって他の地域から入ってきた
- Motomoto sono chiiki ni inakattanoni, ningen no katsudō ni yotte hoka no chiiki kara haitte kita.

1.2 'since the Meiji period, in which the movement of goods and people accelerated and flourished'.

- 人間の移動や物流が盛んになり始めた明治時代以降に導入されたもの
- Ningen no idō ya butsuryū ga sakan ni nari hajimeta Meiji jidai ikō ni dōnyū sareta mono

2: Fig.6: Coordinates of Identity & General Identity Construction (by author)