

EAS 98
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Fall 2007
Lecture: 3-4 p.m. Tuesdays
Section: To be arranged
TF: Amy Catalinac
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EAS 98: Japan in the Social Sciences

Prosperous and post-postmodern, but still struggling both with its neighbors and its past, Japan faces a host of challenges. The focus is Japan, but more broadly the seminar explores how values, ideas, history, citizens, organized interests, economic forces, international pressures, and state actors collide and find accommodation as countries struggle to resolve complex problems. The seminar looks at a series of contemporary debates as a window for understanding Japan and East Asia. How Japan resolves these and other issues and problems to be examined in the seminar will define Japan's place among the industrial democracies and its future role in Asia.

Note: This course is a new EAS junior seminar for students on the EAS Japan/social science track; in the spirit of the GenEd reform, it is broadly interdisciplinary. It also has been approved as satisfying the junior seminar requirement for Gov concentrators. Prior coursework on Japan is NOT required. A background in the contemporary social sciences is useful, but NOT required. Space permitting, students from other concentrations such as Social Studies are welcome; to determine if space is available, please come on the first day of class. Graduate students cannot be admitted to junior seminars. Auditing is not permitted.

REQUIREMENTS

Students meet with the instructor 3-4 p.m. each week on Tuesdays for a lecture that provides a framework for thinking about the material, and for a two-hour discussion section with the TF at a time to be arranged. Both the instructor and TF welcome the chance to meet with you outside of class. **We welcome the opportunity to work with students who are planning to write EAS Junior Papers in Spring 2008, and/or who are considering EAS or Gov senior thesis research or internships in Japan in the summer of 2008.**

Class participation is essential for the success of the seminar. Students are expected to attend all sessions, and to come to class prepared. Participation in class and in the section counts for 40% of the grade. Students will also write **five papers, 5-6 pp. each**. The short paper should be a cogent, well-written essay that takes into account at least three of the readings for the week chosen. Papers should be turned in by class time on Tuesdays. If you must miss a class or discussion section for other than a medical reason, you must submit a paper in advance by email for that week's readings. At least **one** of the papers should be submitted by Week 5, and a total of **three** of the papers should have been submitted by Week 11.

READINGS FOR THE COURSE: The readings for the course are available on e-reserve, unless they are available through JSTOR or as indicated. Since the topics we consider in the course are much debated and discussed in the media, we post additional items of interest on the course website, to which students are also invited to contribute.

Week 1 - Introduction: Contentious Issues and Policy Choices in Contemporary Japan
(9/18)

I. GHOSTS FROM THE PAST

Week 2 - The Postwar Settlement and the Current Debate over Constitutional Revision
(9/25)

Weekly page count: 128

Like Germany after World War II and Iraq and Afghanistan today, Japan experienced a critical interlude of armed American tutelage. The chief legacy of the Allied Occupation (1945-52) was an alien, imposed constitution. What was the nature of relations between state and society in prewar Japan, and what was the vision for change in them embodied in the constitution? Why, despite repeated efforts to push change, has the Constitution of 1947 never been revised? And why, more than six decades after the war's end, is constitutional revision at the center of a raging national debate? What is the prognosis for constitutional revision, and if it occurs, what difference will it make?

Dower, John. *Embracing Defeat*. New York: Norton, 1999, pp. 20-30 and 374-404.

Kawai, Kazuo. "The Constitution," in *Japan's American Interlude*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1960, pp. 51-70.

Ward, Robert E. "The Commission on the Constitution and Prospects for Constitutional Change in Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (May 1965), pp. 401-429.

Yamaguchi, Jirô. "The Gulf War and the Transformation of Japanese Constitutional Politics," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 18, 1 (winter, 1992), pp. 155-172.

Odawara, Atsushi. "The Dawn of Constitutional Debate," *Japan Quarterly*, 47, 1 (Jan/March 2000), pp. 17-22.

Hughes, Christopher. 2006. "Why Japan could revise its constitution and what it would mean for Japanese security policy", *Orbis*, Fall, pp. 725-744.

Week 3 - Patriotism, the Legacy of the Emperor System, and War Memory (10/2)

Weekly page count: 105

The number of people still alive who experienced World War II dwindles daily, but the legacy deeply affects Japan, domestically and internationally. What exactly *is* the historical legacy that poses a problem for Japanese citizens and the state, and leaving aside foreign policy questions, why has Japan's historical legacy posed such a problem? How has the prewar legacy affected the postwar education system, and how has the education system portrayed the prewar legacy? In the normal course of things, one might expect that as time passes, the problem posed by Japan's historical legacy would recede, but the opposite has happened. How can we explain this? Why

has the textbook controversy been such a contentious issue both in domestic politics and in Japan's relations with its neighbors, and under what conditions could the problem be resolved?

Ruoff, Kenneth J. "Imperial War Responsibility and Apologies," *The People's Emperor: Democracy and the Japanese Monarchy, 1945-95*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2001, pp. 126-157.

Irokawa, Daikichi. "The Subject Mentality," *Japan Quarterly*, Jan-March 1983, pp. 28-38.

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko. *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2002, pp. 159-163; 166-168.

Pyle, K.B. and T. Yayama. "Japan Besieged: The Textbook Controversy," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 9, II, Summer 1983, pp. 297-316.

McCormack, Gavan. "The Japanese Movement to 'Correct' History," in Mark Selden and Laura Hein, eds., *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States*. ME Sharpe, 2000, pp. 53-73.

Kisa, Yoshio, "What is War Responsibility?" and "Commentary" by Ian Buruma in Andrew Horvat and Gebhard Hielschler, eds., *Sharing the Burden of the Past: Legacies of War in Europe, America, and Asia* Tokyo: The Asia Foundation, 2003:130-141.

Found at: <http://www.tafjapan.org/forums/pdf/20011113pdf/121-149-e.pdf>

Advertisement in the *Washington Post* about the need to present a correct history:
<http://www.occidentalism.org/wp-content/uploads/2007/06/thefact.jpg>

Tamamoto, Masaru. "A Land Without Patriots. The Yasukuni Controversy and Japanese Nationalism", *World Policy Journal*, Fall 2001, pp.33-40.

ADD: Karasawa piece??

II. VEXING POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL ISSUES

Week 4 – **Leadership, Corruption, and the Ruling Liberal Democratic Party** (10/9)
Weekly page count: 163

What do Japanese citizens expect of their leaders? Across the world, political corruption is rampant. Among the industrial democracies, no ruling party has had more staying power than Japan's conservative Liberal Democratic Party, which, except for a brief fall from grace in the 1990s, has been in power continuously since 1955; and yet over this long era, political corruption has surfaced again and again as an issue. In virtually all other countries, such as Italy, corruption cases led to the demise of ruling parties in one-party dominant systems. Why didn't this happen in Japan? And where do things stand today, and what do Japanese people expect from their leaders?

Pempel, T.J. *Uncommon Democracies: The One Party Dominant Regimes*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990, pp. 1-29.

Gerald Curtis, *The Logic of Japanese Politics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1999, pp. 65-97.

Schlesinger, Jacob M. *Shadow Shoguns*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997, pp. 40-50; 59-90.

Ramseyer, Mark J., and Rosenbluth, Frances McCall. *Japan's Political Marketplace*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993, pp. 1-37.

Pharr, Susan J. "Officials' Misconduct and Public Distrust: Japan and the Trilateral Democracies" in Susan J. Pharr and Robert D. Putnam, (eds.) *Disaffected Democracies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000, pp. 232-258.

Week 5 - Japanese Capitalism Reconsidered (10/16)

Weekly page count: 135

The role of the state in fostering rapid economic growth has been the subject of a raging debate that continues today as the spotlight turns to China and India. The claim that Japan's elite bureaucrats used a battery of industrial policy tools to bolster growth spurred the rise of the varieties of capitalism (VOC) literature in political science (which contrasts Anglo-American laissez faire approaches with the "coordinated" approaches purportedly exemplified by Japan and Germany). If Japan has been the linchpin of this theorizing, where does the debate stand today for explaining Japan's postwar record of economic success from the late 1950s through the early 1990s? How did Japan's economy go downhill so fast in the early 1990s, and has it recovered? What are the current problems plaguing the economy?

Edward Lincoln. *Arthritic Japan: The Slow Pace of Economic Reform*, 2001, Washington: Brookings, pp. 16-55.

Noble, Gregory W. *Collective Action in East Asia*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1998, pp. 1-17.

Samuels, Richard. *Rich Nation, Strong Army: National Security and the Technological Transformation of Japan*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1994, pp. 1-4; 42-48; 77-78.

Wolfgang Streeck and Kozo Yamamura, "Introduction: Convergence or Diversity? Stability and Change in German and Japanese Capitalism," in Kozo Yamamura and Wolfgang Streeck, eds., *The End of Diversity: Prospects for German and Japanese Capitalism*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2003, pp.1-11.

Vogel, Steven K. "Can Japan Disengage? Winners and Losers in Japan's Political Economy, and the Ties that Bind Them." *Social Science Japan Journal*, Vol. 2,1, April 1999: 3-21.

Grimes, William W. "Structural Changes, 1997-2000: The Dismemberment of MOF and the Rise of the BOJ," in William W. Grimes, *Unmaking the Japanese Miracle: Macroeconomic Politics, 1985-2000*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2001, pp. 196-217.

Richard A. Colignon and Chikako Usui, *Amakudari: the Hidden Fabric of Japan's Economy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003, pp. 1-19.

Week 6 – Japanese Soft Power and Gross National Cool (GNC) (10/23)

Weekly page count: 102

What is “soft power”? To what extent does Japan today have soft power, and of what does it consist? What about during the Meiji period? During the era of Japanese imperialism? The Bubble era? What are Japan’s assets and liabilities as it tries to project its soft power in the world? Is Japanese culture an asset or a liability? How have Japan’s strategies for projecting soft power, and the actual appeal of its soft power, changed over time? Is Japan more successful or less successful than in the past in projecting its soft power? In Asia, where Japan struggles with the war reconciliation issue, does soft power boost Japan’s efforts to improve relations with its neighbors, or is it largely irrelevant?

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. *Soft Power: The Mean to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs, 2004. pp. 5-18; 33-35; 83-89.

McGray, Douglas. “Japan’s Gross National Cool”, *Foreign Policy*, May/June, 2002, pp.44-54. Accessible at: http://www.japansociety.org/web_docs/grossnationalcool.pdf

Simon Anholt, “Competitive Identity: New Brand Management for Nations”, in *Gaiko Forum*, Spring 2007. pp. 11-20.

Iwabuchi, Koichi. “Introduction” in *Recentring Globalization: Popular Culture and Japanese Transnationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002. pp. 1-18.

Shiraishi, Saya S. “Doraemon Goes Abroad”. In *Japan Pop! Inside the World of Japanese Popular Culture*. Edited by T. Craig. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2000, pp. 287-308.

Gries, Peter Hayes. “China’s New Thinking on Japan”, *The China Quarterly*, 2005, pp. 832-850.

Oe, Kenzaburo. “Japan, the Ambiguous, and Myself”, *Nobel Prize Lecture*, Stockholm, Sweden, 1996. Accessible on http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1994/oe-lecture.html

Murakami Haruki, “The Second Bakery Attack”, in *The Elephant Vanishes*, translated from Japanese by Jay Rubin and Alfred Birnbaum, Vintage Press, 1993, pp. 35-50.

III. CONTENTIOUS ISSUES IN THE WORKPLACE

Week 7 - **Whither Japan’s Workers? The Future of Japan’s Employment System** (10/30)
Weekly page count: 62

The hallmark of Japanese industrial relations has been an employment system in which the large and most competitive firms provide permanent employment and seniority-based wages to their core workforce (while other workers get far less). The goal of the top university graduate is to garner a slot in a big firm as a way to guarantee benefits and training, like study abroad,, promotion, and a secure future. Why did Japan choose to institute and maintain permanent employment; and to the extent that it has been successful, upon what conditions does its success rest? Ten years from now, will the permanent employment system be intact, and why or why not?

Gordon, Andrew. *The Evolution of Labor Relations in Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard, 1985, pp. 1-14; 413-432.

Fujimoto, Takashi. “Long Working Hours and Stress – In Relation to the Measure against Long Working Hours and Overtime,” *Japan Labor Review*, Vol. 3, No.3, Summer 2006, pp. 23-40.

Thelen, Kathleen and Ikuo Kume. "The Future of Nationally Embedded Capitalism: Industrial Relations In Germany and Japan," in Kozo Yamamura and Wolfgang Streeck, eds., *The End of Diversity: Prospects for German and Japanese Capitalism*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2003, pp.183-85; 191-196; 202-211.

Yashiro, Naohiro. "Learning to Live with 4% Unemployment," *Japan Echo*, No. 5, Oct. 1998, pp. 44-46.

Kondo, Motohiro. "A New Class of Drifters," *Japan Echo*, Vol. 28, No. 5, Oct. 2001, pp. 50-51.

Yamada, Masahiro. "No Future for Freeters," *Japan Echo*, Vol. 28, No. 5, Oct. 2001, pp. 52-55.

Week 8 - Women's Struggles in the Workplace (11/6)

Weekly page count: 113

How does the nature of work in Japan structure the lives of men and women, and with what costs and benefits to women? How are the recession, technological change, globalization, nationalism, and other forces affecting gender roles and the position of women in the workplace? Japanese women have one of the lowest fertility rates in the world. Why aren't Japanese women having children? What do they want?

Pharr, Susan J. "The Rebellion of the Tea Pourers," in Ellis Krauss, ed., *Conflict in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984, pp. 214-240.

Henderikse, Wilma M. "Women and Men in Economic Life," in *A Gender Agenda: Asia-Europe Dialogue 2*. Tokyo and New York: JCIE, 2003. pp. 21-43

Upham, Frank K. "Civil Rights Litigation and the Search for Equal Employment Opportunity," in Upham, *Law and Social Change in Postwar Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1987, pp. 124-165.

"The Equal Employment Opportunity Bill," *Japan Echo*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 1984, pp. 48-49.

Sato, Kinko. "Working Women Pose No Threat." *Japan Echo*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 1984, pp. 50-58.

Yamada, Masahiro. "The Faltering of the Contemporary Family," *The Japanese Family in Transition*, Tokyo: Foreign Press Center, 1998, pp. 23-32.

IV. CIVIL SOCIETY, SOCIAL WELFARE AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE

Week 9 - The Debate over Civil Society (11/13)

Weekly page count: 120

Across the advanced industrial democracies, citizens and organized interests play a critical role in policy debate and in public discourse over moral issues. But citizens' roles and influence vary widely according to the issue area and a wide variety of factors, from "civic legacy" (Putnam) to tax law. How does Japan's civil society stack up as compared to civic communities in the U.S. and Western Europe, and what forces are paramount for explaining the nature of Japan's civil

society? What role do citizens play in public health issues like smoking, and moral issues like abortion?

Garon, Sheldon. "From Meiji to Heisei: The State and Civil Society in Japan." In Frank J. Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr, eds., *The State of Civil Society in Japan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003, pp. 42-62.

Pharr, Susan J. "Conclusion: Targeting by an Activist State: Japan as a Civil Society Model." In Frank J. Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr, eds., *The State of Civil Society in Japan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003, pp. 316-336.

Hardacre, Helen. "After Aum: Religion and Civil Society in Japan." In Frank J. Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr, eds., *The State of Civil Society in Japan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003, pp. 135-153.

Feldman, Eric A. "The Limits of Tolerance," in Eric A. Feldman and Ronald Bayer, *Unfiltered: Conflicts over Tobacco Policy and Public Health*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2004, pp. 38-67.

Pekkanen, Robert. "Japan: Social Capital Without Advocacy," in Muthia Alagappa, ed., *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2004.

Week 10 - **Social Welfare in an Aging Society** (11/20)

Weekly page count: 113

Despite a half century of political rule by a conservative, producer-oriented LDP, Japan's welfare provisions, by a number of measures, rival those in the Scandinavian countries that have long been considered the gold standard, and this has been achieved, at least so far, while keeping overall costs as a share of GNP relatively low. But Japan's programs, like those in other nations, have come under scrutiny. With a life expectancy rate that leads the world, and a fertility rate that is shockingly low, Japan faces an "aging society" (*koreika*) problem second to none. Providing welfare benefits to its rapidly aging population will be a formidable challenge.

Campbell, Andrea L. *How Policies Make Citizens: Senior Political Activism and the American Welfare State*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2003, pp. 1-5.

Calder, Kent. *Crisis and Compensation*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1988, pp. 349-375.

Campbell, John C. and Ikegami, Naoki. *The Art of Balance in Japanese Health Care Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 1-52.

Yamada, Masahiro. "Growth of Discontent towards the Family," *The Japanese Family in Transition*. Tokyo: Foreign Press Center, 1998: pp. 45-59, esp. 45-49 and 54-59.

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

****Thanksgiving is Thursday, November 22****

V. JAPAN AND THE WORLD

Week 11 - The Debate over Immigration, Foreign Workers, and Japan's Korean Minority (11/27)

Weekly page count: 124

The solution to many of Japan's problems would appear, on the face of it, to lie in throwing open the gates to more immigration. Over the world and especially in Asia, there is a vast pool of foreign workers who seek opportunity and who could provide the childcare that could make Japanese women's working lives easier, bring new energy, skills, and creativity to the Japanese workplace, prepare Japanese children in the classroom for a multicultural world, and provide the labor that could help Japan address its coming labor shortage. Why don't they do this? How has Japan dealt with its Korean minority? With its foreign workers? How do the Japanese conceive of citizenship and how do their attitudes and policies compare to those found in Western Europe and the U.S.?

Tsuda, Takeyuki and Wayne A. Cornelius. "Japan: Government Policy, Immigrant Reality." In Wayne A. Cornelius et al, eds., *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 439-478.

Yamawaki, Keizo. "Foreign Workers in Japan: A Historical Perspective." In Mike Douglass and Glenda S. Roberts, eds., *Japan and Global Migration: Foreign Workers and the Advent of a Multicultural Society*. Hawaii: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 2000, pp. 38-51.

Tegtmeyer Pak, Katherine. "Foreigners are local citizens too: Local governments respond to international migration in Japan." In Mike Douglass and Glenda S. Roberts, eds., *Japan and Global Migration: Foreign Workers and the Advent of a Multicultural Society*. Hawaii: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 2000, pp. 244-274.

Gurowitz, Amy. "Mobilizing International Norms: Domestic Actors, Immigrants, and the Japanese State." *World Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 3, 1999, pp. 413-445.

Ichiko Fuyuno. "Refugees: Don't Come Knocking." *Far Eastern Economic Review*, July 31, 2003, pp. 54-56.

Lintner, Bertil. "It's Hard to Help Kim Jong Il." *Far Eastern Economic Review*, March 27, 2003, pp. 20-22.

Week 12 – The Yoshida Doctrine, the US-Japan Alliance, and the Debate over National Security (12/4)

Weekly page count: 104

Why has national security been the single most divisive issue – as yet unresolved – in postwar Japanese politics? What forces shape Japanese security policy, and how can we explain the changes that have occurred since the end of the Cold War? Are these changes evidence that Japan is becoming a 'normal' nation, capable of contributing militarily to the resolution of global and

regional conflicts? Is there a uniquely-Japanese 'grand strategy'? To what extent is this a product of Japan's history, geography, and/or national identity?

Berger, Thomas. "From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan's Culture of Anti-militarism," *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Spring 1993), pp. 119-150.

Heginbotham, Eric and Richard J. Samuels. "Japan's Dual Hedge", *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2002, pp. 110-121.

Pekkanen, Robert and Ellis Krauss, "Japan's Coalition of the Willing on Security Policies", *Orbis*, Summer 2005, pp. 429-444.

Pyle, Kenneth. "Abe Shinzo and Japan's Change of Course", *NBR Analysis*, 17, 4, October 2006, pp. 5-31.

Samuels, Richard J. "Japan's Goldilocks Strategy", *The Washington Quarterly*, 29, 4, 2006, pp. 111-127.

Week 13 – Tensions in the Neighborhood: Japan between China and North Korea (12/11)
Weekly page count: 97 pages

Japan, like all other countries, faced a completely different security environment in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet threat and the end of the Cold War. What have been the major changes in Japan's threat environment since the end of the Cold War? How is Japan responding to the rise of China, and the threat posed by North Korea? What role can the US-Japan alliance play in ameliorating these threats, and under what conditions could it aggravate them? How can we account for what many would say are Japan's worsening relations with its Asian neighbors? Are they, in fact, worsening? Are there grounds for improvement?

Christensen, Thomas J. "China, the US-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia," in G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno (eds.) *International Relations Theory and the Asian Pacific*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2003, pp. 25-56.

Mike M. Mochizuki, "Terms of Engagement: The US-Japan Alliance and the Rise of China," in Krauss and Pempel, eds., *Beyond Bilateralism*, (Stanford UP, 2004), pp. 87-114.

Tamamoto, Masaru. "How Japan Imagines China and Sees Itself", *World Policy Journal*, Winter 2005/6, pp. 55-62.

Green, Michael "Japan and the Korean Peninsula", in *Japan's Reluctant Realism*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2001, pp. 112-144.

Samuels, Richard J. Page proof of *Securing Japan*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007, pp. 148-151. [available as a pdf file on course website with permission of the author.]

Week 14 – Japan's Future (12/18) Panel discussion.
No readings for this week