

Introduction: Globalization, Localization, and Japanese Studies in the Asia-Pacific Region

Volume 3

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This book is the third of three volumes published by the International Research Center for Japanese Studies on the theme of globalization and localization in the Asia-Pacific region. The authors—all of whom live and work in the region or in Japan—consider how, directly or indirectly, the experience of the events and forces emblemized by the terms globalization and localization has affected this part of the world. They also offer clues for understanding how the experience of globalization and localization has influenced the way Japanese studies are conducted and perceived.

I commented briefly on definitions of globalization and on the aims of the scholars whose essays were collected in the first volume, and for the benefit and convenience of readers who do not have that book in hand, I repeat my comments here (although I omit notes; for references, please see volume one).

The term “globalization” came into widespread use in the 1990s, although it can be found in the literature of marketing as early as 1983, and it has antecedents in the notion of “globalism,” which has been in circulation much longer. It denotes a protean concept, “a process, a condition, a system, a force, and an age,” as Manfred B. Steger has put it. In contemporary parlance, Jan Aart Scholte has observed, globalization is used to convey four general conceptions that overlap and complement each other, namely internationalization, liberalization, universalization, and planetarization. Economic historian Jeffrey G. Williamson identifies two important features of the late twentieth century as characteristic of (economic) globalization: high-volume flow of capital and labor across national frontiers and booming commodity trade, and he observes that these were accompanied by “an impressive convergence in living standards, at least within most of what we would now call the OECD club.” Definitions of globalization describe it as the diffusion of people, capital, goods, information, and ideas across regions and continents, a process accompanied by an increasing degree of interdependence and integration between economies. Frequently globalization is understood to imply the flow of information and patterns from the West to the rest of the world—to be a synonym for Westernization or Americanization. Historical sociologist Sonoda Hidehiro warned us to be aware the hegemony of the point of view of the northern hemisphere in much of the discourse about globalization, remarking that this discourse primarily takes place in and involves participants from the northern hemisphere; he suspected that insufficiently examined assumptions about the economic and cultural “leadership” of advanced Western nations get in the way of analytical understanding of the phenomenon. Regional experience suggests that while many modern societies seem to be trending in the same direction, toward convergence on patterns of existence that some observers believe are

“universal,” at the same time differences rooted in local cultural particularities cause significant variation in the pace and degree of convergence. This variation has been labeled “glocalization,” although this term has not been as widely accepted by academic writers as “globalization” (nor has it been legitimized by inclusion in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*). Roland Robertson used the word “glocalization” in several articles in the mid-1990s to denote the local adaptation of material and cultural products that come from outside, which is one common and important aspect of globalization. Robertson, a sociologist, remarks that he drew on a Japanese marketing term in formulating his understanding of glocalization; the word *dochakuka* (to indigenize) “draws attention to the simple proposition that every idea coming from outside into a context has to be adaptable to that context.” Glocalization—this process of adaptation to particular circumstances—transforms globalization, he argues, compromising ideas and products that were “previously thought of as homogenizingly triumphant and standardizing.”

In these pages, for the most part, the authors do not explicitly engage the theoretical discussion about globalization and localization, but rather they deal with concrete examples of interactions between cultures (or simply between Japan and other societies and/or nations in the Asia-Pacific region). Awareness of the notions of globalization and localization, however, informs the authors’ thinking at many points.

The first four chapters here examine regional relationships and issues of glocalization. Tang Siew Mun, a Malaysian historian trained in the U.S.A., offers a long historical perspective of Japan’s position in regional and global relationships as he presents a broad analysis of Japanese grand strategy from the Meiji period to the present. He focuses on elements of change and continuity that cut across three grand strategies—“rich nation, strong military,” *fukoku kyōhei*, in the Meiji era; the quest for regional hegemony in the early Shōwa period; the Yoshida doctrine emphasizing economic goals and abandoning military power in the late Shōwa years, modified in the Heisei era to adjust to a changed international security environment. Japan emerged from its self-imposed isolation in the wake of the Meiji Restoration in the nineteenth century to join the ranks of the great powers. The “rich nation, strong military” strategy adopted by the Meiji oligarchs was instrumental in helping Japan escape from the claws of Western imperialism, while transforming Japan into a modern state. So successful was this strategy that by the 1930s, Japan was strong enough to challenge its erstwhile competitors for regional hegemony. Defeat in the Pacific War, however, induced Japan to adopt a different tack. It transformed itself into an economic superpower through single-minded pursuit of economic goals, combined with eschewal of military power. However, by the early 1990s, the Japanese “miracle” began to unravel. Throughout the “lost decade” of the nineties, Japan searched in vain for answers to its economic woes and muddled through its political malaise. The “Koizumi doctrine” grand strategy represented an attempt to reorient Japan’s national response to the changing strategic environment and new imperatives. Its constituent elements are an increasingly visible and high profile in global affairs, the “rehabilitation” of military power, and the drive toward attaining structural power. The constants in Japanese

grand strategy from Meiji through Heisei, Tang argues, have been ambivalence toward internationalization, a sense of dependency, and a struggle for identity.

With adoption of Shōwa Constitution, Japan relinquished the use of military power to project itself abroad or reinforce its diplomatic interactions with other nations. It has sought to make itself a significant international player by leveraging its economic power, and in recent years, it has more and more tried to win friends and influence people by exercise of what Joseph Nye famously called “soft power.” Contrasting “soft power” (the ability to get what you want by attracting and persuading others to adopt your goals) and “hard power” (the use of military and economic might), Nye argued that soft power is not merely often more effective than hard power, but it is also diminished by excessive reliance on hard power. In his essay here, Tim Beal identifies some dilemmas Japan faces in its pursuit of “soft power.” He suggests that Japan has huge potential to generate soft power—its culture and cuisine are quite attractive, for example, and indeed some Japanese cultural products such as manga, anime, and computer games have enjoyed enormous popularity overseas. He worries, however, that Japan is in danger of squandering that potential, as domestic politics seem to be trending towards Japan’s becoming a “normal” state. One outcome of those trends would be Japan’s development of military power to complement its economic power. The cost of this would be great, Beal argues, in terms of Japan’s ability to relate on friendly terms with its neighbors. Japan’s dilemmas stand in high relief when one looks at its relations with the Korean peninsula. Relations with Korea have suffered, he says, because too much consideration is given to the domestic debate about the nature of Japan and its place in the world, and Japanese are not mindful enough of the effect this has on foreign, especially East Asian, opinion. Beal pays particular attention to the textbook issue, remarking that although the controversial Fusōsha “New History” textbook (*Atarashii rekishi kyōkasho*) has been adopted only by a small number of Japanese schools, the damage to Japan’s reputation in East Asia has been considerable.

Ngo Xuan Binh, an economic historian, analyzes Japan’s policies on Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Vietnam in his contribution to this volume. He finds that Japanese ODA policies have been adjusted to respond to both domestic demand and external pressure arising from globalization overseas. The adjustments then have affected the processes of globalization and localization in recipient nations. ODA has been a key element in Japan’s execution of foreign policy, Ngo observes, and its disbursement has reflected Japanese concern about such challenges to human survival as epidemic diseases, environmental pollution, natural disasters, and poverty. Vietnam has been a high priority recipient of Japanese ODA since 1992, and this assistance has been effective in helping Vietnam successfully make the transition to a market economy.

Lydia Yu Jose’s chapter in this book discusses sister-city relationships between Japanese and Philippine municipalities. Going against the mainstream of research in her field of international relations, her work puts the emphasis on the sub-national level—on local governments—rather than central governments. Her aim thereby is to gain a deeper understanding of people-to-people relationships. Little scholarly work about sister-cities has been done, she notes, in spite of the fact that many such relationships have been in

existence for decades. In effect, sister-cities conduct foreign relations. These municipality-to-municipality contacts are decentralized, but in the case of the two nations Jose is concerned with, they support national goals, most notably Philippine economic development and Japanese internationalization. Moreover, sister-city activities contribute to grassroots friendship and goodwill, and virtually all states profess to have those among the goals of foreign policy. Jose does not use the term glocalization, but in the context of globalizing societies, the establishment and continuation of these sister-city relationships can be said to constitute a form of glocalization carried out by municipal entities.

The essays by Kinnia Yau Shuk-Ting and Ogawa Naoko cast light on cultural relationships in Asia through analysis of movies. Yau's starting point in "The Japanese View on Asia through Japanese Movies" is the observation that Japanese have long been ambivalent about whether to regard Japan as belonging to Asia or not. From the Meiji Restoration on, she proposes, many Japanese have perceived themselves and their country as superior to their Asian neighbors. Although Japan was defeated in World War II, its fast recovery and rapid economic growth in the postwar era were commonly regarded as miracles. Japan's successes led many Japanese to perceive themselves as exceptional. However, Japan experienced more than a decade of stagnation following the collapse of the "Bubble Economy" in the early 1990s. Beginning in the 1980s and continuing through the 1990s, other Asian powers, including Asia's Four Dragons (Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea) and China, began to rise; all experienced fast-paced economic development after economic reform had been carried out. At the turn of the millennium and in the age of globalization, other countries in Asia, especially China, have gained more attention than Japan, which was still trying to work out the problems of its post-Bubble economy. In these circumstances, many Japanese began to reconsider their national identity and relationship with Asia, and some even voiced demands for a "Return to Asia." In the context of this change of Japan's attitude and approach towards its Asian neighbors, it is newly meaningful to investigate how the relationships between Japan and other Asian countries have been treated in the cinema from the 1990s onwards. Yau analyzes the roles played by the popular star Kaneshiro Takeshi in Japanese movies, and how those differ from what we find in films produced in other places, and she decodes the messages embedded in the depiction of Asian characters in Japanese movies.

To expose trends in cultural influence, in this instance mutual influences between Japanese cinema and Hong Kong cinema, Ogawa Naoko looks at martial arts movies made between the 1950s and the 1970s. The golden age of the postwar Japanese film industry was the 1950s and '60s, she reminds us. In those years, a huge number of films were produced, almost all of them by six big movie production companies. Large numbers of people were employed in various aspects of the business. In Japan, the widespread diffusion of television caused a precipitous decline in the movie industry. In Hong Kong, by contrast, movie-making continued to flourish. Seeing opportunity abroad when prospects at home were bleak, some Japanese movie people made their way to Hong Kong and found work there. Ogawa reviews several famous martial arts movies that were products of the artistic collaboration of Japanese and Chinese, and reflects on the kind of cultural exchange that is expressed in those works.

Issues of history, memory, and the construction of identity are the subject of the next six chapters of this volume. Focusing on the case of his native country the Philippines, Ricardo T. Jose explores memorials and commemorations of World War II and the Japanese occupation. In the sixty years since the end of the war, he observes, both government and private groups in the Philippines have erected memorials, and American and Japanese veterans groups have also built monuments. Every year, commemorative ceremonies observe anniversaries of events deemed significant by various entities or organizations—by the national government, by local government bodies, by veterans groups, by private organizations. For the most part, the memorials and ceremonies are harmonious with each other. On occasion, however, as in 2004 when a monument to Japanese *kamikaze tokkō kōgekитай* pilots was constructed, they cause intense controversy. Jose comments on the aims of the bodies and agencies that build memorials or organize commemorative events. In his judgment, the conduct of these bodies generally reflects prevailing government and popular sentiment.

Three essays here treat the history of Japan in the East Asian region in the period between World War I and World War II. Mutō Shūtarō discusses the Reimeikai, an association formed in December 1918 by influential liberal intellectuals including Tokyo Imperial University Professor Yoshino Sakuzō and Keiō Gijyū Professor Fukuda Tokuzō in the wake of disturbances occasioned by skyrocketing rice prices and repression of voices of dissent by the government and its supporters. In the months that followed—the organization would have a short life, dissolving in August 1920—the Reimeikai held lecture meetings that attracted audiences as large as 1,500 people and it published pamphlets expounding the democratic views of its members. Mutō's essay here gives special attention to the Reimeikai's response to March 1 Movement in Korea and the May 4 Movement in China, and what it reveals about Taishō-era Japanese intellectuals' views of Asia. Reimeikai activities also give us a hint of the kind of intellectual exchanges that were going on between Japanese and Chinese and Koreans students and intellectuals.

Sociologist Suk-Jung Han's chapter, entitled "Flow and Stoppage of Early Globalization in East Asia: The Borderlines between Pusan and Fengtian in the 1930s," is a historical case-study that contributes to the discourse about the survivability of the nation-state. Globalization, Han notes, is seen by students of international politics as containing a threat to the nation-state, which has long been conceptualized as the most important unit of governance. If the "hard version" scenario of globalization literature were realized, the nation-state would be severely weakened or extinguished, according to these scholars. Han's study of the Japanese empire—and particularly of the relationship between its two peripheries, Manchukuo and Korea—in the 1930s, however, suggests that the nation-state would survive. The Japanese empire was comprised of units with formal and substantial boundaries. Colonialism was a "doubling" phenomenon within this empire, erasing but reproducing boundaries, providing the infra-structural basis of future regional economic integration but also planting seeds of future sovereignties with boundaries set by alien rulers.

Matsuda Toshihiko, one of the leading researchers of Japanese-Korean relations in the late Meiji era and in the period of Japanese colonial rule of Korea, inquires here into

how “colonial modernity” was received (that is, accepted or resisted) by ordinary Koreans (the *minshū*) in the first decade after Japan’s 1910 annexation of Korea. He excavates Korean popular sentiment from a record called the *Shumaku dansō*, which was compiled by Japanese police authorities in the town of Kongju, South Ch’ungch’ōng Province, and is now preserved in the National Assembly Library of Korea. Wanting to know how Koreans’ daily lives were changing and how they felt about the institutions of colonial rule, the Japanese police gathered intelligence by interviewing people or eavesdropping on their conversations, as well as by observing their behavior. Matsuda discovers that some Koreans compared aspects of life under Japanese rule—notably trends toward “civilizing” (*bunmeika*) and “modernization” (*kindaika*)—favorably with what they had experienced under the system of the Yi Dynasty. At the same time, Koreans showed a propensity to resist the administrative system that Japanese introduced when they perceived it as affecting their daily life. In the 1910s, in Matsuda’s assessment, colonial modernity did not penetrate deeply into the spirit of ordinary Koreans.

Kaneko Shinsuke takes up the subject of food culture in the context of transnational trade in grains in a short essay called “Globalization of Agriculture and Japanese New Dietary Cultures in the Asia-Pacific Region.” The globalization of agriculture over the last half-century, he notes, has brought about changes in the international grain trade. By volume and by value, wheat has been the most important grain in international trade. When we look back at the 1950s, we see that intra-Western trade made up the bulk of international trade in wheat. Today, however, Western countries are the main suppliers and Monsoon Asian countries are the main importers of wheat. This is the case although the peoples of Monsoon Asia still live on a diet based chiefly on rice. Why, Kaneko asks, does this region import such a large quantity of wheat? Because the instant noodle—which was invented in Osaka, Japan—has become extremely popular and is now being produced in these Monsoon Asian countries. This product of the Japanese food industry has come to be quite important in the dietary life of other Asians, and can be seen as an example of Japanese influence on globalizing food culture.

The next two essays present anthropological perspectives. Peter Cave poses the question, “Could we and should we write another *Chrysanthemum and the Sword*?” Ruth Benedict’s famous 1946 book *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* was an ambitious attempt to provide a comprehensive anthropological analysis of Japan, he notes. Today such analyses of entire societies or cultures have become unfashionable, criticized for yielding over-simplified and stereotypical pictures and failing to do justice to the diversity and dynamism of reality. Cave believes, however, that there is still a place for such analyses. Diversity and dynamism should not blind us to the widely shared structures of intelligibility within Japanese society. In fact widely shared ways of behaving and meaning-making do exist, and attempts to analyze these comprehensively can be enlightening. A synoptic study such as Benedict’s might also serve to widen anthropological understanding among the intelligent reading public. To be appropriate for our own times, in Caves’ opinion, an analysis of Japanese society and culture would have to show how such shared ways of thinking and acting vary and change, as well as how they are disputed and what ideological pressures exist to maintain them.

In her essay, originally framed to contribute to a panel discussion provocatively titled “Does Japan Exist?” Lynne Nakano inquires, “Can there be a Japan without a Japanese culture?” To be sure, Japan exists as a nation state, she answers, and it is possible and important for Japan specialists to discuss the institutional, political, and ideological structures that shape life in Japan. She maintains that Japan does not exist as a cultural whole with a coherent character and definable borders, however. It can be said to exist as a cultural whole, she says, only by ignoring diversity, the historical production of culture, the porosity of borders, and differential relationships to centers of power. Those who insist that there is a single, representative “Japanese culture” are privileging idealized forms and visions of society, she maintains; this is a false image promoted by an elite. If we acknowledge multiplicity and diversity, however, in Nakano’s opinion it certainly is possible and important for us to discuss the institutional, political, and ideological structures that shape life in Japan. It is also important to discuss how people negotiate ideas and actions within and through these various frameworks. The idea that Japanese culture differentiates Japanese from other people is pernicious, in her view, leading to acceptance of the notions that human beings are essentially different and that these differences are delineated through enclosed cultural spheres. In reality, she argues, no such enclosed spheres exist.

Two scholars from the Center for Japanese Studies in Vietnam provide insight into the current state of Japanese Studies in their country. Ho Hoang Hoa focuses on Japanese culture, remarking that the contacts among people of different nations and the exchange of material goods, monetary resources, and information across borders in our globalized world make it possible for us to enjoy the culture of other countries even if we remain physically in our own homelands. In Vietnam, this is particularly important, Ho says, because the country endured long wars to establish independence from colonial rule and then to achieve national unity, and it can be seen as being behind some of its neighbors in economic and social development. She thinks learning about and appreciating other cultures promotes understanding and an orientation toward peaceful international relationships. In the distant past, Vietnamese were aware of Japan although there were no formal state-to-state relations, because there was some trade contact between the two countries. In the modern period, Vietnamese patriots took inspiration from the example of the Japanese who carried out the Meiji Restoration movement and subsequent modernizing reforms. Japan became one of their models. Today, a little more than thirty years since they established diplomatic relations, Vietnam and Japan have more contact with each other than ever before, and their relationships are expanding in virtually every sphere of activity. It is especially in the realm of culture—in literature, cinema, fine arts and crafts, manga and anime—that Vietnamese now are giving a warm reception to Japanese works, Ho notes, and Japanese influence on Japan can be perceived. Japanese language education contributes to the reception of Japanese culture.

Tran Quang Minh discusses the past achievements of people engaged in scholarship and teaching about Japan in Vietnam. As Vietnam-Japan relations have deepened in recent years, the demand for understanding Japan among the Vietnamese has increased considerably. However, Japanese Studies in Vietnam has also faced difficulties and ob-

stacles that must be overcome. Tran summarizes some of the major objectives of Japanese policy vis-à-vis Vietnam since diplomatic relations were established in 1973, and explains the development of Japanese studies in Vietnam in connection with changes in the focus of Vietnam-Japan relations. He offers some recommendations for measures to further develop Japanese studies in Vietnam in particular and the Vietnam-Japan relationship in general.

In her chapter here, Saowalak Suriyawongpaisal writes about family relationships in *noh* plays. She argues that the values of Muromachi-era Japan might contain hints about a solution to the crisis in the Japanese family today, which she sees as “overwhelmed by individualism, materialism, and consumerism.” Based on a close reading of 133 *noh* plays, fifty-seven of which are in the current repertoire, Saowalak characterizes family relationships thus: The child is mostly filial; filial piety of the son towards the father is the child’s most outstanding image; the mother is loving and dedicated to her children, particularly to her son; the father has a positive image similar to that of the mother, but he also has a negative image that is almost as strong. Non-current plays, hitherto almost unstudied, show a significant discrepancy with the plays that are in the active repertoire of performers today. Saowalak believes that gender specialists might find interesting research material in plays that portray sexual discrimination between sons and daughters, as well as the suffering of mothers caused by male family members.

Chen Ziguang, trained in Japan in international management and development, presents some findings from his comparative study of the critical managerial skills of managers from three countries in a chapter co-authored with Takeuchi Norihiko and Lam Kwok-ye. The authors asked Chinese, Japanese and Taiwanese managers to respond to Managerial Skill Questionnaires that measure twenty-two skill items. Results indicated that four major skill factors are most important among managers from the three nations. Chen and his colleagues label those skill factors Business Innovation, Team-Building Effectiveness, People Management, and Result Producing. They found that Chinese and Taiwanese managers practice People Management and teamwork skills more frequently, while Japanese managers practice Business Innovation skills relatively more than others. Their analysis also indicates that Japanese managers identify strategic, problem identification, and decision making skills to be most critical, while Chinese and Taiwanese managers regard people-oriented and teamwork skills most critical. Taiwanese were found different to emphasize teamwork skill and technical expertise more than their Chinese colleagues, while the Chinese tended to think that fair treatment and quality control skills are more critical.

Residence outside one’s native country, whether short-term or long-term, is an increasingly common experience associated with globalization. The next two chapters consider the effects this has on the roles of marital partners. Some people’s adaptations might be regarded as exemplary patterns of glocalization. Riki Takeuchi, a specialist in human resource management, examines Japanese expatriate employees living and working in the United States and their spouses. For firms competing in the global marketplace and for aspiring executives developing their careers, he points out, international assignments are considered important; indeed, overseas work experience has almost become a requisite

for promotion to higher-level managerial positions. It is difficult to be successful during international assignments, however, and an unsuccessful experience may also impair a manager's ability to learn and develop the competencies needed by their organization. The inability of expatriates to successfully adjust to foreign environments has been cited as one of the most frequent reasons for unsuccessful overseas assignments, followed by the inability of spouses to adjust successfully.

Candy Lam Wing Sze presents some of her research on wives of Japanese expatriate businessmen in Hong Kong. She observes that in Japan, social roles are becoming more diverse and many women are negotiating their own paths both in the workplace and at home. Can the same be said, she asks, of Japanese expatriate wives living overseas? Previous studies, in the 1980s and '90s, found that Japanese women who accompany their husbands were socially segregated from the host society and tended to be conservative and resistant to change. Lam inquires whether Japanese expatriate wives in the early twenty-first century differ from their predecessors. Cultural expectations in Japan and Hong Kong differ, and the expatriate women's reactions to the differences inform their perceptions of the local society, she finds. The results of Lam's survey research indicate that the experience of life in Hong Kong changes wives' understanding of Japanese norms that they have taken for granted.

The last essay in our three-volume series on globalization and localization addresses issues of education, taking up the case of Taiwan since the 1990s. Wang Horng-luen provides a brief sketch of educational reform in Taiwan, and argues that reform has been shaped by the intersecting and sometimes contradictory forces of democratization, nationalization, marketization, and globalization. All of those forces had been held in check in Taiwan before 1987, as education was under the firm authoritarian control of the Kuomintang (KMT) state. From the late 1980s, however, popular pressure to reform education arose. This pressure has supported a democratization process. Rising Taiwanese consciousness made the old curriculum—which had been structured by the KMT and embodied the values of Chinese nationalism—seem outdated. Forces of marketization and globalization also came into play. With regime change, after the Democratic Progressive Party defeated the KMT in the election of 2000, educational reform gained momentum. Wang introduces the controversial Grade 1-9 Curriculum to show how conflicting views about reform have been (provisionally) resolved. At the end of his essay, he discusses how Japan is dealt with in recently published textbooks.