

CELESTE L. ARRINGTON

The George Washington University
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ACADEMIC POSITIONS

The George Washington University

<i>Korea Foundation Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs</i>	2020 – present
<i>Korea Foundation Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs</i>	2012 – 2020
Director, Asian Studies Program, 2023 – 2024	
Core Faculty, GW Institute for Korean Studies, 2016 – present	

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich

Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, Research Fellowship for Experienced Researchers	2022 – 2023
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Princeton University, Program in Law and Public Affairs, Fellow

2017 – 2018

Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, NJ, Member in the School of Social Science

2011 – 2012

Harvard University, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, Advanced Research Fellow

2010 – 2011

EDUCATION

University of California, Berkeley

Ph.D., Political Science, 2010

University of Cambridge, Trinity College

MPhil, Japanese Studies, 2004

Princeton University

Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs; certificate in East Asian Studies	A.B., <i>Summa cum Laude</i> , 2003
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BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS IN PROGRESS

Accidental Activists: Victim Movements and Government Accountability in Japan and South Korea (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016).

Part of the Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute publication series at Columbia University. Reviewed in *Mobilization*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Asian Journal of Law and Society*, *Japanese Law in the Asia-Pacific*, *Journal of Japanese Studies*, *International Studies Review*, *Global Asia*, *Social Science Japan Journal*, *Political and Legal Anthropology Review (PoLAR)*

Rights Claiming in South Korea, co-edited with Patricia Goedde (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021) (paperback issued 2022).

From Manners to Rules: Activism for Legalistic Policy Solutions in South Korea and Japan (monograph, under contract with Cambridge University Press, Studies in Law and Society).

PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES

“Knowledge Production through Legal Mobilization: Environmental Activism Against the U.S. Military Bases in East Asia,” with Claudia Kim, *Law & Society Review* 57, no. 2 (2023) 162-188.

- Won the Distinguished Article Award from the Asian Law and Society Association, 2023.

“Policy Change in the Shadow of the Paralympics: Disability Activism and Accessibility Reforms in Japan,” with Mark R. Bookman, *Japanese Studies* 43, no. 1 (March 2023): 27-47.

- “Insider Activists and Secondhand Smoke Countermeasures in Japan,” *Asian Survey* 61, no. 4 (2021): 559-590.
- “Cause Lawyering and Movement Tactics: Disability Rights Movements in South Korea and Japan,” with Yong-il Moon, *Law & Policy* 42, no. 1 (January 2020): 5-30.
- “The Mechanisms behind Litigation’s ‘Radiating Effects’: Historical Grievances against Japan,” *Law & Society Review* 53, no. 1 (March 2019): 6-40.
- “Hiding in Plain Sight: Pseudonymity and Participation in Legal Mobilization,” *Comparative Political Studies* (online first May 10, 2018), 52, no. 2 (Feb. 2019): 310-341.
- “The Mutual Constitution of the Abductions and North Korean Human Rights Issues in Japan and Internationally,” *Pacific Affairs* 91, no. 3 (September 2018): 471-498.
- “The Access Paradox: Media Environment Diversity and Coverage of Activist Groups in Japan and Korea,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 17, no. 1 (March 2017): 69-93.
- “Leprosy, Legal Mobilization, and the Public Sphere in Japan and South Korea,” *Law & Society Review* 48, no. 3 (Sept. 2014): 563-93.
- “The Abductions Issue in Japan and South Korea: Ten Years after Pyongyang’s Admission,” *International Journal of Korean Studies* 17, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2013): 108-39.
- “The Politics of NGOs and Democratic Governance in South Korea and Japan,” with Lee Sook-Jong, *Pacific Focus* 23, no. 1 (April 2008): 75-96.
- “Democratization and Changing Anti-American Sentiments in South Korea,” with Oh Chang Hun, *Asian Survey* 47, no. 2 (March/ April 2007): 327-50.

PEER-REVIEWED CHAPTERS IN EDITED VOLUMES & PROCEEDINGS

- “Contesting Trauma in Court: Korean Historical Claims and their Radiating Effects,” in *Routledge Handbook of Trauma in East Asia*, edited by Tina Burrett and Jeff Kingston (Routledge, 2023): 303-317.
- “Rights Claiming through the Courts: Changing Legal Opportunity Structures in South Korea,” in *Rights Claiming in South Korea*, edited by Celeste L. Arrington and Patricia Goedde (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021): 151-71.
- “Legal Mobilization and the Transformation of State-Society Relations in the Realm of Disability Policy in Korea,” in *Civil Society and the State in Post High Growth East Asia*, edited by David Chiavacci, Simona Grano, and Julia Obinger (Amsterdam University Press, 2020): 297-323.
- “How to Analyze Data: Qualitative Content and Frame Analysis,” in *Studying Japan: Research Design, Fieldwork, and Methods*, edited by Nora Kottmann and Cornelia Reiher (Nomos Verlag, 2020): 349-362.
- “Linking Abductee Activism and North Korean Human Rights Advocacy in Japan and Abroad,” in Andrew Yeo and Danielle Chubb, eds. *North Korean Human Rights: Activists and Networks* (Cambridge University Press, 2018): 85-108.
- “The Public Sphere in South Korea: Civil Society, the Media, and Democracy,” *Asian Journal of International Studies*, Special Issue: Proceedings of the Second Workshop on Korean Studies (II) 22 (2017): 47-64.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

- “Lawyering for Disability Rights in South Korea and Japan” (article in progress, to be presented at AAS 2024).
“The Politics of Nonsmoking Rules in South Korea” (article in progress).
“Diverse Tools of Governance in Japan” (article in progress, with Gabriele Vogt).
“Regulating Smoking in Japan” (article under review).
“Activism for Legalistic Social Policy in Japan and South Korea,” (Annotation for Transparent Inquiry project).

BOOK REVIEWS

- Review of “Hate Speech in Japan: the Possibility of a Non-Regulatory Approach,” edited by Shinji Higaki and Yuji Nasu (2021), *Journal of Japanese Studies* 48:2 (2022): 439-43.
- Review of “Immigrant Incorporation in East Asian Democracies,” by Erin Aeran Chung (2020), *Political Science Quarterly* 137, no. 1 (Spring 2022): 179-81.
- Review of “Japanese Society and the Politics of the North Korean Threat,” by Seung Hyok Lee (2016), *Journal of Japanese Studies* 45, no. 1 (Winter 2019): 173-178.
- Review of “Curative Violence: Rehabilitating Disability, Gender, and Sexuality in Modern Korea,” by Eunjung Kim (2017), *Pacific Affairs* 91, no. 1 (March 2018): 172-174.
- Review of “Making We the People: Democratic Constitutional Founding in Postwar Japan and South Korea,” by Chaihark Hahm and Sung Ho Kim (2015), *Pacific Affairs* 90, no. 2 (June 2017).
- Review of “Witness to Transformation: Refugee Insights into North Korea,” by Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland (2011), *Political Science Quarterly* 126, No. 4 (Winter 2011 – 2012): 682-83.

OTHER WRITING

- “Beyond the Courts: History-Related Lawsuits and South Korea-Japan Relations,” *United States Institute of Peace*, essay series (Jan. 26, 2023).
- “Disabled People’s Fight for Rights in South Korea and Japan,” *Current History* 120, 827 (Sept. 2021): 233-39.
- “Japan and South Korea Can’t Get Along: Why America Needs to Help Its Allies Mend Fences,” *Foreign Affairs* (with Andrew Yeo) (July 31, 2019).
- “Japan claims it’s restricting exports to South Korea because of ‘national security.’ Here’s the real reason why.” *The Monkey Cage*, *The Washington Post* (July 18, 2019).
- “Abe is Aching for a Seat at the Table,” *East Asia Forum* (with Isozaki Atsuhito), <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2018/07/19/abe-is-aching-for-a-seat-at-the-table/> (July 19, 2018).
- “South Korea ended its review of its ‘comfort women’ deal with Japan. Here’s what you need to know,” *The Monkey Cage*, *The Washington Post* (Jan. 11, 2018).
- “Episode 7: New Voices in the Struggle over History,” *Council on Foreign Relations Podcast*, Dec. 5, 2017, <https://www.cfr.org/podcasts/episode-7-new-voices-struggle-over-history>.
- “South Koreans will elect a new president on Tuesday. Here’s what to expect,” with See-Won Byun, *The Monkey Cage*, *The Washington Post* (May 7, 2017).
- “South Korea’s president was impeached. North Korea is increasingly threatening. Here’s what you need to know,” *The Monkey Cage*, *The Washington Post* (March 12, 2017).

“South Korea’s president was just impeached. This is what it means and what comes next,” The Monkey Cage,
The Washington Post (Dec. 12, 2016).

“Can Japan and Korea ‘Resolve’ the Question of Japan’s Korean Sex Slaves during WWII?” The Monkey Cage,
The Washington Post (Jan. 13, 2016).

GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, & AWARDS

Humboldt Research Fellowship for Experienced Researchers—LMU, Munich, Germany	2022 – 2023
Early Career Scholar Award, GWU Office of the Vice President for Research	2021
SSRC Research Fellowship	2020 – 2021
Fellow at the Princeton University Program in Law and Public Affairs	2017
Association for Korean Studies, 5-year grant—core faculty, GW Institute for Korean Studies (GWIKS)	2016
SOAR Faculty Research Fund, Elliott School—The George Washington University	2016
Korea Foundation Field Research Fellowship (declined)	2016
University Facilitating Fund—The George Washington University	2015 – 2016
Policy Research Scholar, GWIPP—GWU	2013 – 2014
Member of Cohort I, U.S.-Korea Scholar-Policymaker Nexus—Mansfield Foundation	2013 – 2015
Summer Research Grant, Sigur Center for Asian Studies—GWU	2012
Member of Cohort II, U.S.-Japan Network for the Future Program—Mansfield Foundation	2012 – 2014
Ginny and Robert Loughlin Founders’ Circle Member—Institute for Advanced Study	2011 – 2012
Advanced Research Fellow, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations—Harvard University	2010 – 2011
Center for Japanese Studies, Dissertation Fellowship—UC Berkeley	2009 – 2010
Fulbright IIE Fellowship for Japan—Graduate Research Fellow, University of Tokyo	2008 – 2009
Dean’s Fellowship—UC Berkeley	2007 – 2008
Harvey Fellowship—Mustard Seed Foundation	2006 – 2009
Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship for Korean—UC Berkeley	2006 – 2007
Center for Japanese Studies, Summer Language Funding—UC Berkeley	2006
Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship for Korean—UC Berkeley	2005 – 2006
Boren Graduate Fellowship, National Security Education Program for Korean	2004 – 2006
Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship for Japanese—UC Berkeley	2004 – 2005
Marjory Chadwick Buchanan Senior Thesis Prize—Princeton University	2003
Elected to Phi Beta Kappa—Princeton University	2003
All-Ivy Academic Honors—Princeton University	2003
National Scholar-Athlete Award—NCAA Division I, Women’s Rowing, Princeton	2002 & 2003
R.W. van de Velde Award—Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton	2002

INVITED TALKS & WORKSHOPS

2023	Yale; University of Erlangen-Nürnberg; Conference at LMU: Governance in Japan (co-organizer).
2022	Universities of Tokyo, Edinburgh, Duisburg-Essen, Tübingen, and Zürich; and LMU.
2021	Harvard University, Program on U.S.-Japan Relations; UC San Diego.
2020	University of Pennsylvania, Center for East Asian Studies; Syracuse; Loyola Marymount University.
2019	University of Michigan, Nam Center for Korean Studies; Freie Universität Berlin; Temple.
2018	UC Berkeley; NYU Law School; Texas Christian University; Princeton.
2018	GW Institute for Korean Studies Signature Conference: The Evolution of Rights in Korea (co-organizer).
2017	Wesleyan; U.S. Department of State, Analytic Exchange; Wilson Center; Mansfield Foundation.
2016	Princeton, Program in Law and Public Affairs and Qualitative Research Colloquium; CFR; Harvard.
2015	Kyung Hee University, South Korea.
2013	Ministry of Unification, International Conference on Korean Unification; Johns Hopkins Univ. SAIS.
2012	University of Pennsylvania, Law School; Institute for Advanced Study, School of Social Sciences.
2011	University of California, Berkeley; Harvard University; University of Southern California.

CONFERENCE PAPERS & OTHER PRESENTATIONS

- “Lawyering for Disability Rights in South Korea and Japan,” paper and panel accepted for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies in Seattle, April 14-17, 2024.
- “Barrier-Free Reforms and Societal Demand for Legalistic Governance in Japan,” paper presented at *Governance in Japan*, an international conference I co-organized at LMU, Munich, June 13, 2023.
- “From Manners to Rules: Shifting Modes of Governance in Japan,” paper presented at the Vereinigung für Sozialwissenschaftliche Japanforschung Annual Meeting 2022, Zürich, November 18-20, 2022.
- “Annotation for Transparent Inquiry (ATI-AnnoRep): Activism for More Legalistic Social Policy in Japan and South Korea,” *Empowering Openness in Law-Related Research: A Pilot*, QDR, Syracuse, April 2022.
- “Reflections on COVID–19, the Tokyo 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games, and their Legacies for Old, Poor, Disabled, Immigrant, and Sexual Minority Communities in Japan,” with Mark R. Bookman, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (online), March 25, 2022.
- “From Manners to Rules: Legalistic Governance and Secondhand Smoke Prevention in South Korea and Japan,” Maison Franco-Japonaise, Tokyo, Workshop on Justice & Interest & Judicialization, Jan. 2022.
- “The Politics of Smoking Bans in South Korea and Japan: Comparative Case Studies of Increasingly Legalistic Governance,” University of Pennsylvania, Center for East Asian Studies Seminar, November 2020.
- “Cause Lawyering: Infrastructures for Using and Changing Legal Opportunities in South Korea and Japan,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, June 1, 2019.
- “Disability Rights and Evolving Legal Opportunity Structures in South Korea and Japan,” Comparative Politics Symposium, Temple University, April 15, 2019.
- “Disability Rights Movements, Lawyers, and Tactical Innovation in Japan and South Korea,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, March 29, 2019.
- “Rights Refracted: Disability Rights Diffusion and Evolving Legal Opportunity Structures in South Korea and Japan,” Center for the Study of Law and Society, UC Berkeley, Oct. 22, 2018.
- “Evolving Legal Opportunity Structures in South Korea,” paper presented at *The Evolution of Rights in Korea*, a conference I co-organized at the GW-Institute for Korean Studies, April 20-21, 2018.
- “Legal Opportunity Structures and Political Participation through the Courts in South Korea,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, March 23-26, 2018.
- “The Past in Present-Day East Asian Politics,” Texas Christian University, March 8, 2018.
- “The Radiating Effects of Litigation Related to Historical Grievances against Japan,” paper presented at *Korea on Trial: Law and Justice in the Face of Violence*, University of Pennsylvania, April 28, 2017.
- “Rights Activism and Legislation for Persons with Disabilities in Japan and Korea,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 1-4, 2016 (with Yong-il Moon).
- “Lawyers’ Networks and Policy Change in Japan and South Korea,” Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, March 31 – April 3, 2016.
- “Court-Based Conflicts and Cross-National Cooperation,” paper presented on a panel that I organized (“Japan: A Swing to the Right?”) for the Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, March 26 – 29, 2015.

- “Mobilizing Support for the Sick: South Korean and Japanese Patient Activism in the Digital Era,” paper presented on a panel that I organized (“Activism in East Asia in the Digital Age”) for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Aug. 28 – 31, 2014.
- “Names and Namelessness: Plaintiff Anonymity and Legal Mobilization in Japan and Korea,” Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, May 30 – June 2, 2013.
- “Legal Mobilization in Japan: Using Litigation to Influence Policymaking,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 1 – 4, 2011.
- “Transnational Legal Mobilization: Japanese Cause Lawyers and Leprosy Redress Movements in East Asia,” Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, June 2 – 4, 2011.
- “State Accountability and Responsiveness to Victim Redress Movements in South Korea and Japan,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Sept. 2 – Sept. 5, 2010.
- “Interest Group Influence in Policy-Making Processes: Comparing the Abductions Issue and North Korea Policy in Japan and South Korea,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 2007.

TEACHING

The George Washington University

Politics in the Two Koreas (undergraduate)

Korean Politics (master’s students)

States and Societies in East Asia (master’s students)

Protest and Participation in East Asia (“writing-in-the-discipline” seminar)

Social Movements (doctoral)

Harvard University

Human Rights and Democracy in East Asia (junior research seminar)—lecturer

University of California, Berkeley

Northeast Asian Politics: Japan—teaching assistant for Steven K. Vogel

Introduction to International Relations—teaching assistant for Amy Gurowitz

The Politics of Japan—teaching assistant for T.J. Pempel

SELECT MEDIA CONTRIBUTIONS & APPEARANCES

The New York Times, Nov. 3, 2017; Sept. 19, 2018; Aug. 1, 2019.

The Washington Post, Sept. 21, 2017.

Los Angeles Times, Aug. 17, 2019.

Bloomberg, Aug. 27, 2017.

PRI: Nov. 8, 2017; Nov. 17, 2020.

Yonhap: Nov. 2, 2020; Jan. 20, 2021; Apr. 30, 2021; May 21, 2021; March 9, 2022; May 21, 2022.

Arirang News: television interview, Dec. 23, 2019.

DongA Ilbo: May 29, 2013; March 18, 2015; March 10, 2017.

Chosun Ilbo: Jan. 11, 2017.

Hankook Ilbo: July 16, 2019.

Korea Times: July 26, 2019.

Kyodo News: profile and interview, Jan. 17, 2017.

NHK: television interview, May 9, 2017.

Tokyo Shimbun: May 10, 2017.

Chūnichi Shimbun, May 13, 2017.

Ryūkyū Shimpo: May 10, 2017.

Hokkaido Shimbun: May 12, 2017.

Nishi Nippon Shimbun: March 8, 2017; May 25, 2017; July 2, 2017.

South China Morning Post: Nov. 22, 2018.
Deutsche Welle, Aug. 26, 2017.
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, June 21, 2017, January 2018.
WUSA9 live television interview on *Off Script* 7pm news: April 14, 2017.
NPR: live interview on *AirTalk* with Larry Mantle, June 12, 2018.
Hearst TV: television interview, July 3, 2018.
Christian Science Monitor: Feb. 13, 2017.
Voice of America, March 8, 2017; Sept. 12, 2018; March 20, 2019; May 3, 2022.
Radio Free Asia: Sept. 12, 2012; April 10, 2013; Oct. 25, 2016; March 27, 2017; Aug. 14, 2019; Aug. 25, 2021.

TRAINING & PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Annotation for Transparent Inquiry and Qualitative Data Repository Workshop , New York	April 2022
Foreign Expert, Korean Unification for Junior International Experts —Seoul, Korea	July 2013
Graduate Student Researcher for Prof. Steven K. Vogel —UC Berkeley	2009 – 2010
Visiting Research Fellow, Institute of Social Science —University of Tokyo	2008 – 2009
Inter-University Center for Japanese Language Studies —Yokohama, Japan	Summer 2006
Yonsei University, Korean Language Institute —Summer Special Program, Seoul, Korea	Summer 2005
Editorial Intern at the Arms Control Association (ACA) —Washington, DC	Summer 2002
Public Affairs Intern, U.S. Embassy in Tokyo, Japan —Tokyo American Center (TAC)	Summer 2001
Princeton in Ishikawa, Japan —Japanese Language Program	Summer 2000

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS & OTHER ACTIVITIES

Northeast Asia Council (NEAC), Association for Asian Studies —elected member	2022 – 2025
Association of Korean Political Science (AKPS) —president	2022 – 2025
Korean Political Studies Colloquium (KPSC), co-convener	2022 – present
Governing Board Member	2019 – 2022
<i>Program Chair for APSA</i>	2019 – 2022
Editorial Board Member — <i>Asian Survey</i>	2019 – present
<i>Social Science Japan Journal</i>	2020 – present
Manuscript Reviewer — <i>World Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Law & Society Review, Journal of Asian Studies, International Relations of the Asia Pacific, Routledge, Pacific Affairs, PS: Political Science & Politics, Journal of Japanese Political Science, Korea Journal, Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies, Law & Social Inquiry, Historia Scientarium, Korea Observer.</i>	
Comparative Politics Workshop, George Washington University —co-organizer	2016-17, 2018-20
Mansfield/ Korea Foundation/ CSIS U.S.-Korea Scholar-Policymaker Nexus	2013 – 2015
Mansfield Foundation's U.S.-Japan Network for the Future (Cohort II)	2012 – 2014