

References

- Abdelal, R., Herrera, Y. M., Johnston, A. I., & McDermott, R. (2006). Identity as a Variable. *Perspectives on Politics*, 4(4), 695-711.
- Akaha, T. *The "Comfort Women" Issue: The Moral, Legal, and Political Challenges in Japan-South Korea Relations* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Monterey Institute of International Studies.
- Alexander, J. C. (2004). Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma. In J. C. Alexander, M. Jay, B. Giesen, N. Smelser, & P. Sztompka (Eds.), *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (pp. 1-30). Berkeley: University of California Press. doi:10.1525/9780520936768-002
- Alexander, J. C. (2016). Culture Trauma, Morality, and Solidarity: The Social Construction of 'Holocaust' and Other Mass Murders. *Thesis Eleven*, 132(1), 3-16.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (2nd ed.). London: Verso.
- Argibay, C. M. (2003). Sexual Slavery and the Comfort Women of World War II. *Berkeley Journal of International Law*, 21(2), 376-389.
- Asian Women's Fund. (n.d.). How did the Comfort Women Issue come to light?. Retrieved February 4, 2021, from <https://www.awf.or.jp/e2/survey.html>
- Becker, D. (2014). Memory and Trauma as Elements of Identity in Foreign Policy Making. In E. Resende & D. Budryte (Eds.), *Memory and Trauma in International Relations* (pp. 57-73). London: Routledge.
- Bell, D. (Ed.). (2006). *Memory, Trauma and World Politics: Reflections on The Relationship between Past and Present*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Benjamin, L. (2016). South Korea-Japan Comfort Women Agreement: Where Do We Go From Here? Retrieved January 25, 2021, from <https://thediplomat.com/2016/09/south-korea-japan-comfort-women-agreement-where-do-we-go-from-here/>
- Berger, T. (2002). The power of memory and memories of power: The cultural parameters of German foreign policy-making since 1945. In J. Müller (Ed.), *Memory and power in*



- post-war Europe: Studies in the presence of the past* (pp. 76-99). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bouchat, P., & Rimé, B. (2018). National Identity and Collective Memory: A Social Psychological Perspective. In S. Kioussis, A. Buhmann, C. White, & D. Ingenhoff (Eds.), *Bridging disciplinary perspectives on the formation and effects of country image, reputation, brand, and identity* (1st ed.). New York: Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9781315271224-6
- Bridges, B. (1993). *Japan and South Korea in the 1990s*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Cheong, S. (1991). *The Politics of Anti-Japanese Sentiment in Korea*. Stanford: Greenwood Press.
- Chizuko, U. (1999). The Politics of Memory: Nation, Individual and Self. *History and Memory*, 11(2), 129-152. doi:10.2979/his.1999.11.2.129
- Choe, S. (2017). Deal With Japan on Former Sex Slaves Failed Victims, South Korean Panel Says. Retrieved July 10, 2021, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/27/world/asia/comfort-women-south-korea-japan.html>
- Choi, C. (2001). The politics of war memories toward healing. In T. T. Fujitani, G. M. White & L. Yoneyama (Eds.), *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)* (pp. 395-410). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Choi, J. (2019). *Paving the Road to Peace: Transnational Solidarity for Survivors of Military Sexual Slavery by Imperial Japan through the Observation of the Wednesday Demonstration* (Published master's thesis). Toronto: York University.
- Chun, D. (2020). The battle of representations. *Positions: Asia Critique*, 28(2), 363-387. doi: 10.1215/10679847-8112482
- David, R. (2016). The past or the politics of the present? Dealing with the Japanese occupation of South Korea. *Contemporary Politics*, 22(1), 57-76. doi:10.1080/13569775.2015.1112953.
- Deacon, C. (2021). (Re)producing the 'history problem': Memory, identity and the Japan-South Korea trade dispute. *The Pacific Review*, 1-32. doi:10.1080/09512748.2021.1897652
- Denyer, S. (2018). New South Korean court ruling angers Japan, deepening crisis between America's closest Pacific allies. Retrieved March 24, 2021, from <https://>



www.washingtonpost.com/world/s-korea-court-orders-japans-mitsubishi-to-pay-compensation-for-wartime-forced-labor/2018/11/28/4f0a6616-f37e-11e8-9240-e8028a62c722_story.html

- Dittmer, L. & Kim, S. S. (1993). *China's Quest for National Identity*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Dolgopol, U., & Paranjape, S. (1994). *Comfort Women—an unfinished ordeal: Report of a Mission* (Rep.). Geneva: International Commission of Jurists Geneva.
- Drury, F. (2019). Obituary: Kim Bok-dong, the South Korean 'Comfort Woman'. Retrieved April 14, 2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-47042684>
- Edkins, J. (2003). *Trauma and The Memory of Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gernell, E. (2006). *Nations and Nationalism* (2nd ed.). Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hayashi, H. (2008). Disputes in Japan over the Japanese Military “Comfort Women” System and Its Perception in History. *The Annals of the American Academy*, 617(1), 123-132.
- Haywood, A. (2011). *Global Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hicks, G. L. (1995). *The Comfort Women*. St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd.
- Hirschberger, G. (2018). Collective trauma and the social construction of meaning. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9. doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2018.01441
- Hopf, T. (1998). The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory. *International Security*, 23(1), 171-200.
- Howard, K. (Ed.). (1995). *True Stories of the Korean Comfort Women*. London: Cassell.
- Hye-in, Y. (2018). Dissolution of the Reconciliation and Healing Foundation According to the Wishes of the Comfort Women Victims. Retrieved June 14, 2021, from https://english.khan.co.kr/khan_art_view.html?code=710100&artid=201811221709077&medid=enkh
- Fritz, M. (2019). Japan and South Korea seek to mend relations. Retrieved January 29, 2021, from <https://www.dw.com/en/japan-and-south-korea-seek-to-mend-relations/a-50900791>



- Jelin, E. (2003). *State Repression and The Labors of Memory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Jung, M. (2017). Moon decries 2015 Korea-Japan 'comfort women' deal as flawed. Retrieved June 08, 2021, from <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20171228000905>
- Kang, D. (1997). In S. C. Schellstede (Ed.), *Comfort Women Speak: Testimony by Sex Slaves of the Japanese Military* (pp. 15-19). New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Kennedy, M. (2017). 'Comfort woman' Statue Sparks diplomatic row between Japan and South Korea. Retrieved June 12, 2021, from <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/01/06/508538196/comfort-woman-statue-sparks-diplomatic-row-between-japan-and-south-korea>
- Kim, J., & Cho, K. (2018). Moon and Abe hold summit prior to Pyeongchang Olympics opening ceremony. Retrieved June 14, 2021, from http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_international/831720.html
- Kim, J. Y. (2014). Escaping the Vicious Cycle: Symbolic Politics and History Disputes Between South Korea and Japan. *Asian Perspective*, 38(1), 31-60. doi:10.1353/apr.2014.0001
- Kim, J. Y. (2015). Rethinking the Role of Identity Factors: The History Problem and the Japan-South Korea Security Relationship in the Post-Cold War Period. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 15(3), 1-27. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcv007>
- Kim, K. (2015). 'Comfort Women': Japan and South Korea hail agreement. Retrieved June 08, 2021, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-35190464>
- Kimura, K. (2015). Discourses About Comfort Women in Japan, South Korea, and International Society. *International Relations and Diplomacy*, 3(12), 809-817.
- Koh, B. C. (1993). The War's Impact on the Korean Peninsula. *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, 2(1), 57-76.
- Ku, Y. (2016). National Interest or Transnational Alliances? Japanese Policy on the Comfort Women Issue. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 15(2), 244-265.
- Kumagai, N. (2016). The Background to the Japan-ROK Agreement: Compromises Concerning the Understanding of the Comfort Women Issue. *Asia-Pacific Review*, 23(1), 65-99. doi: 10.1080/13439006.2016.1195955



- Kumagai, N. (2020). South Korea and Japan: Resolving the Comfort Women Issue. Retrieved January 29, 2021, from <https://thediplomat.com/2020/09/south-korea-and-japan-resolving-the-comfort-women-issue/>
- Lee, C. S. (1985). *Japan and Korea: The political dimension*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press.
- Lee, H. (1992). *A 25 years' history of Korean Church Women United*. Seoul: Korean Church Women United.
- Lee, J. W. (2013). Legacies of Japanese colonialism in the rhetorical Constitution of South Korean national identity. *National Identities*, 16(1), 1-13. doi: 10.1080/14608944.2013.843516
- Manier, D., & Hirst, W. (2008). A Cognitive Taxonomy of Collective Memories. In A. Erll & A. Nünning (Eds.), *Media and Cultural Memory* (pp. 253-262). Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Mattoo, S. (2020). Tensions continue to plague Japan-Korea ties. Retrieved January 29, 2021, from <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/tensions-continue-to-plague-japan-korea-ties/>
- Min, P. G. (2003). Korean "Comfort Women": The Intersection of Colonial Power, Gender, and Class. *Gender & Society*, 17(6), 938-957. doi:10.1177/0891243203257584
- Moon, K. H. (1999). South Korean movements against militarized sexual labor. *Asian Survey*, 39(2), 318. doi:10.2307/2645457
- Morgan, R. (2003). Images, Identities, and Foreign Policy. *Government and Opposition*, 36, 583-590.
- Orreill, K. (2008). Who are the Ianfu (Comfort Women)? *New Voices*, 2, 128-152. <http://dx.doi.org/10.21159/nv.02.07>.
- Padden, B. (2018). Japan Wants to Avert New 'Comfort Women' Controversy. Retrieved June 14, 2021, from <https://www.voanews.com/east-asia-pacific/japan-wants-avert-new-comfort-women-controversy>
- Panda, A. (2017). The 'Final and Irreversible' 2015 Japan-South Korea Comfort Women Deal Unravels. Retrieved July 10, 2021, from <https://thediplomat.com/2017/01/the-final-and-irreversible-2015-japan-south-korea-comfort-women-deal-unravels/>



- Panneerselvam, P. & Puthanveedu, S. (2016). 6 Months Later: The 'Comfort Women' Agreement. Retrieved March 24, 2021, from <https://thediplomat.com/2016/05/6-months-later-the-comfort-women-agreement/>
- Park, C. H. (2017). A South Korean Perspective: Getting to a Deal on 'Comfort Women'. Retrieved July 10, 2021, from https://www.globalasia.org/v12no1/cover/a-south-korean-perspective-getting-to-a-deal-on-comfort-women_cheol-hee-
- Peattie, M. R. (1984). Introduction [Introduction]. In R. H. Myers & M. R. Peattie (Eds.), *The Japanese Colonial Empire 1895-1945* (pp. 1-52). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Roccas, S., Klar, Y., & Liviatan, I. (2006). The paradox of group-based guilt: Modes of national identification, conflict vehemence, and reactions to the in-group's moral violations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91(4), 698-711.
- Rozman, G. (2018). National Identities and Bilateral Relations in East Asia Over the Next Decade: Will the Downward Spiral Continue? In P. Hayes & C. Moon (Eds.), *The Future of East Asia* (1st ed., Asia Today, pp. 103-129). Singapore: Springer. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-4977-4_5
- Schmidt, D. A. (2000). *Ianfu—The Comfort Women of the Japanese Imperial Army of the Pacific War*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Schwartz, B., & Kim, M. (2010). Introduction: Northeast Asia's memory problem. In M. Kim & B. Schwartz (Eds.), *Northeast Asia's difficult past* (pp. 1-27). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, J. (2018). South Korean president lashes Japan over wartime use of 'comfort women'. Retrieved June 11, 2021, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southkorea-independenceday-idUSKCN1GD3J1>
- Soh, C. S. (1996). The Korean 'Comfort Women': Movement for Redress. *Asian Survey*, 36(12), 1226-1240. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/2645577
- Soh, C. S. (2000). From Imperial Gifts to Sex Slaves: Theorizing Symbolic Representations of the 'Comfort Women'. *Social Science Japan Journal*, 3(1), 66. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30209278?seq=1>



- Soh, C. S. (2008). *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Sotetsu, R. (2019). Moon's anti-Japanese policy at the root of fractured relations. Retrieved December 10, 2020, from <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/08/28/national/politics-diplomacy/ moons-anti-japanese-policy-root-fractured-relations/>
- Stamm, B. H., Stamm, H. E., Hudnall, A. C., & Higson-Smith, C. (2004). Considering a theory of cultural trauma and loss. *Journal of Loss and Trauma*, 9(1), 89-111. doi: 10.1080/15325020490255412
- Stangarone, T. (2020). South Korea and Japan Continue to Struggle to Bridge Their Differences. Retrieved November 20, 2020, from <https://thediplomat.com/2020/11/south-korea-and-japan-continue-to-struggle-to-bridge-their-differences/>
- Tack-whan, W. & Iou-chung, C. (2016). 1965 Korea-Japan agreement should be re-estimated. Retrieved March 24, 2021, from <https://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/History/view?articleId=134245/>
- Tamaki, T. (2010). *Deconstructing Japan's Image of South Korea: Identity in Foreign Policy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tamaki, T. (2019). It takes two to Tango: The difficult Japan-South Korea relations as clash of realities. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 21(1), 11-18. doi:10.1017/s1468109919000161
- Tanaka, T. (2002). *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual slavery and prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation*. New York: Routledge.
- Theys, S. (2018). Introducing Constructivism in International Relations Theory. Retrieved January 26, 2021, from <https://www.e-ir.info/2018/02/23/introducing-constructivism-in-international-relations-theory/>
- Tatsumi, Y. (2015). Japan, South Korea Reach Agreement on 'Comfort Women'. Retrieved March 24, 2021, from <https://thediplomat.com/2015/12/japan-south-korea-reach-agreement-on-comfort-women/>



- Togo, K. (2019). Breaking the impasse in Japan-South Korea relations. Retrieved March 24, 2021, from <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2019/09/10/breaking-the-impasse-in-japan-south-korea-relations/>
- Ungku, F. (2018). South Korea to close Japan-funded 'comfort women' foundation. Retrieved June 12, 2021, from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/11/21/s-korea-to-close-japan-funded-comfort-women-foundation.html>
- Varga, A. (2009). National Bodies: The 'Comfort Women' Discourse and its Controversies in South Korea. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 9(2), 287-303.
- Voice of America. (2017). South Korea's Moon Says 2015 'Comfort Women' Agreement With Japan 'Flawed'. Retrieved March 24, 2021, from <https://www.voanews.com/east-asia/south-koreas-moon-says-2015-comfort-women-agreement-japan-flawed>
- Wang, Z. (2018). Collective Memory and National Identity. In *Memory Politics, Identity and Conflict* (p. 11-25). London: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62621-5_2
- Ward, T. J., & Lay, W. D. (2016). The Comfort Women Controversy: Not Over Yet. *East Asia*, 33, 255-269. doi:10.1007/s12140-016-9260-z
- Ward, T. J., & Lay, W. D. (2019). Steps toward redress for comfort women. Retrieved April 14, 2021, from https://www.e-ir.info/2018/12/30/steps-toward-redress-for-comfort-women/#_ftnref13
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization*, 46(2), 397.
- Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics* (p. 224). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yang, H. (1997). Remembering the Korean Military Comfort Women: Nationalism, Sexuality, and Silencing. In E. H. Kim & C. Choi (Eds.), *Dangerous Women: Gender and Korean Nationalism* (pp. 123-140). New York: Routledge.



- Yonhap. (2018). Seoul to close 'comfort women' foundation in snub to Tokyo. Retrieved March 24, 2021, from <https://www.dw.com/en/seoul-to-close-comfort-women-foundation-in-snub-to-tokyo/a-46386043>
- Yonhap. (2018). Moon says Japan has no right to claim sex slave issue settled. Retrieved June 16, 2021, from http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20180301000060&ACE_SEARCH=1
- Yoshimi, Y. (1993). *A compilation of documents on the military comfort women issue*. Seoul: Sumundang.
- Yoshimi, Y. (2002). *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military during World War II*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Zehfuss, M. (2001). Constructivism and Identity: A Dangerous Liaison. *European Journal of International Relations*, 7(3), 315-341.