

## Government 1273 Political Economy of Japan (Fall Term 2009)

\*

Tue/Thu 10 – 11am  
CGIS South Building Room 050

\*

Professor Kay Shimizu

\*

Office: TBA in class  
Email: kshimizu@wcfia.harvard.edu  
Office Hours: Tue 11am - noon

**Sony, Toshiba, Nintendo, Toyota, ...** Japanese products dominate in many areas of the global economy. When the US defeated Japan in WWII, *no one* predicted that Japan, a tiny island country off the Korean Peninsula, would become such an economic success story. Japan's so-called economic miracle was also characterized by unprecedented political stability. The Liberal Democratic Party ruled postwar Japan almost uninterruptedly. This course, while focusing on Japan's experience, also discusses broader issues such as different models of capitalist democracy, effects of electoral systems, etc.

No prior knowledge of Japan is required; you only need to be sufficiently imaginative and curious about other countries. You will be amazed by how much you will learn about the US through studying Japan.

There will be two film showings. One is a documentary on the US Occupation of Japan after World War II (*Occupied Japan*). The other is a documentary on Japanese politics (*Campaign*).

### **Requirements:**

Regular class/section participation is expected. In addition, there will be a mid-term exam (in class), one quiz (in class), and a final paper. The final paper is a position paper not to exceed 10 pages in length (regular margins, double-spaced, 12pt in font). Detailed instructions for how to write a position paper and a list of possible topics will be provided in class. A short (one page) outline of the final paper is due on Nov 19 (Thurs). The paper itself is due on Dec 7 (Mon). Late papers will be downgraded by half a letter grade for every day late, unless you have a documented emergency. Papers will not be accepted after 12 noon on Dec 11 (Fri). (Please consult the College's policy on plagiarism.)

### **Grading:**

Class & section participation (20%); mid-term (35%); quiz (10%); final paper (35%).

### **How to Get the Course Materials:**

Required books are available for purchase at the Coop:

Gerald Curtis, *The Logic of Japanese Politics* (Columbia University Press, 1999).

J.Mark Ramseyer and Frances Rosenbluth, *Japan's Political Marketplace* (Harvard University Press 1993).

Chalmers Johnson, *The MITI and the Japanese Miracle* (Stanford 1982)

Course Packs are available at Gnomon Copy. (The course pack includes all readings other than the required books and articles that are available online—they are marked with an asterisk below.)

All the books and the course pack are on reserve at Lamont Library.

**\*\*\* Please note: the first meeting of this class will be Tuesday, Sept 8. We will schedule a make-up session for the missed Sept 3<sup>rd</sup> meeting**

### **Week 1 (Sept 8) Introduction**

\*Richardson, Bradley M., and Dennis Patterson. 2001. "Political Traditions and Political Change: The Significance of Postwar Japanese Politics for Political Science". *Annual Review of Political Science* 4:93-115.

Seymour Martin Lipset, "American Exceptionalism—Japanese Uniqueness," in *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996): 211-263.  
Lamont E169.1 .L5447 1996 [RECOMMENDED]

### **Week 2 (Sept 10-17): A VERY brief Historical Background: Industrialization and Democratization from Above**

Steven R. Reed and Kay Shimizu, "An Overview of Postwar Japanese Politics," in *Political Change in Japan*, 5-25 [To be distributed electronically]

\*Richard Samuels, "Kishi and Corruption: An Anatomy of the 1955 System," JPRI Working Paper 83 (December 2001).

\*Elenor Westney, *Imitation and Innovation*, 101-145.

\*John Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, Chapters 12 & 13.

### **Week 3 (Sept 22-24) Japan's Economic Miracle and the Industrial Policy Debate**

Chalmers Johnson, *The MITI and the Japanese Miracle*, Chs 1, 6, 7 & 9. (No need to worry about Japanese names and historical facts. Just focus on the concept of industrial policy and how it works.)

\*Richard Samuels, *The Business of the Japanese State*, 1-22.

Paul Krugman. *The Myth of Asia's Miracle*. *Foreign Affairs* 73 (6): 62-78. [Hollis Electronic Resources]

Recommended:

Kent Calder, *Strategic Capitalism*, Ch 5.

Aurelia George Mulgan, "Japan's Interventionist State: Bringing Agriculture Back In" *Japanese Journal of Political Science* May 2005, Vol. 6, No. 1 (pp29-61)

#### **Week 4 (Sept 29-Oct 1) Is Japan a Different Kind of Market Economy?**

\* Ronald Dore "Goodwill and the Spirit of Market Capitalism" in Okimoto and Rohlen eds. *Inside the Japanese System*, 90-99

\*Daniel Okimoto, "Debt and Equity Financing: Implications" in Okimoto and Rohlen eds. *Inside the Japanese System*, 118-122.

\*Richard Pascal and Thomas Rohlen, "The Mazda Turnaround" in Okimoto and Rohlen eds. *Inside the Japanese System*, 149-169.

\* Steven Reed, "Making Sense of Permanent Employment" in *Making Common Sense of Japan*.

\*Estevez-Abe, *Welfare and Capitalism in Postwar Japan*, Introduction and Chapter 6.

#### **Week 5 (Oct 6-8) Is Japan a Different Kind of Democracy? The LDP's One-Party Dominance**

\* Ramseyer and Rosenbluth, *Japan's Political Marketplace*, Chapters 2, 3, 4 & 5.

\* T.J. Pempel, *Uncommon Democracies: The One-Party Dominant Regimes*, introduction and conclusion.

Recommended:

Gary Cox and Michael Thies. 2000. "How Much Does Money Matter? Buying Votes in Japan, 1967-1990" *Comparative Political Studies* 33:37-57.

Chalmers Johnson, "The 1955 System and the American Connection," JPRI Working Paper #11.

Carey, John M., and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas". *Electoral Studies* 14 (4):417-439.

#### **Week 6 (Oct 13-15) Public Policy Making in Japan: Who Runs the Show?**

Ramseyer and Rosenbluth. 1993. *Japan's Political Marketplace*, chapters 6-7.

\*Chalmers Johnson, *Japan Who Governs*, Ch 6.

\* Frank Schwartz. 1993. "Of Fairy Cloaks and Familiar Talks: The Politics of Consultation" in Allinson and Sone eds. *Political Dynamics in Contemporary Japan*.

\* Ellis Krauss and Muramatsu Michio. 1988. "Japanese Political Economy Today: The Patterned Pluralist Model" in Okimoto and Rohlen eds. *Inside the Japanese System*.

\*Kent Calder. 1988. *Crisis and Compensation*, chapter 4.

Estevez-Abe, *Welfare and Capitalism in Postwar Japan*, section on bureaucracy [To be distributed electronically]

### **Week 7 (Oct 20-22) Redistributive/Distributive Politics under the LDP Rule: Who Benefited Most?**

\*Ed Lincoln, *Arthritic Japan*, Chapters 4.

Patrick Köllner (2002) "Japanese Upper House Elections and the Power of the 'Organized Vote'," *Japanese Journal of Political Science*. [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

**At least pick two readings from the following list:**

Tiana Norgren. 1998. "Abortion Before Birth Control," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 24(1). [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

\* Yutaka Tsujinaka. 1993. "Rengo and Osmotic Networks" on labor in Allinson and Sone eds. *Political Dynamics in Contemporary Japan*.

Patricia. MACLACHLAN "Storming the Castle: The Battle for Postal reform in Japan," *Social Science Japan Journal* 9(1): 1-18, 2005. Read 1-7. [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

\*Kent Calder, *Crisis and Compensation*, Chapter 10.

### **Week 8 (Oct 27) Why was the LDP Regime So Robust?**

\*Bradley Richardson. *Japanese Democracy*, Ch 2.

\*Kent Calder. 1988. *Crisis and Compensation*, Ch 4.

\*T.J.Pempel, *Policy and Politics in Japan: Creative Conservatism*, introduction.

Ethan Scheiner. "Pipelines of Pork - Japanese politics and a model of local opposition party failure" *Comparative Political Studies*. September 2005, Vol. 38, No. 7. pp.799-823.

### **Oct 29 (Thurs) Mid-term (in class)**

### **Week 9 (Nov 3-5) Pressures for Change: The Bursting of the Bubble, Fiscal Deficits, Political Apathy, and the End of the Cold War**

Suzuki, Takaaki. 1999. "Administrative Reform and the Politics of Budgetary Retrenchment in Japan." *Social Science Japan Journal* 2(2): 195-213. [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

T.J. Pempel. 1997. "Regime Shift: Japanese Politics in a Changing World Economy." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 23(2): 333-361. [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

\* Richard Katz, *Japan: The System that Soured*, 165-235.

\* Masumi Ishikawa, "New Heights, Louder Message: Abstentions in Japan's National Elections, 1993-1995" in Jain and Inoguchi eds., *Japanese Politics Today*, 30-44.

Gelb and Estevez-Abe, "Japanese Women in Local Politics," *Social Science Japan Journal* (1998). [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

Gerald Curtis, *The Logic of Japanese Politics*, introduction and Chapter one.

### **Week 10 (Nov 10-12) Political Reforms in the 1990s**

\*Masaru Kohno. 1996. *Postwar Japanese Party System*, Ch 8.

Curtis, *The Logic of Japanese Politics*, Chapters 4 & 5.

Hideo Otake, "Forces for the Political Reform: The LDP's Young Reformers and Ozawa Ichiro," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Summer 1996: 269-294. [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

### **Week 11 (Nov 17-19) Has Japanese Politics Changed?**

#### **Nov 19 (Thurs): Short 1-page Summaries of Position Papers Due in Class**

**\*\* Week 11 and Week 13 will have more readings than usual. This is because these readings are meant to help you write your final paper. No need to read them all before the lecture. However, you will want to read them for your final paper.**

Gary Cox, Frances Rosenbluth and Michael Thies, "Electoral Reform and the Fate of Factions: The Case of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party," *British Journal of Political Science* 29:33-56. [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

Ellis Krauss and Robert Pekkanen. 2004. "Explaining Party Adaptation to Electoral Reform," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 30(1). [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

Margarita Estevez-Abe, "Japan's Shift toward a Westminster System," *Asian Survey* 46(4): 632-651. [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

Patricia. MACLACHLAN "Storming the Castle: The Battle for Postal reform in Japan," *Social Science Japan Journal* 9(1): 8-18, 2005. [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

Frances Rosenbluth and Ross Schaap, "The Domestic Politics of Banking regulation," *International Organization*, 57(2003): 307-336. [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

Yusaku Horiuchi and Jun Saito, "Reapportionment and Redistribution: Consequences of Electoral Reform in Japan," *American Journal of Political Science* 47(4): 669-682. [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

Margarita Estevez-Abe and Takako Hikotani, "Japan's New Extrovert Leaders," working paper.[to be circulated in class]

Frances Rosenbluth et al. "Japan's New Nationalism: The International and Domestic Politics of an Assertive Foreign Policy." [to be circulated in class]

Tomohiko Shinoda. "Becoming More Realistic in the Post-Cold War: Japan's Changing Media and Public Opinion on National Security." *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 8(2): 171-190. [HOLLIS, Electronic Resources]

**Week 12 (Nov 24) Guest Lecture on the Aug 30 General Elections**

Readings to be assigned.

**Week 13 (Dec 1) Has the Japanese Model of Welfare Capitalism Changed?**

“Sayonara Salaryman,” *The Economist*, January 3, 2008. [**To be circulated in class**]

\*Steve Vogel. 2006. *Japan Remodeled*, chapters 5-6.

\* Len Schoppa. 2006. *Race for the Exits*, Chapters 6-7.

Osawa Mari. 2001. “Key Issues in the Japanese Social Security System.” *Japan Echo*, Vol. 28, No. 1, February, 43-47.

Takehisa Shonozaki. 2006. “Wage Inequality in Japan, 1979-2005.” *Japan Labor Review* 3(4): 4-22. [**HOLLIS, Electronic Resources**]

Sawako Shirahase. 2006. “Trends in Income Inequality: A Sociologist’s Perspective.” *Japan Labor Review* 3(4): 76-94. [**HOLLIS, Electronic Resources**]

**Dec 3 (Thurs) in-class Quiz**

**Dec 7 (Monday) Position Papers Du**