Twenty-first Annual Graduate Student/Scholar Teacher Symposium on Japanese Studies Proceedings

Vol. 21

The Japanese Program
Seton Hall University
October 2018

Introduction

The Twenty-first Annual Graduate Student/Scholar Teacher Symposium on Japanese Studies was held on Friday, April 13, 2018, Jubilee Hall 118 at Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey. The goal of the symposium was to provide an opportunity for students and the community to gain a greater understanding of Japanese society and culture. The symposium also provided interaction between universities and high schools to help create a dialogue conducive to a cooperative learning experience in Japanese studies.

Registration took place from 9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m. and refreshments had served to symposium participants and audience members. Approximately 50 people attended the event. Prof. Shigeru Osuka, Director of the Japanese Program at Seton Hall University, began the symposium with a welcome address.

The presentation began at 9:40 a.m. immediately following the welcome address. The first panel was *Contemporary Japanese Anime and Games in Global Society*. First presentation was delivered by Matthew K Barros via Skype from Japan. He presented his paper on *Japanese Culture in Anime and Manga, and Their Growth in the U.S.* The next scheduled presenter was Gerald A Demattia, who a MA candidate for Asian studies, presented his paper on *Now You're Playing With Culture: Tradition, Urbanization, and Pokémon*. Then, Dr. Shigeru Osuka, Director of Japanese Program, made comments on the two papers. A question and answer session followed each paper presentation.

The second panel, *Encounter with Intellectual Japanese History and Religions*, started at 10:40 a.m. Rodney Chin, a graduate student in History, read his paper on *The Persecution of Christianity in Tokugawa Japan*. The next presenter, Xiang Wei, a graduate student in Asian Studies, presented her research paper on *Perspective in the Ruler of Legitimacy of the Late-Ming Dynasty and Tokugawa Period: Historical Evaluation Thorough Poems with Qian Qianyi (1582–1664) and Rai Sanyo (1780-1832)*. The third presenter, Leemu Madison, a dual degrees candidate with Asian Studies and Diplomacy & International Relations, read her reach paper on *Japanese's View of Brain Death and How it Influences their View of Organ Donation and Transplant*. Dr. Jeffry Rice, Assistant Professor of Asian Studies in the Department of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures, comments on the three papers. A question and answer session followed his comments.

From 12 noon to 1:20 p. m. all participants and guests attended a luncheon at Seton Hall University's Faculty Club.

The afternoon session began at 1:30 p.m. Dr. Shigeru Osuka, gave a welcoming address for the symposium and introduced the keynote speaker. From 1:35 p.m. to 2:20 p.m. Dr. Yasuhiro Makimura, Associate Professor of History at Iona College, deliver his keynote address on *Placing Japanese History within Global History*. Dr. Yasuhiro Makimura born in Kitakyushu, Japan in 1971. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia University, M.Litt. from Cambridge University, and B.A. from Harvard University. He has received Yokohama Association for International Communication and Exchanges Fellowship, Japan Foundation Fellowship, Heyman Center Fellowship, and Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Fellowship. He is currently an associate professor of history teaching Japanese history, East Asian history, Global history, and

Economic history at Iona College. Recently, he has published an award-winning book, "Yokohama and the Silk Trade: How Eastern Japan Became the Primary Economic Region of Japan, 1843-1893" (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017).

The third panel, *Current Japanese Society and Youth Culture*, begin at 2:35 p.m. Hyejin Jeong, a MA degree graduate student, presented her research paper on *Japan Economic Assistance to China during Deng Xiaoping Era (1978 – 1997)*. Next presenter was Jiani Dai, a MA candidate in Asian Studies, presented her reach paper on *The Rising of SNH48 and the Adoption of Japanese Idol Culture to Chinese Feature*. The third presenter, Raul Herrera had absented due to his presentation schedule at the University of Michigan. However, this proceeding included his article on *Death from Overwork: Japanese Working Culture in Today's Japan*. After presentations, Professor Michael Stone, give his comments on the two presentations. The questions and answer session followed his comments.

The symposium ended following the closing remarks by Prof. Michael Stone at 3:45 p.m. The symposium gave all participants an opportunity to learn and discuss Japanese society, history, politics, economy, religion, literature, arts, culture, and language education. Participants will be able to become effective leaders in maintaining intercultural dialogue between Japan and the United States. This symposium provided a foundation of knowledge and critical thinking on current perspective on Japanese studies and helped participants consider relations between Japan and the United States. All presentations had evaluated by Asian Studies program faculty members and had utilized for graduate program assessments.

Table of Contents

Japanese Culture in Anime and Manga, and Their Growth in the U.S

Matthew K. Barros

I. Introduction
In the past several decades, manga (Japanese comics) and anime (Japanese cartoons) have been becoming increasingly popular forms of entertainment in the United States. With countless unique and interesting stories for every genre, it is easy for these media forms to draw in new fans and consumers. However, as being media forms of Japanese origin, many series are filled with cultural aspects that differ from those of America. Despite this, American fans are starting not to see cultural differences within them, and have no particular interest in its country of origin, or even in the many references to Japanese customs and history which pervade anime and manga (Levi 2013). Overall, this paper seeks to understand the following questions:

    1: Are anime and manga becoming "culturally odorless" (void of cultural differences) in the United States?

    2: How does this impact the growth and popularity of these media forms in the U.S.?

Before continuing, it is important to note that this paper is unique in that no other authors have created a work analyzing previously written works on the subjects of anime and manga. Key terms in this paper include: "anime", "manga", "comics", "culture", and "cultural odorlessness"

II. Literature Review
A. Growth of Anime in the U.S.

Anime and manga have become increasingly popular over the last two decades for several reasons. Many attribute this growing popularity to cultural odorlessness, while others believe that it is due the Japanese cultural aspects. The popularity of these media forms began to grow several decades ago. Japanese anime came to the United States before manga starting in the 1960s. Anime that was officially brought to the United States to be broadcast on television in the 1960s were drastically edited to remove any evidence of Japaneseness or scenes that were considered unfit for American children (Fukunaga 2006). This process continued heavily through the 1990s and still somewhat continues today. As a result, "early fans didn't generally recognize the origins of the shows they watched, but did recognize that the visuals and narratives were unlike anything produced by Disney, Warner Brothers, or Hanna-Barbera" (Cubbison 2005). The art style used in anime and the subjects anime series cover greatly differ from American cartoons. This is one factor that draws in numerous fans.

However, over time many American anime fans learned that the shows they loved were greatly edited. This lead to groups of fans to start subtitling original versions of these shows for other fans to watch. This process became known as 'fansubbing,' or subtitling by fans. As fansubbed videos were spread around, the exposure to the original contents of anime caused the number of anime fans significantly increase, and anime began to enter the realm of mainstream entertainment in the U.S. However, "while fansubbing helped build an audience for anime, as anime became more mainstream fansubbing became more problematic" (Cubbison 2005). Fansubbed videos were in violation of copyright laws as copyrighted materials were being reproduced without permission from creators or anime companies.

Initially, fans subtitled series that were not available in the U.S., but as anime became more popular, more series were brought state-side, making more fan-subbed series in violation of copyright laws. "Fan subs came to be seen not only as violations of intellectual property laws but also as depriving Japanese producers of the money needed to support continued production" (Cubbison 2005). The benefit of these copyright issues was that made American distributors aware that fans wanted to see unedited versions of anime. Slowly, officially subtitled videos featuring unedited versions began to be produced, and when DVDs came out in the late 1990s, they often contained both the English version and the original Japanese version, which finally satisfied fans' wants. During the first decade of the 2000s, officially subtitled anime moved to the internet. This allowed for anime fans to view new content faster and faster as the popularity of online anime grew. Finally, as a result of the growth of the internet and popularity of anime, major U.S. anime distributors now simulcast numerous subtitled anime online the same day they air on TV in Japan.

B..Anime as a Form of Cross-Cultural Communication
Anime has a number of reasons for becoming so popular in America and many other countries. The overarching reason for this is that anime is a form of communication that can be enjoyed across various cultures. First, anime has a unique appeal as it is so different from American animation, especially Disney. While American animation covers a limited range of topics, often fairy-tales with happy endings, anime covers virtually every genre and topic from dramas, romances, and everyday life soap-operas to sci-fi, thrillers, historical fiction, comedies, and many more. Anime also explores many real areas of the human experience and emotions that American cartoons do not, such as "shame, faith, death, responsibility, and self-doubt" (Price 2001). Covering genres and mature topics that child-aimed American cartoons usually makes anime highly appealing to much older viewers.

There are still many other reasons for anime's popularity in America. "There are a variety of reasons why American otaku[1] love anime: It allows the viewer to be able to see the world through a stranger's eyes, entitles them to find a voice within an exciting realm of fantasy, and lets them relate to real life human emotions" (Price 2001). Not only do interesting, unique stories appeal to viewers, the unfamiliar aspects of Japanese culture, which are heavily present in many series, draw in many people because it is different and allows them a look into a different part of the world and see the world from a different perspective. Since anime is created with the Japanese audience in mind, it is created in ways that the Japanese would see the world. When non-Japanese watch anime, they are able to see they world in the way Japanese people see it. This simultaneously allows viewers to learn about Japanese culture, which appeals to many viewers. However, while the aspects of Japanese culture appeal to many viewers, many other viewers feel indifferent to it at first. These people are purely attracted to the uniqueness, entertainment value, and escape from reality that they provide. Despite this initial indifference, the exposure to cultural differences eventually grows on them and these people become fascinated with the cultural aspects.

The final appeal of anime is the escape that anime provides viewers. This often comes in the form of characters that viewers wish to be like. Some such characters might be an "average and ordinary guy surrounded by beautiful and adoring women, ordinary males given superhuman powers, or tough, sexy heroines" (Price 2001). Such characters allow viewers immerse themselves into a

---

[1] Otaku – A slang word meaning geek or fanatic of something in Japanese, but is now used by American anime fans to specifically refer to fans of Japanese anime.

world of someone they wish they could be like and escape from reality for a while. For many viewers, this kind of escape has a very strong appeal.

III. Methodlogy

Three peer-reviewed articles is used as primary resources for this paper.

Brienza, Casey. 2009. "Books, Not Comics: Publishing Fields, Globalization, and Japanese Manga in the United States." *Publishing Research Quarterly* 25 (2): 101–17. doi:10.1007/s12109-009-9114-2.
This work discusses the rise and growth of manga in the U.S. from a socially-situated viewpoint and its implications for globalization of culture.

Fukunaga, Natsuki. 2006. "'Those Anime Students': Foreign Language Literacy Development through Japanese Popular Culture." *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* 50 (3): 206–22.
A series of interviews with American Japanese language students and professors are analyzed to understand students who desire to learn Japanese due to their appreciation of Japanese popular culture. This work offers a counterargument to the problem statement.

Levi, Antonia. 2013. "The Sweet Smell of Japan: Anime, Manga, and Japan in North America." *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication (John Benjamins Publishing Co.)* 23 (1): 3–18. doi:10.1075/japc.23.1.02lev.
A paper that discusses cultural odorlessness in manga and anime and looks at how manga and anime fans hold contradicting views on what is and is not inherently Japanese.

The contents of these articles will be critically analyzed. Afterwards, utilizing the Voyant-Tools program the articles will be analyzed for the most commonly used words in each article. Then, the results will then be discussed in detail.

IV. Discussion

A. Cultural Odorlessness in Anime and Manga

As mentioned above, many American fans of manga and anime, while aware that these media forms are exports of Japan, do not show any particular interest in Japanese society, history, culture. "Unlike early North American fans of anime and manga who were often serious Japanophiles [or people obsessed with everything Japan], those who discovered the medium in the last decade or so, often in dubbed form on television, have no particular interest in its country of origin, or even in the many references to Japanese customs and history which pervade anime and manga" (Levi 2013). Essentially, many fans today enjoy anime and manga simply for their own unique entertainment value, not because of an outlying interest in the country they come from. There are several reasons for this, all of which fall under Iwabuchi Koichi's concept of "cultural odorlessness" (Levi 2013). Under this concept, many of the clearly Japanese aspects and references in anime and manga are not being seen as such by American fans.

One reason for fans not recognizing elements of anime and manga as being Japanese is that they do not know they are actually Japanese. Although anime and manga creators today are aware that these media forms very popular outside of Japan, their main focus is to create entertainment for audiences in Japan. Because of this, creators draw on Japanese artistic, literary, theatrical, and cultural traditions for their works. However, many American viewers are not familiar with such

traditions, and are unaware that they are Japanese. To these viewers, what they do not recognize is simply a part of the fictional world they are submersing themselves in. Even fans who do recognize such traditions may have difficulty identifying which elements are Japanese (Levi 2013). This is due to the fact that many elements are a in fact a product of American influences after World War II. Modern-style manga began in the 1950s when Japan was being occupied by the United States. Many American G.I.s brought comic books with them to Japan exposing creators to American elements of comic books. Some of these influences fused with pre-existing Japanese elements. As a result, certain unique Japanese elements can be seen as American elements, and therefore, fans familiar with Japanese traditional elements do not see them as Japanese, but American.

Next, American fans have other reasons for enjoying these media forms, such as their unique art style, or that they often deal with aspects of human life that American cartoons do not, such moral ambiguity and death. Because of this, they are able to enjoy these media forms for these reasons alone. Even when Japanese cultural elements are present, many viewers are not concerned with them as their interest in anime or manga is based on other non-cultural aspects.

Another reason anime and manga is culturally odorless in the United States is that a large amount of the genres consumed have nothing specifically do with Japan or Japanese culture. Many popular series that are imported for American consumption are science-fiction or fantasy. "Not all anime and manga produced and distributed in Japan deal with the fantastic by any means. It is, however, the form of anime and manga that dominates in the North American markets" (Levi 2013). These series often take place in worlds or settings that are void of any specific Japanese cultural references. Even if they do have aspects of Japanese culture, because the worlds are purely fiction, anything within them can be thought of as fictional. In other words, if an American viewer sees an aspect of Japanese culture they are not familiar with in a science fiction or fantasy series, he or she can simply accept it as a part of that fictional world. Essentially, the audience renders anime and manga culturally odorless themselves by choosing genres where unusual things can be interpreted as fantastic or purely fictional (Levi 2013).

Lastly, anime and manga have become culturally odorless because they have become mainstream in the United States and many consumers have grown up with them as a part of their lives. Many Japanese elements they observed have become a part of their lives in America "by integrating those characteristics into North America's popular culture universe" (Levi 2013). Anime and manga have been popular forms of entertainment in the United States for long enough now that unusual and foreign aspects have become familiar.

B. Growth of Manga in the U.S.
Manga's growth to its own category of book in the United States was initially slow. Some of the first official manga releases greatly struggled to catch on with American consumers. Manga first started to be published in the United States in 1980. Around that time, there very few titles available to American readers. One major factor that caused manga to struggle to catch on was that the translation process and re-formatting process was very time consuming and volumes were released at a very slow rate. "For example, Viz Communications averaged one trade paperback volume per series every 6 months" (Brienza 2009). This slow pace impacted the enjoyment of manga as it is intended to be read at a fast pace. In Japan manga chapters are typically released in

weekly or bi-weekly magazines, so the pace of their plots is based on that speed. Moreover, part of the reason for the slow release time was that American publishers re-formatted manga by flipping them. Since Japanese is read from right to left, the opposite from English, publishers spent the time to essentially create mirrored images so that they could be read in the familiar left to right order of English. This process was time consuming and expensive. Not only did this process make the release of new volumes slow, it made manga much more expensive to buy than regular American comic books.

Manga, which is published even today in black and white, saw a bit of an increase in popularity during the late 1980s. Around this time, the American comic book field saw a boom in black and white published comic books. This boom caused many comic book readers to try reading manga for the first time. "Because [black and white comics] are relatively cheap to produce, by 1987 the market was soon flooded with new properties published by new players, and amidst the deluge appeared the first commercially successful manga" (Brienza 2009). However, when the black and white boom soon ended, many small publishers that appeared during that time, including two that published manga, closed. This was an unfortunate step backwards for manga in America.

The entire comic book industry in the United States struggled during the 1990s, which naturally impacted manga as well. However, the growth of anime in the U.S. around the mid-1990s helped to draw in many new readers of manga. "Interest in Japanese animation, or anime, during this period did, however, draw in some new actors and help keep extant ones afloat" (Brienza 2009). Anime helped manga stay alive and grow in popularity until the twenty-first century when publishers made one major change to their publishing techniques. This change, started by publisher Tokoyopop in 2002, was to stop flipping manga and publish it in its original Japanese format. This greatly sped up the release rate of new volumes and helped to reduce the price, making it much more appealing. "Because these changes made preparing manga for American release less labor-intensive and expensive, Tokyopop was able to speed up the release schedules of all of its series to one volume per month" (Brienza 2009). This also allowed for publishers to meet the growing demand by bookstores for more stock. Other publishers followed suit with these changes and manga's popularity exploded. With this growth, manga began to be seen as its own unique type of book and not a part of other comic books, science-fiction books, or fantasy books. Overall, manga saw an incredible 350% increase in sales from 2002 to 2007, and only slowed some in late 2008 during the economic downturn (Brienza 2009).

The overarching reason for the tremendous growth of manga in such a short period of time was that manga was becoming culturally odorless. Since manga was starting to be seen as less of a foreign product, many readers became easily attracted to it. Stories could be simply enjoyed for what they were without readers being confused with uniquely Japanese elements. This is largely due to many of the popular import choices being science-fiction or fantasy series. This has allowed manga to become its own entity in the world of books. Even though the word "manga" is clearly of Japanese origin, this fact has become ambiguous. "The use of the word 'manga' itself is one case in which Japanese context and culture is merely expedient, and publishers were never attached to it purely for its 'Japaneseness.' They liked it, rather, because it was economical and disassociated their content linguistically from the comics field" (Brienza 2009). This shows that manga being imported was never about its Japanese origin. It was merely about offering a form of entertainment that anyone could enjoy.

C. Anime and Manga as a Learning Tool

Manga and, especially, anime have become major learning tools for American students learning Japanese as a foreign language. In fact, these media forms are often the reason many Japanese language learners begin studying Japanese. These learners are initially drawn in by the uniqueness of manga and anime. They enjoy the interesting kinds of stories and genres not found in American animation, and eventually become fascinated with Japanese culture and language after repeated exposure. After starting to learn Japanese, continuous watching of anime provides several benefits to learners. "[There are] three advantages: word recognition, listening and pronunciation, and awareness of various Japanese linguistic features" (Fukunaga 2006). Students hear proper pronunciation of words and learn various cultural aspects within the language, such as how to properly address different people.

Japanese learners also become used to hearing Japanese spoken at a native speed. Additionally, when watching anime with English subtitles, "they became aware of several Japanese linguistic aspects such as male and female speech endings, tone of voice, formal and plain forms of speech, slang, and good or bad. Translation" (Fukunaga 2006). Many of these are aspects are not learned in formal Japanese classes. Non-verbal aspects of culture, such as gestures, mannerisms, and social settings and rules, can also be learned from anime (Fukunaga 2006). Knowledge of these can be then be applied to Japanese language learning to learn new vocabulary and grammar.

Another reason anime is a useful tool for students of Japanese is because it contains a number subcultures. Some of these subcultures include manga, music, video games, and other products. Also included are anime-related activities like cosplay, anime clubs, conventions, and communication on the internet. All of these subcultures allow for fans to engage anime in other ways than just watching. The advantage of this in the case of learning Japanese is that they can improve other aspects of language skills other than just listening. Anime subcultures provide learners enjoyable ways of speaking and reading Japanese, and discussing and learning the language and culture with other learners and fans.

V. Analysis with Vovant Tools

Japanese culture in anime and manga is perceived differently by fans. Some embrace it and use it as a learning tools, while some acknowledge it, but ignore it, and others are unaware of it and just accept it as fantasy. These differences can been seen in the quotes used above. The quotes used from Antonia Levi suggest that Japanese cultural aspects are rendered as a part of fantasy in fictional world. Quotes from Casey E. Brienza's work support Levi's by suggesting that manga's growth in the U.S. was not because of manga's unique Japanese aspects. However, the quotes from Natsuki Fukunaga's work counter the other two authors' points by suggesting that anime is filled with cultural aspects that viewers will at least pick up on and acknowledge.

Anime and manga are very broad forms of entertainment that can be explored academically in a variety of ways. Naturally, the range of words associated with anime and manga is vast. However, some common words are words related to the specific type of media form being discussed, such as "comics" or "animation."

Figure 1.1

Figure 1.2

Antonia Levi's article explores possible reasons for why Japanese anime and manga have become so popular in the United States through the concept of "cultural odorlessness". From Figure 1.1 it can been seen that some of the most commonly used words are "manga," "anime," and "Japanese" as expected. However, upon closer inspection, "culture" is also a commonly used word. Next, in Figure 1.2, while anime and manga are most closely related, "culture" is related to "Japanese", and several other words are related to "Japanese". This indirectly shows the significance of Japanese culture in relation to anime and manga. This could give the reader the impression that Japanese culture and manga and anime are closely related, which Antonia Levi was arguing against. This means that she had to choose her words carefully to avoid writing against her argument.
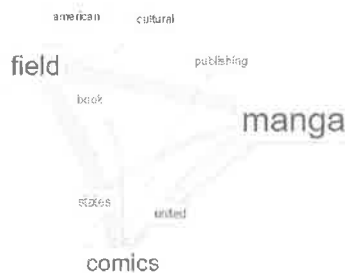

Figure 2.1

Figure 2.2

Casey E. Brienza discusses the growth of manga in the United States and manga's position in the fields of popular culture, comic books, and regular books. According to Figure 2.1, the words "manga," "comics," and "field" are most common as expected. Other common words include: "culture" and "anime". This is significant because culture plays an important role with the growth of manga. The fact that anime is mentioned frequently in an article specifically about manga show that the two media forms are so closely related to each other. Additionally, from Figure 2.2, we can see that "manga," "field," and "comics" are all heavily related. This is not urprising as Brienza spends a lot of time discussing how manga has transitioned from being associated with the American comic book field to being its own unique field of book.

Figure 3.1

Figure 3.2

In her article, Natsuki Fukunaga discusses how anime can be used to help students studying Japanese as a foreign language. Figure 3.1 reveals the obvious in that "anime", "Japanese," "students," and "language" are the most common words. Many of the other common words refer to the subcultures of anime that students often engage to study Japanese. "Culture" is another very common word in the article as Fukunaga discusses the importance of Japanese culture in anime and the many cultural aspects of Japanese culture that students learn from watching anime. Figure 3.2 show the obvious relationship between the words "Japanese," "students," and "anime". It also shows that Japanese culture, popular culture, and language heavily discussed. In addition, Figure 3.2 shows a sub-relationship of "literacy" between "students" and "anime", suggesting that students who watch anime and achieve higher levels of proficiency in Japanese.

VI. Conclusion
It has been claimed by some scholars that anime and manga are becoming "culturally odorless" and this has contributed to their massive growth in the United States. I would like to draw the following conclusion based on my findings: Anime and manga are not becoming culturally odorless as originally proposed. They are actually filled with aspects of Japanese culture that cannot be completely ignored. The presence of Japanese culture has only helped to increase their growth and popularity. As the three works focus on Japanese anime and manga, the words "Japanese," "anime," and "manga" are the most commonly used words as expected. However, the word "culture," another common word amongst the three articles, is very important to note as it heavily relates to the three most common words and shows just how important culture is when discussing anime and manga. Although the three articles discussed different aspects of anime and manga, culture was constantly a necessary area to cover.

References

Brienza, Casey. 2009. "Books, Not Comics: Publishing Fields, Globalization, and Japanese Manga in the United States." *Publishing Research Quarterly* 25 (2): 101–17. doi:10.1007/s12109-009-9114-2.

Cubbison, Laurie. 2005. "Anime Fans, DVDs, and the Authentic Text." *Velvet Light Trap* 56: 45–57.

Fukunaga, Natsuki. 2006. "'Those Anime Students': Foreign Language Literacy Development through Japanese Popular Culture." *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* 50 (3): 206–22.

Levi, Antonia. 2013. "The Sweet Smell of Japan: Anime, Manga, and Japan in North America." *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication (John Benjamins Publishing Co.)* 23 (1): 3–18. doi:10.1075/japc.23.1.02lev.

Price, Shinobu. 2001. "Cartoons from Another Planet: Japanese Animation as Cross-Cultural Communication." *Journal of American & Comparative Cultures* 24 (1–2): 153–69.

Now You're Playing With Culture: Tradition, Urbanization, and Pokémon

Gerald A Demattia

I. Paving Over Nature and Tradition

The intrusiveness of economic growth didn't just consume daily life, it also transformed the landscape of Japan in a way that displaced cultural tradition. Salarymen commuted to the innumerable high-rise buildings that sprung up all around the country. The nuclear family moved into housing developments that increase in size with every project. When the inner cities couldn't contain the economic miracle, it was redirected. In 1962 the Japanese government enacted the spatial development plan.[1] The goal was to extend the economic opportunities of Japan's urban centers to less developed regions via roadway expansion projects. These new highways turned rural areas into a sprawling suburbia. From 1950 until 1960, the suburban population of Tokyo rose from 10 to nearly 23 million.[2] A concrete tidal wave that cashed down on nature. Urbanization's disregard for the preservation of the environment had a profound impact on a centuries old tradition of nature appreciation.

From a contemporary point of view, it is difficult to understand how urbanization had adversely effected Japanese culture. Twenty some odd years into the lost generation, millions of tourists travel through Japan to marvel at a country considered to be unique blend of new and old. In Tokyo, Senjo-ji, a Buddhist temple constructed in 645 AD, is a mere twenty-minute walk from Sky Tree, an observation tower erected in 2015. Nevertheless, the oldest Buddhist temple in the city does not rest in the shadow the tallest tower in the world. Structures like these are at the heart of a unique urban landscape that has become an integral part of modern Japan's institutionalization of tourism. For the many tourist that did not experience the rapid urbanization of the high growth period, it is impossible to recognize the amount of nature and tradition lost in the creation of Japan's modern skyline.

Many of Japan's most prolific game developers were raised during the high growth period. This cohort witnessed Japan's urban transformation first hand. Thus, a distinct nostalgia for what was lost inspired the development of numerous games in the eighties and early nineties. The medium became an opportunity for these developers to react to economic growth and urbanization in Japan. One such individual was Satoshi Tajiri, the creative visionary behind Pokémon. Tajiri was born in 1964, and raised in Machida, Tokyo. Tajiri's hometown was subject to considerable development throughout the high growth period. This experience inspired the creation of Pokémon. A game designed to reconstruct a relationship with nature unique to the pre-urban era. Studying Tajiri's childhood is key to understanding how economic growth and urbanization effected Japan and influenced Japanese game design.

---

[1] Hirito Arakawa, *Japan's Urbanization and Growth Process*, Power Point Presentation
http://www.habitatsummit.org/pdfs/Presentations/Day%202/Special%20Session%20-%20Making%20Cities%20Work%20for%20Growth/Hiroto%20Arakawa.pdf
[2] Wendell Cox, "The Evolving Urban: Tokyo," *New Geography* Originally Posted Jun. 20, 2012
http://www.newgeography.com/content/002923-the-evolving-urban-form-tokyo

2. Tajiri Satoshi, Insects, Cities, Anxieties, and Pokémon

Despite being part of the Tokyo metropolitan area, Machida was relatively rural by modern standards. When describing his hometown, Satoshi stated there were, "rice paddies, rivers, forest. It was full of nature."[3] In Tajiri's early years, Machida had yet to be swallowed by the ever-expanding concrete of Tokyo. It was in rural Machida that Tajiri would develop his first, and perhaps his most important hobby, bug catching. Tajiri spent his time capturing various bugs such as fireflies and stag beetles. He would trade and care for all kinds of insects. Satoshi wanted to grow up to be an entomologist, a person who studies insect life. This obsession garnered him the nickname, "Dr. Bug".[4] Although a seemingly unflattering name, Tajiri's fascination with insect life is not bizarre within the context of Japanese culture.

Japan's love for insects is a fondness older than the word's first novel. The Tale of Genji was authored in the early 11th century by Murasaki Shikibu, a lady-in-waiting of the imperial court. This is quintessential piece of Japanese literature is regarded as an accurate account of aristocratic life in Heian period. The novel often depicts a strong relationship between human and insect life. An analysis by Fredrick Lieberman, explains how the novels allusions to nature's orchestra, of which insects were an integral part, intensified the emotional timbre of human scenes. [5] Lieberman's assessment is legitimized by the profound appreciation for insect life exhibited by major and minor players in the plot. This is most evident in Chapter 38, The Bell Cricket. Genji is enamored by the clarity and brightness of the bell cricket swinging into song, even suggesting at one point that the night should be dedicated admiring its beauty.[6] A Similar affection for insect is displayed by a wide variety of characters. Suggesting it was not characteristic exclusive to Genji, but deeply cultural.

This admiration for insects transcended Heian culture to become a modern form of nature appreciation. Murasaki Shikibu's artistic use of nature's orchestra to cultivate emotion has transcended literature. The modern sphere of popular culture –film, anime, video games – utilizes the hum of cicada to bring a scene to life. Human interaction with insect life that mirrors Murasaki Shikibu's 11th century account is easily observable. Articles dedicated bug to catching were often featured children's magazines such as *Kodomo Kagaku* and *Guruzu Kurabu*. The ubiquity of these publications coupled with the difficulty of maintaining traditional pets in small Japanese homes transformed bug keeping into a popular form of child's play. The past time became so popular department stores in highly urbanized areas, where insects are scarce, began to sell various types of beetles for children to raise. A child can buy a male rhinoceros beetle for about 800 yen. Smaller sized females are about 300 yen.

By the late 1960s, the tradition of Bug catching in Tajiri's rural Machida was in contention with Japan's rapid urbanization. Nestled between the Chou and Tomei expressways, Machida was webbed with major roads. And Yokoyama line ran through the city's heart, a vital track in what

---

[3] Tim Larimer, "The Ultimate Game Freak," *Time* Originally Posted Monday, Nov. 22, 1999
http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2040095,00.html
[4] Tim Larimer, "The Ultimate Game Freak," *Time* Originally Posted Monday, Nov. 22, 1999
http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2040095,00.html
[5] Lieberman, Fredric. "Music in "The Tale of Genji"." *Asian Music* 2, no. 1 (1971): 39-42.
[6]

Japan Rails called the Tokyo Mega Loop. For the millions that flocked to metropolitan area in search of work during the miracle economy, Machida was a commuter paradise. Equity in the real-estate steadily grew, which inspired the number of housing projects. In 1971, an urban planning coalition formed by Tokyo Metropolitan Government broke ground on the construction of a new residential development named Tama New Town. Stretching roughly nine miles east to west and two miles north to south, this massive planned suburb straddled Tama, Inagi, Hachioji, and Machida. And with a population of nearly two hundred thousand, Tama Newtown is the largest housing development in Japan.[7] Similar housing complexes sprung up all over the area, swallowing Machida in the concrete of urban Tokyo. Today, The Bureau of Labor officially recognizes Machida's success as a municipality only in relation to its role as a commuter town for the city center.[8]

Thoroughly engaged with bug catching, Tajiri witnessed first-hand the profound impact Machida's urban transformation had on the tradition's interconnected relationship with the environment. "When development started taking place, and as it grew, all the insects were driven away.", Said Tajiri "every year they would cut down trees and the population of insects would decrease. The change was dramatic. A fishing pond would be come and arcade center."[9] The new urban landscape made interacting with nature an impossibility. Consequently, child's play was redirected away from appreciation for nature and onto a love for products. Conscious of the cultural change, Tajiri had stated, "places to catch insects are because of urbanization. Kids play inside their homes now, and a lot had forgotten about catching insects. So had I".[10] Tajiri's self-referential comment was an allusion to his growing interest in the many arcades that now occupied the fields he once scoured for bugs

3. Changing Hobbies with The Times
By the time Tajiri had become a teenager his interest had shifted from adventuring out into the tall grasses of Machida to catch bugs to frequenting the towns growing number of game centers. Tajiri was a self-proclaimed, "*Space Invader* junkie".[11] In 1978 he would spend time emptying his 100 yen coins into Taito's now classic arcade shooter, a cultural phenomenon that took Japan and Tajiri by storm. The Japanese video game boom of the early 1980s would only serve to further lure children away from old traditions.

Eventually, his love for games manifested itself in the form of a self-published fanzine called *Gamefreak*. Satoshi has said one special issue on the *Zabius* game sold an upwards of 10,000 copies at 300 yen each. Today, issues of Gamefreak are collector's items. Denizens of Akihabara often gawk at their insanely high asking prices, wishing they could own a piece of Tajiri Satoshi and *Pokémon's* history. While producing the magazine, Gamefreak staff members began studying

7

[8] Bureau of industrial and labor affairs, Machida Chamber of Commerce and Industry,
http://tokyoritti.jp/english/special/now/ui72b20000004s5k.html
[9] Tim Larimer, "The Ultimate Game Freak," *Time* Originally Posted Monday, Nov. 22, 1999
http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2040095,00.html
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.

programming languages. Suddenly, the lackluster life of guerilla journalism could no longer satiate their love for video games, they wanted to make their own.

In 1989 *Gamefreak* was reformed into a video game development company. Tajiri and Gamefreak's first title, *Quinty,* a *bizarre* puzzle game, was published by Namco and released on the Nintendo Famicom. The game was successful and was eventually distributed in America for the Nintendo Famicom's American counterpart, the Nintendo Entertainment System, under the name *Mendel Palace*. Less than a year after the release of *Quinty*, Tajiri would catch a glimpse latest innovation in video game hardware, the Nintendo Game Boy.

Pokémon was born the moment Tajiri saw the Gameboy. "The communication aspect of Game Boy. It was a profound image to me.", Tajiri explained "It has a communication cable. In Tetris, the handheld's first game, the cable transmitted information about moving blocks. That cable got me interested. I thought of actual living organisms moving back and forth across the cable."[12] The living organism Tajiri envisioned were most likely bugs. In the same interview Tajiri said, "everything I did as a kid was rolled into one – that's what Pokémon is"[13]

Pokémon was to be a roleplaying game. The game's core concepts revolved around players adventuring out into nature reminiscent of rural japan to catch and raise abstract creations. The idea was to repackage essence of bug catching into a video game so that the urban generation may experience a tradition that was rapidly fading. Beginning as an idea wrapped in nostalgia, *Pokémon* slowly transformed into a playable game. On February 27th, 1996, Gamefreak released Pocket Monsters: Red and Green. The painfully long five-year development cycle paid off. Pokémon mania infected Japan. And as with all things Japan loves, *Pocket Monsters* received its own portmanteau: *Pokémon*. In less than two years, the hysteria spread to America.

4. Pokémon: Now and Then
Pocket Monsters may be small in stature, but the success of the Pokémon franchise has been monolithic. From a numeric standpoint, the achievements are staggering. The Pokémon moniker appears on 77 games that have sold a combined total of more than 300 million units.[14] The Pokémon Trading Card Game has shipped more than 21.5 billion cards to 74 countries in 10 languages.[15] Just this past year, the animated series exceeded 1000 episodes, and is currently in its 20th season. Furthermore, this broad media mix produced a cultural footprint that is unquantifiable, but not beyond comprehension. One need to only look at the world-wide adoration for series mascot, Pikachu.

Lightheartedly referred to as the Japanese Mickey Mouse, the cheap joke is the only cultural analogue that conveys Pikachu's international popularity and significance. The character's popularity inspired the Japanese government to employ the mascot as a cultural ambassador. Pikachu has since appeared alongside Super Mario, Doraemon, and Prime Minister Shinzo Abe

---

[12] Tim Larimer, "The Ultimate Game Freak," *Time* Originally Posted Monday, Nov. 22, 1999
http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2040095,00.html

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

during the closing ceremony of the 2016 Rio Olympics to promote the 2020 summer games in Tokyo. More recently Pikachu has appeared alongside his pokémon friends – Charizard, Bulbasuar, Squirtle – to promote Japan pitch for the 2025 World Expo. The concept video details a massive development project that will take place on Yumeshima Island located in the heart of the Osaka bay

Unfortunately, the incessant merchandizing, marketing, and branding that has become the foundation for the media empire that is Pokémon has inexplicitly blurred Tajiri's artistic intent. Ironically, the economic machine that demands monetary growth has made the deluge of Pokémon branded merchandise and products the focus. Consequently, these distractions have made it difficult to recognize Pokémon for what it was initially intended to be, a nostalgia inspired reaction to the economic growth's rapid urbanization of rural Japan in the post-war period. An analysis of the earliest games in the Pokémon series reveals how Tajiri manifested anxieties about urbanization into an interactive experience that attempted that to reimagine the environment, tradition, and spirit of bug catching in pre-urban Japan.

5. Pokémon
The foundation of *Pokémon's* reimaging of bug catching in pre-urban Japan is cemented in visual callbacks to life as it was in the 1960s. For instance, the player's avatar is prominently featured on the title screen; however, his clothing is not contemporary to time in which the game was developed. The oversized baseball cap, two-toned jacket, and the backpack visible in combat, were typical of young boy's fashion in the late 60s and early 70s. Similar styles are observable in movies from the two decades. The evocation does not end with clothing; the bold fashion statement preludes a setting reminiscent of rural living.

The original pair of Pokémon games are set in a fictionalized version of the Kanto region. The world map, accessible via an in-game menu, is a pixel perfect representation of the Kanto plain with easily identifiable landmarks such as the Boso peninsula. However, the cities of Tokyo, Saitama, Chiba, and Kanagawa are inexplicitly missing. These urban centers are replaced with towns – Masaru, Nibi, Tokiwa – that are now, among fans, established locales in the world of Pokémon. What is important to note about these fictional communities is how their layouts mirror the organization of rural neighborhoods in Japan. Generally, Japanese towns in the countryside are arranged into a tight concentration of homes. These communities are then separated from one another by large swaths of forest, fields, and rice paddies. Masaru, Nibi, and Tokiwa follow a similar pattern, each is separated from one another by routes that run through forests and tallgrasses. In designing the world of Pokémon, Tajiri essentially over laid the communal arrangement of rural Kanto atop the Tokyo metropolitan area.

The rural setting allowed the act of collecting Pokémon to better emulate the experience of catching bugs among nature. Players capture wild Pokémon by adventuring out into the tallgrass that grows on the routes between each of the game's many towns. Later on in the series, the creatures that populate these areas are sometimes outlandish abstractions of real world animals. However, the original *Pokémon* titles were thoughtful in their pacing, showing the player the familiar before the abstract. The maiden journey into the tallgrass is full of encounters with Pokémon that resemble what Tajiri may have found in a rural park while catching bugs. First meetings included, Caterpie, Rattata, Butterfree and Pikachu. Bizarre names aside, the inspiration

14

for these Pokémon were obvious. A caterpillar, rat, butterfly, and field mouse. For all intents and purposes, the exploration of nature inherent in bug catching was recaptured in the design, pacing, and inhabitants of this fictionalized Kanto region.

While the setting was integral in emulating the bug catching experience, it was the roleplaying mechanics that imbued *Pokémon* with emotion. For Tajiri, the excitement of bug catching was in the, "tiny discoveries".[16] There were 150 Pokémon; therefore, 150 tiny discoveries to make. Fervor surrounded these findings via a roleplaying mechanic known as random encounters. Previously appearing in *Wizardry*, *Ultima*, and *Dragon Quest*, random encounters were used to add tension to exploration. While exploring, enemies were hidden from sight. At random the player would be drawn into battle against an opponent that was randomly chosen from a collection of enemies. Will it be something weak? Or challenging? That didn't matter in Pokémon, the wild creatures were not meant to be difficult. Random encounters were no longer about tension, but anticipation. Will the pokémon that appears be something the player add not seen before? This was important, as the marketing suggest, "gotta catch em all!".

Roleplaying mechanics were also utilized to foster a connection between the player and the pokémon they were catching. A vital element of bug catching as a form of child's play was the caretaking aspect. Naming and raising insects was a part of this process. For that reason, every pokémon could be given a name chosen by the player. There may be an endless number of randomly generated pokémon wandering among the digital tallgrass, but the naming process declared one as irreplaceable from the rest. This initial bond is furthered through training, the in-universe term for the RPG grind. Players can level up their pokémon and watch them grow stronger. This creates a sense of appreciation for the player's pokémon as they perform skillfully in combat against others. Pokémon uses lines of code on a lifeless cartridge to recreate a relationship between people and a living organism that was impossible to have in an urban environment.

---

[16] Tim Larimer, "The Ultimate Game Freak," *Time* Originally Posted Monday, Nov. 22, 1999
http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2040095,00.html

Persecution of Christianity in Tokugawa Japan

Rodney Chin

1. Introduction-

The title of this research paper, "Twice Forsaken" is a reference to how the martyred Japanese Christians were abandoned first by their god (as author Shusuku Endo purports), and secondly, by the prime minister from whose political instincts necessarily (as will be explained later) publicly refrains from bringing up their memory. In an interesting turn of events during the past decade, Japan has increasingly sought to fortify its relationship with the Vatican, and it is not unreasonable to ask: 'why is this partnership important to the country?' and 'why hasn't the government made efforts to admit its role during the persecution (a goodwill gesture that would be welcomed by the Vatican)?'

There has been an increased interest with this episode of Japanese history; media, popular sentiment, and the Vatican have made efforts to memorialize the Christian victims, most of whom still remain without identity. This recognition, however, has encountered many obstacles, most of which is political in nature. Therefore, my argument will be to prove that the recent interest in the persecution is due only by non-political entities within Japan.

Though the martyrs had remained steadfast to their faith by enduring unspeakable torture and ultimately death, the government has yet to make any substantial admission of its responsibility. Until this happens, the martyrs have yet to be absolved of their wrongful conviction. While the Vatican has been committed with memorializing the sacrifices of these Christians by building museums (in April of 2018, memorial wing was built inside of the Oura Church in Nagasaki) and other establishments that commemorate their lives [1], the government has been conspicuously reticent, seeking only to strengthen its relations with the Vatican in order to maneuver for diplomatic leverage.

In examining historical events, especially controversial topics such as Japan's early relationship with Christians, it is tempting to look at these topics through our present-day values and perspectives. Unfortunately, by taking this approach, it fails to take into consideration the circumstances and rationale that motivated Japan toward maintaining its national security, and this creates a limited and biased account of the story. Hence, to understand the then prevalent Japanese attitude toward Christianity, it is important to examine the background of the times that made the persecution possible. It is not as simple as labeling something *right* or *wrong*, but more importantly to learn how various factors were set in motion into what the German traveler Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716), called "the most cruel persecution and torture of Christians ever witnessed on this globe." [2]

---

[1] "Japan museum tells story of Nagasaki's hidden Christian martyrs" www.christiantoday.com/article/

(April 10, 2018)

[2] Michael Hoffmann "Christian missionaries find Japan a tough nut to crack"
www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/12/20/national/history

The persecution of Christians during Japan's Tokugawa era was a purge that, until Shusuku Endo's best -selling novel *Silence,* was published, had been virtually unknown. Certainly, until the book came out in 1966, most discussions that centered around the estimated deaths of thirty- thousand Christians in Japan during 15th and 16th century Japan were usually confined within the Vatican community or the scattered descendants of these martyrs. Endo's novel, which is a fictionalized account of a Portuguese priest whose search for his mentor brings him to a dangerous time and place for Christians, has served to inspire further interest and studies related to the *Kirishitan* episode. Endo has stated that "In Japanese history, there is no more attractive or interesting period than that of the Kirishitan especially as it makes us think about what it is to be a human being."

The circumstances involving Edo period Japan's deliberate attempt to eradicate not just Christians, but Christianity itself in Japan, is entirely unique among the annals of history, as far as the wholescale decimation of a specific people are concerned; unlike the more publicized Holocaust in Nazi Germany, the killing fields of Cambodia, or the genocide in Rwanda, the Shogunate's targeting of Christians was based neither on an ethnic- cleansing stance or a government-inspired campaign fueled from irrational hate. Furthermore, Christians during the Tokugawa persecution were not automatically condemned to death, for they were given the choice to renounce their faith (invariably by the practice of "fumie" in which an image of Jesus or the Virgin Mary imprinted on a black would be stepped on) and live, or proclaim their loyalty to Jesus and become martyrs[3].

The Tokugawa's targeting of Christians was the direct result of the country's ruthless campaign to secure its borders while restricting foreign influence during a time of internal instability. A unique feature in this dark chapter in Japanese history is the contemporary government's perceived indifference toward acknowledging this. Hence, the objective of this research paper is to A) trace the circumstances that led to Christians being targeted, B) argue that while the Vatican and various Japanese media have been dedicated toward memorializing the victims, prime minister Shinzo Abe has made efforts to strengthen ties with the Vatican *without acknowledging the persecution,* and C) contend that Japan's recent promotion for pro-Vatican relations is an attempt to acquire western support, especially during its tumultuous relationship with China.

2. In The Beginning
During the mid 16th century, Japan had been engaged in many civil wars [4]. The country's regions had been ruled by different daimyo warlords, and the instability within the landscape (also known as the Sengoku era) made Japan susceptible to the influence of Christianity. Competing daimyos understood that to gain any type of advantage over each other, modern weaponry would be necessary, something the Portuguese merchants provided; however, Christianity was another commodity that came hand-in-hand with the religion, and the daimyos sought them out to gain favor with the traders. Essentially, the daimyos' ulterior motive for embracing foreign spiritual influence was to gain modern weaponry to fight domestically.

The first missionary to arrive in Japan was Francis Xavier (1506-1552) in 1549. Two years earlier, he had baptized an ex-samurai named 'Anjiro' who had been banished after murdering another person; Anjiro is the first recorded Christian convert in Japan, and his story of forgiveness for his

---

[3] Shusaku Endo *"The Final Martyrs"* (New Directions Publishing Company, New York 1994) p. 26
[4] Christal Whelan, *"The Beginning of Heaven and Earth-The Sacred Book Of Japan's Hidden Christians"* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1996), p. 4

sin soon spread throughout Japan. Xavier had spent time in Asia (notably India) as an evangelist, and believed that by converting China first, this would enable Japan to follow [5]. But when Xavier landed in Kagoshima, Japan was in such a fragmented state that he would find himself too busy to leave. The emperor Ogimachi (1517-1593) believed that the proliferation of Christians and their allegiance to God over the shogunate might threaten the nation; however, he was willing to tolerate this so long as the influx of western weapon technology was maintained as well. Indeed, the years between 1549-1639 are referred as the "Christian Century" of Japan since the political landscape and social conditions made it a propitious time for the religion to flourish [6].

The period of relative bliss between Japan and Christians would start to falter when the country underwent a transition of unity under Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (who had unified Japan), and the first Tokugawa Ieyasu. These leaders understood that the greatest threat to successfully maintaining a singular Japan was a devout religious sect, and the most popular religion in the land, Buddhism, would be the first target; Christianity, with its fast-growing converts, would be the second. Though formal prohibitions were issued across the land and endorsed by the leaders, these acts were not strictly enforced, and the result was that Christians continued to thrive[7]. Nagasaki became a home to such a large Catholic community that it was considered "The Rome of Japan", and when even the daimyos were starting to convert in large numbers, the shogunate realized that this could be a problem.

Not surprisingly, this relative calm would end under the Ieyasu Shogunate, a man who was considered a cruel ruler. When the protestant English trader, Will Adams, informed him that the Catholics had been the cause of Europe's plights, and had aspirations of colonizing Japan, Ieyasu had determined that harsher methods would have to be implemented, and in 1614 an edict was declared that outlawed the religion, making it a capital offense. Ieyasu's third son, the shogun Hidetada, was even more ruthless, executing hundreds of converts, while effectively eliminating Christianity.

Though there were many instances of mass executions during the persecution, there are two events which stand out for their brutality and fear it inspired. Present day scholars and researchers invariably point these out when the topic of Kirishitan is discussed. The first one is The Twenty-Six Martyrs. On February 5, 1597, twenty-six Christians were crucified and pierced with spears, a punishment which Hideyoshi Toyotami felt would frighten Christians into renouncing their faith. The second event which occurred was when Hidetada's eldest son, Iemitsu, became shogun (he inspired over two hundred years of unrelenting persecution). During his rule, the Shimabara Rebellion in 1637 took place, popularized by the fact that a sixteen-year old named boy named Amakusa Shiro led over thirty thousand dissatisfied peasants (most of them Christians) in an uprising against over one hundred thousand soldiers under the local daimyo, Matsukura. It is one of the few times during Tokugawa era that peasants had revolted against the state; the main cause was due to their anger over an unfair taxation by Matsukura to finance the building of his castle.

---

[5] Patricia Ebrey and Anne Walthall, *Modern Eat Asia: From 1600*, 3rd ed. (Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2014), 267-290

[6] WM. Theodore De Barry, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann "*Volume Two-Sources of Japanese Tradition 1600-1868* (Columbia University Press, 2006) p. 129

[7] Ibid p. 130

Vastly outnumbered by the troops, the peasants nonetheless fought valiantly for over three months until they were either killed or surrendered (those who surrendered, such as Shiro, were then executed). This story of courage and valor has since inspired Japanese media and playwrights to memorialize the revolt, and today it remains a popular tourist attraction.

Under Iemitsu's rule, not only did thousands of Christians perish, but he also instituted the practice of sakin kotai, in which all the daimyos were required to spend time in Edo; this was Iemitsu's way of strengthening loyalty and unity; his desire for maintaining order would also lead to the borders of Japan to be closed to all foreigners, except for some Dutch and Chinese merchants, since they were only interested in trade.

By the time the Meiji government had been established, an estimated thirty thousand Christians had been mercilessly eradicated, and those that escaped the carnage were forced to go into hiding, most notably the Goto Islands, which is about sixty miles from Nagasaki.

3. Japan's Current Position On Past Transgressions

The contemporary Japanese government has a track record of unrepentant dialogue with regards to their past conducts. Whereas nations such as Russia, Germany and the United States have afforded (at least in part) monetary compensation or publicly condemning its own roles in its violations of human rights, Japan has remained stubbornly defiant; however, this does not mean that Japan does not wish to advance its relationship with the Vatican. This can contributed to a number of reasons:

A: Political Usefulness- As a highly developed country, Japan would be taking a large risk if it were to make a comprehensive admission of guilt to the victims of the Christian persecution. The rationale is that for Japan to admit its role, there would have to be some political or economic gains, and this is a fundamental reason why the Japanese government still has not come to terms with their deeds of the second world war [8]. Essentially, there is very little to be gained for Japan in making a public apology, and by doing so, its welfare would not necessarily be advanced with other countries. Though Japan is notorious for its staunch opposition to offering apologies, it is not unheard of: in 2015, the government contributed one billion yen to assist the surviving South Korean "comfort women", yet in January of this year, South Korea attempted to obtain another apology, stoking the ire of Abe [9]. David Tolbert, the president of the International Center for Transitional Justice, wrote that "... the apology was motivated primarily by political expediency rather than a genuine admission of past wrongdoing," [10].

B: Opportunity- Japan will take advantage of other nations' missed opportunities; Japan is not the only Asian country with a history of resistance toward Christianity (though it was the first to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican in 1942 [11]) and other foreign religions. China is one

---

[8] Kirk Spitzer "Why Japan is still not sorry enough" http://nation.time.com/ (December 2012)
[9] Tomohiro Osaki "Abe rejects Seoul's new call for apology on 'comfort women' issue"
www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/01/12/national/politics-diplomacy
[10] David Tolbert "Japan's Apology to South Korea shows what Public Apologies Should (Not) Do:
www.huffingtonpost.com (January 29, 2016)
[11] Gerard O'Connell "Pope Francis highlights friendly relations between Japan and the Holy See"
www.americamagazine.org/content/dispatches/japan-and-holy-see (May 20, 2016)

such country. Even today, the Chinese government continues with its disregard for recognizing and accepting a Christian influence that is viewed with skepticism and ambivalent feelings. In fact, earlier this year the Chinese Communist Party leader, Xi Jinping, proclaimed that the Catholic Church would be tolerated in China only so far as the government retains the ability to regulate and appoint the local Catholic hegemony, and there are reports that an agreement deal is nearing to a close [12].

The rivalry between Japan and China is of increasing concern not only in the region, but also globally. The territorial disputes concerning the Senkaku Islands is the latest of recent unrest between the two countries, and the potential for military conflict concerns the United States. Both sides claim these islands as their own, and talks between the nations have had little effect [13]. Thus, while China continues to offer only conditional endorsement of the Vatican and its bishops, Japan has been more assertive with its dialogue. Indeed, since the Emperor visited the Vatican in 1993, the Japanese royal family has followed suit, as Prince Akishino and his wife made a private visit back in 2016; if this is interpreted as being a symbolic gesture, then Prime Minister Abe's official visit in 2014 made it significant [14]. But is this really a step toward reconciliation for Japan?

Pope Francis seems to be caught in the middle of the China-Japan rivalry, and the global community has noticed. Is the Vatican, in its attempt to expand Catholicism in both countries, unknowingly being used as a pawn as the Asian power-houses jockey for power? Certainly, this would not be an unfamiliar scenario, since the Vatican has already been coerced into playing the role of mediator in regards to the Falkin Island dispute between Argentina and the United Kingdom [15]. Furthermore, while Japan has made strong efforts in nurturing ties with the Vatican, Pope Francis has articulated his admiration for the Japanese people, and is also contemplating a visit to Japan sometime this year [16]. No such intentions or praise was afforded to China. In fact, many people have criticized the pope's accommodating manner, and concessions to a country that formally broke off diplomatic relations with the Vatican in 1952 [17]. The Chinese government's view suspicious views on the church is eerily similar with that of the Tokugawa era, as evidenced by an official who remarked that "I think there is no religion in human society that is above the state." [18]

---

[12] 1. George Wiegel "An Even Worse Vatican Deal with China" nationalreview.com/2018/03/vatican-catholic-church-china-nominating-bishops (March 24, 2018)

 2. Ben Blanchard "China-Vatican deal seen soon, Chinese paper says" www.reuters.com (March 29, 2018)

[13] Michael Hart "Japan Stands Firm on Senkaku Islands in Far China Sea" www.geopoliticalmonitor (September 16, 2016)

[14] 1. www.americamagazine.org/content/dispatches/japan-and-holy-see

 2. "Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's Visit to the Vatican" www.mofa.go

[15] Rosie Scammell "Pope Francis holds sign urging Falkland Islands dialogue causes a stir" www.ncronline.org/news/vatican/ (August 21, 2015)

[16] Salvatore Cernuzio "I try never to look at myself in the mirror, vanity is always lurking." www.lastampa.it/2017/12/18/vaticaninsider

[17] Steven Lee Myers "China Insists on Control of Religion, Dimming Hope of Imminent Vatican Deal" www.nytimes.com/2018/04/03/world/asia/china-catholic-vatican.html

[18] Ibid

4. Conclusion

Based on my analysis of the Japanese government's current attitude toward the Vatican, as well as the international communities' reaction to this attitude, I have deduced that it is a carefully manipulated tactic that is essential for Japan's relationship with China. Though the Cold War ended in 1991, the economic growth (and threat) of China has necessitated Japan to initiate its own cold war, but the difference lies not so much in the geographic domains, but in the fact that the Vatican is now being recruited to supplement Abe's conception of realpolitik. However, the involvement of the Vatican, desired as it may be, does not currently warrant the government to issue a formal apology for its persecution of the early Christians, an act which might set a precedent to making other apologies for its past.

Regardless of what future developments may reveal, one thing remains certain: the martyrs will not receive the dignity or forgiveness that had been denied them in life; if it was the government's quest for national security which led to their unfortunate deaths, it would also be in the name of 'national security' that compels it to establish ties with the church. If Prime Minister Abe continues to ignore the potential merits that a public apology would have, then the thirty thousand martyrs will truly have been twice forsaken.

Bibliography

Blanchard, Ben "China-Vatican deal seen soon, Chinese paper says" www.reuters.com (March 29, 2018)

Cernuzio, Salvatore "I try never to look at myself in the mirror, vanity is always lurking." www.lastampa.it/2017/12/18/vaticaninsider

De Barry, Theodore WM./Gluck, Carol / Tiedemann, Arthur E. "*Volume Two-Sources of Japanese Tradition 1600-1868* (Columbia University Press, 2006)

Ebrey, Patricia/Walthall, Anne, *Modern Eat Asia: From 1600*, 3rd ed. (Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2014)

Endo, Shusaku "*The Final Martyrs*" (New Directions Publishing Company, New York 1994)

Hart, Michael "Japan Stands Firm on Senkaku Islands in Far China Sea" www.geopoliticalmonitor (September 16, 2016)

Hoffmann, Michael "Christian missionaries find Japan a tough nut to crack" www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/12/20/national/history

Myers, Steven Lee "China Insists on Control of Religion, Dimming Hope of Imminent Vatican Deal" www.nytimes.com/2018/04/03/world/asia/china-catholic-vatican.html

O'Connell, Gerard "Pope Francis highlights friendly relations between Japan and the Holy See" www.americamagazine.org/content/dispatches/japan-and-holy-see (May 20, 2016)

Osaki, Tomohiro "Abe rejects Seoul's new call for apology on 'comfort women' issue" www.japantimes.co.jp/news (January 12, 2018)

Scammell, Rosie "Pope Francis holds sign urging Falkland Islands dialogue causes a stir" www.ncronline.org/news/vatican/ (August 21, 2015)

Spitzer, Kirk "Why Japan is still not sorry enough" http://nation.time.com/ (December 2012)

Tolbert, David "Japan's Apology to South Korea shows what Public Apologies Should (Not) Do: www.huffingtonpost.com (January 29, 2016)

Whelan, Christal *"The Beginning of Heaven and Earth-The Sacred Book Of Japan's Hidden Christians"* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1996)

Wiegel, George "An Even Worse Vatican Deal with China" nationalreview.com/2018/03/vatican-catholic-church-china-nominating-bishops (March 24, 2018)

Perspective in the Ruler of Legitimacy of the Late-Ming Dynasty and Tokugawa Period: Historical Evaluation Thorough Poems with Qian Qianyi (1582–1664) and Rai Sanyo (1780-1832)

Xiang Wei

1. Introduction

The most well-known historian in Edo Period 江户时代（1603-1867）, Rai Sanyo 賴山陽（1780-1839）proposed a new   perspective on how to perceive history.   His concept that the leader should the prime consideration of all conduct and loyalty of every person. When threatened from outside, the most crucial concern is to 'honor the king and drive off the barbarians'（尊王攘夷）.   He expressed this idea in his book, *"Nihon Gaishi" 日本外史.* This principle was based on an ancient Confucianism thought which originated in China's Warring Stated Period (475BC-221BC). During the Meiji period 明治时代（1868-1912）, some historians' reflecting on the relationship between the royal family and the Japanese nation based on Rai Sanyo's perspective. This perspective supports the idea that Japan was a nation that should be ruled by the Tenno, the emperor. [1]Thus, when Meji historians thought about how to write about and evaluating history, they gave priority to the Sanyo's perspective that although Bankufu 幕府 was the had controlled the government for a long time, Tenno was the only legitimacy Japanese ruler.

Rai Sanyo was not only an outstanding historian, but also a talent poet. In the late Qing Dynasty, Tan Xian 谭献（1832-1901）, an eminent literature scholar and historian, commented Sanyo's writing in his *"Fu Tang Ri Ji" 复堂日记.* Tan Xian said ：''Rai Sanyo's writing resembled the ancient Chinese style even better than the classical Chinese scholar, poet and Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) historian, Wang Shizhen 王世贞（1526-1590）.[2]'' Sanyo's writing reflects the perspective of "honor the king and drive off the barbarians". For instance,   in his corpus *"San'yō ikō" 山阳遗稿,* Rai Sanyo was against the feudal system of the Han dynasty （202BC-220）.   He praised the emperor Guangwu 光武帝（5BC-57）for establishing a policy which prevented the tributary countries from threatening the Han 汉 royal court .[3] Also, in Rai Sanyo's collection of poetry *"San'yō shishō" 山阳诗钞,* some of his Kanshi 汉诗 discussed Chinese history, especially the late Ming period. When Sanyo described the fall of the Ming dynasty and government officials in his poems, he always expressed his grief for the fall of Ming dynasty. Even he avoided to use any metaphor [as was typical in poetry of that era] and chose to express his views directly.

Chinese scholars during the Early Qing Dynasty (1644-1800) also wrote poems and articles

---

[1] Steben, Barry D. "RAI SAN'YO'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY AND THE IDEAL OF IMPERIAL RESTORATION." *East Asian History* no. 24 (December 2002): 117-170.

[2] Tan, Xian. *Futang ri ji: [8 juan].* Beijing: Xue yuan chu ban she, 2006.

[3] Rai, San'yō. *San'yō ikō.* [Osaka]: Gogyokudō, 1841.

to express their sentiments for the fall of Ming dynasty. During this period, Qian Qianyi 钱谦益 （1582-1664） was a leader among Chinese scholars group. In his Chanting poetry 咏史诗 and articles, Qian Qianyi announced that as a Ming government official he would refus to serve the Qing dynasty. Before 1646, Qian Qianyi had a similar history perspective of the fall of Ming with Rai Sanyo. Both of them supported government officials should resist invaders because the Qing army were barbarians. Unlike the Ming emperors, the rulers of the Qing came from northeast China where lacked of Confucianism civilization. In the Chinese classic *"Shanhai Ching"* 山海经, the northeast was described as a wasteland. In Confucian view, the region established by the barbarians is unlawful.

But just decades later, Qian Qianyi changed his opinion. He became a Qing government official immediately after the Ming fell in 1646. Since then, Chinese Confucian scholars, represented by Qian Qianyi, began to think that the Qing government was a legitim dynasty and not barbarian.

Since Qian Qianyi's time, the Japan and China had different methods for writing and evaluating of history. Chinese scholars agreed that the Qing rulers were legitimate. The Japanese, however, disagreed with this idea that loyalty to the ruler predominates everything. For instance, in Chinese historical documents *"Qing Shigao"* 清史稿, the Qing emporer was described a great ruler who was famous for his etiquette. But theJapanese document *"Qing Chap Quan Shi"* 清朝全史, the author said that the Qing dynasty was established by barbarians and lacked of Confucian culture.[4]

2. Life of Rai Sanyo （赖山阳） and Qian Qianyi （钱谦益）

Rai Sanyo was born into a literary family. His father Rai Shunsui 赖春水 （1746-1816） was a master of Shushigaku 朱子学. Rai Sanyo started to write poems when he was only 13-years-old.[5] With the encouragement of Shibano Kuriyama 柴野栗山 （1736-1807）, a well-known Japanese scholar especially in Kanbun 汉文 and Shushigaku, Rai Sanyo started to learn history. When he was 22 years old ,Rai Sanyo began to write *"Niho Gaishi"* and it took him 25 years. This book recorded Japanese events from Genpei Kassen 源平合战 period（1180-1185）to the early Tokugawa Bakufu 德川幕府 period.Rai Sanyo suffered a serious disease in 1821 but continued to write *"Nihon seiki"* 日本政记 . After he completed *the book*, he passed away peacefully at a banquet. A brief biography of Rai Sanyo recorded just before he died, he told his gue24sts he needed a short rest. Then he stopped breathing.[6]

As a master of history，Rai Sanyo and his *"Niho Gaishi"* have had a great influence on historians. In the preface of *"Jūtei Nihon gaishi"*, [7] Kubo Tenzui 久保天随 （1875-1934）

[4] Inaba, Iwakichi. *Qing chao quan shi*. Taibei: Zhonghua shu ju, 1960.
[5] Habe, Shuichi. San'yō shōden. Ōsaka: Hōgyokudō, 1878
[6] Rai, Habe, Shuichi. San'yō shōden. Ōsaka: Hōgyokudō, 1878 San'yō, and Tenzui Kubo. *Jūtei Nihon gaishi*. Tōkyō: Hakubunkan, 1910.
[7] Rai, San'yō, and Tenzui Kubo. *Jūtei Nihon gaishi*. Tōkyō: Hakubunkan, 1910.

indicated that: "the perspective of honoring the King And Drive Off The Barbarians 尊王贱霸 was the aim for the Meji revolution." [8]

His *"San'yō shishō"* included two types of poems, consisting of Chanting poetry, historical poetry . Sanyo's writing exhibited (or showed) characteristics of Chinese traditional poetry. On the one hand, his poems conformed to the standard of Chinese Metrical Poetry 格律诗.[9] On the other hand, the emotion, the viewpoint and the way of expression in his poetry were completely in accord with traditional Chinese Confucian thought. In his poem *"Writing emotion"* 书怀, Sanyo said: "I was a homesick person and want to protect my country."孤灯依约思乡梦，一剑苍茫报国心。It expressed a similar identical moral with a poem recorded in Chinese Confucianism poetry

> *"The Book of Songs"*
> *Let us gather the thorn-ferns, let us gather the thorn-ferns*
> *The thorn-ferns are now springing up.*
> *When shall we return? When shall we return?*
> *It will be late in the [next] year.*
> *Wife and husband will be separated,*
> *Because of the Xian-yun .*
> *We shall have no leisure to rest ,*
> *Because of the Xian-yun 猃狁（a barbarian nation which attacked China ）* [10]

These two poems implied that the both the authors want to served their country then go return to the hometown. He also praised the fact that people engaged into a war to protected the country. For instance, in his another poem *"Visiting the tomb in Nanhezhou 楠和州"*, he said: 'Heaven and earth will understand the loyalty of the general ' 左将忠贞天地知. Loyalty was a significant part of Confucianism. *"Analects: Confucius eight Yi"*[11] said: "people should be loyal for leader." 臣 事 君 以 忠 . Thus, Rai Sanyo agreed with Confucianism and focused on loyalty.

In the evaluation of later generations, Qian Qianyi did not focus on loyalty as much as Rai Sanyo. He born in late Ming dynasty period and suffered Ming's dead. He took the imperial examination and received an imperial candidate offer in 1610. In the same year, he became a Ming government official who served emperor Wanli 万历（1563-1620）. After decades years, Emperor Chongzhen 崇祯（1622-1644）,the last ruler in Ming dynasty, suicide in a mountain behind the Forbidden City 紫禁城. The Ming government ministers had been divided into two Parties, one of the Party was led by Ma Shiying 马士英（c.1591-1646）

[8] Rai, San'yō, and Tenzui Kubo. *Jūtei Nihon gaishi*. Tōkyō: Hakubunkan, 1910.

[9] Metrical Poetry was created After The northern and Southern Dynasties （c.420-589）and matured in Medieval of Tang Dynasty. It requires the number of words in each poem to be equal and the pronunciation complementary. Also, each poem at least has 4 sentences and at most 8 sentences.

[10] Shih ching, and Arthur Waley. *The Book of Songs*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1954.

[11] Confucius, and David Hinton. *Analects*. 2014.

<superscript>12</superscript> which recommended Zhu Yousong 朱由崧<superscript>13</superscript> （1607-1646） to throne.　　Another　Party was led by Qian Qianyi and Shi Kefa 史可法 （1601-1645） which recommended Zhu Changfang 朱常淓<superscript>14</superscript> （1607-1646）　to be the new emperor. Finally, Zhu Yousong declared himself as Ming's new emperor in 1644, Nanjing. Qian Qianyi feared that Ma Shiying and Zhu Yousong will revenged him. Then he wrote a letter to praised Ma Shiying was a loyal subject in order to continue to be a government official in late Ming dynasty.

The late Ming dynasty was defeated by the Qing Dynasty in 1645. In the same year, Qian Qianyi announced that he will submit to the Qing dynasty. He had ever planned to restore the Ming dynasty secretly during he served Qing government but the plan failed. After Qian Qianyi passed away in 1644, the emperor Kangxi 康熙（1654-1622）ordered some ministers to add his story into *"Er Chen Zhuan"贰臣传*, a biography which recorded minsters who has served both of Ming and Qing dynasty.　　That means the Qing government thought Qian Qianyi was a traitor to the Ming dynasty.

Although Qian Qianyi abandoned his loyalty for Ming dynasty, he still an excellent litterateur and poet. About hundreds of years after he dead, many scholars regarded his writing was a model for litterateurs. Gu Youxiao 顾有孝 （1619-1689） ,a literary critic and poet in early Qing Dynasty, edited a collection of poetry " *San Da Jia Shi Chao"* 三大家诗钞 in Kangxi 康熙 period. This book consisted of three outstanding poets which included Qian Qianyi, Wu Weiye 吴伟业 （1609-1672） and Gong Dingzi 龚鼎孳 （1616-1673） . Since then, Qian Qianyi became a leader among early Qing poets group.

4. Similarities and differences between Rai Sanyo and Qian Qianyi's historical poems.

Qian Qianyi has a complex characteristic but easy to distinguished. On the one hand, he abandoned his loyalty for Ming government. On the other hand, he always in sad mood when he recalled the Ming dynasty. Before the Ming government ruined, Qian Qianyi was significant member of Donglin Party 东林党 <superscript>15</superscript> . Thus, his corpus was easy to circulate in society. Even though the Ming dynasty was extinct scholars still paid close attention to his writings. One of Qian Qianyi's corpus *"Suffering Sea"* 苦海集 had recorded fourteen poems which titled *"Jia Shen Duan Ynag Gan Huai"* 甲申端阳感怀. <superscript>16</superscript>These poems presented Qian Qianyi's emotion when he recalled the day Ming dynasty ruined

In the first poem, Qian Qianyi said: "The Ming Dynasty has never been insulted by the

---

<superscript>12</superscript> Ma Shiying was a Ming government official who was evaluated as a mercenary traitor. In the political struggle of the late Ming dynasty, framed the general who fought against the Qing dynasty. After the fall of the late Ming Dynasty, he died in a battle against the Qing army

<superscript>13</superscript> Zhu Yousong was a cousin of emperor Chongzhen

<superscript>14</superscript> Zhu Changfang was an uncle of emperor Chongzhen

<superscript>15</superscript> A Minster group in Ming dynasty which consisted of Confucianism scholars

<superscript>16</superscript> Qian, Qianyi, Zeng Qian, and Zhonglian Qian. *Muzhai za zhu*. Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 2007.

enemy in the past three hundred years. Thus, I broke the table to express my sadness. I sharpen my sword to express my hatred."三百年来未历过，如何阙下起风波。无端拍案心俱碎，有恨填胸剑欲磨。This poem described Qian's sense of shame and he wanted to expressed his angry and responsibility for Ming dynasty. In the fourth poem he said: "The people wept because of the fall of the Dynasty. All the heroes in the country were ashamed of it."普天苍赤皆涕流，四海英雄尽厚颜。Also, he swore that he would fight against the enemy forever. He not only pitied the peasants, but also hated the timid officials who surrendered to the enemy. In Qian Qianyi's hometown Jingkou 京口 and 维扬 area (Jiangsu 江苏 province in Modern China), Confucianism scholars had organized a literary community to resisted invaders. They wrote articles to represented the fall of the Ming dynasty and the brutality of the enemy, then spread them in the society.[17]

About the demise of the Ming Dynasty, Rai Sanyo had narrated it in his *"San'yo¯shisho"*. In Rai Sanyo's *"the poem for Ni Wenzheng's 倪文正 artworks"*, he praised Ni Wenzheng suicided when the Beijing fall. Ni Wenzheng, a Ming government official and a renowned calligrapher, named Ni Yuanlu 倪元璐(1593-1644. Wenzheng was his posthumous title due to his literary talent. After Li Zicheng 李自成 lead the insurrectionary army to captured the city of Beijing, Ni Yuanlu suicide in order to indicated his loyal for Ming. Ni Yuanlu's behavior conformed Confucianism thought in Ming dynasty: Confucianism scholars should suicide immediately when the Dynasty ruined.[18] Therefore, Rai Sanyo Recognize and praised this perspective. In another poem *"Land of the Rising Sun"*, Rai Sanyo said: "The Qin 秦 and Han 汉 dynasty was destroyed by enemy. But the sun still rises in the East China Sea." In this poem, the 'Sun' means Japanese royal family and the 'land of the rising sun' means Japan. Because in Sui 隋（c.581-618）dynasty, Prince Shotoku 圣德太子（575-622）wrote a letter to emperor Ynag 隋炀帝 （569-618）: "I am the emperor who lived in a land where the sun rises. You are the emperor who lived in a land where the sun set." Thus, Rai Sanyo thought that only a lasting royalty can guarantee the prosperity of the country.

In summary, Rai Sanyo has a similar perspective in betraying country with Qian Qianyi. Their poems both indicated that they were saddened by the downfall of the Ming dynasty. Both Qian Qianyi and Rai Sanyo believed that government officials should fight against the invaders. Like Mengzi 孟子，a great Confucianism philosopher in Warring period, had said: " Confucians should have perseverance" 士有恒心. They all expressed this perspective in the poems.

But after decades years, Qian Qianyi surrendered to the Qing dynasty and became an official of the Qing government. In this period, his perspective of demise of the Ming dynasty had changed. In his poem *'Watching chess in Nanjing'*金陵后观棋[19]，Qian Qianyi said: "I can

[17] Wakeman, Frederic E. *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

[18] Zhao, Yuan. *Ming Qing zhi ji shi da fu yan jiu*. Beijing shi: Beijing da xue chu ban she, 1999. P47

[19] Qian, Qianyi, Zeng Qian, and Zhonglian Qian. *Muzhai you xue ji*. Shanghai: Shanghai

only watch it on the side because I am an Oldman. The world just like a game of chess." Qian Qianyi gave up to keep his loyalty for Ming dynasty. Because he felt he was incapable of changing the facts. He was no longer felt shame and angry for the fall of Ming. Instead, he thought the political world was too complex and difficult to understand. Thus, he just wanted to be a bystander who lived in a peaceful environment.

Not only Qian Qianyi, but other Confucianism scholars also accepted the rule of the Qing dynasty. For instance, Wang Long 王鑨（1607-1672）, a government official in Qing dynasty who had participated the imperial examination in the Ming dynasty. In his corpus *"Red Chinese herbaceous peony "红药坛集*, Wang Long indicated he was very sympathetic to Qian's experiences and he appreciated that Qian Qianyi yield to Qing dynasty. He thought who become a ruler was not important.'[20]

The symbol of Confucianism scholars began to obeyed the new government was they reduced the criticisms of Qian Qianyi gradually. In Early Qing period, scholars despised Qian surrendered to the Qing government. Even some of them estimated Qian Qianyi as a political stooge 走狗 and he was not entitled to be called a Confucian scholar. After two decades years, in the middle of Qing dynasty, scholars began to defended for him. In *"a chronicle of Qian Qianyi's life"*[21] 钱牧斋先生年谱, the edition announced that Qian Qianyi did not voluntarily surrender to the Qing Dynasty. He plotted to restore the Ming-line.

But Rai Sanyo always insisted to criticize traitors and proud of Japanese imperial household has never changed. In his poem *"Reading biography of Zheng Ynaping 郑延平"*, Qian Qianyi was described a ugly clown who wear the Qing robes.

Qian Qianyi and Rai Sanyo's major contribution of Change of thought among Confucianism scholars

With scholars have accepted the Qing government gradually, some of them began to agree with Qian Qianyi's behavior. After became the Qing government official, they were also expressed the loyalty for Qing government. For instance , a historian in Qing dynasty named Ji Liuqi 计六奇（1622-? ） praised the second emperor Shunzhi 顺治（1638-1661） in Qing dynasty was a great emperor who has established a stable dynasty.[22] Why many Confucianism scholars accepted and praised the rule of the Qing dynasty?

On the one hand, when some scholars strongly opposed to worked for the new government, they also observed that other scholars who worked in the Qing government were doing a revolution they wanted to completed but failed in the Ming dynasty. For some outstanding

gu ji chu ban she, 1996.

[20] Wang, Long, and Long Wang. *Dayu ji: 27 juan ; Zhu tong ren chi du : 1 juan*. Si Ku Wei Shou Shu Ji Kan. 1998.

[21] Jin, Hechong, and Ling Gu. *Qian Muzhai xian sheng nian pu*. Beijing Shi: Beijing tu shu guan chu ban she, 2006.

[22] Ji, Liuqi. *Ming ji bei lüe : [24 juan] ; Ming ji nan lüe : [18 juan]*. Zhongguo Ye Shi Ji Cheng. 36. 1993.

scholars, this was a good chance to completed their political blueprint. Especially, some new policy in Qing government such as Jingyan 经筵 and Bo Ci Hong Ke 博辞鸿科 offered a perfect environment to Confucianism scholars played their talent. Thus, more and more scholars were attracted by Qing's policy. On the other hand, in Confucianism concept, the barbarians and civilizations were distinguished by ethics(or culture) 礼. *"The Book of Document" 尚书* has recorded t: "If a barbarian country accepts Chinese culture, it will be a part of China."夏礼则夏. In other words, the difference between the high-level civilization nations and the lower level civilizations was if you observed Chinese culture.   With the Qing Dynasty absorbed more traditional Chinese culture, Confucianism scholars began to recognized the Qing dynasty.

Rai Sanyo did not recognize the Qing dynasty and he was full of contempt for the Qing dynasty because Manchu 满族 were barbarians. In his poem *: "Reading biography of Zheng Ynaping 郑延平"* he said: "Scholars bureaucrat succumbed to the Barbarians." The Barbadians means Qing dynasty. He also praised the unchanged of the Japanese royal family and criticized the mutable of the Chinese royal family. In *the poem for Ni Wenzheng's artworks"*, Rai Sanyo said: 'Would you like to take a sea-voyage eastward? Japan can protect heroes.' In this poem, 'take a sea-voyage eastward' means go to Japan. Thus, Rai Sanyo wanted invited Ni Wenzheng to Japan if Ni were alive because he thought the political environment in Japan was better than China. China as a great Confucianism country in Asian area cannot even protect national heroes like Ni Wenzheng.

After Qian Qianyi and Rai Sanyo's period, China and Japan had taken different approaches to the evaluation and writing of history. They also have a lot of disagreements about the definition of legitimacy rule. Chinese believed that if barbarians accepted Confucianism culture, the barbarian emperor could be the legitimacy ruler. But Japan believed that if a country wants to keep their legitimacy rulers, they should keep the royal family at first.

5. Conclusion

China had never been a unitary multinational state before the Late Qing Dynasty. [23] Although the Yuan Dynasty was a barbarian ruler (China as a part of the Mongolian Empire), it still had absorbed and retained most of Chinese Confucianism culture. Weiyang and Jingkou's Confucianism scholars refused to recognized the Qing dynasty because the Manchu ruler showed more barbarian culture in the early Qing dynasty such as Queue Order 剃头易服令. This order forces all Han 汉 people to change their hair style and clothing to made them looked like Manchu people.

Confucianism scholars were hatred for Qing government who has destroyed traditional Chinese culture. Therefore, capitulations like Qian Qianyi was criticized by most people because scholars thought he had never protected the dignity and tradition culture of Ming dynasty. As time goes by, with the Manchu government becoming more and more like the

---

[23] After the emperor Qian Long 乾隆（1736-1796） put down the rebellion in Xinjiang 新疆,China started to be a multinational state.

Han government, scholars thought Manchu helped them to served amounts of Chinses culture especially when the Qing government decided to edited *"Complete Library of Four Branches of Books"* 四库全书[24] When Confucianism scholars found a sense of cultural belonging, they forget the barbaric identity of Qing dynasty. That is a significant reason for the change of Qian Qianyi himself and other people's comments on him.

Rai Sanyo as a master of Sinology in Japan, has followed the rules of Confucianism: showing extremely loyal to the Emperor and becoming a gentleman. 事君尽礼. Japan's social and historical development has been in a relatively peaceful state. In terms of geography and ethnicity, Japan could not suffer so much invasions from barbarians. Therefore, the ideal world of Rai Sanyo can be realized in Japan. Japanese scholars did not need to seek s way to identify legitimacy ruler because the whole ruling people in Japan grew up in the Confucian cultural environment. So, the writing and evaluation of history in Japan and China are finally different, even though they all inherit Confucian culture.

Reference

Steben, Barry D. "RAI SAN'YO'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY AND THE IDEAL OF IMPERIAL RESTORATION." *East Asian History* no. 24 (December 2002): 117-170.

Rai, San'yō, and Shōin Gotō. *San'yō shishō.* [Japan]: [publisher not identified], 1800.

Zhao, Yuan. *Ming Qing zhi ji shi da fu yan jiu.* Beijing shi: Beijing da xue chu ban she, 1999.

Hong, Huawen. *Yan xing lu quan bian.* 2013.

Ge, Zhaoguang. *Xiang xiang yi yu: du Li chao Chaoxian Han wen yan xing wen xian zha ji.* 2014.

Ji, Liuqi. *Ming ji nan lue: [18 juan]. Ming ji bei lue : [24 juan].* Beijing: [publisher not identified], 1671.

Qian, Qianyi, Zeng Qian, and Zhonglian Qian. *Muzhai Chu xue ji.* Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 2009.

---

[24] A series of books that contain almost all Chinese ancient books which edited in Qian Long period.

Japanese's View of Brain Death and
How it Influences their View of Organ Donation and Transplant

Leemu Madison

1. Introduction

Twenty plus years after Japan legalized organ transplants from brain-dead donors, and eight years after the law the revised to allow children to donate organs, organ transplant and donation is still viewed with skeptic and disapproval. The Japan Organ Transplant Network ("Japan Organ Transplant Network - Donors and Transplants Data" n.d.) recorded only 96 organ donations in 2016 and 338 organ transplant. For that year Japan had 593 patients waiting for hearts, 321 for livers and 11,965 for kidneys. The organ donation rated in Japan falls short of what is required to meet patients' needs, with only 0.7 donations for every million people who die. In other advanced countries, the numbers are significantly higher; the US is 28.5 per million, South Korea is 8.4 and the highest being Spain with 39.7 per million.

Japan initially had one of the strictest organ donation laws in the world. Before 2010, donations were made only if an individual indicate their willingness to donate organs in writing. Even then, family members could restrict donation regardless of an individual decision to donate. This created a limited pool of people who could donate organs for transplant. The current laws have widened the pool of possible donors, but there is still a reluctance and resistance to organ donation and transplant in Japan.

In recent years, attitudes have begun to change. A survey done by NHK found that young Japanese were much more likely to donate organs. However, there is a shortage now. Being one of the medically advanced nations in the world, Japan's society reluctance to accept organ donation and transplant has left many Japanese with little to no chance of survival. This research will explore the attitude of Japanese culture towards organ donation and transplant by analyzing Japan's view of brain death.

This paper will use the qualitative method to analyze scholarly articles that discuss and explore the low rates of organ donation and transplant in Japan. This paper will also research Japanese's view of brain death, and how that view affects the decision of organ donation in Japan.

2. History and Current Status of Japan's Organ Donation Law

Japan first encounter with organ donation and transplant occurred in 1968; a year after the world's first heart transplant took place in South Africa and the same year of the brain death emerged as the new death in the medical field. Dr. Juro Wada unsuccessfully performed a heart transplant from a brain donor; the recipient died eight days later. He was accused of illegal human experiment and poor judgment and served jail time. The "Wada incident" as it is now infamously referred to, defined the current status and attitude towards Organ donation and transplant in Japan (ISHII and HAMAMOTO 2009; Soyama and Eguchi 2016; Egawa et al. 2012; Mizuno and Slingsby 2007; McConnell 1999).

It was not until the 1980s that Japan began to take steps in establishing criteria for brain death and an organ donation system. However, the Japanese people had a very negative attitude towards such

medical practices. Brain death and organ donation debates in Japan continued until 1997. By then most of the developed world had made massive advancement in this field. For example, the U.S. had had about 2000 heart transplant from brain dead donors throughout the 1990s, but Japan had none (Lock 1995).

The Japanese Organ Transplant Act for brain dead donation got introduced and passed in 1997, and a strict donor policy was put into effect. The act required living written consent from possible donors, and at least two family member consent even before donation can be allowed. The act also prohibited donation from those 15 and younger regardless of willingness to be donors (Mizuno and Slingsby 2007; Egawa et al. 2012; McConnell 1999; ISHII and HAMAMOTO 2009; Asai, Kadooka, and Aizawa 2012). This law was unique in the brain death laws, but it also created problems that still affect Japan's organ donation system to date.

In 2001, Masahiro Morioka identified three main criticism of the 1997 organ transplant law. First, the law made the definition of death inconsistent with most of the world's definition of death. For example, in Japan, a patient is considered dead if he or she has no brain function, filled out a donor card, and there is no family objection. However, that same person could be considered alive either if there is no donor card or the family objects. His second criticism was that law created a shortage of organs available for transplant in Japan. Lastly, He argued that that restriction on organ donation from those under 15, means children in Japan in need of organs had no chance of survival unless families could afford to travel to other countries (Cashen n.d.; Egawa et al. 2012).

Throughout the late 90 to early 2000, organ donor in Japan was lower than any other developed country in the world. By 2010, only 115 brains dead donation had occurred in Japan resulting in 89 heart, one heart-lung, 87 lungs, 95 liver and 84 pancreas transplants in Japan (CITE). Due to shortages of organs and with hundreds of thousands of Japanese patients in need of organ transplant, most turned to other countries in the hopes of receiving organs. A 2006 survey; reported in an article from The New Economy, confirmed that at 500 plus Japanese patients received transplants from abroad (Cashen 2017.). To meet the demand for donations, Japan amended the 1997 law in 2010.

Under the 2010 revision, the age restriction was removed, and organs donation can happen either a written consent from the donor or if there is no written consent the family can give consent for organ donation. Th revision did increase the number of donations and transplant occurring in Japan, but society view of brain death and organ donation is still a contentious topic in Japan. The Japanese society still seems to have mistrust and rejection of organ donations, which is evident in that organ donation and transplant in Japan remains relatively lower than other countries.

3. Brain-dead
In most of the world, "death is understood as an unassailable division between nature and culture, an easy to define endpoint about which there can be a good deal of understandable emotion, but little argument as to its actual moment of occurrence" (Lock 1995). While people have different cultural realities to death, everyone knows what death is. However, over the last couple decades, a new death has become widely accepted within the medical society.

In 1968, the Ad Hoc Committee of the Harvard Medical School, unilaterally declared that those who were in a state of "irreversible coma," or were diagnosed to have "brain death syndrome" could be declared dead. Previously, death was medically declared once a person's heart stops beating. However, even that became a problem with the advancement of technology; since machines could now be used to keep the heart beating even after there is no brain activity. The committee had given two reasons for reducing death. The first reason given was that the redefinition of death helps the burden placed on patients, families, and hospital resources. The second was that the previous definition of what death was created controversies for organ donation and transplant (Lock 1995, 1996).

The new concept of the brain death syndrome was widely criticized and challenge. In North America for example, many court cases where brought against doctors for declaring patients brain dead and removing their organs for transplant. Many within the medical community argued that the idea of reusable commas leave too many droughts as to whether and when such person should be considered dead. However, the new definition of brain dead, offered a uniformity and clarity to this point. In her 1995 article, Margeret Lock argued that many physicians liked the idea of uniformity of death as it not only protects themselves, it also created a source of organs for transplant from those considered to be brain dead (1995). However, this argument seems to suggest that the concept of brain death was developed just for the doctor's benefit and to facilitate organ donation. Some scholars suggest that by confirming brain death, hospitals can withdrawal therapies that can no longer conceivably benefit an individual who has died (Smith 2012).

In most Western cultures, there is a broad consensus that death of the brain, irreversible consciousness, and irreversible loss of the ability to breathe equals death. However, those conditions need further definition to help understand brain death. These definitions were developed by 1981 Uniform Determination of Death Act (UDDA) in the USA and have remained the standard for brain death around the world. According to Smith:

> Brain death is defined in two different ways based on 'whole' brain and 'brainstem' formulations. The UDDA relies on the whole-brain formulation and states that 'an individual who has sustained irreversible cessation of all functions of the entire brain, including the brain-stem, is dead.' This forms the standard for the determination of death by neurological criteria in the USA and most European countries and is based, in theory at least, on confirmation of the loss of all brain function including, but not limited to, the brainstem. Unlike whole-brain death, the diagnosis of brainstem death, such as that used in the UK, does not require confirmation that all brain functions have ceased, rather that none of those functions that might persist should indicate any form of consciousness. The determination of brainstem death requires confirmation of the 'irreversible loss of the capacity for consciousness combined with the irreversible loss of the capacity to breathe' and relies on the fact that critical components of consciousness and respiratory control, the reticular activating system and nuclei for cardiorespiratory regulation, reside in the brainstem (Smith 2012).

While most of countries follow the USA and UK lead when it comes to the clinical diagnosis of brain death, there are still many conversations surrounding the criteria for determining brain death and if an irreversible loss of brain activities is enough to be considered death.

4. Japan's View of Brain Death

In 1997, Carmen Radecki and James Jaccard wrote an article on the psychology of organ donation. In it, they provide an analysis of the what influence an individual and the family wiliness to donate organs. According to them, "beliefs are the determinants of the attitude towards organ donation or the extent to which one feels favorable or unfavorable towards organ donation. Attitude, in turn, influences the stated willingness to donate organs where stated willingness reflects whether or not one intends to commit to posthumous organ donation" (Radecki and Jaccard 1997). For this paper, we will focus on the beliefs; individually, the religious beliefs and cultural beliefs, that eventually led to whether one intends to be donor or not.

Religion has a profound influence in Japan, so strong that it dictates the Japanese attitude towards life, as well as their beliefs about death (McConnell 1999). Confucian, Shinto, and Buddhist thought heavily influences the traditional view of death and the body in Japan. Various aspects of that view are particularly relevant to how many in Japan view brain death and organ transplant. While usually practice separate in other parts of the world, the typical Japanese family will practice a combination of these over the course of the life. A standard way is that "Japanese are born Shinto, grow up Christian and die Buddhist." while most Japanese do not attend regular religious services, death is surrounded by deeply-felt beliefs, ritual, and experience.

The Shinto tradition emphasis purity and considers things like illness and death to be impure. Because of this, the tradition rarely deals with death (Mizuno and Slingsby 2007). Shinto is native to Japan and focuses on "the preservation of life, the promotion of good health, and the harmonization with nature following the kami, or Japanese divinities" (McConnell 1999). The Shinto tradition believes in the notion of freshly dead. This is a period during which the soul of the dead is thought to hover between the world of the living and the world of the ancestors (Becker, n.d.). This notion of freshly dead also means that a person can physically feel what happens to their physical body after death and the dead can come back to bless or curse (McConnell 1999).

It is a prevailing sentiment in Japan that the body of the deceased should be treated as a person, there is great importance in treating the body with respect. This is primarily because a heart stopped death is perceived as the soul separating from the body or a normal death. However, within the Shinto tradition, " a warm death or an unseen death is considered natural". It is thought that for such a premature or unfortunate death, a more respectful funeral is necessary for that soul to rest in peace (Asai, Kadooka, and Aizawa 2012). Since brain death is usually unexpected, it makes it impossible for family members to hasty decide donating organs; especially in cases where the patient left no verbal or written consent on donating his or her organs. It should also be mention that this reluctance to organ donation is not necessarily unique to Japan.

In Buddhism, there is a universal belief that death is a natural part of the process of life and it is not the end. As Braun and Nichols explained, Buddhist view this world to be flawed and painful because the worldly attachment that people have. If a person faithfully follows the teaching of the Buddha, his or her soul can be reborn in a better place. Therefore, the last thoughts and moment

of a person before his or death is important because it determines rebirth (Braun and Nichols 1997). In the Buddhist faith and tradition, the family usually gather at the deathbed immediately following the death of a relative to perform the *makeuragyo* or pillow *sutra*. This ensures that the last through the deceased have is that of gratitude and peace (Braun and Nichols 1997).

The Confucianism doctrine also has a significant influence on Japanese belief of death. Originally from China, this doctrine teaches and encourages the suppressing individual desires and want in other to benefit humanity. However, Buddhism also warns against harming one's body. The body is considered a sacred gift from one's ancestors and by keeping it whole and away from injury and wound is the beginning of filial piety.

The Japanese reluctance of accepting brain death as the stander for death also comes from the fact that many Japanese believe that hospitals and medical doctors treat brain death as death in a hasty effort to donate organs. Again, this sentiment is not unique. What is arguably unique is that Japan is considered one of the most medically advanced nations in the world. Many still fear the intentions of doctors and medical officials. Many brain-dead patients have been reported to show ongoing physical activities that make it wrong to say that they are dead. Most Japanese give the example of the warmth of the patient skin or the slight movement of limbs, and more importantly, pregnant women who give birth whiles brain dead (Morioka 2001). If all of these physical activities usually associated with being alive can occur in brain-dead patients, doctors need to continue to treat these patients like any other.

The combination of Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucian make Japan's belief of death very ambiguous; yet, there is a great value given to death and the after rituals. The strong support of these religious institutions could mean that the Japanese cannot accept 'brain death" to be regarded as a person's death. For one, the definition does not reflect Japanese view of death. Also, many people believe that the essence of the human life lies not in self-consciousness and rationality but is based on what is within (V. Keown 2018). However, Japan has made great strides to increase organ donations. With the help of private citizens and organization, the government is dedicated to changing the Japanese population minds about organ donation. With the continuous growth of the aged population, an increase is needed now instead of later.

Bibliography

Asai, Atsushi, Yasuhiro Kadooka, and Kuniko Aizawa. 2012. "Arguments against Promoting Organ Transplants from Brain-Dead Donors, and Views of Contemporary Japanese on Life and Death." *Bioethics* 26 (4): 215–23. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8519.2010.01839.x.
Becker, Carl. n.d. "Aging, Dying, and Bereavement in Contemporary Japan," 26.

Braun, Kathryn, and R Nichols. 1997. "Death and Dying in Four Asian American Cultures: A Descriptive Study." *Death Studies* 21 (July): 327–59. https://doi.org/10.1080/074811897201877.
Cashen, Emily. n.d. "Time Is Quickly Running out for Japan's Transplant Tourists." Accessed May 18, 2018. https://www.theneweconomy.com/business/time-is-quickly-running-out-for-japans-transplant-tourists.

Egawa, H., K. Tanabe, N. Fukushima, H. Date, A. Sugitani, and H. Haga. 2012. "Current Status of Organ Transplantation in Japan." *American Journal of Transplantation: Official Journal of the American Society of Transplantation and the American Society of Transplant Surgeons* 12 (3): 523–30. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1600-6143.2011.03822.x.

ISHII, Masami, and Mieko HAMAMOTO. 2009. "Bioethics and Organ Transplantation in Japan*" 52 (5): 4.
"Japan Organ Transplant Network - Donors and Transplants Data." n.d. Accessed April 3, 2018. https://www.jotnw.or.jp/english/2016data.html.

Lock, Margaret. 1995. "Contesting the Natural in Japan: Moral Dilemmas and Technologies of Dying." *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 19 (1): 1–38. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01388247.
———. 1996. "Displacing Suffering: The Reconstruction of Death in North America and Japan." *Daedalus* 125 (1): 207–44. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20027360.

McConnell, John Robert. 1999. "The Ambiguity about Death in Japan: An Ethical Implication for Organ Procurement." *Journal of Medical Ethics* 25 (4): 322–24. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27718329

Mizuno, Toshinari, and Brian Taylor Slingsby. 2007. "Eye on Religion: Considering the Influence of Buddhist and Shinto Thought on Contemporary Japanese Bioethics." *Southern Medical Journal* 100 (1): 115–17. https://doi.org/10.1097/SMJ.0b013e31802e65a6.

Morioka, M. 2001. "Reconsidering Brain Death: A Lesson from Japan's Fifteen Years of Experience." *The Hastings Center Report* 31 (4): 41–46.

Radecki, C. M., and J. Jaccard. 1997. "Psychological Aspects of Organ Donation: A Critical Review and Synthesis of Individual and next-of-Kin Donation Decisions." *Health Psychology: Official Journal of the Division of Health Psychology, American Psychological Association* 16 (2): 183–95.

Smith, M. 2012. "Brain Death: Time for an International Consensus." *BJA: British Journal of Anaesthesia* 108 (suppl_1): i6–9. https://doi.org/10.1093/bja/aer355.

Soyama, Akihiko, and Susumu Eguchi. 2016. "The Current Status and Future Perspectives of Organ Donation in Japan: Learning from the Systems in Other Countries." *Surgery Today* 46 (4): 387–92. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00595-015-1211-6.

V. Keown, Damien. 2018. "Buddhism, Brain Death and Organ Transplantation," May.

Japan Economic Assistance to China during Deng Xiaoping Era (1978 - 1997)

Hyejin Jeong

1. Introduction

Japanese assimilation policy was an essential policy for Japanese government to colonize Korea. They had several kinds of assimilation polices such as vocational education systems, suppression of vernacular newspapers, and the language policy. We can find the motives why Japanese people practiced assimilation policies from their long tradition. Unlike China and Korean, Japan actively accepted Western cultures and technology to advance Japan. However, they kept their tradition at the same time because they thought Western ideas are inapplicable.

"Japanese modernization departed from "Japanese sprit, Wester talent" (和魂洋才) and moved toward being obsessed with the Japanese spirit (Lee, Ha & Sorensen, 211)". Even though Japanese people accepted the Western cultures and technology, they still thought that preserving Japanese tradition is important. They tried to enrich Japanese cultures during the colonial period (1910-1945) with the Western advanced skills. Therefore, they forced Korean to become Japanized inevitably.

Japanese assimilation policy in the 1910's was different from the ones in the 1920's. Their policies in the 1910's was more brutal and oppressive. They banned Korean language at school. Also, Korean students were discriminated by the curriculum. These suppressive Japanese rules in the 1910's provoked the Korean Independence Movement in 1919 by Korean people. After that, the Japanese government realized that their assimilation polices failed to incorporate Korean people into Japanese circle. Therefore, they reformed their policies in a more moderate and practical way. The assimilations in 1920's gave Korean people more freedom strengthen their rights. The discriminated polices were also abolished.

In this research, I will first examine the characteristics of assimilation polices in the 1920's. And then, by researching the main agents of group and group members' occupations and social status, I could find the practicality of this assimilation policy. And I will talk about the places where the observation group went, so I can understand what they learned. Lastly, the reports from the observation showed the effectiveness of the policy.

This research has substantial importance because of the relative impoverishment of this field. In addition to that, this polices are different from the other total eradicating assimilation policies such as name changing policy. By researching different aspect of history offered you an opportunity to have impartial views. As Korea and Japan become more sensitive on Japanese colonial period, it is very critical to have objective view to approach and solve the problems in a fair and peaceful way.

2. Methodology

This research will study the characteristic of Japanese assimilation policy in comparison with the 1910's. For the primary sources, I used Korean vernacular newspaper from 1920's to explain they had a chance to write an article under Japanese colonial rule The Korean d Japanese newspaper in the 1920's has the assessment on the observation group. Also, the

Japanese sources shows that how they tried to understand to Korean cultures in the 1920's. Another Japanese historical record by Government-general of Korea shows their actions to encourage Japanese people to learn Korean language.

The American academic sources were relatively objective which are about the Japanese assimilation policies indicate the characteristics of the assimilation policies in the 1920's. Also, it shows distinctions of assimilation policies from the 1910's. It included both Japan side and Korean side. For the Japan side, it how Japanese people response to the assimilation policy. The Korean academic sources are inclined to keep negative viewpoint about the colonial period. They mainly reflect sensitive issue of Japan's colonial legacy. I used Korean scholars' viewpoints for the firs decade of colonial rule.

2. The Japanese Assimilation Policy in the 1910's

The first decade of assimilation policy in the 1910s was under military rule (*budan seiji*). During the first 10 years after their annexation of Korea, Terauchi Masakake (1910-1916) was the Governors-General who had concentrated power to govern Korea with the suppressive assimilation policy. "For example, the Japanese had their civil officials, and even teachers, wear swords in order to create an atmosphere of terror while not hesitating to jail or put to death the Korean who resisted colonial rule (Pak, 381)". They saw Korean people as peripheral subjects and they applied discriminatory policies in many areas such as education system, the press, and linguistic limits. "The government-general, which monopolized publicly circulated messages over this initial decade of rules, filtered its message of Korean and Japanese unity through the textbooks used in the schools and the newspapers (Caprio, 82)". During this period, the main purpose of the assimilation policy was superficial instead of having specific and practical planes. Their major purpose was to maintain public order because they had expected that there would be the opposing part of Japanese rules. Hence, Japan increased the number of gendarmerie in Korea.

A lot of Japanese people didn't expect that it would be time-consuming tasks to assimilate Korean people because Koran and Japan had been sharing many cultural aspects such ad religion, history, and language. In addition to that, Japan was more advanced than Korea in the aid of Western cultures. Hence, Japan thought Korean were inferior and it would be an easy process to assimilate Korean. "Ukita Kazutami, editor of the magazine *Taiyo* (The Sun) predicted that the Japanese would have relatively few problems in assimilating the Korean people, and that the relationship would evolve peacefully, like the relationship between England and Scotland, rather than become estranged, as with England and Island (Caprio, 82)".

The discriminatory education system was its curriculum. Korean students had different curriculum from Japanese students. Also, most teachers were Japanese, and they only spoke Japanese language. "Unlike the six-year elementary schools of Japan, the "common" (elementary) schools in Korea provided only four or five years of schooling. Also, whereas Japan's secondary schools offered five years of training, Korea's secondary schools, called "higher common schools", offered only four years for boys and three years for girls (Pak 381)".

The curriculum emphasized on benefits of colonization and loyalty to the Japanese rules. To brainwash from the young generations were important so they initiated it from the education policy. "The ultimate objective of education, as enshrined in the Educational Ordinance for Korea issued in 1911, was the "making of loyal and god subjects" in accordance with the

38

imperial Rescript on Education (Pak, 381)". Segregated schools emphasized Japanese language and vocational skills. At the same time, Korean literature classes were abolished.

Another policy of this period was movement policy to Korea. Japanese government encourage Japanese to move to Korea. According to 'History of the administration of twenty-five years (施政二十五年史)' by Government-general of Korea, Japanese government practiced this policy 7 times and the number of Japanese family that moved to Korea was 3,074 families which were 13,800 people. The purpose of this policy was to assimilate Korean people by the Japanese people who were moved from Japan.

In this regard, it is obvious that this segregated education systems gave Korean students a sense of unfairness because it was noticeable difference between the colonizers and the colonized. This initial decade of colonial period under military rule failed with March First Independence Movement of Korean people proclaiming their freedom and independence. This period, Japanese government did not have enough understanding of assimilation policy and Korean people. They just thought Korean people were inferior and justified the assimilation policy by claiming their success in annexation Korea and applying the western cultures in Japan.

3. Post March Uprising and The Japanese Assimilation Policy in the 1920's

The repressive freedom of Japanese rules caused the Korean Independence Movement in 1919. These demonstrations that held on a national scale in Korean Peninsula offered a chance to realize that their assimilation policy was going to the wrong direction. Some Japanese people admitted the harshness of the assimilation policies and condemned its inappropriateness. They assaulted that Japanese government should take a congenial attitude to Korean people and tried to understand Korean national characteristics.

The assimilation policy in 1910's was condemned by Japanese people. The reporter and government-general advisor Hosoi Hajime mentioned that we treat them as things at the bottom, shake our fists at them as if they were slaves, spit upon them, beat them with canes, and kick them with our shoes. We show no signs of love (jinai), chivalry (Kyoyu), but only menace (ihaku. Newspaper editor Aoyagi Tsunatarō also urged patience while advising the Japanese administration to exercise "positive" (as opposed to "negative") assimilation practices. Such practices should aim to reform the education system to redirect the Korean people toward a civilized (Japanese) culture) (Caprio, 117).

Therefore, Japanese government took an amicable attitude to Korean and they instituted cultural rule (*bunka seiji*) in the 1920's. The new government-general Saito Makoto (1858-1936) committed to reform to moderate the coercive policy in 1910's by respecting to native culture and customs, nondiscrimination between the Japanese and Koreas, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. Also, it was a more systematic and practical approach to assimilate Korean. According to Hildi Kang's book 'Under the Black Umbrella', he mentioned this period as 'cultural accommodation', and then came the years of assimilation, 1931-1945. This means that he indicates the total eradication of Korean cultural identity was initiated after cultural rule.

They first persuaded the Korean independent agitator to become a pro-Japanese faction. The patriotic reform movement leaders in the first decade were widely admired by Korean people, so it was essential to make them be a pro-Japanese group to conciliate Korean populace.

As a result, Japan convinced Namseon Choi (1890.4 – 1957. 10) who wrote a declaration of independence for March First Movement. Particularly, Namseon Choi was praised and admired by the Korean youth. According to Korean academical journal, 'Joseon and Joseon people (朝鮮及朝鮮民族)', it mentioned that Namseon Choi was admired by Korean youth for his eloquence and erudition. He possessed five million of Korean antique books. He was well known for his independence declaration for March First Movement.

In this way, Korean people, especially Korean youth, highly revered him before and after March First Movement. Japan could establish several pro-Japanese groups such as the School Sprit society (*Kyop'unghoe*), The National Society (*Kungmin Hyophoe*), and the Comrades of Greater East Asia (*Taedong Tongjihoe*) with the aid with the conversion of pro-Japanese faction.

The segregated education systems were abolished, so Korean students also had almost similar curriculum as Japanese students had. "In 1922 nominal equality was given by the educational ordinance, placing Korean ordinary and higher common schools on the same level as Japanese elementary and secondary schools. Thus, six years of education in the common schools, five years in boys' higher common schools and four years in girls' higher common schools were provided. Also, segregated schools for Japanese and Koreans were restructured into a single school system from the secondary school level (Pak, 386)".

And the large numbers of political organizations were established, so it gave opportunities to work for the Korean nationalists. "In 1920, there were 985 organizations of all types registered with the colonial police. These were local youth groups, religious organizations, educational study groups, academic societies, and social clubs. By September 1922, the number of organizations had swelled to 5,728 (Robinson, 49)".

In addition to that, Korean vernacular newspaper could write articles more liberally. "In December 1919, Saito's colonial administration decided to give permits to Koreans to publish vernacular newspapers, thinking that the increasing discontent of the colonial population would have been detected earlier if the colonial society had had the "safety valve" of vernacular media (Lee, Ha & Sorensen, 81)"

The media was mostly governed by pro-Japanese factions and the articles were somewhat impartial. The primary goal of the media was to divert Korean people's thoughts and the nationalistic movement in Korea. Therefore, there were limits to become completely liberal. One example of pro-Japanese Korean was Min Wonsik who ran *sisa-sinmun* (Current Affair Daily) which reported current event in 1920s.

However, there were also articles about Korean people that was not related to pro-Japanese contend. According to *Dong-A ilbo* (East Asian Newspaper), they wrote an article about Korean pilot, Changnam An (1901 - 1930) celebrating his accomplishment of Korea's first pilot. He went to Osaka to learn a manufacture technique of aircraft and aviation.

He was regarded as a patriotic person to Korean people because what he did was somewhat related to Korean independence. Korean peninsula belonged to Japanese government, so Korean people could not have freedom in their motherland. While this is happening in Korea, Korean people heard the successful story about Chang-nam An in Japan, and there was movement that supports him to come to Korea to fly Korean sky. Later, he became a Korean independence fighter later in Manchuria, China.

Fig. 1 An article about Chang-nam An's career and celebrating his gruaduation in *Dong-A ilbo* on March 29th, 1921.

Fig. 2 Celebrating his first flight in Korea in *Dong-A ilbo*

4. Beyond its Policy, the Mental Approach in the 1920's

The distinctive feature that I want to mention is that Japanese assimilation policy in a mental approach in the 1920's. During cultural rule, Japan not only trying to apply appeased assimilation policy, but also approaching the policy in a mental and emotional way. Along with the liberal policy that I mentioned before, they tried to understand and research Korean people, customs and language. Also, they started to admit Korea people's opinion instead of considering imposing their thoughts.

First, the Japanese who lived in Korea learned Korean to grip on the public and strike into the society. Generally, Japanese government abolished Korean language class, and forced Japanese class during colonial period. However, many Japanese people in Korea tried to learn Korean. According to 'History of the administration of twenty-five years (施政二十五年史)' by Government-general of Korea, Japanese government of Korea promulgated the policy to encourage to use Korean on May 1921 and suggested taking the Korean examination to the Japanese officials. Furthermore, government-general offered a prize to higher scored test-takers. The test-takers who won the prize were 560 people in 1921, but it increased to 2,725 people in 1926.

Second, Japanese government started to respect Korean cultures and thoughts. Korean people have been described Korean peninsula as a tiger. A tiger represents strong and powerful image, so it become a symbolic animal of Korea. Japanese people during colonial period likened Korea to a rabbit, because a rabbit is a very weak and small animal. Yet, they accepted this long cultural custom. In the painting of Sato Masakiyo's 'Tiger Hunt' in 1860, Korea depicted as tiger.

Third, the Governor-General Saito Makoto's reform policy included communication policy which he respected public opinion. This was part of the approach to understand Korean indigenous cultures and accepted importance of communication with them. Dispersing ideology in rural areas was imperative because majority of Korean people maintained their traditional lives. Saito took a personal trip to these rural areas on a regular basis. "Saito worked on propaganda activities by personally attending and summoning local magnates to offer propaganda seminars. In his eight years in office, Saito paid visits to the provinces thirty-five times, spending 171 days (Lee, Ha & Sorensen, 83)".

Lastly, government-general organized the Japan observation group which was one of the assimilation policies. The major purpose of this policy was to impress Korean people with advanced Japanese cultures and technology and spread that in the whole country. The General Government of Korea enumerated specific plans for the group. They hired a variety of Korean agents such as newspaper companies, religious organizations, and local governments. Their focus was local people because they wanted to broaden it to national scale. Also, the fact that Japan offered the total cost of trip because indicates that it was a significant project.

The observation route was very well organized. They went to many cities in Japan which they could witness Japanese cultures, history, modernized places, tall buildings and Japanese armory which could show their military power. For Korean people, this was very overwhelming experience because Korea was backward. Thus, this was a lifetime experience to learn advanced civilization instead of staying stationary and being isolated.

After the observatory trip to Japan, the group members wrote a report about their impressions in the *Maeil sinbo* (Korean Daily News). And there were local activities that presentations and photo exhibitions about the trip. According to the report in the *Maeil sinbo*, one of the group member says that he was admired for the advanced Japanese technology.

Although these activities were implemented for propagandistic reasons like diverting Korean people to Japanize, the major difference is that the trial of Japanese government for understanding the colonized people.

The enforcement of unconditional obedience in 1910's resulted the national-scale demonstrations in 1919. This indicates that the limits of assimilation policy and its ineifficiency. In contrast that, the mental approach in the 1920's was practical way to govern Korean people by aggravating resentment from March First uprisings.

Fig. 3 The 1860 "Satō Masakiyo's tiger hunt", as represented by the peninsula-shaped tiger. Tokyo Keizai University

5. Conclusion

The Japanese assimilation policies had changed during Japanese colonial rule over Korean and it can be assessed in the different periods. The ultimate purpose of Japan for the assimilation policy was to Japanize the Korean people. However, their policy had different aspect for different periods. The first decade after their annexation of Korea was the haphazard period when Japanese government didn't have systematic plans. Their assimilation policy mostly focused on the security reasons to prevent Japanese rules from the opposing parts.

After March First Uprising, Japan realized their limits of assimilation policy and devise a specific and efficient way to adapt Korean people to Japanese customs. Thus, the second period of Japanese colonial rule, their attitude became more conciliatory and appeasing. Their policy also became liberal in political, linguistic, and educational area. Also, there were trials of Japanese people to understand Korean customs.

The main purpose of assimilation policy was to maintain Japanese cultures and ideology in Korea. This was inevitable because Japanese people didn't even accept Western ideas after

43

accepting their technology and cultures. Japanese thought some of the western cultures are incompatible with the Japanese sprit. This fact can be the clue why Japanese stressed the assimilation policy.

The first point that I would like to mention from my research is that Japanese assimilation policy had been changing this it because they had to adjust it according to domestic and foreign affairs. Therefore, it is essential to research the distinctiveness of each period. Also, emphasizing on one period is an isolated piece of study that is not able to understand totality of the colonial policy.

Secondly, most of research about assimilation policy is emphasized on assimilation policy that intend to exploit Koreans. Also, their segregated policies have been research by many scholars. However, I have found different approach that Japanese people tired from this research such as Korean language test for Japanese officials. This can be new area that we can research more broadly. Korea-Japan relationship has become sensitive these days, particularly dealing with the colonial period. This is an on-going issue for both countries not only politically but also sufferers of both Japanese and Korean. Hence, objective research in wide area is required in the long run.

Bibliography

Caprio, Mark. *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945*. Vol 1st edition. Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009.

Kang, Hildi. *Under the black umbrella : voices from colonial Korea, 1910-1945*. Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 2001., 2001.

Pak, Soon-Yong & Keumjoong Hwang. "Assimilation and segregation of imperial subjects: 'educating' the colonised during the 1910-1945 Japanese colonial rule of Korea". *Paedagogica Historica* 47, No. 3 (2011, 6): 377–97. https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2010.534104.

Sorensen, Clark W., Yong-ch'ul Ha & Hong Yung Lee. *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910-1945*. Center For Korea Studies Publications. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013.

Robinson, Michael Edson. *Cultural nationalism in colonial Korea, 1920-1925*. Korean studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies. Seattle, Washington : University of Washington Press, 2014., 2014.

East Asian Newspaper (*Dong-A ilbo*)

Mail Sinbo (*Korean Daily*)

"Satō Masakiyo's tiger hunt,", Tokyo Keizai University, http://www.mdat.ff.tku.ac.jo/korea

朝鮮及朝鮮民族 (Joseon and Joseon People), 1927

施政二十五年史 (the Administrative History of twenty-five years)

THE RISE OF SNH48:
THE ADAPTION OF JAPANESE IDOL CULTURE IN CHINA

Jiani Dai

1. Introduction

On December 8th, 2005, a new idol group AKB48 was founded in Akihabara, Tokyo. At that time, no one even the members could believe this group composed by young girls would be the most famous idol group in Japan or even the world someday. Definition of "Idol" in Japan is different from most countries: "In Japanese pop culture 'idol' (aidoru) is a term typically used to refer to young manufactured stars/starlets marketed to be admired for their cuteness. Idols are intended to be role models. They are supposed to maintain a good public image and be good examples for young people. Idols aim to play a wide range of roles as media personalities (tarento): e.g. pop singers, panelists of variety programs, bit-part actors, models for magazines and advertisements ("Japanese Idol" 2018)."

Generally speaking, Idol could be considered as a job in Japan. An idol could play different roles in entertainment industry, and he/she will not be asked to do everything perfectly. After decades of development in Japan, idol culture becomes a special element in entertainment industry. Before the domination of AKB48, there were already several female idol groups like Moring Musemu. However, none of them achieved the big success of AKB48.

When AKB48 first established, they also faced problems of lack fans which most new idol group would face. Their idea of face-to-face quickly attracted the interests of fans and soon became famous in Japan. Then, the company started to establish sister groups in different cities in Japan. After several years' expansion, AKB48 already have three sister groups in Japan, and an oversea sister group in Indonesia. By seeing the big market in China, AKB48 announced a new sister group SNH48 in Shanghai in 2012. However, SNH48 had a very frustrating beginning for its AKB48 sister group background unexpectedly. After a long time of struggling for survival, SNH48 split with AKB48 in June 2016.

Today, SNH48 is considered a leader of local female idol groups. Although it split with AKB48, the development process of SNH48 could still be studied to examine the adaption of Japanese idol culture in China. If SNH48's frustrating beginning led to its split with AKB48? Does SNH48 really get rid of its Japanese style idol group label? What problems are SNH48 facing at this point?

Based on the questions above, researches were conducted. The results of this paper will help readers to have a brief idea of Japanese idol culture and a 48-style idol group. As there are limited sources in English, most sources used in the paper are Chinese. After finishing this paper, the gap would be filled to some extent.

2. SNH48 as an AKB48 Sister Group

A. Establishment of SNH48

In April 2012, AKS Co., Ltd (AKS), the operating company of AKB48 and its sister groups in Japan, announced that the second official sister group would be established cooperated with STAR48 Co., Ltd (STAR48) in Shanghai, China. Half year later, the first-generation members of SNH48 debuted. Unlike AKB48, SNH48 did not have its own theater at that time. The only thing they could do to attract fan was attending different events; however, SNH48 did not have much opportunities to attend big events since they were a new group without enough reputation.

On August 18th, 2013, the second-generation members of SNH48 debuted. In the same month, SNH48 Star Dream Theater were opened, and regular theater performance translated from AKB48 theater performances began. In November, the first two team of SNH48 Team SII mainly composed by the first-generation members and Team NII mainly composed by the second-generation members were established and started their own theater performances.

In July 2014, the third-generation members of SNH48 debuted. However, the most noticeable event at that time was the first general election of SNH48. In September, two months after the election, new members were promoted to different teams including the new established Team HII. Right after that, SNH48 started their Request Time Best 30 event to let fans vote for their favorite songs. Concert of the event was hold on January 30th, 2015. After that, SNH48 was considered finished its establishment followed the model of AKB48 and with all songs translated from

B. AKB48's songs.

i. Problems of SNH48 as an AKB48 Sister Group

Before launching a sister group oversea, AKB48 and its sister groups already dominated market in Japan. AKB48 was ranked fifth and eight hit product in 2011 and 2012 by Dentsu as the only idol group of the list ("Dentsu Announces '2012 Hit Products in Japan'" 2012). Also, it was believed that AKB48 helped music sales of Japan to overcome the U.S. and made Japan world's largest music market in 2012 while the industry was declining (Yasu 2013). As a neighbor of Japan, there were already a large amount of AKB48 fans in China before 2012. AKB48 began to hold fan meeting events in Shanghai since November 2011, and the fan club of AKB48 in China already had over 200 thousand members ("AKB48 Shanghai Ban Jianmianhui Xuanbu Jinjun Zhongguo Shichang" n.d.). However, it was unexpected that the background of being an official sister group of AKB48 brought a lot of problems for SNH48.

ii. Attitudes of Chinese AKB48 Fans

When planning to enter the Chinese market, both AKS and STAR48 believe that SNH48 would immediately get supports from Chinese AKB48 fans. Unexpectedly, most Chinese AKB48 fans held negative attitudes towards SNH48. Some radical fans even refused to recognize SNH48 as part of 48 Group and kept blackening SNH48 with extreme words. According to a post on a Chinese AKB48 fans forum, Chinese AKB48 fans hold totally different attitudes toward JKT48, the first oversea sister group of AKB48 in Indonesia, and praised their performances (Nalan Yurong 2013). Luckily, some of the fans welcome or were more reserved about the establishment of SNH48. They went to SNH48's theater and became the initial fans of SNH48.

iii. Attitudes of the Masses

Back to early 2010s, Chinese entertainment market was occupied by South Korean idols. Fans of South Korean idols were not interested in a Japanese style girl group; so, it was very hard for SNH48 to draw attentions from them. The masses already adapted the South Korean idol culture and Korean-pop. When an idol group with totally different features performed only Japanese-pop appeared in Chinese market, they were not used to it. As SNH48 is a group marketing members' cuteness like AKB48, it was labelled with otaku (geek) which led to negative first impressions of the masses towards SNH48 (Liu 2017)

iv. Political Factors

For the special political and historical background of Chinese society, there is limited space for an idol group with Japanese background. In August 2012, two members of AKB48 Miyazawa Sea and Suzuki Mariya were appointed to SNH48 ("Sokaku-Go Shintaisei" 2012). However, these two members were not able to perform in China until October 11th, 2013 since they could not get the work visas (Cao n.d.). In fact, they only performed three times at SNH48 Star Dream Theater and attended only two concerts of SNH48 before the splitting of SNH48.

3. SNH48 after Splitting with AKB48

In March 2016, SNH48 released its first original album *Engine of Youth*. One month later, two sister groups BEJ48 in Beijing and GNZ48 in Guangzhou were announced. Then, on May 20th, the first original theater performance started. Fans of SNH48 immediately realized that SNH48 were trying to get rid of its Japanese style idol group label. However, both fans in China and Japan were not able to predict that AKB48 remove SNH48 from the list of its sister groups on June 9th, 2016. AKB48 stated that SNH48 was removed since they broke the contracts, while most fans believed it was caused by the series actions of SNH48 (Guaqueta 2016). After splitting with AKB48, SNH48 and its own sister groups composed SNH48 Group. STAR48 believed if they kept following the model of AKB48 directly, it would be really hard to achieve a big success in Chinese market (Jiang and A Xi 2016). However, what does SNH48 do differently? Does SNH48 really get rid of its Japanese style idol group label?

A. What SNH48 does differently

Furthermore, despite the mass popularity of certain singers, newsingers join and old ones quit frequently.

i. Graduation System

Kiuchi (2017) stated, "Despite the mass popularity of certain singers, new singers join and old ones frequently". In fact, he was describing AKB48's graduation system. AKB48 recruits new members regularly like new students enter college every semester. Similarly, old members could decide to "graduate" from the group. However, STAR48 decided not to follow this model even at the very beginning. All members of SNH48 signed contract before they join the group. If a member splits from SNH48 before the contract end, she would stop all activities in the same industry or she would be sued.

According to an enterprise credit agency, STAR48 sued several former members since they attempted to enter the entertainment industry after splitting from SNH48 ("Shanghai Siba Wenhua Chuanmei Jituan Youxiagongsi Xinyong Baogao" 2018).

Transfer System

AKS used to allow AKB48 member sign another contract with other famous artist management companies while they were serving in AKB48, which was AKB48's transfer system. It provided more opportunities for AKB48 members to attract more fans while participating in non-AKB48 activities. After graduating from AKB48, a member could start contract with new companies or stay with the same company. Unlike AKS, STAR48 hangs on to its members even after graduation. Ju Jingyi, the first Chinese member graduated from SNH48 in December 2017, is actually still belonging to STAR48 ("Ju Jingyi Jinsheng SNH48 Group Mingxing Diantang Chenglli Geren Gongzuoshi Danfei Fazhan" 2017).

ii. What SNH48 does Similarly

After splitting with AKB48, STAR48 announced that SNH48 was operating independently ever since it was established and its relationship with AKS was just technological cooperation("SNH48 Guanfang Shengming" 2016). SNH48, like all other sister groups of AKB48, was established based on the model of AKB48. After over three years, fans are used to this model. Albums are released four times a year combining with the tickets of election, handshake event, and so on. Theater performances provide opportunity for fans to meet members frequently. Election are held in the middle of the year to select new Xuanbazu (the group of the selected members who will perform a certain song on stage 选拔组). Request Time Best 50 Concert or election of the songs are held by the end of the year. Even though STAR48 modifies the details of different events or creates new events, those events still have AKB48's face-to-face feature.

iii. General Election

General election of SNH48 starts since the middle of May and continues until the last Saturday of July every year since 2014. Like AKB48, it is also the most important event of SNH48. Following the model of AKB48, ballots are sold with CDs. Ranking of the election will not only decide whether a member could be one of the Xuanbazu for the upcoming album or not, but also decide her position on the stage.

STAR48 always promises additional awards for top members. For example, a solo album and a personal work team is promised for top one ("Diliqianxing SNH48 Group Diwujie Ouxiang Niandu Renqi Zongxuexuan 5 Yue 11 Ri Qidong" 2018).

General election also provides an opportunity for a new member or an obscure member to attract attentions from both fans and company. Li Yitong, a second-generation member, joined Team NII as a substitute in 2013. As she had very little chances to perform in the theater, Li Yitong became a punster on Weibo, a Chinese social media. With the fans attracted on Weibo, she was voted to the six of the first election. After that, she got her own positions and work opportunities to gain more fans. Then, she never dropped out of the top three in the elections. This year, she is considered the strongest candidate for the top one.

As the ranking of election is so important to SNH48 members, it became also important to fans. Fan club of top members always starts to raise funds several months before the election. It is an event that fans could show their supports to members and engage in the development of members.
Conclusion

What STAR48 does different from AKS insures the maximization of its benefits since the company hangs on to the members; however, it limits the development of both the group and its members since they will have less opportunities compares to members of AKB48 in early stage. With the core event general election and other AKB48-feature events, it seems to be impossible for SNH48b to get rid of its Japanese style idol group label.

4. A Dilemma under the Golden Age

It is almost two years after SNH48 splitting from AKB48, and it was the golden age of SNH48. Today, SNH48 already have four sister groups BEJ48 in Beijing, GNZ48 in Guangzhou, SHY48 in Shenyang, and CKG48 in Chongqing. In April 2018, SNH48 already began to recruit its eleventh-generation members. The polls grew rapidly during the past two elections. The competition between fans and members brought huge benefits for STAR48. In 2016, the total polls of the top three were 530,982.4, and it reached 702,453.7 in 2017. Based on two crowdfunding sites Modian and Owhat used by two fan clubs

of Li Yitong, her knowable funds for the upcoming election on May 14, 2018 was ¥2,865,836.68 ($449348.86) ("Funds of Li Yitong on Modian" 2018; "Funds of Liyitong on Owhat" 2018). SNH48 also produced their own variety shows online to draw more attentions of potential fans this spring. It seems SNH48 and its sister groups are expanding rapidly in Chinese market. However, under the flourishing surface, SNH48 is placed in a dilemma.

A. Internal Problems

i. Competition and Conflict

As mentioned above, SNH48 also recruits new members regularly like AKB48. Before the eleventh-generation members joining, SNH48 Group already has 331 members. Since 2017, the line of being announced during the general election concert and receiving awards is the 66th. With a growing number of members, the competition among members is becoming more and more intense. Furthermore, since SNH48 does not have a graduation system like AKB48, the situation become even worse. Current top 16 members, Xuanbazu members, of SNH48 are mainly composed by the first two generations members. Last year, only one of the top 16 is not a member from the first two generations ("Woxinaoxiang SNH48 Group Disijie Zongjuexuan Zuizhongjieguo Gongbu" 2017). Those old members occupy most positions of Xuanbazu and have more work opportunities. It is really hard for new members to fight their way out of the old members.

As the competitions among members are getting intense, the relationships between fans of different members are getting strained at the same time. It is only competition between members; however, it turns into conflicts among fans. If there is direct competition between two members, huge network conflict could break out between fans from two campaigns. Today, fans of top members no longer consider themselves as fans of SNH48 but only fans of their idol. Once the member leave SNH48, those fans will not stay with SNH48 and pick another member to support.

Dating Ban

"It is common for Japanese idols to be forbidden to date", Kiuchi stated (2017), and he also describe it as a scandal if a member of AKB48 brake this rule. This rule also influenced the value of SNH48 fans. Li Yitong stated that there is no clause in her contract prohibits dating; however, it is the common rule

for an idol ("Incomparable Conference" 2017). However, during the past several years, lots of members were found dating with someone. Most of those members were fired or punished by SNH48 or decided to quit themselves. It seems to be a good thing that the dating ban is implementing strictly. In fact, it really hurts both members and fans.

External Competitions

In October 2017, AKB48-China was announced by AKB48 as their new sister group in China. April 2018, AKB48-China started to recruit members for Team SH. People wondered if AKB48-China Team SH will win the competition with SNH48 in Shanghai. As the new team not yet debut, what will happen in the future is still unknown. However, since fans of SNH48 top members already get rid of the feature of a 48 Group fans, they might not be interested in AKB48-China.

While a new official sister group is launching, SNH48 also faced the competitions among local idol groups. After the big success of SNH48 and a boy idol group TFBOYS, countless idol groups appear in China (Xin Yinyue Chanye Guancha 2016). They could not compete with SNH48 before; however, a high-profile variety show, *Produce 101 China* came out in April 2018. Members from different idol groups were selected to join in the show and a new idol group with 11 members will debut after a series of competitions. SNH48 members did not join in the show, but two of future AKB48-China members did. As *Produce 101* was very similar to the general election of SNH48, STAR48 was afraid if it will distract fans from election.

5. Conclusions

SNH48, as a former AKB48 oversea sister group launched to target Chinese market, was established directly follow the model of AKB48. At the early stage, all songs and performances were imported from AKB48. Its own theater SNH48 Star Dream Theater in Shanghai provide an opportunity for fans to meet members frequently. Major events like handshake and photo events, general election, and election of songs were also imported. It recruits new members regularly to maintain the freshness of the group.

What was unexpected is that the early stage of SNH48 is really frustrating. Background of being a sister group of AKB48 did not help it win favors from Chinese AKB48 fans. Most Chinese AKB48 fans held

negative attitudes towards SNH48. Some radical fans even refused to recognize SNH48 as part of 48 Group and kept blackening SNH48 with extreme words. Only few of them became the initial fans of SNH48. Conversely, the background brought problems for SNH48. The group was labelled with otaku (geek) like AKB48 which led to negative first impressions of the masses. Besides, since the special political and historical background of Chinese society, there is limited space for an idol group with Japanese background.

On June 9th, 2016, AKB48 remove SNH48 from the list of its sister groups since SNH48's series actions of releasing original album, establishing own sister groups, and start original theater performances. SNH48 was busy with getting rid of its Japanese-style idol group label after that. However, except the graduation system and transfer system, all important events with AKB48 features were kept. General election is still the most important event of SNH48 for both members and fans. STAR48 hangs on to the members to insure the maximization of its benefits but limits the development of both the group and its members since they will have less opportunities compares to members of AKB48.

Two years after splitting with AKB48, SNH48 already have four sister groups with over 300 members. The polls grew rapidly during the past two elections which brought huge benefits for STAR48. SNH48 and its sister groups are expanding rapidly in Chinese market. However, it is a dilemma under the golden age. SNH48 is facing both internal and external problems at this time. Internally, competitions among members and conflicts among fans are getting more and more serious. Old members block the way for new members to develop. Fans no longer follow the model of a 48 Group fans, which might cause a loss of fans if a popular member leave the group. Dating ban and series of illegal behaviors hurt both members and fans. Externally, AKB48-China was launched as a new official sister group to compete with SNH48. Local idol groups members join in a high-profile variety show with same model of SNH48's election might distract fans from the coming election.

After nearly six years' development, SNH48 is already a leader of Chinese idol group. It imported the face-to-face idea from AKB48 and adapt it in Chinese market. However, none of the local idol group follows the same idea of SNH48 was able to copy the success of SNH48 but smuggles for survival.

Japanese idol culture is still a subculture in China, but much more acceptable than before. With the rise of SNH48, Chinese fans or consumers will be further educated with Japanese idol culture.

References

"AKB48 Shanghai Ban Jianmianhui Xuanbu Jinjun Zhongguo Shichang (AKB48 上海办见面会 宣布进军中国市场) [AKB48 Held a Fan Meeting Event in Shanghai and Announced to Enter the Chinese Market]." n.d. Xinlang (新浪) [Sina]. Accessed May 14, 2018. http://ent.sina.com.cn/y/p/2012-04-22/01423611503.shtml.

"AKB48-CHINA 中国姐妹团 4 月 10 日开始招募 第一支队伍 AKB48 TeamSH-48 日饭社." n.d. Accessed May 15, 2018. http://www.snh0048.com/akb/akb48/7983.html"AKS (Company)." 2018.

Cao (曹), Bing (冰), trans. n.d. "SNH48 Chengyuan Gongze Zuojiang Linmu Maliya Zai Shanghai Dengtai Shouyan (SNH48 成员宫泽佐江铃木玛利亚在上海登台首演) [SNH48 Members Miyazawa Sae and Suzuki Mariya First Time Performed in Shanghai]." Renmin Wang Riben Pingdao (人民网日本频道). Accessed May 14, 2018. http://japan.people.com.cn/n/2013/1016/c35468-23226309.html.

"Dentsu Announces '2012 Hit Products in Japan.'" 2012. December 7, 2012. https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20121206005460/en/Dentsu-Announces-2012-Hit-Products-Japan.

"Diliqianxing SNH48 Group Diwujie Ouxiang Niandu Renqi Zongxuexuan 5 Yue 11 Ri Qidong ('砥砺前行'SNH48 GROUP 第五届偶像年度人气总决选 5 月 11 日启动) [The Fifth General ELection of SNH48 Starts on May 11th]." 2018. SNH48 Zhongguo Guanfang Wangzhan (SNH48 中国官方网站) [SNH48 Official Website]. May 11, 2018. http://www.snh48.com/html/allnews/zixun/2018/0511/3066.html.

"Funds of Li Yitong on Modian." 2018. Modian. May 15, 2018. https://zhongchou.modian.com/search?key=%E6%9D%8E%E8%89%BA%E5%BD%A4.

"Funds of Liyitong on Owhat." 2018. Owhat. May 15, 2018.
https://www.owhat.cn/search/searchResults.html?searchKey=%E6%9D%8E%E8%89%BA%E5%BD
%A4.

Guaqueta, Nicolas. 2016. "AKB48 and SNH48 Relations Break Down." *Fighting for Nippon* (blog).
June 10, 2016. http://fightingfornippon.com/akb48-snh48-break/.

"Incomparable Conference (无与伦比的发布会)." 2017. iqiyi.com.

"Japanese Idol." 2018. *Wikipedia.*
https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Japanese_idol&oldid=833058509.
Jiang (姜), Zhongjie (中介), and A Xi (阿细). 2016. "SNH48 de Fensi DIguo (SNH48 的粉丝帝国)
[SNH48's Fan Empire]." *Ershiyi Shiji Shangye Pinglyn (二十一世纪商业评论)*, no. 9: 52–57.

"Ju Jingyi Jinsheng SNH48 Group Mingxing Diantang Chenglli Geren Gongzuoshi Danfei Fazhan (鞠
婧祎晋升 SNH48 GROUP 明星殿堂 成立个人工作室单飞发展) [Ju Jingyi Was Promoted to
SNH48 Group Hall of Fame and Starts Solo Career]." 2017. SNH48 Zhongguo

Guanfang Wangzhan (SNH48 中国官方网站) [SNH48 Official Website]. December 15, 2017.
http://www.snh48.com/html/allnews/zixun/2017/1215/2768.html.

Kiuchi, Yuya. 2017. "Idols You Can Meet: AKB48 and a New Trend in Japan's Music Industry."
Journal of Popular Culture 50 (1): 30–49.

Liu (刘), Danqing (丹青). 2017. "Xuanxiu Shinian: Cong 'Chaoji Nvsheng' Dao 'SNH48' (选秀十年:
从《超级女声》到'SNH48') [Ten Years of Talent Show: From 'Super Girl' to 'SNH48']." *Xinwen
Yanjiu Daokan (新闻研究导刊)* 8 (5): 51–52.

Nalan Yurong (纳兰玉蓉). 2013. "A Post about JKT48 and SNH48." *Baidu Tieba Momo Maotou Ba.*
http://tieba.baidu.com/p/2446383288?pid=35202277841&cid=36557778140#36557778140.

"Shanghai Siba Wenhua Chuanmei Jituan Youxiagongsi Xinyong Baogao (上海丝芭文化传媒集团有限公司信用报告) [Credit Report of Shanghai STAR48 Co., Ltd.]." 2018. Credit Report 91310109555917584P.

"SNH48." 2018a. *Wikipedia*. https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=SNH48&oldid=840981199.

———. "SNH48." 2018b. *Baidu Baike (百度百科)*. https://baike.baidu.com/item/SNH48.

"SNH48 Guanfang Shengming (SNH48 官方声明) [Official Announcement of SNH48]." 2016.

SNH48 Zhongguo Guanfang Wangzhan (SNH48 中国官方网站) [SNH48 Official Website]. June 10, 2016. http://www.snh48.com/html/allnews/activity/2016/0610/1746.html.

"SNH48 Shouzhang Yuanchuang EP"Yuandongli"Jinri Shangjia Xiaoshou, Tongming MV Yugao Fabu (SNH48 首张原创 EP《源动力》今日上架销售，同名 MV 预告发布) [SNH48's First Original Album Engine of Youth and the Trailer of Its Music Video Were Released Today]." 2016. SNH48 Zhongguo Guanfang Wangzhan (SNH48 中国官方网站) [SNH48 Official Website]. March 25, 2016. http://www.snh48.com/html/allnews/zixun/2016/0325/1617.html.

"SNH48 Tuichu Beijing, Guangzhou Jiemeituan Tongshi Qidong Xinchengyuan Zhaomu (SNH48 推出北京、广州姐妹团 同时启动新成员招募) [SNH48 Announced Sisiter Groups in Beijing and Guangzhou, and Started to Recruit New Members at the Same Time]." 2016. Zhongguo Xinwen Wang (中国新闻网). April 20, 2016. http://www.chinanews.com/yl/shipin/2016/04-20/news642222.shtml.

"SNH48 Xinde Lvcheng Qihang, Kaiqi Quanxin Yinyue Lvcheng (SNH48《心的旅程》启航 开启全新音乐旅程) [SNH48 Started the New Theater Performance Inward Journey]." 2016. SNH48 Zhongguo Guanfang Wangzhan (SNH48 中国官方网站) [SNH48 Official Website]. May 20, 2016. http://www.snh48.com/html/allnews/zixun/2016/0521/1700.html.

"Sokaku-Go Shintaisei (組閣後新体制) [New Team After the Cabinet]." 2012. AKB48 Kōshiki Saito (AKB48 公式サイト) [AKB48 Official Site]. August 24, 2012. http://www.akb48.co.jp.

"Woxinaoxiang SNH48 Group Disijie Zongjuexuan Zuizhongjieguo Gongbu ('我心翱翔'SNH48GROUP 第四届总决选最终结果公布) [The Results of SNH48's Fourth General Election Was Published]." 2017. SNH48 Zhongguo Guanfang Wangzhan (SNH48 中国官方网站) [SNH48 Official Website]. July 29, 2017. http://www.snh48.com/html/allnews/zixun/2017/0729/2453.html.

Xin Yinyue Chanye Guancha (新音乐产业观察). 2016. "SNH48 He TFBOY Hai Buneng Zhengming Ouxiang Yangcheng Shihe Zhongguo SHIchang (SNH48 和 TFBOYS 还不能证明'偶像养成'适合中国市场)." 36kr. December 23, 2016. http://36kr.com/p/5060080.html.

Yasu, Mariko. 2013. "Girl-Group Fans Help Push Japan Music Sales Past U.S." *The Japan Times Online*, July 4, 2013. https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2013/07/04/business/girl-group-fans-help-push-japan-music-sales-past-u-s/.

Death from Overwork: Japanese Working Culture in Today's Japan

Raul Herrera

1. Introduction

Overworking in today Japan is a major concerns for Japanese society. Japanese workers are expected to put long hours for the sake of the company, and even when they are not working, they are other expectations to build work relationship. For example the tradition of after work drinking, might help bring co-worker closer together and thus bring success to the company, are things that takes their tolls on Japanese workers. In worst case scenarios, the fatigue from constant overworking can cause deaths. Death from overworking are either called *karoshi* or *karojisatsu*. *Karoshi* is when overwork causes cardiovascular or cerebral diseases that results in people's death. *Karojisatsu* on the other hand refer to when the mental strain or stress from overworking long hours lead to the worker committing suicide.

Although the Japanese government became aware of these problems during the 1980's, *karoshi* and *karojisatsu* has been a persistent problem. This research paper will look into the history of *karoshi* and *karojisatsu* (mostly will refer to *karoshi*) and the reasons why it evolved the way it did to the present. This paper will also analyzed the government responses. Only by looking through the ways the issue of overworking evolved overtime and the different responses to these death from overwork, can one see that the issue is far from being resolve and the more should be done by the government and the company themselves to help solve this issue.

2. Historical Background

After the Second World War, Japanese experienced a booming economy that became famous internationally. One part of the success of Japanese company during this time was the long hours encouraged by the companies to their workers to commit long working for the sake of the company. While the workers put in long hours that resulted in great productivity, they also suffer health problems. One of the earliest cases that resulted in a worker death was recorded 1969.[1]

One of the earliest case involving *karoshi* entailed a married man of 29 years old. He was a worker of the shipping department to one of Japan largest newspaper, when he had a fatal stroke.[2] His death was first categorized as occupational sudden death. Once it showed that there was a massive workload, and overtime done by this worker (who was not ill), did the government recognized that it was due to his occupational that caused his death. Overall, it took the family over five years to reach a settlement claim over the worker's death.[3]

It was during the late 1970's that the term *karoshi* came to existent during to other cases where other workers died unexpectedly during the early 1970's. Then, in 1982, a book titled "Karoshi" by three physicians, brought the term "karoshi" to the public. In the book, the physicians linked sudden death at work to workers putting in long hours. They found that workers were working

[1] Katsuo Nishiyama and Jeffrey V. Johnson,
https://web.archive.org/web/20090214232217/http://workhealth.org/whatsnew/lpkarosh.html
[2] Ibid
[3] Robert McGuire, *Dentsu Changed Nothing: Reexamining Karoshi in Japan Through Shavell's Insights on the Incentives to Prevent Accidents*, Asian Journal of Law and Economics, vol. 3, 2012, 13.

long shift, irregular hours and shift work, which ultimately culminated in 3,000 hours per year. Since, *karoshi* became a growing public concern in Japanese society and then international, once the English book "Karoshi: When the Corporate Warrior Die" by C. Okamura.

One response to *karoshi* was in 1988, when a group of lawyers, some of them worked with family where their family member died due to overwork, created the National Defense Counsel for Victims of Karoshi (NDC). This group works to create public awareness of *karoshi*. One of their notable action was the creation of the *karoshi* hotline, where people could call in families of *karoshi* victims could ask about assistance in receiving compensation. According to one researcher, by 2000, about 3000 calls were made to the hotline.[4]

One hallmark court case relating to a worker death was the Dentsu case in 2000, where a 24 years old employer named ichiro oshima, who worked for the advertising company Dentsu, committed suicide (*karojisatsu*) in 1991. The Tokyo Court in 1996 deemed the giant company responsible and ordered the company to pay about 168 million yen in compensation (about 1.5 million in USD). The company did so by 2000 and accepted responsibility for, the first time a company did so. The lawyer for this case, Hiroshi Kawai, said after the court case that "the consequences will be serious for the business when an employee dies from overwork".[5] What he meant by this was that companies that does not ensure their worker health relating to work overload will bear responsible for workers' deaths. How right this lawyer is can be debated.

2. Finding

According to the International Labor Organization, some typical cases of *karoshi* are:

1. Mr A worked at a major snack food processing company for as long as 110 hours a week (not a month) and died from heart attack at the age of 34. His death was approved as work-related by the Labour Standards Office.
2. Mr B, a bus driver, whose death was also approved as work-related, worked more than 3,000 hours a year. He did not have a day off in the 15 days before he had stroke at the age of 37.
3. Mr C worked in a large printing company in Tokyo for 4,320 hours a year including night work and died from stroke at the age of 58. His widow received a workers' compensation 14 years after her husband's death.
4. Ms D, a 22 year-old nurse, died from a heart attack after 34 hours' continuous duty five times a month.[6]

One can easily see what does *karoshi* entails. One things is that in many cases, workers are relatively young. In the four cases given, three of them involved people in their thirties or less. Only Mr. C had a more advanced age at fifty-eight. Yet, with medical science improving, that age can be consider relatively young, at least a person is not at the age where they need to worry about dying. Also, it seems that the majority of the cases deal with men. Japanese males are consider the breadwinner in Japan, despite the government in recent years promoting women to work full time job as a way to counter labor storage.

[4] Ibid, 1

[5] Ibid

[6] http://www.ilo.org/safework/info/publications/WCMS_211571/lang--en/index.htm

Another thing to note is that while it is apparent the long work hours done by each workers, there are period of intense working. Ms. D, for example, worked for 34 hours straight, and did that about five time per month. This would mean that at least every week she works such an intense schedule. Mr. B worked for fifteen days straight driving his truck. Finally, the fact that these cases involved workers from different industries shows the prevalent problem of *karoshi* has become in Japan.

At find, the issue of *karoshi* came into being when Japan was experiencing great economic success. This economic success was dubbed the Japanese miracle that lasted to the end of the cold war. Japanese companies needed their workforce to put in massive workload to keep up with production level. One way to get workers to work such long hours was the loyalty subordinate had toward their bosses. This was reciprocated by having lifetime employment and seniority based system within the company. Having lifetime employment ensured that the employer is fully committed to the company. The seniority-based system means that those once these workers stayed long enough, they will end up in the higher position and dictate the workplace like their previous superior. This provide another incentive for worker to stay and listen to the higher-up. This couple with the fact that Japanese society in general promote the concept of harmony, prompted workers to contribute long hours for their company.

While the companies themselves are promoting long hours, the actual working hour limit Japan is forty hours per week, written in the Labor Standards Law.[7] This was originally forty-eight hours but changed in 1987 in responded to increasing cases of *karoshi*. But, as one scholar put it "This prohibition is of negligible consequence, because Act imposes no legal sanction for employers who exceed overtime caps." Despite the fact the law limit working hours to forty in Japan, companies and workers are disregarding them for different reasons, one being that there is no major legal consequences.

One of the main reason that workers are logging in long hours despite the risk is that there is pressure to finish the enormous workload companies gives their employees. As one survey conducted shows, employees don't have enough time to actually complete the goals set forth by the companies. Therefore, these workers are often obliged finish their work outside of the eight hours they have during the day. These overtime are often unpaid and companies tend to argued that employees are "voluntary" working overtime, thus shifting the responsibility away from themselves and to these workers.[8]

One interesting thing to note is that most of the working culture that developed under the economic boom Japanese experienced from the latter half of the twentieth century. Yet, when the bubble market crash in the early 1990's, Japan enter into a recession that caused massive layoff and restructuring. In Japan, different employment came into being, just as freeter, part-timer, self-employment, that changed the dynamic of working in Japan. Yet, there are many thing that stayed constant.

---

[7] https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/WEBTEXT/27776/64846/E95JPN01.htm
[8] Scott North and Rika Morioka. 2016. "Hope found in lives lost: karoshi and the pursuit of worker rights in Japan." Contemporary Japan - Journal Of The German Institute For Japanese Studies, Tokyo 28, no. 1: 59. Complementary Index, EBSCOhost (accessed May 16, 2018).

That is that the long hours workers put into their jobs and careers. While there is an economic downturn, it is reasonable to think that workloads and goals sets by the companies would be lessen. Also the fact that there was lay off after the bubble market crash despite the promise of lifetime employment could have cause these companies to lessen the workloads. While this is true to a certain extent, it has not been enough to lessen the burden placed on workers. In fact, due to labor storage, stubbornness to change cultural norms that formed earlier in the previous decades and no comprehensive change in the laws that does not heavily penalize companies for allowing their workers to work long hours, this problem of *karoshi* does not seem to lessen.

Companies, with much smaller pool of workers are still setting high profit goals to meet. That means that these workers are doing workload mean for a larger workforce. They would have to take work after hour, putting in overtime work that is often unpaid, take their work home, and work different shifts that contribute to the building up fatigue and other health problems. The work hour done by workers compare to those in the 1980's is definitely shorter but they still have such intense work hours. The total hours logged in by an employer for an entire year in 2000 hover to less than 2000 hours, compare to over 3000 hours in the 1980's.[9] While young workers and those in senior positions does not work as long as before, those in between worked just as long as before. It also appear that those in non-regular positions also work long hours in comparison to those in regular positions.

Those long hours slowly break down a workers until accumulated health problems ultimately caused the worker's death. As explain earlier, a culture developed during the latter half of the twentieth century psychologically forced employees to work long hours that circumvent the legal hours set by the Labor law. That is what *karoshi* refer to but what are motivation for someone to take their own life (*karojisatsu*) when concerning working long hours?

       While many reasons are similar to *karoshi* for working long hours in the first place, *karojisatsu* has different context that causes a person to take their own life. One reason given is that Japanese culture has a fascination with death and suicide. The concept of seppuku, or ritual suicide became prevalent in feudal Japan. There are numerous stories about samurai committing seppuku to maintain honor and show respect to their lords, especially when they are ordered to by their lords to commit seppuku. There are some parallel to the way both workers and samurai, in listening to those they consider superiors and benefactors, would lead them to their death.

Yet, it is a mistake to consider Japanese cultural past would contribute in a major way in which *karojisatsu* occurs. One major factor researchers and scholars attribute to *karojisatsu* was the change in workplace structure. As mentioned before, the Japanese workplace developed into one that could allow lifetime employment and work under the seniority system where one can reach a senior position based on the time put in, not based on skills. But due to the economic downturn at the beginning of the 1990s, change the dynamic of the workplace that added new pressure to an already stress place.[10]

Companies adopting a more merit-based system instead of the seniority based system, the prospect

---

[9] Atsuko, Kanai. 2009. "Karoshi (Work to Death)" in Japan." Journal Of Business Ethics 209. JSTOR Journals, EBSCOhost (accessed May 16, 2018).

[10] Kawanishi, Yuko. 2008. "On Karo-Jisatsu (Suicide by Overwork)." International Journal Of Mental Health 37, no. 1: 61-74. Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed May 16, 2018)

of layoff, and less access to full time employment are causing workers to feel more pressure to put in more effort in their jobs and thus adding more hours to their schedule. Workers now have a need to "produce tangible results" that they can use to show their worth to the companies. There also the pressure of globalization add another layer to this problem. Due to oversee competitions, Japanese need to cut back on labors while maintaining high level of productions.[11]

Those pressure these workers are confronting are a major factor in someone committing suicide. Although cases of *karoshi* and *karojisatsu* involved employees from different levels of positions within a company organization, there is one noticeable level when referring to *karojisatsu*. That would be the middle management of companies, where they have some freedom inn their workplace and decision making but still answer to someone in a higher position. Once more to the International Labor Organization, they have four example cases that typically lead to *karojisatsu*:

1. All-night, late-night or holiday work, both long and excessive hours. During the long-term economic recession after the collapse of the bubble economy in 1980s and 1990s, many companies reduced the number of employees. The total amount of work, however, did not decrease, forcing each employee to work harder.
2. Stress accumulated due to frustration at not being able to achieve the goals set by the company. Even in economic recession, companies tended to demand excessive sales efforts from their employees and require them to achieve better results. This increased the psychological burden placed on the employees at work.
3. Forced resignation, dismissal and bullying. For example, employees who have worked for a company for many years and believed that they are loyal to the company, were suddenly asked to resign because of the need for staff cutbacks.
4. Suffering of middle management. They were often in a position to lay off workers and in a dilemma between the corporate restructuring policy and protecting their staff.[12]

It is the four example that deserve special attention. As hinted before and stated by the fourth example, those in middle management tend to be in a difficult position of supporting the policies of their companies that are impacting the staff (in this context, negativity) and trying to look after their staffs according to the working culture that developed and discussed earlier. Balancing the two acts while maintaining long working hours tends to take psychological toll on the middle management workers. "These middle managers responsible for persuading workers to resign had to bear fierce protests from the targeted workers, suffered from emotional pain, and finally committed suicide."[13]

In general, workers that suffers the most are those being actively sought after by the companies; workers who are diligent, hardworking, able to work well with other and considerate enough to assist other in the workplace. These serious workers are sought after since they are more willing to work longer hours and commit to the grueling schedule imposed by the company. Willing workers of long hours are more considered for promotion within the company than someone

[11] Ibid

[12] http://www.ilo.org/safework/info/publications/WCMS_211571/lang--en/index.htm

[13] Ibid

equally competent but worked less hours.[14] In any case, workers in one shape or another are often prompted to work for long hours and companies uses various means to do so. Regardless of the methods, too much workload lead to physical and mental fatigue that has fatal outcomes.

3. Result

Overall, *Karoshi* and *karojisatsu* are drastic consequences for workers who takes massive workload. The result would usually be death, either in failing health problems or suicide by the workers. The issue of death from overworking first came into being from around the 1970s, and it still persist today. There has been efforts to change government policies for the better and raise public awareness, through organization like the NDC. Unfortunately, government officials and companies owners are slow to change or resisting changes that could relief workers of massive workload. Sure, there has been changes or admission by the companies themselves to take better care of their employees but workers still working long hours. Companies are still very concern over meeting profit goals that they need a shrinking workforce to work long hours, despite documented evidence of the effects of overworking.

Another thing to note is that these is both external and internal pressure for workers to maintain long working schedule. Externally, there are cultural norms that pressure the employees to work long hours, to maintain a harmonious relationship with co-workers and more importantly, with bosses. Internally, people with a more serious or ambition demeanor will more willingly goes along with insane working hours in order to get promoted and show their worth to the company.

Incidentally, the economic successes of the previous decades shaped the way many of the cultural norms previously discussed were formed. Companies are maintaining profits echoing those decade, despite workers dying due to *karoshi* and *karojisatsu*. It is difficult to continue such high level of production, especially with a shrinking workforce. Competition due to globalization also create tension in the working life of employees.

4. Conclusion

The issue of *karoshi* and *karojisatsu* is still a prevalent problem within Japan. While there is civil support for workers' rights in Japan, governmental support is lacking in helping alleviate the problems. Companies want the continued success of the past but it too costly in terms of human lives. This paper looked through the history of death from overwork in Japan, both through historical and cultural context. These companies, with silent blessing from the government, are still inadvertently pushing their workers to maintain high level of production that is detrimental to workers health. While there are many findings about *karoshi* and *karojisatsu*, there should be more research about how to get the companies and government to actually protect workers' rights so the issues of death from overwork one day be non-existent.

---

[14] Kawanishi

Bibliography

Atsuko, Kanai. "Karoshi (Work to Death)" in Japan." *Journal Of Business Ethics* (2009): 209. *JSTOR Journals*, EBSCO*host* (accessed May 16, 2018).

Kawanishi, Yuko. "On Karo-Jisatsu (Suicide by Overwork)." *International Journal Of Mental Health* 37, no. 1 (Spring2008 2008): 61-74. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed May 16, 2018).

Kondo, N., & Oh, J. (2010). Suicide and karoshi (death from overwork) during the recent economic crises in japan: The impacts, mechanisms and political responses. Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health, 64(8), 649. doi:http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.shu.edu/10.1136/jech.2009.090787

North, Scott, and Rika Morioka. "Hope found in lives lost: karoshi and the pursuit of worker rights in Japan." *Contemporary Japan - Journal Of The German Institute For Japanese Studies, Tokyo* 28, no. 1 (March 2016): 59. *Complementary Index*, EBSCO*host* (accessed May 16, 2018)

National Defense Counsel for Victims of Karoshi 1991 Karoshi-when the "corporate warrior" dies. Tokyo, Japan: Mado Sha.

Robert McGuire, "Dentsu Changed Nothing: Reexamining Karoshi in Japan through Shavell's Insights on the Incentives to Prevent Accidents," Asian Journal of Law and Economics 3, no. 1 (2012): [ix]-28

Website
https://web.archive.org/web/20090214232217/http://workhealth.org/whatsnew/lpkarosh.html

http://www.ilo.org/safework/info/publications/WCMS_211571/lang--en/index.htm

https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/WEBTEXT/27776/64846/E95JPN01.htm