



T S Ū S H I N

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Reischauer Institute Reports

From the Director: From Modern Girls to Parasites: The Enduring Discourse of Women in Japan

Professor Andrew Gordon,
Harvard University

Once again, America's authoritative keeper of public record has discovered the new Japanese woman. In the *New York Times Magazine* of July 1, 2001, Peggy Orenstein offers a snappy appraisal of the current generation of Japanese young women in their 20s and 30s, the so-called "parasite singles." She suggests they are either harbingers of a feminist revolution, or maybe just selfish (*wagamama* in romanized italics). Certainly there is much that rings true in this account. My niece by the accident of marriage fits the

definition of the "parasite single" to a T: age 30, living at her parents' Tokyo home, working as a free-lance writer, consuming, traveling and enjoying life, no sign of a wedding on the horizon though she has a boyfriend of several years' standing..... Probably many or most *Tsūshin* readers can conjure up their own examples (or offer themselves?).

So why not praise Ms. Orenstein as a journalist with cutting edge insight? Perhaps most importantly, because this report of a new wave phenomenon is, with just a little scratching of the historical surface, so very familiar. We might call this the "discoverer's fallacy." The observer decides that her first encounter with a phenomenon is in fact the moment of origin of what she observes. Like Columbus's "discovery" of America, Orenstein discovers a group of people who have actually been around for some time but presents them as today's news.

The sharp increase in the age of marriage of Japanese women, the corresponding decline in the birth-rate, the young female office worker's pitiful gaze upon senior male colleagues caught in the corporate rat-race, the flamboyant spending and playful behavior of young adult women living at home at their parents' expense: at least since the 1980s, all these trends have been prominently noted in the media of Japan and abroad.

But the amnesiac problem is, in fact, of longer duration. Although the particular buzzwords have changed with the decades, images of "modern girls," of "new women," of self-centered female seekers of fun, have in fact been constant features of commentary on social life in Japan at least since (and to some extent before) the 1920s and 1930s, when the "modern girl" burst onto the scene with her jaunty fashions, her apparent promiscuity and her flaunting of expectations



that she play the role of “good wife” and “wise mother.” And across the postwar decades, various sorts of new women—not all cut from the exact same mold but all seeming to challenge something called convention or tradition—have been part of the cultural and social scene. Then, as now, observers wondered whether the modern girl was a harbinger of a transformation with profound political implications, or just a selfish and shallow parasite. Then, as now, the new woman was counterposed to an image of a timeless tradition of “woman’s role” as if such tradition existed and as if it were only now for the first time being challenged.

And then as now, it was difficult to separate the media fantasy from the everyday reality. The “modern girls” who actually worked and played in the cities of the 1920s were more complicated and varied than the media images which celebrated or con-

demned their lives. And it is clear from the very examples Orenstein offers that the young women of 2001 sit uneasily in the media mold. She admits that her first example, Ms. Arai, is in fact “somewhat unusual” as a parasite single since she is very close to her father. We are told that the next woman introduced to us, Ms. Izumi, is not a parasite at all, because she has been married for seven years, since age 24. And the third woman introduced in the article, Ms. Kashiwagi, “is not strictly speaking a parasite single” because she has her own apartment. What is a reader to make of the fact that the very writer who is introducing the phenomenon of “parasite singles” to American readers can do no better than begin with three imperfect versions of the genuine article? At the very least, we can learn that the society is more complicated than the pundits suggest, and that women (and men) negotiate their lives in an uneasy relationship to

the swirl of media images that seek to define them.

Tension between trendy images and the variety of lived social experience is certainly a problem not limited to American observation of Japan. American commentary on Americans is full of stereotypical baby-boomers and “generation-X”-ers. But the crudeness of observation seems to reach new heights (or depths) when cross-cultural dimensions creep in. I do better complaining about this situation than offering alternatives, but one thing is clear enough. Stark binary divisions are the curse of simplistic culture-talk. We need to move beyond dichotomies of traditional wife versus modern single woman (a binary that ignores how modern the “good wife, wise mother” was in her time); frozen pasts versus changing presents; a United States imagined as somehow wholly different from Japan. One might, indeed, argue that a more im-



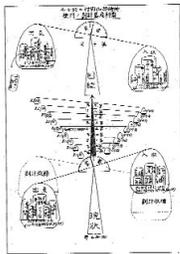
Parasite singles seventy years ago? This photograph, provided courtesy of *Mainichi shinbun*, shows the *moga* (“modern girl”) in Tokyo in 1930.



portant fact than a U.S.-Japan contrast is the commonality of elevated average age at marriage in both societies—just over 50 percent of Japanese women and a full 37 percent of American women are single at 30, Orenstein tells us. If one held education or social class constant across the two societies, the gap might diminish or disappear. Or it might not. But the possibility should at least be examined.

In any case, it would be refreshing to read more nuanced stories of ongoing and varied processes of social change, whether global or local. Much fine academic work on Japan offers such perspectives, including Miriam Silverberg on 1920s culture and the “modern girl” or Yuko Ogasawara on the feisty “office ladies” of the 1980s. A task for scholars and students such as *Tsūshin* readers is to figure out ways to communicate to a broader public stories that go beyond the usual binaries, and transcend the fallacy of uncovering the new Japan yet again.

I would be interested in readers’ thoughts on this matter (in Japanese or in English). We may post them on our website.



Japanese Studies in the West: Japanese Studies in Sweden

Dr. Bert Edström
Göteborg University

The Finnish political scientist Marita Siika of Åbo University told me some years ago that the ways Sweden and Finland dealt with Japan and China were polar opposites:

for Finland, Japan has always been No. 1 and China No. 2; for Sweden, China is No. 1 and Japan, No. 2. Her observation seems mainly correct. The reason for Finnish attention to Japan, she told me, was that Finns have not forgotten Japanese assistance during the fight for freedom from Tsarist oppression. For Sweden, attention has been on China among the East Asian countries ever since the days of the great scholar and empiricist Carl Linnaeus in the 18th century. Linnaeus was more fascinated by China than Japan: China was open and could be studied, while Japan was a closed country, entertaining contacts only with the Dutch among European nations.

With this Linnaean background, it is no wonder that modern scholarly studies on Japan in Sweden grew out of the studies of China. The starting point can be seen to be when the founder of modern Chinese studies in the west, Bernhard Karlgren, professor of Chinese at Göteborg University, went to Japan in 1922 for one year to learn Japanese. After his return he taught Japanese at his university. Karlgren’s pupil Seung-bog Cho, a Korean born in Manchuria, was a specialist in modern French philosophy educated at Tokyo University and the University of Michigan who came to Sweden as a political refugee in 1950 and, at the recommendation of his teachers at Uppsala University, took up linguistic studies instead of philosophy. “We have enough specialists on French philosophy,” the eminent linguist Björn Collinder told Cho, “but we have no linguist who knows Korean.” Cho studied with both Karlgren and Collinder and wrote three dissertations in quick succession, on Chinese, on Korean, and on Japanese. In the early 1960s Cho was asked by the president of Stockholm University, Dag Norberg, to transfer to Stockholm. Cho began teaching Japanese in 1965 at Stockholm University, at its new Institute of Oriental Languages, and in 1973 became Sweden’s first professor of Japanese. To use such a dusty and infamous label as “Oriental” was for bureaucratic convenience only: how find a name for the new institute

where subjects taught dealt with areas as different as Japan, China, Korea, India, and the Arab countries? The term is still used. In Sweden, as in much of Europe, to see Japan studies as a part of “Oriental” studies, with its backward-looking focus, has a venerable tradition. It still dominates the way Japan and other non-European countries are studied. The situation is very different from the U.S.

In Sweden, the Japanese language can be studied as a subject in its own right, with students combining language studies with disciplinary studies in humanities and social sciences. One has seen a healthy expansion of Japanese studies. Over the years the number of Swedish universities and university colleges offering Japanese courses has increased and the number of students of Japanese has increased. A number of universities have also introduced full-scale Japanese study programs, combining language training with studies in humanities and/or social sciences. Göteborg University has a four-year program, producing full-blown economists with Japan training, part of which is spent at a Japanese university. Since the number of Japan scholarships open to students has increased significantly, it is nowadays easy for a student to find means to go to Japan for studies. Several Swedish universities have also entered into exchange programs with Japanese universities. This may be one reason why the number of students at departments teaching Japanese is not going down, even at a time when the overall number of students at Swedish universities is decreasing for demographic reasons and universities have had to close down programs due to lack of students.

A peculiarity of Swedish universities is that countries like Japan and China are not taken into account so much in academic departments, where the focus is on theory and generalities. According to the “Swedish model” courses in economics, political science, economic history, etc., introduce some information on Japan or China, but other countries like Sweden and the U.S. are discussed much more often. Specialized courses on Japan are found, of course, but not



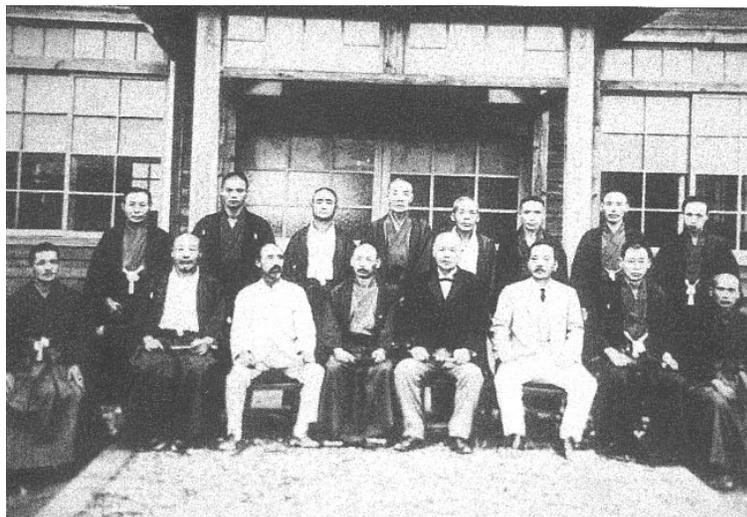
many. We can only envy the variety of courses at larger U.S. universities. This Swedish model means that students interested in pursuing studies of Japan outside of language often have to be satisfied by the few history and social courses offered by the Japanese language departments, all of which are without exception given only at the introductory level. Consequently, the number of Japan specialists graduating is small. The situation has improved in recent years, however. Special mention should be made of the European Institute of Japanese Studies at the Stockholm School of Economics, the establishment of which has meant an upgrade of economic and social science studies of Japan. But true to the Swedish model of doing things, this institute is not focusing exclusively on Japan but has a program covering also other countries in East Asia.

Another peculiar aspect of Swedish university education, relevant also to Japanese studies, is that language teachers at universities are sometimes not trained as language teachers. Thus, the very institutions responsible for training language teachers, the language departments at universities, in many cases employ staff not trained as language teachers. A Ph.D. of whatever specialty is all that is required (of course, in some cases, universities are lucky and pleased to receive applications from a language specialist when a position is announced). This situation is a result of the fact that it is very common for Ph.D. candidates at language depart-

ments to pursue postgraduate studies in areas other than language (mostly literature), so that language departments have turned into a variety of catch-all area studies departments. If language departments want to attract Ph.D. students, they have to accept students doing research outside of language since few students seem to be interested in pursuing language research. So, when posts at universities are announced, there are exceedingly few applicants with language specialization. Take Stockholm University's Japanese department as a case. When the trained linguist Cho retired, the position as professor of modern Japanese was replaced by a specialist of classical Japanese literature. And the key language teacher at the department, the lecturer, has her degree from Osaka—in economics. This problem is not confined to Japanese, however, but is a general problem at Swedish universities, considered so severe that a special research school has been set up to attract students to Ph.D. studies in modern languages. Unfortunately, this school does not cover Asian languages, "modern" in this context meaning English, German, French and other larger European languages. Luckily enough, a Swedish School for Advanced Asia Pacific Studies will be inaugurated shortly, with substantial financing from two large research foundations. I hope that some of the positions for Ph.D. students, for postdocs, and others will be filled with scholars and students specializing in Japanese studies, maybe even Japanese language!

In such a situation, can those of us working in small countries like Sweden really make a contribution to international research dealing with Japan? Indeed, yes, as has been proven over the years. Anyone participating in international conferences on Japan should have noted that quite excellent contributions are presented by participants from smaller countries. But it is also easy to see that a crucial factor for success is openness and willingness to collaborate. There is a need and necessity for research collaboration. Time and again it has been proven that excellent results can be produced provided scholars and universities are open to the give and take that is so vital for research and scholarly activities. Those who are not interested in scholarly collaboration are doomed to failure. Examples would be easy to present to the esteemed readers of this newsletter, but I abstain - for obvious reasons. Thus, at least to smaller countries like Sweden, international conferences like ICAS (1998 in Leiden and 2001 in Berlin), the triennial gatherings of the EAJS, and all the specialized workshops and symposia that are regularly taking place are really the lifeline of national research efforts.

If I hadn't participated in these conferences, how would I have met the editor of *Tsūshin*, who has now asked me for this contribution to his series on Japanese studies outside of Japan?





**Documentation
Center on
Contemporary Japan
(Reischauer Institute,
Sponsor):
Digital Image
Archives**

**Kazuko Sakaguchi
Documentation Center Director**

Following the most recent digital technology, digitizing photographic resources into image databases for business and academic research activities has become increasingly active in recent years. In the news media and commercial photo industries, which produce enormous numbers of photographs daily, digital image database development is being adopted not only for facilitating efficient storage, organization, and management of their photograph collections, but also as an infrastructure for photo rental services. The demand for photographs and image resources has also increasingly grown in educational settings. Perhaps this demand could reflect a response to current learning styles in this visual age. Using only traditional teaching methods, one can hardly cultivate interest and motivation to study for those students who have grown up in a culture with increasingly predominant electronic images. Nowadays electronic images via computer technology are necessary tools for oral presentations and teaching. Instruction in history, for instance, often utilizes the Internet to present various historical images not otherwise available and supplemental resources that help students better comprehend historical events from various angles, a technique which is more in demand and becoming a growing expectation. I would like to take this opportunity to introduce photograph databases, which are one kind of digital image databases that have a wide variety of educational applications and are especially useful in various disciplines such as history, sociology, and anthropology that have traditionally relied more upon the written word.

AccuNet/AP Photo Archive
<http://ap.accuweather.com/apphoto/index.htm>
AP Photo Archive
<http://photoarchive.ap.org>

Distributing digitized photographic information services through a networked computer system has become common particularly in the area of mass communication. Among them The Associated Press, the American news distributor, has been distributing news via satellite to their clients across the world, such as newspaper companies and magazine publishers for some time now. AccuNet/AP Photo Archive is the largest comprehensive archive for photographs available online, through a server provided by AccuWeather, Inc. The archive contains approximately 700,000 photos from 1840 through the present. The majority are post-1995, but older ones are being scanned into the database on a regular basis, while up-to-the-minute images by newspaper companies and photojournalists from around the world who are affiliated with the AP are continually added as well. Searching is simple and easy, by just filling in the What, When, and Where fields. One can retrieve not only photographs but also, with benefit of computer hyperlink functions, newspaper articles as well as video clips from radio and television scripts. Contents of the AccuNet/AP Photo Archive are the same as those from the AP Photo Archive provided by The Associated Press alone. The only difference depends on the prospective users and their particular needs, as determined by their type and purpose and price structure. AP Photo Archive offers a pay-per-view photograph redistribution service aimed at registered corporate clients such as newspaper companies and advertising agents, whereas AccuNet/AP Photo Archive is a subscription-based service with affordable prices available only to K-12 schools, colleges and universities as well as libraries in accordance with various types and levels.

Mainichi Photo Bank
<http://photobank.mainichi.co.jp/>

The Mainichi Photo Bank offers ac-

cess to photographic resources accumulated by the *Mainichi Daily* newspaper over its 130-year history, which are available for photo rental. It is the largest photo database among the Japanese newspapers. Thankfully the database is accessible to anyone free of charge because it targets commercial clients such as publishers and broadcasters as well as individual Internet users as potential clients for its photo rental services. The database currently contains approximately 200,000 photos, including 120,000 photos taken from the Meiji period through the thirties (the Shōwa period), and, more recently, photographs taken after January 1998. Photos taken between the 1950s and 1997 have been gradually digitized, but only less than 10 % of them – those requested for photo rental – have been digitized thus far and many lack captions. At this moment, it is unknown when all remaining photos will be digitized. One can enjoy hyperlink functions because the database is linked to the *Mainichi Daily* newspaper's major articles published after August 1997. The database system and digitalization of photos were developed by Dai-Nihon Printing, Inc., which enjoys a good reputation for know-how in the development of high-resolution image archives.

In order to search photographs or images, "non-verbal information" manifested in the image needs to be translated into texts and characteristics and features of the subjects, which can then be sorted and organized to retrieve information. It is no exaggeration to say that the functional use of an image database depends on what and how access points are organized and sorted, including bibliographic data. The Mainichi Photo Bank includes precise information characterized in a photo, thus, for instance, one can use terms for facial expressions such as 'fury' and 'smile' as key words. Free access only allows one to view photos in a small image of the photograph, known as the thumbnail. One can view up to 40 photos at a time and then select any one to view in a larger size thumbnail for display. If one wants to purchase a desired photo, one proceeds to an online order form. Upon Mainichi



Information Service Center's completion of an assessment or confirmation of the requester's information (e.g., objectives and type of media), a positive print or data image will be sent to the requester. For educational use a photograph costs 2,000 yen, and for publication use, 6,000 yen per black and white photo and 20,000 yen per color photo. Overseas users may need to allow for shipping and handling costs in addition to these prices. The *moga* photo attached to the Director's article in this issue of *Tsūshin* was obtained through this service.

Bakumatsu and Meiji Old Photo Archives (Nagasaki University)
<http://oldphoto.lb.nagasaki-u.ac.jp>

Photographic techniques invented by Daguerre in 1839 were brought to Nagasaki by a Dutch vessel in the following year. They took no time to spread throughout the country. Bakumatsu and Meiji Old Photo Archives developed at Nagasaki University contain valuable historical photographs preserved at this birthplace of Japanese photographic culture. Many of them depict scenes, lives, and folklore taken in Westerners' residential districts or sight seeing spots across Japan. Photographs in this database show how Japan was transforming from the late Edo period into the Meiji. Identified photographers' names provide an interesting perspective on how Japan was perceived in the eyes of Westerners. The notably large collection—containing over 5,400 photographs that are in relatively good condition—was subtly colored by craftsmen called professional painters. Four types of search screens, that can be entered in both Japanese and English are organized effectively in accordance with the purpose of use of the photographs. One can execute various searches without any specific knowledge of photographs. Free keyword search, for instance, includes searching not only captions to the photos but also descriptions of the photos, and one can select a photo by clicking a geographical name of an

area on a map. Furthermore, one can even reach a needed item by simply clicking a subject in 86 categories on a list, in addition to the key word search. These lists also usefully provide one with an overview of the history of Japanese photographs in this early period.

Database of Early Photographs (International Research Center for Japanese Studies)
<http://www.nichibun.ac.jp/graphicversion/dbase/oldpe.htm>

The Database of Early Photographs at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies also offers historical photographs made during the late Edo period through early Meiji. One can enjoy experiencing the Meiji period through historical records captured in such photographs, which were the cutting edge medium back then. Types and coverage of photographs and capability of search in both Japanese and English are similar to those in the above-mentioned Old Photo Archives at Nagasaki University; however, the specific search methods and layouts are quite different. One cannot obtain results just by clicking fields, but needs to spell out search terms in a simple search, which consists of a free keyword search, or by an advanced search, to narrow down the search by filling columns for captions, notes and photographers. One may need to have some knowledge of historical photographs to execute an efficient search because of the limitation of suggested vocabularies in keywords columns. The truncation search and search history functions, which are not found in the other old photograph databases, are useful. The old photograph collections at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies are also available in the Database of Pictorial Images Outside Japan, which includes images and texts extracted from photographs and illustrations in research on Japanese culture published overseas. You may retrieve more results on some topics, such as 'geisha', from this database. Also, you may take ad-

vantage of a separate search engine with cross-reference that allows for a consolidated seamless search of three databases, the Database of Pictorial Images Outside Japan, the Database of Old Photographs, and the Database of Japanese Art.

Early Photo Database (Historiographical Institute at University of Tokyo)
<http://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/gazo/gazo.html>

The Early Photographs Database at the Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo covers the same period as those of the above mentioned two image databases. However, the big difference from the other two is an inclusion of photographs of the Western peoples and materials obtained on the Iwakura Mission. The Early Photographs Database contains many portraits from notable figures in the late Edo through the Meiji era and is the only database that includes a photograph of Tokugawa Yoshinobu, the 15th shogun, among the three old photo databases introduced in this article. Viewing the database is free for academic purposes, but one must fill out an online database use application on each occasion of use. Various search methods include narrowing down by Japanese calendar, Boolean searches combining AND and OR, or simply clicking appropriate terms suggested on lists for objects, photographers, or photographic techniques. One can view thumbnail images, up to 100 photographs at a time. Both titles and photographers' names are assigned identification numbers within each category, and one can retrieve text information to describe the photo by clicking those numbers. The famous French photographer Nader, who took photographs from the air for the first time in the world, is included on the list. Among fifty of his photographs, all of which are made in Paris, a portrait of Fukuzawa Yukichi on his visit to Europe on the first Japanese mission to the Western world is also included. Unfortunately, however, the



database seems to lack a thesaurus control. Thus despite many portraits of Japanese in formal warrior outfits photographed by Nader, only one photo appears under “*bushi*” (warrior), and no results under “samurai” whether in hiragana, katakana, or Chinese characters.

Peace Database (Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation)

<http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp/peacesite/Japanese/database/database.html>

The merit of digitizing photographs may not be restricted to mere preservation in archives but can also function as a sort of historical testimony to relay messages of understanding to others through multimedia. The Peace Database developed at the Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation is a multimedia database consisting of various types of information in text, image, and audio to reflect an entreaty for the abolition of nuclear weapons. To con-

vey the reality of atomic bombing, which has been fading from our memory after half a century, as well as to contribute to research on world peace, the database exhibits over the Internet 12,000 items housed at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. Maximizing the impact of photographs as a message communicator, the site is an attempt to transmit Japan’s hope for world peace, as the only nation to have suffered from the atomic bomb. In addition to photographs, the database also contains videos on victims’ testimony, interviews with victims by the US Strategic Investigation Team, and atomic bomb documentary films. Bibliographical information with 20 fields is comprehensive and description of the items is thorough enough so that one can enjoy advanced combination of search terms with AND and OR functions. In addition, sorting in both ascending and descending modes is available as well.

While photographs printed on paper deteriorate as time goes by if moisture and temperature are not maintained at certain levels, digital photographs, though not perfect, do not fade in color because images consist of pixels. In addition to the immediate advantages of prevention from deterioration, damage, and physical loss, the search function of the database enables expansion of the use of image information and easy downloading of historical photographs. There seems to be no doubt that digital photographic databases will serve brilliantly to further develop the printing revolution in the 21st century and the concept of the digital library.





Reischauer Institute News Notes

Research and Publication in the Harvard Japanese Studies Community

Studies on Japan forthcoming this fall from the Harvard University Asia Center Publications Office include:

Terry Kawashima, *Writing Margins: The Textual Construction of Gender in Heian and Kamakura Japan*.



Prof. Deborah Milly, whose Asia Center book *Poverty, Equality and Growth* (1999) won a Masayoshi Ohira award in 2000 for books on modern Japanese politics and government.

The *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* publishes articles and book reviews on a wide range of topics concerning the humanities in East Asia.

The editors welcome manuscripts. Authors who are interested in having their work considered should submit two copies with everything (text, block quotations, and notes) double-spaced and notes placed at the end. On matters of style, please consult back issues of *HJAS* or write to the Editors for a style sheet. For manuscripts that are accepted, final drafts may be prepared with either Mac or PC programs. No unsolicited book reviews will be accepted.

Annual subscription rates (two issues) are \$30 for individuals and \$45 for institutions. Send inquiries to *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2 Divinity Avenue,

Cambridge, MA 02138, USA. FAX: (617) 495-7798.

Back issues of *HJAS* published more than five years ago are now available through JSTOR.

From other publishers, some recent monographs produced by Harvard faculty and Reischauer Institute Associates in Research include:

Joanne Bernardi. *Writing in Light: The Silent Scenario and the Japanese Pure Film Movement*. (Detroit: Wayne State University, 2001)

William W. Grimes. *Unmaking the Japanese Miracle: Macroeconomic Politics, 1985-2000* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001)

Helen Hardacre. *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Japan: A Study of the Southern Kanto Region* (University of Michigan Press, 2001)

James L. McClain. *Japan: A Modern History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001)

Rubin, Jay, ed. *Modern Japanese Writers* (New York: Scribners and sons, 2000) (contains work by several Reischauer Institute Associates, including Atsuko Sakaki)

The images on the previous pages are from Kerry Smith's *A Time of Crisis: Japan, the Great Depression, and Rural Revitalization* (Harvard University, 2000)

Introduction of Postdoctoral Fellows

Stefania Burk



Dr. Burk received her B.A. in Japanese Language and Culture from the University of Michigan in 1990 and an M.A. (1996) and Ph.D. (2001) in Japanese Literature from the University of California, Berkeley. Her research focuses on medieval Japanese poetry, especially the production of the imperial anthologies compiled in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. In particular, her interests include the making and uses of literary anthologies, the interrelationship between political crisis and the production of cultural authority, and the transformation of notions of literary value across time. She explores these issues in her dissertation entitled, "Reading between the Lines: Poetry and Politics in the Imperial Anthologies of Japan, 1275-1350." Her next research will examine the appropriation and interpretation by early modern and modern institutions (governmental, academic, and artistic) of the imperial anthologies, including the works of Edo nationalist scholars such as Motoori Norinaga, criticism by early Meiji poets struggling with Western ideas about art such as Masaoka Shiki, pre-war interpretations by such prominent scholars as Hisamatsu Sen'ichi, and government-sponsored treatises such as Yamada Yoshio's *Kokutai no hongi* (1936).



Ian Condry



Dr. Condry received his B.A. in Government from Harvard University in 1987 and a Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology from Yale University in 1999. His research focuses on popular culture, language, performance and power. Using Japanese hip-hop music as a case study, Dr. Condry asks, What effects do global pop culture styles have on local cultures? Based on fieldwork in Tokyo nightclubs and recording studios (primarily during 1995-97), his ethnographic study explores the lives and practices of Japanese rappers and DJs. His web site at www.iancondry.com features musical examples with subtitles in English and Japanese. Related interests include urban anthropology, the history of Japanese popular music, corporate vs. consumer power in the digital age, and media representations of gender, race, and class. Two of his publications are "The Social Production of Difference: Imitation and Authenticity in Japanese Rap Music" (Poiger and Fehrenbach, eds., *Transactions, Transgressions, Transformations* (Berghan Books)), and "Japanese Hip-Hop and the Globalization of Popular Culture" (Gmelch and Zenner, eds., *Urban Life* (4th edition) (Waveland Press)). Prior to his fellowship at the Reischauer Institute, he taught for two years in the Anthropology Department at Union College in Schenectady, NY.

Darryl Flaherty



Dr. Flaherty received his B.A. in History from The Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, MD) and Ph.D. from the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures at Columbia University. His dissertation, entitled "Organizing for Influence in Modern Japan: Lawyers and Politics by Association," is a social history of modern Japanese politics. In it, he examines "politics by association," the little-studied but highly influential history of voluntary associations that shaped politics and policy in Japan. His project takes associations of lawyers as a lens through which to view this world and traces the influence of lawyers' groups in political parties, the study of law, and the administration of social justice from 1870 to the present. Related interests include law and social change, engendering political history, the comparative history of modernity, the history of professions, and associational influence.

Naomi Fukumori



Dr. Fukumori received her A.B. in East Asian Languages and Civilizations from Harvard Radcliffe College in 1991, and an M.A., M.Phil., and Ph.D. from Columbia University. Her dissertation, entitled "The Politics of Amusement: Reading Sei Shōnagon's *Makura no sōshi* in Historical

Perspective," was submitted in 2001. She has been on the faculty of the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures at The Ohio State University since 1999, where she teaches premodern Japanese literature, language, and culture. Her research focuses on various aspects of mid-Heian period literary practices, particularly the issues of gender and genre configurations, the dynamics of rear court patronage, narratives of "history," and the reception of Heian-period works in later periods. Published articles by Dr. Fukumori include "Sei Shōnagon's *Makura no sōshi*: A Re-visionary History," *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 31:1 (April 1997), 1-44, and two papers in the Proceedings of the Association for Japanese Literary Studies: "Sei Shōnagon the Essay/Ese-ist: Delineating Differences in *Makura no sōshi*" (1997), 66-88, and "Chinese Learning as Performative Power in *Makura no sōshi* and *Murasaki Shikibu nikki*" (2001, forthcoming).

Mark Alan Jones



Dr. Jones graduated from Dartmouth College in 1991 and received his Ph.D. in modern Japanese history from Columbia University in May 2001. His dissertation, entitled "Children as Treasures: Childhood and the Middle Class in Early Twentieth Century Japan," explores the relationship between modern childhood and the formation of a middle class. His research interests include children's history, the cultural history of the middle class, and the history of the family.



Reischauer Postdoctoral Fellowships in Japanese Studies for the Academic Year 2002-2003

The Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies at Harvard University will offer several postdoctoral fellowships in Japanese studies to recent Ph.D.s of exceptional promise, to give them the opportunity to turn their dissertations into publishable manuscripts. Each fellowship will cover a 10- or 12-month period, beginning July 1 or September 1, 2002, with a stipend of \$35,000 and health insurance coverage for the grantee. First option for publication of manuscripts will rest with the Harvard University Asia Center, for its Harvard East Asian Monographs series. Postdoctoral fellows will be provided office space and access to the libraries and resources of Harvard University. Residence in the Cambridge/Boston area and participation in Institute activities are required during the appointment. Postdoctoral fellows will be expected to give a presentation in the Reischauer Institute's Japan Forum lecture series. **Eligibility:** Applicants must have received their Ph.D. degree in 1997 or later, in Japanese studies in any area of the humanities or social sciences. Those who are chosen to receive fellowships must have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. degree by July 1, 2002.

Application Process: Applicants should submit four copies of a complete application each consisting of the following elements: Official transcripts of grades; Curriculum vitae (including citizenship, Social Security number, current and permanent addresses, telephone number(s), and e-mail address; also academic degrees with dates of conferral, discipline, and institution); Two letters of recommendation (signed and sealed), which must be enclosed with the application (*In the case of the recommendations, only one copy of each is needed; the Reischauer Institute itself will duplicate these); Dissertation abstract and table of contents; Plan of

research (on separate sheet, up to 2 pages) explaining: What do you plan to do at each stage of your research during the fellowship? What particular resources do you intend to use at each stage? What are the advantages of doing your postdoctoral fellowship at Harvard? Are there specific individuals you hope to seek out while in residence?; and List of publications.

Cover sheet: On a *separate cover sheet*, please also provide the following information, retyping each question in this order: 1. Name; 2. University and Department (of Ph.D.); 3. Field of Study; 4. Thesis Title; 5. Date Ph.D. degree received; 6. Names of (2) recommenders; 7. Do you have a continuing teaching position? If yes, where?; 8. Have you previously applied for the Postdoctoral Fellowship? If yes, when?

Mail applications to: Prof. Andrew Gordon, Director (re: Postdoctoral Fellowship), Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies, Harvard University, 1737 Cambridge Street, Room 319, Cambridge, MA 02138.

Application Deadline: March 1, 2002

Awards Announcement: April 30, 2002

Special Events

RECENT SPECIAL EVENTS Professor Herbert P. Bix, a Reischauer Institute Associate in Research, was awarded the 2001 Pulitzer Prize for general nonfiction and the 2001 National Book Critic's Award for nonfiction for his book *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (Harper Collins, 2000).

Professor Jeffrey Broadbent's book, *Environmental Politics in Japan: Networks of Power and Protest* (Cambridge University Press, 1998) has been awarded the Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize for 2001. Professor Broadbent (Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota) is the first sociologist to receive this prize.

On March 26, 2001, Professor

Emeritus John M. Rosenfield received the 19th Yamagata Banto Prize (established by the Osaka Prefectural Government) for his contributions to the study of Japan, especially his book *Extraordinary Persons: Works by Eccentric, Non-Conformist Japanese Artists of the Early Modern Period (1580-1868)* in the Collection of Kimiko and John Powers (Harvard University Art Museum, 1998). Dr. Rosenfield is the first representative from the academic field of art to receive this prize.

From April 2-4, 2001 the Institute hosted the visit of Professor Miyake Hitoshi, a leading scholar of Japanese religions specializing in the study of folk religion and Shugendō. The visit marked the inauguration of an agreement between the Institute and Kokugakuin University for mutual scholarly exchange, to be finalized later this year.

In September 2000, Professor and Mrs. Mayumi Tsunetada visited Harvard at the invitation of Prof. Helen Hardacre, to review the holdings of Shintō materials at the Harvard-Yenching Library. Professor Mayumi is Professor Emeritus of Kogakkan University, Chief Priest of the Yasaka Shrine in Kyoto, and a renowned expert in the history of Shintō and ancient Japanese ritual.

On March 4, 2001, members of the Harvard community were treated to a performance of the Awaji Puppet Theater in a program of classic plays and dance performances, sponsored by the Japan Society of Boston.

2000-01 was the third and final year that the Harvard-Radcliffe Kendo Club (HRKC) was honored by the expert coaching of Junji Himeno, Visiting Associate at the Reischauer Institute from 1998-2001 and seventh-dan sensei. A gala farewell dinner in his honor was held in May 2001.

From the Editor

IDENTITY PROBLEMS TO THE NTH POWER: EDUCATION IN THE GLOBAL METROPOLIS

"Recently my classroom has come to look like a little United Nations. In addition to American stu-



dents...I have had students from Japan itself, Korea, China, Thailand, Indonesia, Taiwan, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia and France. Not only that, but many of the American students have lived overseas for some significant span of time. They are forcing me to begin trying to place Japanese civilization in a truly global perspective..." (anthropologist David Plath, in *Othernesses of Japan*, p. 219.

A concept like "Japanese studies" is very peculiar, for what we are really talking about is an open-ended set of interactions with an indefinite number of possible permutations.

First, the observed country (i.e. Japan) has numerous and diverse internal aspects.

Second, the observer countries are many and varied.

Third, while to some extent one can sometimes identify a "national tradition" of interaction with Japan in a given observer country, at the same time there normally exists an internal diversity in an observer country itself. Large countries always have more than one special interest group generating images of "Otherness," whether the interest group is journalism or business or science or sports.

Fourth, academia (the university world) itself is only one such special interest group.

Fifth, while one can sometimes identify elements of a "national" academic tradition of interaction, yet each country's academic world nevertheless may support within it a number of differing special-interest perspectives based on its various disciplines of

study (literature, history, economics, political science, religion).

(And such a very rough sketch entirely leaves aside the diversity of experience at the individual level!)

Now, a great deal of attention has already been given in the past couple of decades to questioning and undermining *nihonjinron* (Japan uniqueness theory). However, troublesome as it has been, *nihonjinron* in its crudity and vulgarity has also been a target which is relatively easy to hit. The permutability of cultural interaction noted above emphasizes perhaps that more than undermining is also necessary. As fields of academic study (of which Japanese studies is only a single example) become ever more globalized, it will become increasingly necessary for scholars not only to knock down cultural essentialisms such as *nihonjinron*, but to work constructively towards positive appreciations of the complexities generated by global cultural hermeneutics.

For the purposes of "Japanese studies," one of the most useful introductions to this tricky issue remains *Othernesses of Japan : Historical and Cultural Influences on Japanese Studies in Ten Countries*, edited by Harumi Befu and Josef Kreiner (Monographien aus dem Deutschen Institut für Japanstudien der Philipp-Franz-von Siebold-Stiftung, Bd. 1 München: Iudicium, 1992). In Befu's summary of the sources of hermeneutical diversity brought out by the sixteen essays in the volume, he identifies these sources of interpretive multiplicity: variant historical relationships with Japan; economic and political circumstances; ideologies (political or religious or social); the craving for orientalism; cultural values and

world views; disciplinary orientations based in academic lineages per se; intellectual cross-fertilization and borrowing; variable approaches to formulating problems and conventions of handling data; and different ways of reporting to home audiences.

And along with these, the institutional diversity of national university systems might well receive more attention. Indeed, the examination of university systems provides another, somewhat differently-focused set of opportunities to reflect on sources of diversity in the generation of knowledge, one based on examining government policies, changing demographics, class structures, mass consumerism, and the massification of education. As a small contribution in this area, an annotated bibliography of sources about the Japanese university system (mainly in English) has recently been placed on the Reischauer Institute website. (<http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~rijs>)

We have to be careful about globalization. It seems that it does not make us much like a village—it makes us more like a vast, alienated city, with all that the modern city implies: easy access to surface appearances on the one hand, but also the uneasy presence of an indeterminate webwork of less visible experiences and truths on the other. And the city of our times is also a semi-fluid realm in which boundary building and boundary crossing are in constant interplay. For good or evil, in such a global city, the challenge of education about the Other, far from becoming easier, is instead becoming exacerbated, calling for ever-increasing efforts of understanding.

—Galen Amstutz

Address ideas and correspondence about *TSUSHIN* to Dr. Galen Amstutz, Institute Coordinator, at the Reischauer Institute address, or via e-mail to gamstutz@fas.harvard.edu. Most of the content of *TSUSHIN* is available on the Reischauer Institute's Internet website: <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~rijs>.

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The Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies

Japan Forum/Events: Fall 2001

- September 21 FUMIO HAYASHI
Tokyo University
“*The 1990s in Japan: A Lost Decade*”
- September 28 TOSH MINOHARA
Kobe University
“*Diplomatic Blunder or Casualty of Politics? The Truth Behind the 1924 ‘Japanese Exclusion Act’ and its ‘Grave Consequences’ Upon U.S.-Japan Relations*”
- October 5 DONALD RICHIE
Film Scholar and Writer (co-sponsored with the Japan Society of Boston)
“*Interpretations of Japan*”
FILM SHOWING, Carpenter Center, 8 PM
Mr. Richie will introduce the films *Dead Youth* and *A Page of Madness*
- October 11 KATARZYNA CWIERTKA
(Thursday) Leiden University
“*Munching on Modernity: Popularizing a Military Diet in Wartime and Postwar Japan*”
- October 19 KAREN WIGEN
Duke University
“*Moving Mountains: Creating the Modern Japanese Alps*”
- October 26 DEMIN TAO
Kansai University
“*The Japanese Responses to the May Fourth Literary Revolution: Aoki Masaru, Nishimura Tenshu, and the Kyoto School of Sinology*”
- November 2 LOREN SIEBERT
University of Akron
“*Creating a GIS (Geographic Information System) Spatial History of Tokyo*”
- November 9 WILLIAM TYLER
Ohio State University
“*Modanizumu in Japanese Prose*”
- November 16 IAN CONDRY
Harvard University
“*Japanese Hip-Hop and the Power of Global Pop Culture*”
- November 30 MELANIE TREDE
New York University Institute of Fine Arts
“*Noble Pursuits: Ashikaga Yoshinori’s Patronage of Hachiman Cult Painting*”
- December 6 STEFANIA BURK
(Thursday) Harvard University
“*Reading Anthologies and ‘Righting History’: Japan’s Imperial Anthologies of Poetry*”

Except as noted events are held on Fridays, from 4:00 to 5:30 p.m., Seminar Room 2, Coolidge Hall, 1737 Cambridge Street, Cambridge MA 02138