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I 個人研究

Why There is no non-Western IR Theory in Japan? : Genealogy of Japan's Cultural IR, and the Study of Regional History

Kosuke SHIMIZU*

なぜ日本には非西洋型国際関係理論はないのか ——日本の文化型国際関係理論と地域史研究の系譜学——

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This paper attempts to introduce a neglected aspect of Japanese international relations (IR), the study of regional history and its relation to the unpopularity of non-Western IR in Japan. I also argue, despite the negligence of Japanese IR scholars, the approach of regional history contains a rich potentiality to contribute to the contemporary non-/post-Western IR literature. Therefore, the questions to answer in this paper include : What is the study of regional history? Why is it important to the contemporary international relations? Why has the mainstream Japanese IR scholars regarded it as unimportant? To what extent does it contribute to the existing post-Western IR literature and how? In order to address these questions, I start with genealogical descriptions of Japanese IR discourses. Secondly I will focus on a particular approach to diplomatic history, which attempts to historicise the Japanese foreign policies by concentrating on cultural relations among nations. Thirdly, I will take up intercultural politics, which was an even more radical departure from the traditional diplomatic history tradition. Fourthly, the study on East Asian history will be introduced and I will make an attempt to assess it in terms of the contribution it may make to the contemporary IR literature.

本論文は、日本の国際関係理論の中でほとんど注目を浴びてこなかった地域史を、海外では大きな流れとなりつつも同様に日本で注目されていない非西洋型国際関係理論との関係の中で取り上げる。また地域史は日本ではほとんど注目されていないながらも、海外の国際関係理論に非常に大きな貢献するであろうことを議論する。そこで本論の課題は以下の問題に答えることとなる。地域史とは何なのか、それはなぜ現代の国際関係理論にとって重要なのか。なぜ日本の国際関係学研究者は地域史を重要だとみなしてこなかったのか、どの程度この地域史は脱西洋型国際関係理論に貢献できるのか、それはどのような形で可能なのか、という問題である。こうした問題に答えるために、本論は以下のような形で展開する。第一に、日本の国際関係言説の系譜学、第二に文化関係に焦点を当てた日本の外交史に焦点を当てる。第三に外交史から展開した文化間政治を取り上げる。第四に日本で展開している東アジア地域史を紹介し、現在の国際関係理論に対する貢献可能性を探る。

Introduction

This paper attempts to introduce a neglected aspect of Japanese international relations (IR), the study of regional history and its relation to the unpopularity of non-Western IR in Japan. I also argue, despite the negligence of Japanese IR scholars, the approach of regional history contains a rich potentiality to contribute to the contemporary non-/post-Western IR literature.

There are comprehensive surveys on Japanese IR in the past. Most prominent was by Takashi

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Inoguchi who has been making a long lasting effort to introduce and analyse the genealogy of Japanese IR for more than ten years (Inoguchi 2002, 2007, Inoguchi and Bacon 2001). His texts are, among other introductory text to Japanese IR, particularly detailed, informative, and comprehensive. In his articles, Inoguchi argues that there are at least four distinctive traditions in Japanese IR ; the *Staatslehre* tradition, Marxism, Historicism, and American style methodology. The *Staatslehre* tradition is politics for the state. It is aimed to contribute to making state policies and external strategies. Marxism was very strong until the 1960s and associated with the conception of *Oppositionswissenschaft*, literally means opposition science. Historicism, a history-centred approach to international relations, is still strong and many researchers of IR in Japan take this tradition. The American style methodology tradition appeared after the World War II. European influence over Japanese intellectuals was evident before the war, and the American methodology took over the similar role from the European discourses (Inoguchi and Bacon 2001, 11-12 ; Inoguchi 2007 371-373).

Although Inoguchi's introduction of Japanese IR to the Anglophone audience is comprehensive and detailed, he has not made much-detailed explication of historicism, particularly when it comes to the collaborative works of historical IR with area studies of Asia, while he explains historical approach to international relations only in terms of diplomatic history or *Staatslehre* tradition. In fact, when an introduction to Japanese IR is made and study of history is touched upon, it usually means the diplomatic history, not the historicism. This propensity is also evident in other introductory texts to Japanese IR recently published (Murata 2010 ; Yamamoto 2011). Like Inoguchi, they mention the historical approaches in explicating Japanese IR in general, yet their explanations solely focus on Japan's diplomatic history and stopped at an introductory level, and they have never substantiated the study of regional history to the adequate level it deserves.

The study of regional history is one of the historicisms grew on Japanese IR mainly developed together with regional studies of Asia. It is called *chiikishi* or regional history. It mainly focuses on economic and cultural exchanges among Asian nations and their influences on the diplomatic and political relations. It naturally makes a sharp contrast with the mainstream historicism of diplomatic relations of Japan, which either separate diplomatic history from economy and culture or takes determinism of foreign relations over economy and culture. While the latter has been generally regarded as a part of IR, the former has never been so as a legitimate approach to contemporary world affairs.

The questions to answer in this paper therefore include : What is the study of regional history? Why is it important to the contemporary international relations? Why has the mainstream Japanese IR scholars regarded it as unimportant? To what extent does it contribute to the existing post-Western IR literature and how? In order to address these questions, I start with genealogical descriptions of Japanese IR discourses. Secondly I will focus on a particular approach to diplomatic history, which attempts to historicise the Japanese foreign policies by concentrating on cultural relations among nations. This is an example of historicism with an exclusive focus on the relationship between diplomacy and culture. Thirdly, I will take up intercultural politics, which was an even more radical departure from the traditional diplomatic history tradition. This approach differs from the radical approach to diplomatic history introduced in the second part

in a sense that it takes into account the intercultural relations as a whole and became a bridge between diplomatic history and the study of regional history. Here I will also try to answer the reason why Japanese IR has neglected cultural historicism. Fourthly, the study on East Asian history will be introduced and I will make an attempt to assess it in terms of the contribution it may make to the contemporary IR literature.

Genealogy of Japan's IR

There are numerous books and articles published on Japanese IR. Just to name some books published in this new millennium, Glen Hook published two edited volume in 2001 titled *Japan's International Relations : Politics, economics and security* (Hook et.al. eds. 2001) and *Japan and Okinawa : Structure and subjectivity* (Hook et.al. eds. 2003). The focus of Suzuki Shogo's recent critique of English School is also on Japan and China (Suzuki 2009), Chris Goto-Jones published a single authored monograph *Political Philosophy in Japan : Nishida, the Kyoto School, and Co-Prosperity* (Goto-Jones 2005) and an edited volume *Re-Politicising the Kyoto School as Philosophy* (Goto-Jones ed 2008). If we take into account the historical understanding of Japan's diplomacy, Alan Tasman's *The Culture of Japanese Fascism* (Tansman ed 2009), Eri Hotta's two consecutive books *Japan 1941 : Count down to infamy* and *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War : 1931-1945*, Louise Young's *Japan's Total Empire : Manchuria and the Culture of War-time Imperialism* make good examples.

However, works published in the book form mainly deal with Japanese foreign relations and diplomatic history, and not many with intellectual history or theories of Japanese IR as an academic discipline. As to the theories and discourses of IR, it seems that we can find the more in journal articles than book form publications. In fact, the four traditions of Inoguchi which I mentioned in the introduction were developed in his journal articles (Inoguchi 2007 ; Inoguchi and Bacon 2001) and there have been several articles published successively. Some of them are overview of Japanese IR (Murata 2010 ; Yamamoto 2011), some engage in critical reflection (C. Chen 2011 ; 2012 ;), some focus upon particular figures of Japanese intellectuals (Nakano 2007 ; Shimizu 2011 ; 2015 ; K. Chen 2012 ; Lee 2013).

However, what characterises these works on Japanese IR is a total lack of attention to the study of regional history of Asia. For example, Inoguchi contends that the four distinctive traditions, which I mentioned in the introduction, are clearly evident in Japanese IR even today (Inoguchi and Bacon 2001, 12-13 ; Inoguchi 2007, 373), but never gave a slightest glance at the regional history.

Japanese IR has been more concerned with pragmatic issues than abstract theory and as a result, Japanese IR literature is concentrated on concrete issues and historical events surrounding Japan's foreign relations. Yamamoto Kazuya for example insists that 'Japan's IR studies have been characterized by their historical approaches'. Yamamoto maintains, this is, like Inoguchi suggested, the reason why Japanese IR has been characterised with the low interest in theoretical development (Yamamoto 2011, 260). While Inoguchi and Yamamoto did introduce historicism, they introduce historicism, which is, in their perception, characterised by its concreteness, in order to emphasise the lack of the development of abstract theories in Japan.

The historicism Inoguchi and Yamamoto mentioned requires a further explanation. In the article on the same topic of Japanese IR published in 2007, Inoguchi exemplified two different traditions within historical studies; *Staatslehre* and historicism. The *Staatslehre* tradition is 'greatly influenced military and colonial studies in the pre-war period and remained strong in a metamorphosed form even after 1945' (Inoguchi 2007, 372). This tradition's priority was given to provide sufficient historical-institutional backgrounds and describing events and personalities in contexts and their consequences in detail. Recently researches conducted in this tradition have been seen in the form of regional studies on the basis of sovereign state (e.g. Chinese studies, Thai studies, Indonesian studies, etc.), and maintained a close relationship with the government. In fact a bulk of research on this tradition have been conducted by government-related think tanks (Inoguchi 2007, 372). In this tradition, Foucault's power/knowledge relations appear very much intact.

One of the reasons for this intimate relationship between government and regional studies is related to the inception of the international relations. According to Kawata Tadashi and Ninomiya Saburo, prior to World War I, world affairs were not so important as domestic affairs as a subject of scholarly interest. They were rather dealt with in the field of international law or diplomatic history (Kawata and Ninomiya 1964, 190). This parallels with E. H. Carr's argument in the *Twenty Years' Crisis: 1919-1939* and Stanley Hoffmann's 'An American Social Science: International relations' article published in 1977, that international relations was exclusively the business of diplomats and international lawyers before the WWI (Carr 1946; Hoffmann 1977, 78-9). The post-war Japanese IR inherited this perception and, as a consequence, *Staatslehre* became the mainstream discourses of Japanese foreign relations.

The other research tradition in the historical studies is historicism. Interestingly, Inoguchi and Yamamoto all agree that the some, if not many, IR scholars are categorised in this tradition. In fact, most of scholars working on historical approaches of non *Staatslehre* tradition appear in the form of area studies, thus regarded as scholars of humanities. This is precisely the reason why, according to Inoguchi and Yamamoto, theory of IR has not been sufficiently developed (Inoguchi 2007; Yamamoto 2011).

Inoguchi explains 'the strong salience of area studies in Japan's IR study . . . reflects in part the reaction of academics to the domination of *Staatslehre* tradition' (Inoguchi 2007, 372), and many scholars of this tradition have taken the methodology of historicism. On the historical survey of the Japanese post-war IR theories, Yamamoto also touches upon the historicism of area studies in explaining the diversification of Japanese IR theory. He explicates that Japanese IR has been diversified after the end of the Cold War, and area studies is one of them. He defines the branch of area studies in IR under profound influence of World-System theory of Immanuel Wallerstein, and contends;

Wallerstein's macroscopic theory based on rich historical details fascinated many scholars who, while appreciative of the traditional emphasis on history, strove to develop general arguments about world politics, economy and society. Although these scholars did not always fully embrace the ideological bent of Wallerstein's argument, many arguments pertaining to regional systems, particularly in Asia, were developed (Yamamoto 2011, 270).

However, Yamamoto virtually stops at the brief introduction and does not go further. This is because the American IR profoundly influences Yamamoto's interpretation of IR as an academic discipline, and when he says 'theory', that actually means Eurocentric discourses of world affairs.

When Inoguchi and Yamamoto mention IR theory, it must be abstract and constructed on the basis of universality, objectivity, regularity, predictability and falsifiability. In other words, it must be scientific. This was particularly salient in the American IR, and there is an undeniable influence from it. As a result, historicism of area studies developed in Japan appears to be worth mentioning only when it has an appropriate counter part in the Western, American in particular, IR literature. In fact, the portion to touch upon historicism of area studies in Yamamoto's article is substantially smaller than that of diplomatic history.

However, this understanding of theory is too narrowly defined if we become receptive of the recent development of IR theory such as global civil society and world governance both of which take into account non-state actors in comprehending contemporary world affairs. Therefore Japanese IR must widen its scope of theory to what have not been considered to be inside of IR, that is, the study of history.

But how? The following sections will introduce some discourses of historicism mainly developed on the margins of the Japanese IR community, in order to clarify how the historicist discourses can contribute to the existing IR literature.

Diplomatic History and Culture

Diplomatic history definitely resides within the boundary of IR, although it is not on the core when it come to the theoretical concern. The most widely known to Western readers among the Japanese scholars taking a historical approach to world affairs is Akira Iriye, Professor of Emeritus of Harvard University. He is a historian, in fact a professor of history of the department of history at Harvard University. He is also known for his extensive writing on external relations of Japan, particularly on 'cultural internationalism'. He experienced the defeat of WWII and the chaotic social condition of post-war period, and this could have influenced his research in his later life.

Generally speaking, the study of diplomatic history consists of research on the history of foreign relations of one or a few countries, and the main target is either nation-states or diplomats. While Iriye is a historian of Japanese diplomatic history in the ordinary sense, he unconventionally tends to focus on cultural aspect to diplomacy. Iriye wrote in explaining the aim of his research ;

Japanese foreign relations are not simple. If we are to understand international order as a whole, we need at least to take into account three dimensions of military, economy, and thought (or culture). Sometime they are complementary to each other, sometime they are contradictory. Either way, this will provide a perspective to understand the ways in that Japan has interacted with the world by focusing upon the changes of Japan's military, economic, and cultural relations in the last fifty years (Iriye 1991, 8).

Although he has been contending that we need to focus on all of three dimensions to world affairs in

understanding the contemporary international relations, his academic inclination towards the cultural activities of international arena has been very much salient throughout his writings. This means a radical departure from the conventional understanding of diplomatic history and marked an advent of the new era of cultural diplomacy later fully developed Joseph Nye's soft power politics. In fact, he published such culture oriented monographs as *Power and Culture : the Japanese American War 1941-1945* (Iriye 1981), and *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Iriye 1997), both of which have exclusive focus on culture and its relation to diplomacy.

Focusing on culture contains, according to Iriye, important meanings to international relations literature, that is, to move away from the state-centric view of international relations to an academic area previously unfocused. He wrote in explaining the purpose of his book *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* published in 1997 'I hope the book will show that it is perfectly possible to narrate the drama of international relations without giving principal roles to separate national existences' (Iriye 1997, 1). Iriye maintains that while nation-state is, no doubt, a main focus of international relations, he also believes that 'interactions outside the (state-centric) framework exist, for which international relations may be an inadequate term but which, whatever one calls them, constitute just as much part of the story of world development as do the activities of national entities' (Iriye 1997, 1). This belief in the importance of activities of the non-state actors in shaping world affairs is the theoretical foundation on which his argument of the cultural politics is based.

Focusing on culture not only contributes to making sense of the shaping process of world affairs, but also of changing process of the world. He maintains ;

Individuals and groups of people from different lands have sought to develop an alternative community of nations and peoples on the basis of their cultural interchanges and that, while frequently ridiculed by practitioners of power politics and ignored by historians, their efforts have significantly altered the world community and immeasurably enriched our understanding of international affairs (Iriye 1997, 2).

In this way, he contends that the cultural dimension is undeniable or indispensable in understanding world affairs.

However, this task is not all that easy because the term 'culture' is very much confusing. There have been a numerous definitions and interpretations of the term, there seems no universally accepted definition of it on which every researcher has agreed. Iriye is well aware of this, and conscious about the need to find his own interpretation of the term 'culture'. He was, therefore, in need to provide his version of definition of 'culture', and contends that it is 'structures of meaning'. In this interpretation, the main focus in the cultural dimension to world affairs is on 'a variety of activities undertaken to link countries and peoples through the exchange of ideas and persons, through scholarly cooperation, or through efforts at facilitating cross-national understanding' (Iriye 1997, 3).

Iriye is very much aware that this task is also imperative in bridging the gap between international

politics and domestic politics which has, for a long time, divided the literature of history of international relations. In the traditional explication of world affairs, researchers have usually been forced to choose international factors such as balance of power and anarchical structure of international society or domestic factors such as individual efforts and contributions to political decision making as decisive determinants of foreign policies. He maintains that the challenge in this attempt has been somehow to try to bring the two perspectives together ; to develop a scheme in which local forces integrate themselves into a global situation (Iriye 1997, 179).

Iriye is very much concerned with this gap between the international and the domestic, and fulfilling it by utilising the concept of 'culture'. He argues that domestic and global politics may be connected, and this does not have to be done in terms of geopolitically defined international system, but of a culturally conceptualised world order. This in turn directs us to a new definition of international relations. Iriye wrote :

cross-national cultural forces and developments, linking the societies and peoples of different countries, can never be fully understood in a framework of geopolitics, economic mobilization, security, strategy, and the like. One needs an alternative definition of international relations, a definition of world affairs not as an arena of interstate power rivalries but as a field for interdependent forces and movements, not as a structure of power relations but as a social context for interchanges among individuals and groups across national boundaries. If such a cultural formulation were adopted, it would become easier to link international to domestic affairs (Iriye 1997, 180-1).

However, Iriye sees that this approach is pushed not only out of the general academic interest, but it is also out of the political concern in general. In the pre-war period, similar arguments to Iriye's, that cultural exchange would lead to peaceful reconciliation of contending nation-states, were in fact advocated by some historians and international relations scholars such as the Kyoto School of philosophy, but history tells us a tragic story that their discourses were abused by nationalists in justifying the aggressive territorial expansion of Imperialist Japan (Shimizu 2011 ; 2015). To avoid a repetition of this sad history, Iriye proposes that :

cultural internationalists in all countries will need to struggle against cultural chauvinists as well as geopolitical nationalists ; that is, both against parochial tendencies that deny possibilities for cross-cultural communication and against policy formulations that give primacy to military considerations (Iriye 1997, 185).

In this way, focusing on the third dimension to world affairs is inherited and further developed by Iriye into academic development as well as political practice.

Then, what was the consequence? Iriye definitely expanded the intellectual territory of IR and opened a space for a new development of what the diplomatic history could have made.

Intercultural Studies

While Iriye's attempt to widen the scope of IR definitely made a step forward a more culture oriented IR theorisation, not many Japanese scholars clearly captured the meaning of Iriye's contention. As a result, Japanese IR theoreticians did not pay sufficient attention to Iriye's cultural diplomacy and Iriye's argument was naturally placed back into the category of diplomatic history, which has nothing to do with theorisation of IR, despite its potential to be developed into an alternative theory of IR.

After Iriye's attempt, Kenichiro Hirano made another try to involve the cultural dimension in the theorisation of IR. He was born in 1937, and is also a scholar of the Japanese diplomatic history tradition. He received an undergraduate and masters degrees of liberal arts from Tokyo University, and moved to Harvard University later on where he obtained his Ph.D.. He moved back to Tokyo University after his doctoral study at Harvard, and taught international relations and intercultural relations there. He published wide-ranging subjects of international relations as well as cultural interactions of world affairs but he has been consistent in a sense that he has been focusing on the 'culture' in making sense of world affairs.

If one is to study international relations on culture, his textbook titled *Kokusai Bunkaron* (International Cultural Theory) is usually referred to as the starting point of the subject (Hirano 2000), and the book is now regarded as not-to-be-missed. Like Iriye, Hirano has also been concerned mainly with the term 'culture' and diplomatic history. However, his approach is substantially different from Iriye's. While Iriye defines 'culture' as an area, which consists of a part of world affairs, Hirano advocates seeing world affairs through cultural lenses. In other words, Iriye sees 'culture' as a separated realm from other areas such as political and economic, Hirano attempts to analyse world affairs as a whole with anthropological and cultural methodology.

But what exactly does this mean? If it is not to focus upon the cultural realm of world affairs as Iriye did, how could we place 'culture' in the theorisation process of IR? Hirano's explication is not only to focus on culture, but also to find out the cultural influence on the theorisation process. According to Hirano, theorisation is also a human activity, thus inevitably cultural. Thus Hirano states 'IR itself is cultural' (Hirano 2000, ii).

What exactly does 'culture' mean to Hirano then? He defines the term as 'distinctive "bodies" of a variety of individuals and groups' which can be regarded as subjects performing important roles in shaping the world (Hirano 2000, ii). In the age of globalisation, these subjects are no longer static. They are rather active and dynamic in terms of geography and social class. People are moving here and there easily transcending national borders and socio-political boundaries. Thus a theory of international relations which does not count them including the theoretician themselves should be severely criticised for its lack of attention to the ever-changing nature of the world.

However, Hirano's definition of 'culture' sometimes becomes unstable. On one hand, he defines, as stated above, 'culture', in a very much abstract way, to be 'bodies' of subjects, thus cultural relations means the relationship between the 'bodies'. On the other hand, he also uses the term 'culture' in referring to concrete individuals or non-state communities which supposedly perform crucial roles in shaping inter-

national structure. In this sense, Hirano's 'culture' contains both abstract and concrete meanings which have, in either way, been forgotten in the IR literature.

One of the good examples of Hirano's interpretation of international cultural relations is a story of the end of the Cold War. This incident has been often understood as the victory of the West and the collapse of the communist regimes. According to Hirano, this is too simplistic an interpretation. He argues instead that the end of the Cold War was not suddenly marked in the form of the collapse of the Berlin Wall. The inception of the end of the Cold War was long before that, which is, at least from the 1960s when civil movements for democracy elapsed everywhere on the planet such as the Prague Spring and the May Revolution of Paris. He contends that these movements are intimately related to the end of Cold War although they were deeply hidden in the civil society, thus invisible to those perceiving IR in terms only of inter-state and diplomatic relations. In other words, the perception of theoreticians of IR and diplomatic history were biased by the culture of the traditional IR, which exclusively relies on state-centric view of the Westphalian system. That the contemporary IR theorists and diplomatic history specialists failed to predict the collapse of the Soviet Union means another important theoretical implication. This means, Hirano maintains, that the end of Cold War refers not only to the internal decay of the East, but also to the internal decay of the West (Hirano 2000, 190).

Hirano's argument parallels with the postmodern critic of the American realism of IR. Jim George, for example, criticizes the U.S. foreign policy specialists for their lack of attention to the realms traditionally regarded as residing outside of IR in explaining their failure in predicting the demise of the Soviet Union. Although George does not explicitly use the term culture, practically he develops the same theory as Hirano does, and contends that the really the U.S. foreign policy analysts was the reality they made themselves (George 1994).

Another example of his argument on intercultural relations is his severe critique of Samuel Huntington's 'clash of civilizations' theses. Hirano contends that Huntington's theory confuses two similar but different words – 'civilization' and 'culture'. Huntington unquestionably uses these two words in an interchangeable manner, thus he confuses 'clash of civilization' with 'cultural friction'. Hirano, on the other hand, strictly distinguishes these two words and argues that 'cultural friction' leads to efforts of the parties involved for reconciliation, thus becomes one of the main means to avoid the 'clash of civilization'. Hirano maintains that this moment takes place mainly in individuals' minds. Taking cases of Japanese citizens and politicians encountering the West in the 19th century as examples, Hirano argues that it is the hope for reconciliation, which resides in the minds of individuals that make it possible to eventually avoid the 'clash of civilizations'. Therefore 'cultural frictions' are always reconciled locally. However, the possibility of local reconciliations of 'cultural friction' has been intentionally eliminated from Huntington's argument in order to emphasize the confrontational nature of international relations (Hirano 2000, 28-33). Thus, to Hirano, Huntington's exclusive focus on 'clash of civilization' rather than 'cultural friction' is a characteristic of his theorisation on the basis of the perception towards sovereign actors, which is very much Western cultural product, and the concept of 'clash' is pre-given and assumed prior to 'civilization' in the theorisation process of the post-Cold War political environment.

In this way, Hirano's contention of international cultural relations provides new lenses through which we look at world affairs. His approach to world affairs is very much on the tradition of Japanese IR which focuses on cultural relations among not only different nations, but also among different individuals and communities. However his approach unfortunately failed to capture the attention of IR audience or has never been recognised as a legitimate approach to world affairs in the Japanese IR community, and inevitably he set up a new academic society called the Japan Society of Intercultural Studies (JSIC) and became the founding chair of it.

The Study of Regional History

Despite the unceasing academic efforts on culture and IR, and significant addition of a new dimension to the traditional international relations made by Hirano, the mainstream IR theory is still constructed on the basis of unhistorical perception towards security and state sovereignty even today. All those working on the relationship between culture and IR has found its place rather under the name of different academic subjects ; the study of regional history. Notably the most prominent scholar in this context is Hamashita Takeshi, a historian and regional studies scholar of Asia.

Hamashita was born in the Shizuoka Prefecture and academically trained in the University of Tokyo. He has written wide variety of subjects such as modern Chinese history, the tribute system, Okinawa and Japanese imperialism, and critical IR. Among those, his interpretation of the China-centred world system until 18th century and its demise afterwards is widely known, and in fact his argument inspired the Andre Gunder Frank's *Re-Orient* (Frank 1998), and challenges John King Fairbank's interpretation of the tribute system as the cause of China's failure to protect itself from the Western dominance (Fairbank and Ch'en, 1968).

The tribute system has been the central focus of the so-called recently emerging Chinese School including David Kang or Qin Yanqing. They show how stable the world was under the tribute system and argue that due to the tribute system from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth century, according to Kang, East Asia had enjoyed peace and order before the violent arrival of Western imperialism. In contrast to the Westphalian system of interstate relations, which was defined by its formal equality and incessant interstate conflict, the East Asian tribute system was characterised by formal inequality and 'centuries of stability among the core participants' (Kang 2010, 201).

Kang's and Qin's contentions were developed relatively recently, Hamashita had already developed a similar argument of governance and the tribute system as early as 1980s. It is also worth noting here that his analysis of the system is very much detailed and in some ways far more radical than the narratives recently developed in IR. According to Hamashita, the world before 1800 was China-centred. What supported the development of China in that era was the tribute system. The tribute system involves such tributary states as Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Ryukyu, Vietnam, the Philippines, and so forth. They sent tributary missions to China regularly, while China sent envoys to tributary states for official recognition when they had new rulers. What is important in this context is merchants and traders who accompanied the envoys. Hamashita sees that the volume of private trade progressively enlarged over time while the categories and

quantities of goods traded were officially regulated. As a consequence, the main purpose of the tribute trade 'came to be the pursuit of profits through the unofficial trade that was ancillary to the official system' (Hamashita 1989, 75-56, Arrighi 2007, 261).

On the basis of his explication of the tribute system, Hamashita develops his contention that the core of world economy resided in East Asia up until 1800 with the tribute system. According to Hamashita, Europe was no exception.

George III's envoy Lord Macartney was dispatched to the court of the Ch'ien Lung Emperor with the title of Ambassador and Plenipotentiary Extraordinary in 1793. Macartney recorded in his journal, 'I pretend not to notice that 'English Ambassador with Tribute to the Chinese Emperor' is written on the ship's flag, and I have not yet complained about it. Given an appropriate opportunity, I shall give them warning' (Hamashita 1989, 76-77).

According to Hamashita, China was losing its momentum sometime around 1800 in terms its transcendental power over its tribute states, and obviously the above passage was written around the time. However, it still shows China's perception towards the world, and it is evidently clear that it regarded England as one of the tribute states.

Hamashita contends that the study of regional history has a tremendous potential to change the wide spread perception of IR towards the world. It shows the possibility of different interpretations of world history as the record of tribute system shows us. It also proves that the world order has been constructed not on the basis of a universalised principle of non-intervention or state sovereignty. It is rather on the basis of interactions of economy and culture, the centre of which human beings, not nation-states, reside. While it is still possible to argue that the tribute system itself was hierarchical, thus constructed upon a universalised principle, it was rather flexible and fluid in terms of economic and cultural exchanges among peoples, which took place over the blurred state borders (Hamashita 2008).

Then what does this study mean to the contemporary IR literature of Japan in general? Inoguchi, as I mentioned in the introduction, emphasises the differences in the four traditions of Japanese IR ; the *Staat-slehre* tradition, Marxism, Historicism, and American style methodology. Each of them has its characteristics and disadvantages according to Inoguchi, thus he emphasises the differences among them. However, researchers from other countries in the Asia-Pacific rather see similarity among them. Ching-Chang Chen contends, for instance, these four traditions seem to be based on at glance different assumptions and theoretical compositions, none of them pay sufficient attention to the narratives developed in other countries in Asia. This is because 'Japanese IR academics believe they can learn little from the concepts and experiences of other Asian countries, because Asia lacks Westphalia' (C. Chen 2012, 471). In fact, all four traditions Inoguchi mentioned have their origins in the European or American tradition, and imported to Japan in the course of its modernisation process. Therefore it can be argued that the reason why the study of regional history has long been neglected in the Japanese IR literature lies in the history of IR as an academic discipline itself which developed as a subject to make sense of and analyse the events and occurrences tak-

ing place in the world. Obviously the world they see is divided by strict and robust state boundaries. In other words, the study focusing on the different interpretations and explanations of the world based on the regional history remain residing outside Japanese IR as far as IR is a self-claimed discipline of the Western tradition and based on the Westphalian subjectivity.

This is precisely what Hamashita makes his argument against. For him, history must be narrated from the margins if it is to understand the world in terms more of concrete human interactions than of abstract concepts of nation-states. Narrating the history of margins has at least two important and intertwined meanings. First, it gives us a clue of hidden aspects of world affairs, which has never been previously revealed. It complements and reinforces more precise understanding of the contemporary world, thus becomes the basis of our future vision. Second, while it complements the existing knowledge of contemporary IR, it also relativise the traditional knowledge. The relativisation is in some ways political. As the world has been constructed upon a particular perception to the world, it has benefited those who share the same way of looking at the world and damaged the others. Thus, narrating the world from the margins contains an ethical meaning, and thus its action is political.

Then, why has Japanese IR neglected the voices from the margins? Tetsuya Sakai, a diplomatic history specialist of Tokyo University, attempts to situate narratives on the margins of IR by focusing humanities and argues that the reason why the voices of margins has been disregarded was because of the two different but intertwined world orders of IR (Sakai 2007). By taking up some intellectuals in the past who can be seen as being situated on the margins of the conventional IR literature, he argues that many of them concentrated on non-state actors and their interactions across the state boundaries.

According to Sakai, study of regional history in Japanese IR has actually a long history. Initially, the study of Japan's foreign relations was divided into international law and politics, and colonial policy studies. Sakai contends that the former was inevitably associated closely with law, politics and economics, the latter with humanities including literature, ethnology and history. Sakai argues that IR literature used to be developed on the basis of the division of international relations and colonial policy studies, as the disciplines researching the 'international order' and 'imperial order' respectively.

'International order' here refers to the relationship between equal states mostly in the European context, while 'imperial order' was an order mainly forcibly placed on the areas outside of it. The former was, and still is, more about the institutional arrangements and organisational management of politics and international law effective to relatively equal members – mainly European nation-states, and the latter was more about blunt and bare economic and cultural power over those who were colonised (Sakai 2007).

These two orders of the world profoundly influenced the development of the intellectual society, and the former became the core of the discipline of international relations, and the latter of the regional and colonial studies. Although both are by no means separable in a sense that the international order was practically maintained by the suzerain states' unceasing exploitation of the colonised areas, thus by the imperial order.

The two-order understanding of world affairs is by no means limited to Japan of course. Similar argument can be found in Edward Keene's explication of the Westphalian system and colonial system (Keene

2002 ; loc.1346/2642) and Shogo Suzuki's criticism of English School, in which he contends that English School only concentrates on the international society and did not pay sufficient attention to the function of imperialism to support the former (Suzuki 2009, 11).

Japanese IR has been mainly developed in terms of the international order in Sakai's sense, and rarely gave an academic attention to the imperial order simply because the latter was regarded as the subject of regional and colonial studies. On the other hand, the scholars of regional studies were well aware how important the violent control over the colonised areas was for maintaining the international order. As a result, those who were engaging in the regional and colonial studies, particularly in the post-WWII era, has inclined to formulate counter discourses to the mainstream IR and gradually moved to the discipline of regional studies. In fact, Hamashita explicitly criticized the IR discourse repeatedly in his articles and monographs.

Implications to the Post-Western Discourse

Then what does this specifically indicate to the post-Western IR discourse? There are at least two implications we can find there. First, Hamashita's analysis of regional history reveals how much our perception is biased by the Westphalian presumptions of state sovereignty and strict state borders, and the extent to which we are looking at the world on the basis of strictly demarcated borders. His investigation of the tribute system lays out the stable political order before the arrival of the European modernity was mainly supported by the enormous amount of transactions and exchanges in the economic and cultural relations, which was, in turn, guaranteed and encouraged by the system of rather blurred boundaries of the concerned states.

Hamashita's explication of regional history also shows us the importance of looking through the lenses of the periphery. In this context, Hamashita was particularly concerned with the history of Ryukyu. During the 17th to 19th century, Ryukyu was under two different state controls, China and Japan. However, both of suzerain states did not intervene each other, but practically ignored the fact that Ryukyu was at least formerly under control of the other state. What is remarkable here is that the system of the blurred state boundaries made it possible in practice that a state became under the control of two different state jurisdictions. In other words, it shows a different interpretation of the state sovereignty and proves the autonomous state sovereignty of non-interventionism is merely a particular provincial interpretation.

Second, it is evidently clear here that Hamashita's argument surely contribute to the existing IR literature by providing a moment to reflect upon our mind-set in term of state sovereignty and strict boundaries. However the genealogy of Japanese IR in which the mainstream scholars have ignored Hamashita's insistence in the importance of regional history made it clear that a different interpretation and understanding from the mainstream Westphalian perception towards world affairs has a difficulty to be sufficiently recognised to be developed into a new theory of IR. In fact while the Kyoto School philosophers before the WWII, for instance, made similar contention, their argument of World History, which was indeed similar to the contemporary Chinese School, was later abused by the imperial government in order to justify their operational manoeuvre to occupy the lands of the Asian continent as well as Taiwan (Shimizu 2011 ;

2015).

Third, the perception on the basis of the Westphalian nation-state is more persistent than we presume. In fact, there is an irresistible temptation in every moment we talk about world affairs to use such concepts as Japan, China, and the US as nation-state in the Westphalian sense. This temptation appears a variety of forms. As the case of the study of regional history in Japan indicates, we might be simply excluded from the discipline of IR. Or, in order to obtain the recognition of the IR community, we might be forced to make a deal by using nation-states to formulate our theory as the Kyoto School philosopher did before the WWII. As a consequence, we become forced to think of the contemporary world of the decline of the US hegemony in terms of the strictly demarcated state boundaries, thus uncritically ask which nation-state will the next hegemony. However, as Hamashita suggests, what we need to question in making sense of contemporary world affairs is not about which nation-state in the Westphalian sense will become the next provider of universalised political principles, but how we stop our exclusivist thinking of the world based only on the Westphalian system for a post-Western world.

Conclusion

In this article I tried to clarify the importance of perception of regional history in understanding and imagining the contemporary world. It also shows how much our perception towards the world is limited by the Westphalian principles of state sovereignty and non-intervention on the basis of state borders. While historical understanding is widely recognised as an important approach to contemporary international relations, its scope is also limited by the universalised principles, and as a consequence only diplomatic history has barely been seen as a part of IR. However, despite the introduction of culture into the IR literature made by diplomatic history such as Iriye, Hirano and Hamashita, the importance of cultural exchange has never attracted sufficient attention of the IR audience. As a result, when we think of an alternative to the contemporary international order such as the tribute system, it is narrated by the Westphalian mind-set such as 'China's tribute system', in which China directly connotes PRC, rather than China as a governing system of the world. Therefore what we need to have in mind is a question in understanding Japanese IR 'What Japan are we talking about?'

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Mediating Traditional Theatre : Technological Strategies for Interpreting Japanese Performing Arts

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メディアを通じての伝統芸能 ——能狂言、歌舞伎、文楽の翻訳、解説の戦略——

サルズ・ジョナ*

Mediating or Meddling?

How much explanation is desirable when experiencing a live performance? When the form is as conventionalized, and the language as distant from the contemporary idiom as Japanese traditional theatre, it seems that there has continually been a subsidiary market for auxiliary texts: illustrations, summaries, or modern-language translations. In the 21st century, wireless, internet, and projection technologies have enabled inexpensive advances to these various methods. The research here examines the strategies for mediating tradition in a range of traditional genres in Japan today, to encourage both domestic and international spectators to appreciate the ancient forms.

Mediating or Meddling?

舞台芸術を観る際どれぐらいの説明が適度なのか? 日本伝統芸能のように動きの決まった型が多く、セリフが現代語とかけ離れている場合、昔からずっと今まで補助的イラスト、あらずじ、現代語訳などを利用してはいたはずで。

21世紀からは、ワイルレス、IT、撮影技術が伝統な道具から大きく進化してきました。当研究はこれが国内外の客の古典芸能への感性を高めるのに果たした役割、その様相について研究する。

The Problem : Diminishing Popularity and Accessibility

Scholars, journalists, and performers themselves of traditional theatrical arts in Japan warn of the increasing danger of dwindling audiences and calcified repertory (Interview with Takemoto Mikio in Salz, ed. 2016). Except for kabuki, which always seems able to adapt to ride high on the waves of current trends, there seems to be a real possibility of Japanese classical performing arts becoming extinguished at the beginning of the 21st century. Always supported by amateur students, noh and nihonbuyo have lost millions of students to hobbyists enjoying hula dance, ballet and other imported forms. Moreover, due to the effects of the weak economy, young amateur students and audiences are difficult to attract due to their shorter attention spans, and necessity of concentration for a long period in an age where television and game entertainment can be had at a finger's touch. However since the Edo period at least, perhaps the greatest obstacle to direct enjoyment of classical arts has been the increasingly distant Japanese language employed.

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Producers have long provided summaries of plays and helpful vocabulary hints in programs (pamphlets and pre-performance lectures). But technological advances have in the last decade permitted a widening variety of strategies for explication : pre-show lecture-demonstrations, projected titles, simultaneous interpretation, and even direct-transmission Wii-devices.

During this project I visited national theatres (Tokyo, Osaka) and other venues employing different strategies (Yamamoto Noh theatre, Kabuki-za) to attend performances, observe the technical challenges of such interpreting strategies and spectator viewing habits. I interviewed translators, administrators, and technicians on how they arrived, through trial and error, at the present systems, and interviewed performers as to how audience attention and spectator habits had changed through these technologies.

Despite the universal employment of such strategies for mediating traditional theatre at the national theatres, there has been little but journalistic essays concerning these mediating strategies in Japanese or English. I will draw upon recent studies on bilinguality and “side-texts” in theatrical performance (Lindsay, ed. 2006 ; Nornes, 2007 ; Carlson 2009 ; Baines et.al., ed 2011), to analyze the effectiveness of present systems and potential for future improvement.

Pre-History : Mediating Traditional Performances

Noh, kyogen and other medieval *geinô* were ostensibly viewed directly, in an unmediated fashion, from their earliest times. Although written in a complex meld of poetry and prose, the allusions to famous songs, and narrative sources in poetry, war ballads, or novels would have been well-known to cogniscenti, who could enjoy the authors’ recognition and subtle interweaving of themes and allusions. A list of program titles (noh, kyogen) or *banzuke* billboard (kabuki, bunraku) would be employed, but spectators were expected to fully concentrate on the stage, perhaps providing their own expert commentary and critique to neighbors.

The Edo period saw the rise of the publication of helpful summaries, many illustrated, and critical commentaries (Kimbrough, ed., 2011). There are many factors contributing to this new niche of “goods” in stage performance. The “classicization” of language began, as it froze into printed texts even while the spoken language evolved rapidly as Edo became the political center, while still reliant on religious (Kyoto) and economic (Osaka) centers for their authority. When the shogunate demanded all noh titles, costumes, properties, and playscripts be inventoried in the early 17th century, what had been variable family texts, and somewhat improvised kyogen, were organized into “schools” (*ryûgi* 流儀). Protected within the samurai class, noh and to a lesser extent kyogen became popular hobbies among aspirant townspersons. This study required “official” textbooks, approved by designated *iemoto* (家元, headmasters) of established schools.

The nascent publishing industry found a perennial hit in *utai-bon*, libretti for noh plays, which were read and practiced by many townspersons, emulating the official art of the samurai. The social intimacy of singing noh songs together was a popular pastime, one like chess or poetry circles which brought together strangers from many communities for a common pursuit. The publication of *utai-bon*, some with descriptions of costumes and footwork, for avid disciples, helped spread noh throughout the provinces, permitting

many local teachers to make a living through instructing elite and middle-class hobbyists.

Meanwhile printing techniques advanced to permit elaborate, color illustrations that served at least three purposes in mediating traditional performance for the masses: archival, pedagogical, and artistic. Highlights from famous scenes in plays, whether published on their own or within playscripts, were produced in all price ranges, sizes, and quality. Although the sense of perspective, viewing areas, and subsidiary characters were often vague or poorly drawn, the details of the costuming, properties, masks, and movements accord with how these plays are performed today. This leads scholars to believe that these print artists were themselves advanced practitioners or avid fans, obviously deeply connected to the worlds they depicted. The wealth of materials available served better than the ideal of the written text in conveying the actual performance, “kaleidoscopically mediated” (Adam Kern in Kimbrough, 2014, p.163)

Although some of these drawings are crudely drawn caricatures, meant for quick publishing in popular songbooks, others show the care of illustration and publishing (monthly subscriptions sets as with *Tsukioka Kôgyô*) that prove worthy as artistic objects on their own. The framing of performers in the print, their colorful costumes and striking poses, show evidence of a deep understanding of *noh* and *kyôgen*, also nourished by examples from Western portraiture, perspective and coloration.

The *E-iri Kyôgen* books contained fifty scripts from *kyôgen* plays, a long-running seller throughout the Meiji period. Four subsequent sets covered nearly the complete range of the extant repertoire. Although once believed to be actual family texts, it is now thought that these illustrated textbooks were amateur compilations from many sources, or perhaps even audience members copying down recollected dialogue. Each play is illustrated with a single illustration, a remarkably accurate depiction of the climactic moment of a play. Although eventually deemed by scholars as inaccurate pirated texts, these copiously illustrated booklets were continually reprinted throughout Meiji.

Since many of these illustrated manuals were maintained within actors’ homes as well, it is assumed that professionals employed them as well as outside amateurs to preserve, remember, and reconstruct traditions. Later, performers wishing to revive variant versions or plays referred to these images, thus recreating performances based upon illustrations that once documented their ancestors. The loop of stage to page to stage again both enabled the classical tradition to maintain itself, while also permitting actors to experiment, knowing that the tradition would not be lost if concrete repositories of orthodox versions were available.

Kabuki *Hyôbanki* Critiques

One might think that the popular kabuki, with its spectacle, dance-driven plots, and idiomatic, vernacular language would need few filters or supporting materials to be appreciated by its mostly urban spectators. Yet actor prints, serving as both promotion and souvenir, were published in all sorts of formats, quality, and price-ranges. The *hyôbanki*, originally a parody of ratings of prostitutes for erstwhile playboys, featured detailed descriptions and ratings of actors who had been hired for that year’s seasons at the major theatres. These “how to” and “what to look for” manuals, similar to sports preview magazines, became increasingly detailed and popular throughout the seventeen and eighteen centuries.

It was not necessary to actually go to the theatre to be a fan. The rise in literacy in the Meiji period, coupled with kabuki's growing popularity, led to illustrated published scripts, often with imaginative drawings, which were read as enjoyable stories unto themselves, separate from their stage productions that not all could afford or experience directly on a regular basis. Their proliferation, including fanciful illustrations that filled out the imagery only spoken about on stage, contributed to kabuki's growing fan-base, as readers enticed by the stories went to see the real plays enacted live (no doubt also to see blood dripping from the ceiling or a ritual disembowelment, as depicted in the illustrations). Just as there was a wide spectrum of performance venues for aspiring actors—Edo or regional, large and small, adult and child—there were many ways in which avid fans could “own” some part of the kabuki that they adored.

Freedom, Poverty, and Copyright

The impact of the Meiji Restoration on traditional arts cannot be overstated. Fluid and popular forms became systematized; regional variations disappeared with easing of travel restrictions and train travel; censored plays and designated playhouse areas were abolished, opening up closed forms to new publics eager for a night (or day) on the town. In addition to Asakusa operas and Takarazuka musicals, *kamishibai* and *benshi* films, a plethora of new theatre genres emerged in the early 20th century seeking new audiences. The now “old drama” of kabuki, and perennially anachronistic noh-kyogen, employed various strategies to entice and maintain audiences. Published scripts, memoirs (*geidan*) and even secret teachings (*hiden*), were fed by interest from the increasing amateur ranks (who might become professional through a complex licensing system in noh or nihonbuyo), and admitting female performers (for kabuki's dance component, nihonbuyo; for noh, from the 1930s) can all be viewed as mediations and elaborations of the art. Access to the main Way of the art became possible through many subsidiary paths in literature, art, history, and philosophy.

With the Meiji era, noh and kyogen performers found themselves without patronage, venues, and fans. With the dissolution of the shogunate that had supported them as their exclusive art for three hundred years, actors had to forge an independent living. On the other hand, kabuki emerged from restrictions imposed on it by the Confucianist shogunate, expanding its theatres and enlarging its repertory. Moving into new territories and spectatorships, new materials for understanding the basics were necessary for the newly democratic, modernizing masses.

For noh, kyogen, and many other elite arts, the power of the *iemoto* system outlived the shogunate bureaucracy that had instituted it. Without shogunal patronage, professionals turned to elite amateurs, teaching noh singing and dancing as a refined hobby. Noh *utaibon*, published today as it was for a hundred years, includes the copyrighted official text of a particular school. They increasingly included summaries of the plots, including significant *kogaki* (小書き) variations, as well as drawings of the standard costumes and properties. The scripts are libretti but meant for amateur students, showing the sesame-seed marks indicating the chanting rhythm and intonation. Dance and acting movements are indicated with shorthand names for *kata* (patterns), while small caricatures indicate what the stage picture looks like at any point in the lyrics. These libretti are for sale in the lobbies of larger noh theatres today, or in bound

books of hundreds containing just the lyrics, practice texts for the legions of loyal amateur students. Often during performances today one can see older patrons gazing carefully at their laps at their “hymnals” during performances, even marking in red the variants (or mistakes!) that they hear. Unconsciously, many hum or sing the words softly, even during professional performances, evidence of the somatic nature of noh, where 90% of spectators may be current or past disciples of performers. The weight of so many affiliated spectators make major changes in style or delivery difficult. The subsidiary material has become the tail wagging the dog.

Traditional genres and their actors were vital to the cinematic media since its early days. The first extant Japanese film is an 1899 documentation of a performance of the kabuki play *Momijigari*, projected as substitute for the ailing actor Onoe Kikugoro V and later shown following his death, and soon after by that of co-star Ichikawa Danjuro V in 1903. This tribute to individual performers was succeeded by numerous documents of plays in the first decades of the twentieth century. The noh play *Aoi no ue* was recorded in film in a precious film from 1935, with the premonition that this ancient art form could not survive long the vicissitudes of the new world of international military expansion and movie entertainment (it did). Yet it wasn't until after the war, when martial themes of noh and the patriotism that it cultivated were questioned by post-war democracy, that new materials encouraging artistic apprenticeship—including the first female professionals—in these arts truly began to grow.

Foreign Appreciation for Japanese “Classical” Traditions

As part of a campaign to secure the future of Japan's traditional arts as it entered the modernizing currents of global trade, politicians and performers actively sought out foreign tours and tourists, translated texts and wrote introductory manuals, encouraging non-Japanese to regard native classical arts as high-water marks of artistic excellence and proof of a refined civilization.

Translations and Introductions

A wealth of noh scholarship and translations were published in the early 20th century, including in English Ernest Fenollosa/Ezra Pound and Arthur Waley, and Noel Peri (French). However these were “armchair translators”, who had never visited Japan—Pound relied on notes of the late Fenollosa ; Waley included a letter from Oswald Sickert on the performance aspects. It was only in the 1930s that noh as performance began to be introduced.

Kabuki was introduced earlier in numerous articles in theatre specialist magazines, some based on witnessing the extended tours of Sadayakko Kawkami (based on her geisha dances) and smaller kabuki troupes in the 1930s. Zoe Kincaid's monumental *Kabuki* (1925) was, following Japanese scholarly tradition, also performance based. Ichikawa Sadanji II's successful tour to Moscow and St. Petersburg in 1928 received critical acclaim as performance, stimulating influential essays including influential film theorist Sergei Eisenstein.

Curiously, it was the German Frederick Perzynski whose 2 volumes on noh and kyogen masks first provided a categorization and history of these precious crafts, even before any Japanese scholar had at-

tempted to do so. Although my present research examined the mediation employed by Japanese performers and producers to introduce traditional arts, one could easily reverse the lens to examine how the interest by Yeats and Craig, Brecht and Britten moved some Japanese literary and arts scholars to reexamine their own forgotten treasures.

Tours and Tourists

In fact, opinions of foreign dignitaries, whether political or artistic, had always mattered to Japanese cultural entrepreneurs. (Getting a stamp of approval from an international celebrity is still employed in “returned from Russian tour” performances and “preview of American tour production” promotions.) Early visitors to Japan included the Prince of Wales, former President Ulysses S. Grant, opera star Minnie Hauk, and the King of Hawaii. They were taken to noh but also to kabuki, in specially-devised programs for their entertainment. Although some leeway was given to make them comfortable—fans pushing ice-cooled air for Grant; red-white-and-blue kimonos and flags were sported by dancers—the performances themselves were highly traditional, and the appreciative words of these dignitaries reported upon (their yawns or naps went unrecorded).

Incoming foreigner dignitaries or the hosting of resident foreigners also stimulated efforts to provide summaries and translations of plays prepared for them. By the 1920s, the theatre journal *Nogaku* could refer to the “foreign-format” in describing a visit by Albert Einstein to noh, producers having learned to shorten programs to climactic scenes during visits by Indian poet-playwright Rabinath Tagore and Charlie Chaplin. Presumably they were given careful explanations before and during performances by solicitous hosts. Einstein is said to have been particularly interested in the kyogen mask for *Buaku*. Noted noh scholar Nogami Toyochirô describes his preparation of a program for Bernard Shaw on his visit to Japan, and Shaw’s ability to “grasp the artistic intent” by perhaps not understanding the words. When Benjamin Britten visited *Sumidagawa* that had been arranged for his visit in 1956, he insisted on returning to see it again, at another theatre a few days later, and even asked for a recording to be sent. (Six years later, he showed his understanding of the play by his adaptation of the story to the groundbreaking chamber-opera *Curlew River*). One could say that Japanese interlocutors mediated the exotic noh and kabuki forms for foreign guests, whose appreciation in turn was employed to attract mass media and popular interest, and perhaps government support.

As Japan began its military expansionism in the early 20th century, it sought to display a measure of its civilization by portraying its traditional forms of theatre as equally worthy of esteem as Western opera or ballet. Tsubouchi Shôyô wrote enthusiastic essays encouraging the development of a Japanese dance form “nihon buyô” to rival Western ballet, and penned practical experiments with Western instrumentation and dance mixed with Japanese traditional ballads and shamisen.

Proselytizers of Japanese art, dance, and theatre found ready listeners at ladies’ clubs and scholarly societies in London and America from the 1900s. Articles in poetry and literature journals, and later books by Noguchi Yonejirô contributed to a continuing fascination for Hiroshige, noh, and other Japanese art forms. Umemoto Rikuhei, head of a small traditional school of buyo, published a remarkable volume in

1936, in an attempt to further knowledge for those he had already visited while in London and Paris. It included photographs and floor-patterns for numerous dance-steps, summaries of three plays performed at these lecture-demonstrations, and descriptions (in italics) of his movements by a British observer, who cautioned that sometimes “it cannot be put into words.” Clearly Umemoto was positioning his own school, the art of *nihonbuyo*, and Japanese performance as a whole as something worthy of Western admiration, even if it meant strategic omissions and stresses. Describing his own school’s lineage, he notes Bugaku, the 1000-year old court dance, with no mention of its roots in China. He discusses his father’s ties to the imperial court, but not to the courtesan quarter from which virtually all *buyo* sprang. And his “authentic” dances were credited as being arranged by a British arbiter. Gradually, individuals and groups were learning how best to introduce their art forms to gain Western appreciation, a new income revenue and means for international understanding.

Although performances had been given in colonial Korea in the Meiji period, mainly to admiring Japanese emigrants and dignitaries, the first tour to Western countries was not until 1952 in Venice, and then at the request of the Italian government’s Marco Polo Exposition, rather than the Japanese government. Programs were prepared with translations into Italian, English, and French. Significantly, the event was held on a *noh* stage placed upon an ancient Roman stage, architecturally tying these classical traditions together. (Similarly, later tours by *noh-kyogen* troupes would be held at the Egyptian pyramids, Greek amphitheatres in Athens, and London’s Shakespeare’s Globe, as well as the “new tradition” of New York’s Central Park’s outdoor stage).

The Japanese tourist industry also began introducing various aspects of traditional culture in a series of photo-illustrated books. These included dozens of photographs, color prints, a *washi*-like velum paper cover, and expert authors, including Noguchi and leading *noh* scholar Nogami Toyochirō. *Noh Plays* (2), *The Japanese drama* (6) *kabuki* (7) *Odori Japanese dance* (22), and *kabuki drama* (23) were published from 1934-6. They are brief, well-written histories, and longer introductions to technical aspects of staging, aesthetics, and leading actors as well as practical issues of pricing and theatre-going conventions. They are generously illustrated with leading actors in their famous roles, as well as shots of the spectators and theatre architecture. No doubt a handy guide for post-war tourists to Tokyo, *Kabuki* was republished four times, the latest in 1957, with additional play summaries and new photographs.

Whether through official governmental support or entrepreneurial strategies, Japanese theatre was deemed essential when hosting foreign dignitaries. Programs were prepared for visiting dignitaries, or, as in 1936, for a visit by educators. Plays included popular favorites *Funabenkei* and *Hagoromo*. The Bunka Kyokai (predecessor to The Japan Foundation) sponsored one *Hagoromo/Aoi no ue* program. It included scripts with Romanized letters and Italian, Spanish, and English translation.

The Japan Foundation has used its Kyoto office as a sponsor of an annual *noh* performance, originally free now at nominal price. Leaflets are sent to area universities with large international student populations, and tickets provided for Japan Foundation fellows in the Kansai Region. Programs in English are supplemented by lectures in some years.

National Theatres : Entertainment and Education

Japan is perhaps unique in the world in sponsoring six physically and organizationally separate national theatres, most containing multiple halls. Built over a few decades of economic growth, they share common goals of conservation, continuation, and reconstruction. By sponsoring performances, holding exhibits, publishing lavishly illustrated programs, and archiving video in research libraries, these national theatres attempt to define and preserve established practices accessible to a wide public. Generous subsidies of ticket prices (half that of private theatres), sponsoring training programs (in kabuki, bunraku, noh, and kyogen), producing rare, large-scale, or full-act programs, they attempt simultaneously to expand the repertoire, players, and spectators. Occasionally revived or new plays are produced, involving contemporary theatre playwrights and scholars, renewing the present from the past.

As for the traditional performances that are the heart of these institutions, all means of making these classical performances more accessible to foreign, young, and ignorant spectators is employed: lectures, hands-on workshops, program notes, earphone guides, and title projections. The widening gulf between the specialist knowledge required by aficionado audiences and the ignorance of conventions of first-time viewers, domestic and foreign, has created a veritable industry of mediating technologies and literature. Arm-chair admirers of the traditional arts are given new media with new levels of details, options, and angles with which to explore the forms. Live performance audiences can learn about a play's performance history and special characteristics through copious program notes, follow along in annotated texts, receive pre-performance lectures explaining what to look out for, read subtitles projected on the backs of seats and handheld devices, and listen to earphone guides in Japanese or English. A wealth of online and published summaries of plays, and even translations, are available to the spectator to prepare for the event. In English many of the same template summaries are printed, with permission and acknowledgement, from these same online sources.

Comparing Mediating Methods

A key challenge to mediating performance is to synchronize explanations in multiple languages and formats so that spectators will "be on the same page" when experiencing a performance together. Theatre historian and theorist Erika Fischer-Lichte describes the temporary aesthetic community, not national or local, created by Japanese actors of the Kawakami Sadayacco company in Paris and Berlin at the beginning of the 20th century. This rare communal atmosphere was, "the space of theatre where such a utopia could suddenly materialize" (2001: 30). With open and thrust stages extending into the audience, and asides and ad libs designed to bridge the gap between actor and spectator, traditional arts risk rupturing such intimacy with obtrusive electronic/scholarly mediation.

Summaries of plays, for both Japanese and non-native spectators, and transliterations to Romanized texts with translations have long been part of program materials for noh and to a lesser extent kyogen; kabuki and bunraku rely on necessarily long summaries, difficult to read during the show, but often also too complicated to remember if read in advance.

One effective means of mediating between the live and written forms was given at the International Federation for Theatre Research (IFTR) in Osaka in 2007, a well-attended noh performance presented with scholars in mind. A talk by noh scholar Amano Fumio was interpreted; then detailed written summaries for each scene were given to spectators, with numbers of scenes on placards next to the *waki* pillar. As the numbers were flipped manually, spectators would jump ahead to the next summary. Instead of forcing audiences to cram much information in, forgetting important details and “ruining the ending” with foreknowledge, this system allowed the information to arrive “just on time” and in the appropriate place in the on-stage drama. Afterwards, Amano joined lead actor Ohtsuki Bunzô for a stimulating series of questions from the audience, who seemed highly enthralled with his portrayal. Explanation seemed to stimulate rather than stifle curiosity from this academic crowd. However not all audiences are alike, making for mixed results from any single method.

Another way of translating performances for non-natives is through translation. Bilingual productions offer audiences of two linguistic competencies immediate access to a portion of the production, while at the same time producing amusement at the juxtaposition of languages in a single play. Kyoto’s Noho Theatre Group has performed bilingual kyogen at schools, conferences, and ladies’ clubs for three decades. (Salz and Medlock 2012). The Tokyo Government sponsors a series of workshops and performances to introduce foreigners to its traditional arts, as run-up to the 2020 Olympics. On November 21, 2015 a performance of the noh *Kurozuka* was given, with an English-language *ai-kyogen* interlude, and several dances performed first by Japanese professionals, then by the English-speaking Theatre Nohgaku. Although the melodic speech of Japanese *ai-kyogen* was quite hard to replicate, performer Shigeyama Dôji felt it a worthwhile experiment that deserved further effort.

Earphone Guides

The Earphone Guide service is available in Japanese for most Shochiku long-run productions, and at the National Theatre for kabuki and National Bunraku Theatre for bunraku. English guides are available for National and Kabuki-za performances, and beginning with its 2008 selection as an UNESCO intangible cultural asset. Since many of the same performances are given in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, the costs for commissioning and recording the expert commentary is relatively rationalized. However local-only shows, like the Kyoto Minamiza, provide only Japanese earphone guide service, and the English programs prepared by The Japan Times.

The Earphone Guides and handheld DS devices work similarly. From a booth in the back of the theatre, an operator moves the projections along according to cues, worked out in a few rehearsals. These are projected as titles on the screen, whether above the stage (bunraku) to the sides (at some public noh theatres), electronically over screens built into the back of seats (National Noh Theatre), or on handheld devices (Kabuki-za). With earphone guides, experts provide a running commentary on the genre, and particular performance practices of the kabuki, while giving voice to some vital dialogue.

It is not an easy task to summarize plot developments or explain obscure customs briefly, then find the most appropriate timing to speak such segments, not to mention finding the right balance of emotional

expression and neutrality for the actual studio recording. The Earphone Guide homepage lists the Japanese interpreters for each act of a play ; presumably some spectators develop special attraction to certain narrators. As a by-product of the English-language translations, many foreign graduate students and researchers have benefitted from working part-time as earphone guide commentators, getting access to rehearsals and receiving tickets for expensive performances.

Projected Titles : Placement and Length Matters

As film historian Mark Abe Nornes points out, although some countries regularly use titles for their multilingual audiences (Indonesia, China), Japan has always depended on the shared knowledge of standard Japanese. *Katsudo benshi* commentators, rather than subtitles, was the preferred manner of viewing silent and especially non-Japanese films. When titles began to be used in theatre, it was not for the complex plots of bunraku or long, often unpoetic speeches of kabuki, but for noh and kyogen. These were more distanced in historic formation from the present, but also, whether chanted or spoken from behind a mask, more difficult to comprehend (many spectators in the Meiji period utilized libretti). In noh, a single line might take several minutes to sing or dance to, its meaning paraphrased in a few words. Spectators have ample time to glance down in the lit auditorium to read the text without missing out on important action.

The development of titles in television broadcasts of noh is instructive. Yanagisawa Shinji, a long-time producer for NHK, relates his attempts at making an Introduction to Noh program more accessible by adding modern-language translations as titles. Before wireless microphone technology, standard microphones could not easily distinguish between the loud cries of the drummers and the speech by the shite. The recorded sound was difficult to hear, so titles were added so that viewers could understand the words. Even after advances permitted clear speech, the convention of titles continued as standard practice. Yet when the first broadcasts of this series, aimed at first-timers to noh, employed modern Japanese titles, the response was overwhelmingly negative. “The meaning isn’t the only important thing!” and so on rebroadcast and future programs, the original classical Japanese was maintained (2001, p.13).

In live performances, precisely where the titles are projected makes a great difference. When projected over the proscenium, as at the National Bunraku Theatre, they demand craning one’s neck (when seated in the front rows), distracting from the drama at ground (and below) level. This is an especially complex problem, since bunraku is already a “three-ring circus” of chanter, shamisen, and doll-operators/doll, titles are yet another channel to attune to. And when projected below the screen, as at the modern playwright’s Mitani Koki’s new bunraku *Much Ado about Love Suicides* at the Kyoto Theatre, they require some twisting and peeking, depending on where one is seated in the raked-seating hall, or more importantly who is sitting directly in front of you (when asked, one of production staff said that titles were placed below so as not to interfere with the stage picture).

When projected to two side screens (as at Biwako Hall’s opera performances) or at the Okinawan theatre production at the Kyoto University of Arts and Culture, or the Japan Society in New York, they are easily readable from anywhere in the audience, but require turning away from the stage action momentarily. When I attempted to spotlight a moment of dramatic kyogen mime to pure sound at a Japan Society

event by avoiding translation of the accompanying onomatopoeia, the producer told me that a blank screen was too distracting—audiences would want to know what they were missing, and why, defeating the purpose of the omission. We projected the original nonsense-syllables in italics.

In the age of personal music-players and internet browsers, it is unsurprising that titles are now projected or transmitted to individual devices. At a “kyogen for beginners” night at the Yamamoto Noh Theatre in Osaka, handheld devices were given to twenty people by reservation. Yet these mostly elderly users fumbled noisily with their devices or held them close to their eyes, interfering with their enjoyment, and distracting other spectators. This small-scale experiment was live : a man in the back of the small theatre was entering the summaries and comments during the show. This avoided the problem of universally distracting the audience with projected titles, but creates other challenges of focus and ease of use.

Perhaps the most expensive and elegant method of mediating performance is at the National Noh Theatre in Tokyo, where titles are transmitted via LED Lite panels on the backs of seats. Modeled on the expensive system utilized by the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, they include shutters to prevent one’s personal screen from annoying a neighbor. These panels can be switched off, or provided with the original/modern Japanese versions, English translations, and sometimes Chinese. Noh performance is slow enough that glancing at the titles mid-song has not proved a distraction, although actors say they sense the mood of intense concentration dissipate as viewers glance down. Consequently, although they are regularly used by the National Noh Theatre series, they are rarely employed at actor-produced shows ; expense is also an issue. Since many noh audience members are amateur students, assiduously following along in their own libretti, the distracting noise of unison page-turning is also avoided, although it still seems that first-timers employ titles and regulars employ libretti.

At the Kabuki-za, earphone guides were discontinued in March, 2015, replaced by hand-held Nintendo-DS size devices. These transmitted English and Japanese titles, with some explanation ; however it was impossible to scrolls forward or backwards ; the titles were offered on pace with the dialogue. Moreover, the various angles and positions which spectators employed to read their devices disturbed those attempting to watch the productions without such filters. No doubt that the lack of dimmed houselights, standard for noh and kabuki, contributed to their ready accessibility and lack of resistance, as they would be more prominent in darkened modern theatre settings. The savings of one-time only translation fees for setting up the text for transmission, rather than commissioning voice-recordings requiring rehearsal visits and studio recordings for each performance, were doubtless part of the strategic change. However, what is lost is the ability to continue watching the stage while an expert informs you of the story and conventions. With the earphone guides, more explanations are given on the genre between acts and plays. Perhaps in the future, both methods could be employed with the same device, allowing spectators more choice in their preferred mediations.

Lecture-demonstrations

Rather than whisper gently in the audience ears, other strategies attempt to involve spectators more intellectually and viscerally with pre-performance activities. Such is the proliferation of audience participation,

introductory workshops, and non-standard noh-kyogen programs, they are now listed as a separate category of “noh events” in the encyclopedic internet site noh.com ([http : //www.the-noh.com/listings](http://www.the-noh.com/listings)). To introduce just a few, noh continues providing hands-on workshops in drums, costuming, and singing as part of the annual “noh is interesting” (*Omoshiro Noh*) series ; the Shigeyama kyogen actors produced a “call-and-response” “Hybrid Kyogen”, with full audience participation in specific places ; tours are given by actors to locations where plays are set. Homepages for genres, schools, families, and individual players provide a wealth of photographs, video clips, authoritative summaries, and personal blogs to aid initiates.

Lectures, demonstrations, and hands-on workshops before traditional performances, perhaps taking a clue from classical opera or concerts such as those given by the Kyoto Symphony Orchestra, have become de rigeur today. However the mood of mystery and ritualistic pregnant expectations of the noh is somewhat pricked by the intrusion of dry, academic explanation. However in recent years, pre-show lectures by eminent academics, conversations among players and scholars, or even silly talks by “*tarento*” (celebrities) are a common opening option to shorter noh-kyogen programs. Mikata Shizuka’s *Teatro No* attempted many experiments at non-noh theatres or non-traditional plays ; his October 3, 2015 production of *Utoh* was preceded by a short lecture by his father, scholar and performer Mikata Ken, explaining the “places to look for” in the subsequent dances and plays. Without knowing the rarity of the variant version of the *Utoh* that was being performed, perhaps spectators’ appreciation would be diminished. As with other commercial performances, online presence has permitted pre-show interviews and pre-views to be presented. A dressing-room interview with the kyogen actors was available online before a Sector-88 produced kyogen program in Osaka.

One might argue that the mysteriousness of the unfolding dances and plays would best be preserved through the tension of ignorant anticipation. However, since the program clearly states the time of the opening lecture, and an ample lobby space is available for those who prefer to refrain from such explanations, the optional lecture seems an effective way to mediate between first-time or even experienced playgoers and the plays ahead, without interfering in any way with the performances. The *Shimin kyogen* (Citizens’ kyogen) Kyoto City has produced for over four decades were introduced by the charismatic and self-proclaimed “perverse” Shigeyama Sennojô for many years. He provided anecdotes for the plays that evening, special vocabulary or cultural context, or sometime accidental performance “happenings.” His verve and wit were enjoyable as warm-up to the kyogen to follow ; after he passed away, his segment was soon replaced by an additional kyogen play, with no introduction. Kyogen’s colloquial language and everyday situational comedy permit a more direct transmission, even six hundred years after its birth.

Traditions Transformed

Although this article has examined largely the expanding activities of mediation of traditional performances, one must not forget that the traditions themselves are changing according to audience tastes and producing systems. The all-day, daylit outdoor programs of the Edo period have given way in noh to two plays and short dance excerpts and a single kyogen. Full-length, multi-scene kabuki plays are now rarely performed except at the National Theatre ; instead “top of the pops” highlights, obeying their own pro-

gramming conventions of straight play and dance play, traditional and newer, are the norm. Noh actors, who once considered kabuki actors “riverbank beggars” of a completely different world, now happily perform excerpts of noh plays as part of multi-genre events in Japan and overseas.

In an effort to attract young spectators, new plays in new settings are attempted, especially by kabuki troupes, including commissioning of leading playwrights (Mishima Yukio, Noda Hideki, Mitani Kôki). As this article was written in the Fall of 2015, mind-bending attempts to mediate traditional performances for foreign and domestic audiences abound. Shochiku and Panasonic teamed to bring Ichikawa Somegoro to an outdoor stage in Las Vegas. Beneath the dancing fountains in the lake of the Bellagio Resort, he performed a thirty-minute version of *Koi Tsukami* (Wrestling with a Carp), with giant projections shown against the back of the stage and shifting mists of the lake. Kabuki’s adaptation of the children’s story about mixed-species love, *Ano arashi no yoru ni* (That night in the storm) was produced, as well as an adaptation of the wildly popular adult manga *One-Piece*. Kyogen actors have produced programs shared with rakugo storytellers, kabuki actors, and commedia dell’arte troupes. By inviting spectators to novel performances sharing the bill with those they may already be familiar with, performers hope to expand their audience base.

It is too early to know whether these innovations will affect the core of the classical performing traditions in Japan. When performance opportunities at these mediating events become more profitable and numerous than orthodox traditions, actors will necessarily be pushed away from their conventional training and performance techniques. However, archival films and photographs, and before that actors’ treatises and prints, assure that somewhere, someone will remember what these traditions were once like. Undoubtedly the pendulum will swing in the opposite direction at some point, and a “retro boom” of “slow theatre” will revive these diminished traditions. The future of tradition, and its entrepreneurial mediators, is thus difficult to predict at this particular moment of post-Fukushima insecurity and pre-Olympic anticipation.

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研究ノート

雑談についての社会言語学的実証研究

村田 和代*

An Empirical Study on Small Talk from a Sociolinguistic Perspective

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This paper outlines the research outcomes of “one-year basis individual research” (2014) funded by the Socio-cultural Research Institute of Ryukoku University. It reviews the previous research on small talk in Japan and abroad and reports the round-table conducted in July, 2014, consisting of 13 presentations and the discussion sessions including the audience, which was published as a book *The Kaleidoscope of Small Talk : A Linguistic Approach* (2016). The paper ends with concluding remarks including future research.

1. はじめに

従来コミュニケーションの主たる目的が情報伝達であると考えられてきたことも要因となって、情報伝達の質・量ともに劣るとされる雑談には、学術的にあまり注目が集まらなかった。1990年代以降、言語の対人関係機能面も重要視されるようになり、徐々に雑談について研究されるようになってきたが、学術的研究はまだ始まったばかりの萌芽期にある。また、国内において、近年、「雑談力」ということばが定着するくらい、社会的に雑談が注目されている。このような状況を鑑みても、実際の談話に基づいた実証的研究を進める意義がある。筆者は、すでに職場談話にみられる雑談について研究を進めてきたが、他の研究者とのネットワークを構築し雑談研究の体系化を進めるために、2014年度国際社会文化研究所の個人研究助成を受けて、「雑談についての社会言語学的実証研究」を行った。研究期間に下記の3つのプロジェクトに取り組んだ。

- ① 国内外の雑談についての先行研究・研究動向の調査
- ② 研究者間の交流や情報交換のための公開ラウンドテーブルの実施
- ③ 雑談談話の収録

本稿では、上記取り組みのうち①②の成果と今後の展望について報告する。以下、雑談の先行研究及び研究動向、ラウンドテーブルの報告、まとめと今後の展望の順で論を進めることとする。

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2. 雑談の先行研究・研究動向

雑談は、日常談話（non-institutional discourse）のみならず、制度的談話（institutional discourse）でもみられる。これを踏まえて国内・海外の雑談（small talk）についての研究動向を概観する。

2.1 国内の研究動向（日本語雑談の研究）

日本語の雑談は、様々な切り口で研究が進められている。まずは、雑談に現れる話題や構造に関する研究である。話題については、話題の開始、終了、転換のプロセスに見られる言語・非言語的特徴や、話題の推移の仕方、初対面状況で選択される話題の種類などについて論じられてきた（宇佐美・嶺田 1995、串田 1997、三牧 1999、河内 2009 など）。雑談の構造については、雑談の中の局所的な構造に焦点を当てた研究が多い。例えば、李（2000）は、友人同士の雑談の中で起こるナラティブを対象に、長い話を続けていくための言語行動について論じ、高井（2010）は、雑談における問題解決のやりとりを分析している。また、筒井（2012）は雑談を話題で区分し、話題ごとの内容の種類と、その話題を構成する連鎖組織の分析を行っている。

雑談をインタビューや討論といった他のタイプの会話と比較することによってその特徴を記述する研究も行われている（藤本ほか 2003、熊谷・木谷 2005 など）。これらの研究において、雑談は、話題の広さ、テンポの良さ、会話進行上の役割が固定していないといった点が特徴的であることが指摘されている。

日本語教育の分野では第二言語としての日本語による雑談研究も盛んである。たとえば樋口（1997）は、母語話者と非母語話者との初対面会話において、相手が母語話者かどうかによりいかに自己紹介の仕方が変わるかを分析している。また佐々木（1998）は、母語話者・非母語話者それぞれに対する、母語話者の雑談における情報要求発話の量についての分析を、また伊集院（2004）は、雑談のデータを用いて、相手が母語話者かどうかによっていかにスピーチスタイルが使い分けられているかについて分析を行っている。

以上概観した先行研究は、すべて非制度的談話にみられる（いわゆる「おしゃべり」に近い）雑談である。一般本では、むしろセールストークのような制度的談話（institutional discourse）にみられる雑談が重要視されているが、職場談話のような制度的談話の日本語雑談についての研究は、管見の限りにおいては、Yamada（1997 ほか）及び Murata（2015 ほか）だけであり、さらなる研究が望まれているという状況である。

2.2 海外の研究動向（small talk の研究動向）

Small talk の研究は、ことばの交感的使用（phatic communion）に初めて着目した Malinowski（1927）にさかのぼる。Malinowski（1927）は、その主要な目的を、沈黙を避けることによって対人的脅威を避けることとし、情報伝達という観点からは“aimless”であるととらえていた。交感的使用の例として、あいさつ、天気の話、ゴシップ話等があげられており、以後 90 年代までは、このような定型タイプを中心に研究が進められた。日常談話にみられる small talk の構造やトピック、談話の中で現れる場所（e.g. opening, closing）について考察し、small talk を discourse type の一種としてとらえていた。

一方、90年代から、制度的談話、とりわけ職場談話（workplace discourse）の分野で small talk が着目されるようになってきた。職場談話の small talk の研究として、例えば、市場や店舗などのサービストーク中に生じる small talk とそれを支える規範意識についての研究が挙げられる（Lindenfeld 1990, Bailey 1997）。

2000年に、雑談についての言語学からの初めての体系的な研究書“Small Talk”が出版された（Coupland 2000）。本書の特徴として、それまで discourse type の一種として top-down でとらえてきた small talk を、まったく逆の視点から、つまり bottom-up で局所的にダイナミックに構築される相互行為としてとらえた点があげられる。談話の対人関係に関わる機能（phaticity）は、参加者同士によって相互的かつダイナミックに構築されるため、phatic talk（small talk）か non-phatic talk（transactional talk）かの二項対立ではなく、連続性があるものとしてとらえたのである。Coupland（2000）は、11編の論文からなり、職場談話にみられる small talk だけでなく、非制度的談話にみられるゴシップ等も含まれている。

Coupland（2000）以降は、ディスコースレベルで考察し対人関係に関わる機能が突出する talk（相互行為）を small talk ととらえるようになってきた点に着目したい。

3. ラウンドテーブル「雑談の美学を考える」

本ラウンドテーブルは、日常のさまざまな場面や関係性において、「雑談」的なやりとりに関連した研究を行う研究者が会して雑談の諸相について議論し、「雑談の美学」を探究することを目標とした（2014年7月19, 20日 龍谷大学深草キャンパスにて開催）。できるだけ多くの研究者に「雑談研究」に興味をもってもらえるようにすべて公開とし、オーディエンスもまじえたディスカッションの時間を設定した。

ラウンドテーブルでは、雑談の研究動向の紹介に続き、2日間で13件の報告が行われた。2日間のプログラムは下記の通りである。

7月19日（土）

司会進行 村田和代（龍谷大学）

13:00-13:20	イントロダクション 村田和代
13:20-13:50	村田和代（龍谷大学）「まちづくりの話し合いを支える雑談－コミュニケーションデザインへの応用－」
13:50-14:20	堀田秀吾（明治大学）「法コンテキストの雑談」
14:20-14:50	東 照二（ユタ大学）「『雑談的』スピーチと『非雑談的』スピーチ－小泉純一郎と尾崎行雄－」
休憩	
15:20-15:50	平本 毅（京都大学）「鮎屋のサービス文化と雑談」
15:50-16:20	坊農真弓（国立情報学研究所）「手話雑談におけるマルチアクティビティ－手を使って食べることと話すことの共起関係－」
休憩	
16:40-17:10	岡本能里子（東京国際大学）「雑談のビジュアルコミュニケーション－LINE 会話の分析を通して－」

7月20日（土）

司会進行 井出里咲子（筑波大学）

10:00-10:20	開始のあいさつ 村田和代
10:20-10:50	井出里咲子（筑波大学）「雑談が生じる場とその詩的機能」

10:50-11:20	村田和代（龍谷大学）「ビジネスミーティングの雑談－言語文化比較の観点から－」
11:20-11:50	山口征孝（クイーンズランド大学）「異文化間インタビュー談話の多機能的分析－Rapport（対人構築的）－report（情報伝達の）機能連続性仮説の検証－」
昼食	
13:20-13:50	菅原和孝（京都大学大学院）「南部アフリカ狩猟採集民グイのよもやま話」
13:50-14:20	白井宏美（慶應義塾大学）「雑談における『わかり合えないもどかしさ』に関する日独比較分析」
休憩	
14:40-15:10	大津友美（東京外国語大学）「日本語第二言語話者が参加する雑談の特徴」
15:10-15:40	片岡邦好（愛知大学）「雑談のジャンル性、非ジャンル性、間ジャンル性」
休憩	
16:00-17:00	まとめとディスカッション

以下、報告順に概要を紹介する。なお、本ラウンドテーブルをもとに、2016年2月に『雑談の美学－言語研究からの再考－』（村田和代・井出里咲子 編著、ひつじ書房）を出版した。各報告や議論の詳細については、そちらを参照されたい。

「まちづくりの話し合いを支える雑談－コミュニケーションデザインへの応用－」（村田和代）

本報告では、まちづくりの話し合いにみられる雑談を正談（話し合いの本題）と対比したものにとらえ、フィールドワーク、主催者・関係者へのインタビュー、実際の話し合い談話の録画・録音データから分析した。話し合いの本題に入る前のフェーズや、話し合いの途中の休憩のフェーズに焦点をあて、マクロ（話し合い全体のデザイン）とミクロ（話し合いで行われる相互行為）両方の視点から考察を行った。情報伝達や合意形成といった言語の情報伝達面が重視される話し合い談話においても、対人関係機能面を担う雑談は非常に重要な役割を担い、産官学民のセクターを超えた世代や価値観の異なるひとびとによって行われるまちづくりの話し合いは、雑談に支えられている点が明らかになった。

「法コンテキストの雑談」（堀田秀吾）

裁判という談話は、事件の判決を決定するという目的志向型であり、非常にフォーマルでコントロールされたプロセスであるために話題の脱線は起きにくいと考えられる。しかし、2009年に導入された裁判員裁判では、裁判結果に市民感覚を反映するために、一般市民であり、裁判という場に慣れていない裁判員達が発言しやすいように、「会話を利用して場の空気を生み出す」機能を持った雑談が時として利用されるようである。本報告では、実際の裁判官と市民が参加した模擬評議のデータをもとに、評議という法コンテキストにおける会話の特徴を明らかにし、裁判員達にできるだけたくさん発言してもらえよう「会話を利用して場の空気を生み出す」機能を持った雑談が用いられる有様が紹介された。

「『雑談的』スピーチと『非雑談的』スピーチ－小泉純一郎と尾崎行雄－」（東 照二）

時代を隔てた二人の政治家（尾崎行雄、小泉純一郎）の演説・講演の音源資料にもとづいて、「雑談的」か否かという観点から考察を行った。ここでいう「雑談」とは、会話、あるいは演説に

において、本来のアジェンダあるいはトピックではなく、それから逸脱したトピックについて、比較的短く、非計画的に語られるもので、話し手と聞き手の間での何らかの人間関係を構築（あるいは維持）するような効果をもたらすものだととらえた。尾崎の演説は、本来のトピックに沿って、脇道にそれることなく、理路整然と論点を積み重ねて行く「非雑談的」な手法である一方、小泉の演説は、本来のトピックに沿って論点を展開しながらも、随所に物語、それもかなり私的で詳細な描写をともなった物語を挿入するという「雑談的」な手法を用いていることが明らかとなった。

「鮎屋のサービス文化と雑談」（平本 毅）

江戸前鮎屋の飲食場面の会話分析から、鮎屋において中心的な活動（調理、顧客への品の説明等）と雑談がどう使い分けられているかを例証した。会話分析（conversation analysis）においては近年、複数の活動への従事（たとえば話しながら運転する）の方法をめぐる考察が活発になってきている。とりわけ診察（Maynard & Hudak 2008）、美容室での施術（Toerien & Kitzen 2007）などのサービス場面では、その場面における中心的な活動（診察なら診断を下すこと、美容室なら髪を洗うこと）と、サービス提供者と顧客との雑談とがどう使い分けられ、この使い分けによってどのような相互行為上の課題が解かれているかが議論的になっている。本報告では、親方や職人が調理や品の提供などの中心的な活動と、顧客との雑談とをどう使い分けているか、その使い分けによって何を行っているかを分析した。分析を通じて、中心的な活動／雑談の使い分けによって常連でない客／常連客という客の区別が作り出されていることなどが明らかにされた。

「手話雑談におけるマルチアクティビティ手を使って食べることと話すことの共起関係ー」（坊農 真弓）

近年、言語使用に関する行為と言語使用と関わらない行為とが同時に起きる現象を「マルチアクティビティ」（Haddington et al. 2014）と呼び、このような場面の相互行為分析が盛んになっている。本報告では、この立場をとり、たこ焼きを囲んだ4人の手話話者の手話雑談を研究対象とし、手話雑談中の「話す」「食べる」「作る」という3つの行為がどのように展開しているのかを考察した。手話雑談における「話す」「食べる」「作る」という行為はすべて手で行われるが、実際には、話しながら「食べる」といったように、2つ以上の行為が同時に進められているし、「対話型言語」であると考えられる手話であるが、実際には見える範囲の複数人で会話が進行されていることがわかる。報告では、「会話の分裂」（Egbert 1997）の部分に焦点を定め、会話の空間的な分裂と融合の身体的な手続きについて論じられた。

「雑談のビジュアルコミュニケーションーLINE 会話の分析を通してー」（岡本能里子）

人々が日々交わす会話には、単に情報のやりとりだけではなく、場を共有し、会話を楽しむという要素がある。特に「若者ことば」の機能の1つである「楽しさ」や「のり」は、若者のコミュニケーションでは必須である。インターネットチャットから最近のSNSのやりとりでは、このような特に決まった目的のない「楽しさ」や「のり」を生み出す他愛ない言葉遊びやからかい合いなどが頻繁に見られる。本報告では、近年爆発的に浸透しつつあるマルチモードのコミュニケーションメディアであるLINEチャットを取り上げ、視覚的に提示されるシークエンスを、「ビジュアルコ

コミュニケーション」としてラベル付けする。同一の統合構造や同じ種類の「スタンプ」を「参加の道具」（串田 2006）として互いに視覚的に利用し合い、「楽しさ」や「のり」が共話（水谷 1993）を通して共同構築されていく過程が実例をあげながら紹介された。

「雑談が生じる場とその詩的機能」（井出里咲子）

アメリカ社会におけるスモールトーク（small talk）とは、人々が日常気ままに交わすおしゃべりや雑談を総じて指すことばである。本報告では、雑談としてのスモールトークを「アメリカ社会の公的な場で見知らぬ人同士が交わすおしゃべり」として定義した上で、スモールトークの中に見られる遊びの機能について論じられた。公的場面でその場の参加者に笑いを生じさせるといった遊びとしてのスモールトークの性質を、車に貼られるバンパースティッカーとサービス機関での店員と客、客室乗務員と乗客とのやりとりを実例として紹介された。分析を通して、それぞれが相互行為の場に自己開示（self-disclosure）と平行体（parallelism）を用いた遊びを用いており、そうした遊びがやりとりの中に同調のリズムや響鳴を生み出す有様が明らかになった。さらに、2つの事例を通して、アメリカ社会のスモールトークが生じる公共の場において、基本的な前提とされる「身構え」（北村 1988）としての「雑談」とは何かが検討された。

「ビジネスミーティングの雑談一言語文化比較の観点から」（村田和代）

本報告では、ニュージーランド（NZ）および日本（JP）のビジネスミーティング開始前（pre-meeting）に焦点をあて、そこにみられる雑談のトピックや展開方法、その他の特徴について、実例をあげながら質的考察を行った。雑談の主要な目的として沈黙を解消することがあげられている（McCarthy 2000）。NZ データではこれに一致するが、JP データでは長い沈黙が多く、沈黙が必ずしもネガティブにとらえられているわけではなかった。雑談は参加者間の連帯（solidarity）を築く役割を担うが（Holmes & Stubbe 2003）、雑談を通じた連帯感の築き方（相互行為の展開の有様）が、NZ データと日本データでは異なっていることが明らかとなった。NZ データは、オーバーラップを伴いながら、参加者が次々とたたみかけるように協働して構築し、ユーモアを伴った快活なトーン（animated and high tone）で展開していた。一方、JP データでは、ポーズや沈黙が多く、ビジネス談話として想定されるようなトーンであった。

「異文化間インタビュー談話の多機能的分析－Rapport（対人構築的）－report（情報伝達の）機能連続性仮説の検証－」（山口征孝）

ニュージーランドで実施した調査インタビュー及びオーストラリアで行った日英バイリンガルのオーストラリア人と行った会話の中に現れたゴシップをデータとし、「雑談的」部分を同定し分析を行った。具体的には、「雑談的」部分と「非雑談的（正談）」部分を同定するため、構造面から「質問」と「応答」に焦点をあてて考察した。例えば、「捕鯨問題」を目的とするインタビューでは、インタビュアーが「謝罪」（“sorry for going back to the whaling issue”）した直後に行う「質問」（“how do you address the whaling issue in Japan?”）は活動タイプに制約された発話であるため、「謝罪」以前の対話部分を「雑談的」と同定した。結果、(1)「質問」は必ずしも情報伝達的な意味での「応答」を求めているのではなく、活動タイプの制約に従った「応答」が適切な反応である；

(2) 発話者間のラポールは雑談により深まることもあるが、対話者を排除・疎外する危険性を常に伴うことも認識すべきであるという点が明らかになった。

「南部アフリカ狩猟採集民グイのよもやま話」(菅原和孝)

本報告は、言語人類学のエスノメソドロジーによる日常会話の断片の考察である。南部アフリカ・ボツワナの中央カラハリ動物保護区内カデ定住地においてオーディオテープに収録した狩猟採集民グイ・ブッシュマンの日常会話の断片(約15分)を、会話の推移と組織化という切り口で分析した。一見「とりとめのない」話が続くようだがマイクロレベルで分析すると、同一命題を多人数で繰り返しながら展開したり、会話の中でひっきりなしに生じる偶発的な出来事が引き金となってトピックがダイナミックに推移してゆくことがわかる。事例の分析を通して、身体的な関わり合いとしての会話の本質やコミュニティのもつ背景知の複雑さ、社会史に深く根ざす暗黙の規範の存在について議論された。

「雑談における『わかり合えないもどかしさ』に関する日独比較分析」(白井宏美)

本報告は、チャット・コミュニケーションに、対面コミュニケーションの規範や行動様式がどのように表れているのかについて、日独比較の観点から実証を試みた。言語共同体にはそれぞれ、コミュニケーションに関する(多かれ少なかれ)特有の規則ないし慣習がある。一般的に、雑談参加者は、そのような規則を意識化することなく、それぞれの発話状況にふさわしい規則の適用を行っている。たとえば、日独間では「あいづち」をうつ箇所やタイミングが異なっていたり、一度に話す発話量に違いが見られたりする。対面の雑談におけるこのような発話様式の特徴は、チャット・コミュニケーションにおいても明らかに見られる。また、ドイツ語チャットでは二者間で雑談が進行している傾向が強いのに対して、日本語チャットではグループになって多者間で雑談が進む傾向が顕著である。事例の分析を通して「統合的協調」が本質的であるとされる日本語の雑談と「競合的協調」が本質的であるとされるドイツ語の雑談の特徴がチャット・コミュニケーションにも反映されている点が明らかになった。

「日本語第二言語話者が参加する雑談の特徴」(大津友美)

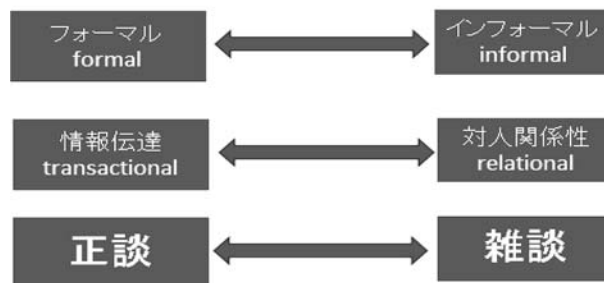
本報告が分析の対象とするのは、日本語を第一言語として話す者と第二言語として話す者との間で行なわれた友人同士のおしゃべりである。会話参加者の一方が第二言語話者で、文を作ったり、適当な語を選んだりすることにまだ困難がある場合、第一言語話者同士の場合とは異なり、相手の話が理解できず、会話進行が難しくなってしまう場合がある。また、第二言語話者の滞日期間などによっては、日本事情に関する知識が十分ではなく、話を通じないということが起こる可能性もある。そのような事態を避けるために、第一言語話者は相手が知らないかもしれないと予想される語があった場合などに、相手のその語に関する知識の有無を確認しながら会話を進めていくのだが、こういった場合には、対等な関係で、楽しくおしゃべりをしていた友人同士が非対称的な関係性に再編されてしまう。報告では、そのような非対称的な関係性が立ち現れることを避けながらも、第一言語話者がどのように相手の日本語や日本事情に関する知識の有無を確認し、友人同士の雑談を続けているかということについて事例をまじえながら考察した。

「雑談のジャンル性、非ジャンル性、間ジャンル性」(片岡邦好)

本報告では、多様な雑談的言語使用の中から「ゴシップ」に焦点を当て、親しい友人間で生じた幾つかの事例を中心に、その構築様式と社会的意義を検討した。ゴシップとは、現場に不在の他者に関する話であり、往々にしてその当人が語られたくないと感ずる特徴や行動について語られることが多い。語り手は自らの利害に直接関わらない他者の特徴、行動、状況、属性などに言及するが、往々にして批判的色彩を帯びるものである。日本語の語りのジャンルでは「噂話」「醜聞」「悪口」「陰口」などにあたり、おもに秘匿の趣を伴う。報告では、親しい友人間で交わされた比較的好意的なゴシップ(噂話)から、誹謗中傷や糾弾を含む陰悪なゴシップ(悪口／陰口)を検討することで、その発生から収束に至る機序を特定し、その対人的機能と社会的影響を考察した。また、ゴシップが悪意を伴って用いられる「いじめ」のような現象に対し、その問題解決の糸口を提供する可能性についても論じられた。

すべての報告が終了後、オーディエンスもまじえて(1)雑談とは何か?(おしゃべりやトークとの異なり)、(2)他文化の雑談に見る実践コミュニティごとの特徴とそれを超えた共通の特徴、(3)雑談のもつコミュニケーション力としての機能、(4)ことばの交感的機能(phatic function)の再考・再評価といったトピックについて議論を行った。とりわけ、「何をもって雑談とみなすか」といった話題に興味が集まった。「雑談性」にはいくつかの指標が関わっている。以下の3つの指標はすべての報告に共通するのではないだろうか。

雑談をめぐる指標



まず、雑談は、会話の起きる状況のあらたまり度に関連する。雑談と言えば、家族や友人などの仲間内といった私的(private)でインフォーマルな場面を想像するだろう。制度的談話でみられる雑談も、フォーマルな中でもインフォーマルな色合いの強い場面(たとえば、会議が始まる前や休憩時間)で起こる可能性が高い。

続いて、Coupland(2000)ほか多くの先行研究で指摘されているのが、「目的遂行型(情報伝達型)」(transactional)との対比である。言うまでもなく雑談はこれとは対極にある「対人関係調整型」(relational)であろう。これに関連して、「雑談」の対極を「正談」と呼ぶことができるのではないだろうか。正談は、情報伝達や問題解決を中心としたタスク遂行のための会話であるが、雑談は対話の相手との関係性を構築、維持し、共感としてのラポール形成を行い、参与の場の空気を作ることを優先した会話である。正談の会話内容は雑談と比べてより叙述的であり会話の本題に沿っ

ていて目的も明確である。これに対し雑談は、いつの間にか自然発生し、時として正談からの脱線するようにして発生する。またタスク遂行が直接の目的ではないことから話の内容も特に定まっておらず、それゆえにいつでもやめる可能性を有する会話といえるだろう。雑談とそうでないものを識別する際には、以上のような指標が参考になるであろう。

4. まとめ

本稿では、2014 年度国際社会文化研究所の個人研究「雑談についての社会言語学的実証研究」での3つの取り組みのうち、雑談についての言語学を研究中心とした先行研究・研究動向及び公開ラウンドテーブルについて報告した。3つめの取り組みである雑談談話の収録については、助成期間中の春休み（2015 年 3 月）に、ニュージーランドで英語による友人間の雑談の収録を行った。これについては、本研究終了後の継続研究課題として類似の条件で日本語データを収録し、比較分析を行っている。

本稿でも論じたように、雑談をめぐる実証的言語研究は萌芽期にある。本研究が国内における今後の雑談の研究の活性化を促す契機となれば幸甚である。様々な雑談の状況とその特徴に注目し雑談のメカニズムの体系化を進めることができれば、多様なひとびとの共生や持続可能な社会形成にも寄与することができると考える。今後も引き続き研究を進めていきたい。

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3.11 and Possibility of Green Reconstruction : Lessons from Tohoku, Japan[#]

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東日本大震災以降のグリーン復興 ——被災地東北からの教訓——

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On March 11, 2011, a mega earthquake and unimaginably large-scale tsunami hit the eastern coast of northern Japan. These natural disasters triggered nuclear power plant accidents in Fukushima. Thus, “3.11” came to be widely known as triple disasters. With more than five years after 3.11, reconstruction and recovery efforts are still underway. Some areas are making good progress for village relocation plans, but many of the affected still face difficulties. What is needed is community cohesion without which coordinated reconstruction cannot be realized. Koizumi area of Kesennuma city, Miyagi Prefecture, presents one rare and good example in which such cohesion enabled community-driven reconstruction processes. However, it is precisely this cohesion that is seriously under threat due to a very controversial sea wall construction. This construction issue is now regarded as a social taboo as residents do not wish their communities to be divided over this issue. Thus, Japan now is at critical crossroads.

2011年に発生した東日本大震災は3重災害であるとされる。震災以降の復興・復興活動はさまざまな要因に影響されているが、その1つは震災以前の地域社会の組織力・結束力である。これらが比較的高かった地域では、震災直後の避難所の運営も円滑に進み、また復興へ向けて地域での合意形成も相対的には順調であった。そのような好例として、宮城県気仙沼市の小泉地区があげられる。しかし、小泉を含め宮城県沿岸部の各地域を現在揺るがしているのが防潮堤問題である。多くの地域において、防潮堤に反対する住民は多いが、他方それよりも優先すべき住宅再建のために、防潮堤問題を公に議論することが極度に躊躇されている。その結果多くの住民が望まないにもかかわらず、防潮堤が建設されつつある。このように重要な地域のつながりが、県行政によって脅かされるという皮肉な事態に直面している。そのため今後の動向は予断を許さない。

Introduction : 3.11 as Triple Disasters

The afternoon of March 11, 2011 was cold, and it was snowing in most of the northern Japan. A mega earthquake of magnitude 9.0, the most powerful in the history of disaster-prone Japan, hit the eastern coast of Tohoku region in northern Japan¹⁾. About 30 minutes later, more than 650 km along the Pacific

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Coast of Tohoku was hit by an unprecedented scale of tsunami (tidal wave). The tsunami was considered to be about 10-meter high. In some places, it traveled as far as 15 km inland, flooding more than 500 km² (square kilometers), and it even reached about 40 meters high. These natural disasters also triggered nuclear power accidents in Fukushima Prefecture. Three nuclear reactors of Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant (the First Nuclear Power Plant in Fukushima) complex operated by Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) reached level-7 meltdown without much delay. The accidents are one of the most serious nuclear accidents in human history. Thus, “3.11” or the Great East Japan Earthquake Disaster (GEJED) is now widely known as triple disasters (Bacon and Hobson 2014).

The affected area was widespread, but the main casualties and damages were concentrated in Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima Prefectures. The death toll of the 3.11 disasters is nearly 20,000. The number of wounded is more than 6,000. Those who are still missing are about 2,600. The number of houses totally damaged is more than 120,000. If we include partial damages, then the number increases into the magnitude of one million. As 3.11 is also the nuclear accidents, the wide areas surrounding the power plant complex have been contaminated, and those who evacuated from these areas both voluntarily and involuntarily are numerous. Even as in the late 2014, more than 55,000 people are still on “temporary” evacuation from the three prefectures²⁾.

3.11 undoubtedly affected Tohoku in many different ways. While proportionately the share of Tohoku in the national GDP was less than 10% prior to 3.11³⁾, the region was still important for primary industries of agriculture, forestry and fisheries. The areas in Tohoku continued to supply not only food and natural resources but human resources as well to Tokyo, all of which were especially needed for rapid economic growth in Tokyo and its surrounding areas since the 1960s. Thus, it is not an exaggeration to say that Tohoku served as a kind of colony to the Tokyo metropolitan area (Shinoda 2013). But as economic structures in Japan changed, Tohoku in the pre-disaster period started to suffer from serious socio-economic issues. As the primary industries could no longer attract the youth, many young people moved into cities, and those who remained in Tohoku was mainly elderly. It is precisely the senior people who were bearing the burden of working in the primary industries; in many instances, once they stopped their business, there would be nobody to continue the industries into a next generation. Depopulation and aging were more than a demographic phenomenon. Rather they had serious implications for political, economic, and social aspects⁴⁾.

3.11 accelerated the trends in many ways. Due to the compounded disasters, many lives were lost and houses were damaged. Jobs were lost as well, and it has not been far from easy to reestablish many of business activities. Then the fear of radiation put many people in deep anxiety whether they can continue living in Tohoku. In some places, most of the youth and the working age people moved out of their original towns and villages (such as Ogatsu Area in Ishinomaki City 旧雄勝町). In places, which are relatively close to Sendai, the largest city in Tohoku, the situation was relatively fortunate. Nonetheless, the problems that were already becoming apparent before 3.11 have become even more serious in the post disasters period (Bacon and Hobson 2014 : 198 ; Mori 2011).

This is the context in which recovery and reconstruction have been pursued. Although there are nu-

merous writings about 3.11 and aftermath, this article examines the dynamics of how recovery and reconstruction policies were implemented and how people have responded to these policies. One of the main questions that is important not only for Japan but also for the world is whether 3.11 would serve as an opportunity for transition to more sustainable society in the future. Even though 3.11 has been a traumatic incident whose scale and human suffering have been beyond description of any words, the disasters may be considered as an opportunity for revitalizing society. The notion of creative reconstruction has been controversial, and there have been ups and downs of this idea. To scrutinize this key concept is now extremely important as natural disasters are coming more frequent, partly due to the climate change⁵, and prevalent disasters inevitably affects both rich and poor societies on the Earth in years to come (Ranghieri and Ishiwatari 2014).

This article then focuses on in what ways can disaster—affected communities initiate overall recovery and reconstruction processes, as well as to what extent such initiative can result in effective realization of creative reconstruction. This focus is important not only in theoretical undertakings in relation to local governance, grassroots innovation and sustainability but also critical for realizing effective practices on the ground in post-disaster settings. This sort of investigation is timely as communities now are expected to play multiple roles in disaster risk management throughout the world (Ranghieri and Ishiwatari 2014).

Based on the findings of two field trips made in September and October 2014, this article draws lessons from experiences of Koizumi in the city of Kesennuma, Miyagi Prefecture. Even in disaster-prone Japan, the destructions of 3.11 tsunami were beyond the imagination of most of the people in Tohoku region. But, as exemplified by Koizumi, in towns and villages where community preserved strong cohesion through associational activities and others, such conditions helped facilitate coordinated planning and effective implantation of recovery and reconstruction activities. In contrast, in places where society was fragmented, prompt recovery faced serious difficulties.

Throughout such processes, local governments play an important role in facilitating dialogues between political and administrative leaders on the one hand and the local residents on the other. If one is serious about creative reconstruction, then articulated vision, continuous dialogues among diverse stakeholders, clear division of tasks, and highly orchestrated coordination of multiple tasks, all of such are necessary at times of extreme hardships (Saito 2010). It is therefore unsurprising that some local governments could not fulfill these functions, even if they may wanted to do so. In places such as Minami Sanriku Town (南三陸町), the entire local government building was washed away and several staff members were died. It would be too much to expect for such local government with extreme constraints to implement highly ambitious policy of creative reconstruction.

To examine the dynamics of policy proposal and its reception, this paper raises an issue of sea wall reconstruction as an example of undermining community cohesion in Miyagi Prefecture. This policy, initiated by the Prefectural Governor (Mr. Yoshihiro Murai 村井嘉浩 1960 -), intends not to allow any more people to pass away due to future tsunami. Even though his reason may be understandable, ongoing constructions of about 9-meter-high sea walls across the entire prefecture are not appreciated by many local residents, due to various reasons. Yet, their disapproval of the gigantic sea walls is not what is openly dis-

cussed in local planning meetings. A main reason is that many local people put priority for housing reconstruction, and openly discussing the sea wall issue may tear local communities apart. If such break down happens, that inevitably affects housing planning, which nobody wants to see. Thus the incongruence between policy orientation and community cohesion has unfortunately increased in the post 3.11 period.

There is no easy way out of the current situation. The new opportunities made available by 3.11 can be a double-edged sword. It may open up new opportunities. As Japan recovered from the ashes of war destructions previously, the nation may prevail this time again in the long run (Pilling 2014). But the new opportunities may not be fully utilized when narrow-minded policy such as the sea wall constructions is blindly pursued. Tohoku in particular and Japan in general are now at critical crossroads. Choices that we may today will significantly affect whether more promising experiments will be conducted or narrow consideration with serious counter effects will prevail. It all depends on us.

1. Recovery and Reconstruction

In the history of disaster recovery in several parts of the world, a theme of creative reconstruction has been advocated by political leaders, particularly on the occasion of several monumental human disasters. This trend is because large-scale disasters presented opportunities to reshape organizations and agencies that are otherwise difficult to accept reforms in ordinary situations⁶⁾. Sometimes disasters also solicit amendment over controversial policies and plans (Aldrich 2012 : 152). However, our past experiences of creative reconstruction are mixed at best. Usually they resulted in top-down planning and command and control approach, which has proven ineffective as such inflexible approach is not responsive to complex and changing local situations. These activities also tended to reinforce unequal power and wealth relations as the reconstruction opportunities were manipulated by the powerful and the wealthy who would like to impose their views and policies on others (Aldrich 2012 ; Shigihara 2013).

3.11 in Japan has been no exception. For those who saw 3.11 as an opportunity to overhaul the prevailing socio-economic systems, the idea of creative reconstruction was very appealing. The Reconstruction Design Council in response to the Great East Japan Earthquake (RDC, 東日本大震災復興構想会議) was established by the government of Japan shortly after 3.11. Then on April 11, one month after the disasters, the Council announced that recovery and reconstruction do not only bring the affected areas back to what they were before, but they should be conducted in the spirit of creative reconstruction in order to realize more hopeful future (REC 2011 : 71).

In some circles, a relatively novel idea of green reconstruction was also discussed. This idea was proposed by World Wildlife Fund (WWF) in Indonesia in 2006 in response to Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami in December 2004. WWF explained that “[G]reen reconstruction aims to improve the quality of life for communities and affected individuals while minimizing the negative impacts of reconstruction on the environment and maintaining the long-term biological diversity and productivity of natural systems” (WWF 2006 : 5). WWF emphasizes the following three principles of green reconstruction : sustainable development (socially acceptably, economically viable, and environmentally sound) ; effective participation of local communities and ; strengthened and decentralized natural resource governance (WWF 2006 : 5).

Thus, this notion of green reconstruction is considered as a sub-category of creative reconstruction.

In Japan, the idea of creative reconstruction and of green reconstruction seemed to have gone through ups and downs since March 11, 2011. In relatively immediate aftermath of 3.11, the idea appealed to policy makers without many difficulties. Yet, because scale and magnitude of disasters were so large, and because the nuclear accidents compounded the entire situation, especially in Fukushima, recovery and reconstruction in affected areas has been very slow, and there have been significant delays in several key activities including housing reconstruction and economic recovery in most if not all areas⁷⁾. Then, critics started to voice their concerns. If we cannot make efficient recovery bringing ourselves back to pre-3.11 conditions in meeting essential needs of the affected, in what sense can we really talk about creative elements in recovery and reconstruction, let alone making such endeavors in line with sustainable considerations? For them, such talks appeared as luxury and illusion. Some even mentioned that bringing the notion of creative reconstruction is irresponsible given slow progress in recovery efforts. It is also against the feeling of the affected as they have been struggling hard to meet their ends meet in very short time horizon.

Even though creative reconstruction appeared to fade away in day-to-day discussions, such ideals may not have disappeared completely among high-level policy makers. Three initiatives may worth mentioning. The first one is a proposal to create a New Sanriku Fukko (Reconstruction) National Park by upgrading the existing conservation areas into a more integrated park along the coastal areas in Tohoku. This proposal was made by the Central Environment Council of the Ministry of the Environment. Essentially, their idea was to create a new kind of park serving multiple purposes including the park serving as a memorial of the 3.11 disasters, as places for environmental education and eco-tourism, and as sites to preserve precious biodiversity in this part of Japan (Central Environment Council 2012)⁸⁾. This proposal may emphasized the park creation and its use for eco-tourism excessively, yet their broad thinking in trying to preserve and use nature meaningfully in localities, which have gone through such traumatic experiences, deserves due appreciation⁹⁾.

The second one is the initiative of Environmental Future Cities organized by the Cabinet Office. Cities are key producers of economic values, yet they also contribute majority of the greenhouse gases. Thus, it has become imperative to balance the competing requirements of economic viability and low-carbon considerations. The Japanese government initiated the Environmental Future Cities as human centered-cities attaining environmental, social and economic values simultaneously, as the government thinks balancing these values are needed in Japan who's population is rapidly aging. The Cabinet Office selected 11 cities and regions under this Future Cities initiative. Five were chosen from the affected areas of 3.11¹⁰⁾. This numerical representation itself can be interpreted as a reflection of a priority that government places on regeneration of the cities that were destructed by 3.11. While it could be argued that becoming Future Cities itself does not fundamentally alter planning of reconstruction and recovery from 3.11, such designation certainly help boosts the morale of (former) residents and can be used as an opportunity for rebuilding the cities more in line with sustainable thinking.

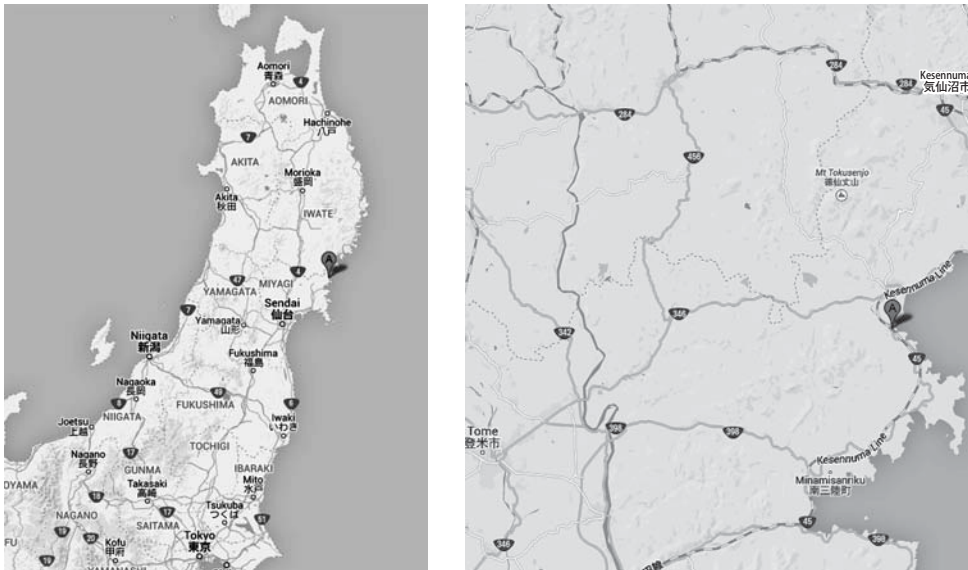
Furthermore, decentralization has been a theme long debated in Japan. As modern societies have become more complex than ever, political and administrative decentralization is now preferred as a useful

mechanism to solve key issues. This is a world-wide trend, and Japan is no exception (Saito 2010). Then, 3.11 has changed the landscape in which decentralization reform is discussed. Especially since 2012, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication started to advocate green decentralization : by granting autonomy to localities, community regeneration can become more environmentally sound as well as economically effective. This is our third example of creative/green reconstruction. In such endeavors, the following aspects are much emphasized : conservation of nature and promotion of renewable energies as well as encouragement of coproduction in which bonds among stakeholders can better utilized for grassroots economic innovation¹¹⁾. While it is not entirely clear how “the greenness” of decentralization is defined in this initiative, the Ministry places due emphasis on locally-driven recovery and reconstruction instead of top-down actions. This reasoning itself echoes with some aspects of thinking behind creative (and green) reconstruction.

The government is not a sole organization trying to pursue creative/green reconstruction. There are NGOs and NPOs which have been emphasizing this sort of idea. As the notion of green reconstruction was first articulated by WWF, the idea may have been more acceptable among NGOs and NPOs in Japan. One such organization deserves some reference. It is called the Forest is Longing for the Sea, and the Sea is Longing for Forest (森は海の恋人). This unique name reflects the understanding of ecological services. Mr. Shigeatsu Hatakayama, (畠山重篤 1943 -) is a fisherman to grow oysters in Kesennuma city, Miyagi Prefecture. He is one of the earliest persons who came to understand that in order to improve the quality of sea, which is much needed to grow high-quality oysters, then forests should be in good condition. That is why he started to plant trees in the late 1980s by organizing a popular campaign, which initially was not understood at all by his fellow fishermen. As forests grew, ecological functions were recovered, and the quality of water flowing into the sea became much improved. As a result, the oysters came to be sold at high prices in markets. The campaign has evolved into the current NPO (Hatakeyama 2006). When he started to plant trees, such terms as ecological services were not widely used. He understood such important ideas long before academic jargons have become more widely accepted. No wonder why in 2012 he was granted the Forest Hero Award by the UN Forum on Forest¹²⁾. Unfortunately, 3.11 destroyed most of the seeds of oysters of him and his colleagues in the coastal areas of Tohoku. But his vision has now become much widely accepted than before, and the NPO and its sympathizers are now trying to realize grassroots green reconstruction. That is far from easy, as we shall see in the later section of this article. However, it is still significant to see its important impacts of sustainable thinking on ways in which local civic leaders conceptualize reconstruction agenda (Oh 2013).

2. Case Studies in Miyagi Prefecture

The three prefectures seriously damaged by the 3.11 disasters have both similarities and uniqueness. Fukushima is an extremely complex case due mainly to the nuclear power accidents. Although this is certainly a serious issue, as many writings are already available, this article would not look into Fukushima¹³⁾. Compared with Iwate, Miyagi has more diversity and merits due attention. Its capital Sendai is the largest city in Tohoku. While the places near Sendai can be benefited from urban economy, those places that are

Figure 1 Miyagi Prefecture and Kesennuma City

Source : Google Maps

far from it do not. The five main basic principles for reconstruction in Miyagi Prefecture (宮城県震災復興計画) are : strong resistance against disasters so that people can live without anxiety ; reconstruction as a total endeavor accumulating all efforts of local governments and individuals ; creative reconstruction not mere recovery ; innovative local regeneration in trying to resolve contemporary social problems ; and building a Miyagi model based on our traumatic experiences (Miyagi Prefecture 2011). Among the three prefectures, as Miyagi has been most closely linked to the mainstream economic growth of Japan, its reconstruction plan in the post 3.11 period also reflects neoliberal orientation (Shigihara 2013). Thus, it can be said that Miyagi presents characteristics associated with merits as well as demerits of such mainstream thinking. In contrast, Iwate is more rural, and depopulation and aging problems tend to be more acute than in Sendai and its vicinities in Miyagi.

2-1 Community-led Initiatives in Koizumi, Kesennuma City

Within Miyagi, a unique example of community-driven reconstruction activities is found in the Koizumi of Kesennuma city. The Koizumi area is located at the southern end of the city jurisdiction of Kesennuma, and is facing the ocean. In this relatively small village, 518 households existed before 3.11. 266 houses were either totally damaged or washed away by about 15 meters-high tsunami. Out of 1,810 residents, only 43 were died or missing. Even though the damages to houses were extensive, this extremely low rate of human casualties helped this village to embark on recovery and reconstruction agenda almost immediately after 3.11 (Mori 2012 : 21).

After 3.11, the local residents moved into evacuation facilities, and they started to discuss how they could organize recovery and reconstruction without delay. This local initiative preceded the formal efforts by the central and local governments. The key members formed two key institutions in late April 2011.

The first one is an open forum entitled as Association of Those Who would like to Think about the Future of Koizumi (ATWTFK)¹⁴⁾. This was an informal local forum where Koizumi residents would discuss how they would perceive the future of this area as well as to contemplate what sort of reconstruction they think would be needed. The second one is a Preparatory Committee for Village Relocation to Highlands. This Committee was entrusted with coordination of various activities in order to realize collective relocation of all those who would like to remain in Koizumi after 3.11.

The key members of ATWTFK also started to look for resource persons who could possibly help them to plan and coordinate recovery and reconstruction agenda. Through some trials and errors, they contacted Prof. Suguru Mori (森傑 1973 -), Hokkaido University. He immediately replied that he would be pleased to help the people in Koizumi. His involvement in Koizumi started in June 2011. In July, the key members, after discussions with Prof. Mori, proposed the following three principles in recovery and reconstruction efforts : collective relocation to highland ; regeneration of local community that can give safety and comfort for all community members ; and use of renewable energy for community regeneration. They thought that 3.11 is a new beginning, and it is not a simple recovery process. That is one of the reasons why they sought advice of experts from outside. Close collaboration between Prof. Mori and the people in Koizumi started to show rough but key ideas about their future. With the assistance and guidance of Prof. Mori, the survivors started regular discussions about their future visions.

The key members brought their preliminary plan to the city authorities, but then the city was not ready for approval as the central government was so slow to decide some of the major policies. The local leaders then directly negotiated with the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism, which was in charge landscape planning in Tokyo. The Minister approved the broad direction of resident initiative of Koizumi in May 2012. The local planning gained momentum. About a year later in May 2013, all the villagers who would hope to be relocated to highland agreed to a plan in which who is going to reside in which plot. In the process of plot allocation, the key members, with consultation of Prof. Mori, thought it important to emphasize the four elements : rule making should be based on consensus of all those who would like to be relocated ; relocation should respect community that existed before 3.11 ; relocation should balance considerations of equity with that of community bonds among villagers ; and the relocation plan should pay more attention to human bonds rather than physical space (ATWTFK 2013 : 47). The site preparation started in June 2013. All of these developments are very impressive as they were achieved ahead of so many other affected areas in Tohoku. In addition, this speedy response was not generated by top-down imposition. Instead, the enthusiastic grassroots men led and facilitated the entire processes. In this sense, Koizumi is a prime and rare example of endogenous reconstruction (ATWTFK 2013).

If we apply the three principles of green reconstruction (WWF 2006 : 5), the accomplishment of Koizumi is indeed very interesting. The first principle is sustainable development (socially acceptably, economically viable, and environmentally sound). As the collective relocation plan is made by balanced considerations, it is reasonable to say that the Koizumi plan meets this criterion. Of special importance is a high-level care that the key leaders exhibited to the needs of the senior villagers who expressed their wishes for relocation together with others. The second one is effective participation of local communities.

Figure 2 Image of Village Relocation in Koizumi

Source : <http://www.saiseikoizumi.com/%E3%81%93%E3%81%AE%E4%BC%9A%E3%81%AB%E3%81%A4%E3%81%84%E3%81%A6/>

The ways in which Koizumi has been managing community-based planning amply satisfy this principle. Thus, the Koizumi example is probably something closest to “self-reconstruction” as asserted by Ranghieri and Ishiwatari (2014 : 19). The third principle is strengthened and decentralized natural resource governance. In this community the local forests have been managed as commons for long time. There were even some discussions in which the forests that they have been managing should be used for relocation as this post 3.11 situation became indeed an unprecedented emergency¹⁵⁾. Thus, decentralized resource management was already taking place before 3.11. This practice has not been abandoned even if their attention has been shifted to settlement reconstruction. We could therefore conclude that the Koizumi case satisfies the criteria of green reconstruction proposed by WWF.

There are several reasons why this kind of impressive achievement was made possible (Watarai et al. 2013 b). The first reason relates to the background of this area. This area was incorporated into the city of Kesennuma in 2009 (Watarai et al. 2013 b : 10)¹⁶⁾. This incorporation was a part of the larger trends in the last 15 years in which the central government encouraged small local governments to merge to form the smaller number of large-size local governments. From the perspective of the central government, amalgamation of tiny local governments into larger ones can contribute to administrative efficiency. However, in the processes of merging, local identity and autonomy tends to be diffused if not lost in several incidents (Aldrich and Sawada 2015 : 68-69). In the case of Koizumi, their area was the last administrative unit added to the city of Kesennuma. Upon the unexpected event of 3.11, the residents in Koizumi feared that the city authority might forget them unless they take initiative first and make themselves known to them. This anxiety was one of the reasons why the residents of Koizumi were so eager to start the bottom-up

planning. They wanted to plan first without waiting the city's proposals (Mori 2012 : 21).

Second, the role played by Prof. Mori has been crucial. He experienced the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake in 1995, when he was a graduate student (this Earthquake is probably well known by its devastating effects of Kobe City, Hyogo Prefecture.) He was involved in reconstruction activities of post-tsunami disaster in Okushiri Island, which was hit by Southwest-off Hokkaido Earthquake in 1993. The experience of Okushiri for him was bitter. As community engagement was limited, the post-disaster recovery and reconstruction did not entirely accommodate aspirations of local residents. Thus, while houses, bridges and sea walls were rebuilt, a significant segment of local people decided to migrate out of the island. Prof. Mori was quite determined that this past mistake should never be repeated in Tohoku after 3.11 (Mori 2011).

Third, as we have seen from the Koizumi story, the very characteristics of small and coherent community of Koizumi contributed to effective planning processes. Strong bonds and active associational activities that existed before 3.11 demonstrate a high-level of social capital (Aldrich 2012). In Koizumi, all households are required to belong to the neighborhood associations (ATWTFK 2013 : 9), and the attendance record of local residents in meetings and important occasions were nearly 100%¹⁷⁾. Along the Tohoku coastal lines facing the Pacific Ocean, there have been traditional associations for men and women. They have been in charge of several key activities in rural life including organizing festivals at local shrines as well as managing forests as community assets. While in other parts of Japan these associations vanished, they lasted up to the day of 3.11 in the Pacific Ocean Coast of Tohoku, Japan¹⁸⁾. Although no survey was conducted, based on the interviews of multiple key informants (all of which show regular and high level of attendance of meetings and other important events), it is safe to conclude that this social capital was the asset behind the very fact that Koizumi has been a grassroots-driven frontrunner of recovery and reconstruction of post 3.11 period (Mori 2012 : 22 ; Watarai et al. 2013 a : 19). This capital appears to have enabled the key leaders to explicitly say that 3.11 is a new beginning not just bringing back to what was before the disasters¹⁹⁾.

Thus, the combination of these factors has resulted in an excellent collaboration between local community and outside experts. In this collaboration, both played complimentary roles. The outside expert did not lead the process. Instead, he gave suggestions and facilitated the complex processes of deliberation and consensus building²⁰⁾. The local residents owned the entire process. The key leaders exercised valuable leadership in soliciting reactions from survived villagers and helped articulate common values of why they still appreciate this place as their future home in spite of the massive destructions of 3.11. Without such shared values and vision, gradual processes of consensus building could not be realized. It is only then specific matters were discussed and decisions were reached. The end result was that the locally-led initiative pushed the city authorities, not vice versa. This is precisely why the experiences of Koizumi stands out in comparison with other affected places in Tohoku²¹⁾.

2-2 Sea Wall Constructions along the Coast

This unique success of Koizumi is now under threat. Huge sea wall constructions are pursued by the government, and are now indeed affecting many if not all communities along the coastal lines. As the

casualties and damages by the 3.11 tsunami were so widespread, the government of Japan subsequently came to emphasize disaster preparedness in its policies and programs of recovery and reconstruction. Within the overall orientation, (re)building sea walls came to receive so much attention among the policy makers. The Central Disaster Prevention Council, under the Cabinet Office, revisited the standards without much delay – the standards by which they would estimate future disasters and possible casualties and damages. In September 2011, the Council adopted a new classification of tsunami. The Council suggested we should cope with two broad types of tsunami. The first one is called “L1” type tsunami that may take place once in a cycle of 50 to 150 years. For this relatively frequent type of tsunami, they declared that we should take necessary measures for prevention, in which sea wall constructions became an important measure. The second type is “L2” which might take place once in 500 to 1,000 years. This type of tsunami may occur less frequently, but once it happens, its height is so tall and multiple measures are needed including hardware (infrastructure building) as well as software (disaster prevention education and community preparation).

The central government soon allocated a huge budget for the sea wall constructions in order to cope mainly with “L1” tsunami in the post 3.11 recovery and reconstruction activities. Different levels of the government are in charge of different types of the sea walls. As for the sea walls that fall under the responsibilities of prefectural and local governments, they were encouraged to follow this overall policy direction, and the central government decided to provide a special funding as a part of the reconstruction agenda. Within the three affected Tohoku prefectures, 370 kilometer-long sea walls are planned to be built with approximately 820 billion yen (approximately 7 million US dollars) (Nature Conservation Society of Japan 2013 : 3). Then, as the execution of this special reconstruction budget was deemed urgent, it was decided that environmental impact assessment would be “simplified” compared with normal applications in other public works.

In Miyagi Prefecture, the idea of sea wall construction has captured the attention of Governor Murai. In Miyagi more than 10,000 people were dead by the 3.11 disasters²²⁾. For the Governor, this huge casualty was politically unacceptable. He became firmly determined not to repeat the same sort of tragedy in the future. One key solution, at least for him, was the sea wall constructions along the entire coastal lines. Within the prefectural government, a committee, who were comprised of administrators and disaster experts, elaborated the sea walls construction plan. The height of the sea walls is not uniform along the coast. The Miyagi coastal lines were divided into 22 sections. In each location, the size of the walls was determined by a combination of complex factors including historical records of tsunami and future possibilities of earthquakes. Roughly in the prefecture, the height of sea wall ranges from 7 to 11 meters²³⁾. These constructions have become indispensable activities to achieve one of the important goals of the Prefectural Reconstruction Plan adopted in October 2011 : Future Miyagi will be very resistant against future disasters (Miyagi Prefecture 2011). As a political slogan, it was understandable to adopt such a policy ; our children and grandchildren can live here without much anxiety of natural disasters.

As the Reconstruction Plan declares that recovery and reconstruction processes should be consultative with local residents, numerous local meetings were held in respective cities, towns and villages. Then, the

Figure 3 An Example of the Sea Wall Construction in Kesennuma City



Source and comment : This picture, taken by the author, shows that the wall has already been built by the Forestry Agency (of the central government) and the rest needs to be built by the prefectural government of Miyagi.

sea wall constructions shortly started to receive criticisms from several circles. For many local people who grew up in coastal areas, the proposed huge sea walls will significantly change local scenery and landscape. The gigantic concrete sea walls are simply too ugly to live with. But the problem is much more than the appearance. Many started to question ecological viability. As such large-scale walls would disturb the natural flow of water from forests to rivers and to the sea, those who are engaged in primary industries started to doubt about the whole idea seriously. Their livelihoods depend on such ecological cycles and the sea walls have become nothing more than the obstacle for nature to discharge original functions. Fishermen who cultivate oysters are typical example. It is no wonder that the civic groups in several coastal places started to voice concerns mainly from the early 2012²⁴⁾. Criticisms have also been made particularly by ecologists (Bacon and Hobson 2014 : 9-10). More professional associations voiced their concerns as well. The Nature Conservation Society of Japan sent their opinion to central government in which they said the government should not pursue disaster preparation agenda at the cost of environmental conservation²⁵⁾. The association of lawyers in Sendai also asserted their views against the prefectural government : the sea wall constructions should follow environmental impact assessment procedures more thoroughly as biodiversity is a critical rights-related concern²⁶⁾. The numerous reports were also made by newspapers and magazines, and many of them were critical about a rigid and uniform way of the infrastructure constructions. Yet, what remained persistent was the unchanging attitude of Governor Murai²⁷⁾.

What has become evident is that the ways in which participatory planning was conducted in many of the coastal areas tended to be very tokenistic in calling for the attendance of leaders of community organizations and commercial associations (Ranghieri and Ishiwatari 2014 : chapter 33). Many of the affected people were unable or hesitant to participate let alone express opposing views explicitly. Thus, while administrative procedures of consultative decision-making were duly followed, substantive discussions were rarely conducted to cultivate insights into this complex matter. Although there were some administrators

who were more sympathetic to diverse situations of each sufferer and attempted to appreciate specific situations of localities, such examples were not many in the middle of constraints imposed on local governments.

As a result, the situation is worrisome in many coastal areas along Miyagi Prefecture²⁸⁾. It can be said that almost all local residents are against the construction of such gigantic concrete walls even though they may not express their opposition openly. Many of them are afraid to raise the issue in local meetings usually called by the local governments, because this agenda may divide their respective community into those who are in favor and those who are against. This division could cause a serious result: ways in which a more important issue (housing planning and collective relocation) are discussed may be jeopardized. Such risk is something that nobody wants to incur in the post 3.11 period. Then, the sea wall issue is coming a taboo, against the will of most victims²⁹⁾.

The Koizumi area, which has been uniquely successful in organizing the community-led initiative, is no exception to the sea wall constructions. The local beach here was chosen by the Ministry of the Environment as one of the 100 Most Comfortable Beaches in Japan³⁰⁾. But, as the entire village was washed away by the 3.11 tsunami, the sea wall constructions have been pushed by the government. On average, the proposed sea wall is 9.8 meter high and 90 meter wide at the bottom (as shown in Figure 4). In some places in Koizumi, the height is 14.7 meter, which is one of the highest in Miyagi Prefecture. The sea walls issue started to raise concerns both within and outside of this locality³¹⁾.

This is a place that local community is enjoying a good reputation of social cohesion. Yet, despite impressive social capital, the taboo is applied here as well. Many Koizumi residents do not like such a massive change of the beautiful coastal scenery that they have been enjoying. They have been proud of their local beach as one of the most enjoyable ones in Japan. But, they are afraid that raising the sea walls construction issue may seriously damage open discussions and frank exchanges of opinions in community meetings. Some of the key Koizumi leaders are even aware that the city authorities may take advantage of the situation: as local people are not opposing the plans of the sea walls construction, it would proceed as

Figure 4 Proposed Sea Wall in Koizumi, Kesennuma (CG presented by Mr. Hidekatsu Yokoyama, 横山勝英)



Source : <http://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXNZO74004420Z00C14A7X93000/>

planned. As a result, many of the local residents are now feeling that “this is something that they can do anything about.”³²⁾ In the long term, however, this may jeopardize the trust between the local government and residents.

Some people have been struggling with the sea wall construction. Among those who owned coastal lands as of March 11, 2011, some sold the lands for allowing the sea wall constructions. But in several cases, these sales were promoted not by the debate of the sea walls but actually by the desperate economic conditions in which the 3.11 victims were forced to live. As they needed immediate cash to rebuild their livelihoods, they thought it might be a good idea to sell their lands, even though the price presented by the local governments was not entirely satisfactory. However, as the sea wall construction unfolds numerous problems, some of them started to regret their sales. But, as the sea wall issue has become a social taboo which cannot be raised publicly, there is little outlet where they can express their regrets, and possibility for reconsideration by discussing this hidden feeling with their friends and relatives³³⁾.

Thus, the success story of Koizumi needs more thorough consideration, and this consideration relates to the notion of social capital in complex ways. On the one hand, it is certainly commendable that the rapid and effective grassroots-led initiative in organizing their relocation plan resulted in convincing the authorities and thus obtaining approval from relevant authorities. It might be said that precisely because of this success, local residents of Koizumi feel that they should not damage the social capital that they have built. This effect might be called the negative aspect of social capital (Aldrich 2012)³⁴⁾. On the other hand, as the sea wall construction issue is becoming a social taboo, this issue would affect the social cohesion that the Koizumi residents have been demonstrating in certain time horizons. As the sea wall construction is now proceeding, mainly pushed by inflexible and tokenistic participatory consultation by the local governments, the sea wall issue will unmistakably influence ways in which local communities along the Tohoku Pacific Coast is organized in the future in one way or another. As some of the individuals are deeply frustrated and as such frustration has nowhere to go, it is seriously troublesome. This is particularly so as once the gigantic concrete walls are built, not only the current generation but also future generations need to bear with perhaps the deplorable consequences of the man-made constructions.

3. Discussions

The dual aspects of Koizumi raise several key issues both practically and theoretically. The hidden divide of the superficial approval to the construction and the deep-seated resentment against the sea walls among the Koizumi people may entail predictable and unpredictable consequences in the years to come. If this situation is analogous to a time bomb which may burst at some point in the future, this is almost a double tragedy that the 3.11 victims are going through probably unnecessarily. The 3.11 disasters caused direct and indirect damages to many people in Tohoku. Then, if the policy of the sea wall constructions especially implemented inflexibly by Miyagi Prefectural government is making a taboo which may act like a time bomb, this is a second disaster that the 3.11 victims will be suffering in the years to come³⁵⁾.

Apparently, this does not have to be. Ecologically, there are alternative activities. It is important to point out that there is a growing network of civic associations that is promoting more ecologically sound

embankment which is also effective for disaster preparation and mitigation³⁶⁾. The idea proposed by Prof. Akira Miyawaki (宮脇昭 1928 -), a retired botanist, is gaining growing acceptance. He has been promoting tree planting for many years. He suggests that we can use tsunami debris to build beds in which various indigenous tree species can be planted. This sort of embankment not only mitigates the power of incoming tsunami from seas, but also holds personal items that outgoing tsunami brings with it. Ecologically, this green embankment does not disrupt the cycles of nature in which water and air circulates. In addition, the forests, which will grow on the debris-made beds, can enrich water quality of the seas. As his idea started to attract the attention of many, a coalition NPO, the Great Forest Wall Project, was formed in 2014³⁷⁾. Prof. Miyawaki is now recognized as one of the 100 Global Thinkers by the Washington, D.C.-based magazine, *Foreign Policy*³⁸⁾.

In the city of Iwamuna, which is located south of Sendai, the Hill of 100 Years Hope has been made. When the city was considering about urban zoning in the post 3.11 period, they have heard about the practices promoted by Prof. Miyawaki. Based on his idea, the city decided to make green embankments and forests. The tree planting was conducted on several occasions with participants of many citizens including significant the 3.11 suffers. The Hill is intended to serve for several purposes. One is a memorial of the 3.11 disasters. It is to repose the souls of many who were killed by the 3.11 disasters. The Hill can also be used as an ordinary park where people enjoy all sorts of activities. Certainly, for a site where many people pray for peace and tranquility of those who were dead, green forests are more suitable than ugly and gigantic concrete walls³⁹⁾.

The roots of the predicament in Koizumi and other areas in Tohoku go beyond ecological considerations. They arise from governance weakness. Especially what is significant is relative inexperience in forging cross-sectoral collaboration in social and economic regeneration in Japan. Even if participatory planning is adopted as an official policy in local governments in Tohoku, not many officials and administrators are well trained to implement such new process-oriented activities⁴⁰⁾. This difficulty is even more com-

Figure 5 the Hill of 100 Years Hope in Iwanuma City



Source : author.

pounded in the post-disaster settings. Quick results are needed in the situation whereby almost all kinds of resources were diminished. Thus, it is not entirely right to put all the blames on one entity alone. The current consequences result from lack of experiences of pre-3.11 situations (Ranghieri and Ishiwatari 2014 : 3)⁴¹⁾.

The importance of pre-3.11 conditions is reinforced by the ways in which Japanese society in general has been organized. The following sort of system became the mainstream mechanism to generate economic growth which has become almost imperative in Japan since the second half of the 20 th century. In respective cities, towns, and villages, it was encouraged to form an association for merchants and industrials. These associations formulated proposals, which then were brought to the attention of ministry in charge of each commercial and industrial development in Tokyo for securing budget support. Likewise, fishermen formed an association for fishing in each local government. They were connected to the ministry which was promoting fishing industry. Similarly, agriculturalists formed agricultural cooperatives, and their leaders negotiated plans and budgets with the Ministry of Agriculture in Tokyo. The role of local governments in this situation was complicated as they needed to coordinate their own planning with those activities that were implemented by these budgets provided by various ministries and agencies. But their authority was relatively limited as the government as a whole was operating more or less as a hierarchical bureaucracy where the notion of subsidiarity was guaranteed in paper without much substance. Accordingly in most of localities in Japan, the plans and activities were vertically planed and each sector was acting almost like a silo. There have been very limited experiences of cross-sectoral collaboration throughout these processes. Nor the local governments, which should be bear the role of linchpin across various professions and stakeholders, have gained sufficient experiences in playing such an important role.

This lack of experiencing in orchestrating collaborative activities is a serious deficit in the post-3.11 period. Because the 3.11 disasters have been national tragedy, there have been new waves of social change in Japan. There have been noticeable examples of grassroots innovation mainly generated by a fusion of ideas between those brought in by outsiders and those who remained in the affected areas despite the serious sufferings. Some are related to marketing of products in primary industries⁴²⁾. Others are bringing interesting ideas of urban regeneration and neighborhood renewal in seriously damaged cities along the cost⁴³⁾. However, because of inexperience of collaboration across different types of industries, the effects of such grassroots innovation remain very limited. On the one hand, this is understandable that grassroots innovation does not intend to change the society at large. On the other hand, precisely because we are now in the post-disaster period, it would be much desirable if one activity is linked to others for mutual learning and synergy creation. It would be much advisable if a web of innovations can generate more widespread and effective changes in the affected areas. The scaling-up of effects are truly needed particularly because Tohoku now is facing various issues (such as depopulation and aging) that have become even more acute due to the 3.11 disasters. Each small innovation is having a modest result is commendable in the post disaster period. But if these results as a whole can generate large-scale and enduring effects, that would be even better. It is thus very troublesome that Tohoku in particular and Japan in general are not equipped with useful mechanisms to realize the desirable outcomes.

The sea wall construction issue adds another distress in this context. Even if this issue is not directly relevant to the discussions of community regeneration and urban renewal, as the policy of the sea wall constructions undermines social cohesion as seen in Koizumi and elsewhere, the sea walls issue is unfortunately having more repercussions than the Miyagi Governor understands. In order for one community-based initiative to engage with other activity, they need to share fundamental values. The sea wall issue raises a serious question of “green vs. concrete.” The ways in which participatory planning is organized have not seriously addressed how various aspirations of the affected (often competing with each other) can be appreciated and amalgamated as community-wide view through deliberation. The taboo, that is caused by the sea wall construction policy, is truly counter-productive in order to create societal foundation in which deliberation is explored in order to seek common values and orientations. Without such foundation, collaboration among diverse grassroots innovation cannot be built.

Conclusions

3.11 clearly accelerated and compounded the socio-economic background factors of Tohoku, Japan. This acceleration made problem solving even more difficult now than before. It is therefore truly a harsh setting in which speedy and effective recovery and reconstruction activities are desperately needed.

The idea of creative reconstruction and its subcategory of green reconstruction encompass many different ideas and activities. It is fairly reasonable that these big ideas do not say one thing. Instead, there are several sub-categories and there could be many different ways to realize such ideas. There are some initiatives that can be interpreted to be in line with creative/green reconstruction. The community-led initiative of Koizumi is a good example of green reconstruction. Other ecologically sound reconstruction includes a growing civic movement of making green embankment using the tsunami debris as foundations for indigenous tree planting.

Yet, on the other hand, many of these initiatives are piecemeal, and several of them are not really fulfilling the criteria set by WWF Indonesia. Furthermore, their limited small-scale effects remain isolated instead of creating synergetic effects.

What is most worrisome is that the policy of the sea wall constructions being implemented by the Miyagi Prefecture is undermining much needed social cohesion. The implication is beyond the narrow discussions of disaster mitigation of future tsunami. It is very unfortunate that this policy is shutting down open and frank exchange of views among the victims of the 3.11 disasters. Without this foundation of deliberation, any collaborative efforts across different stakeholders seem extremely difficult, if not impossible.

What the post 3.11 Tohoku embodies is what Japan as a whole needs to tackle seriously. Therefore, Tohoku in particular and Japan in general are now at critical crossroads. Even against the tremendous odds, it is commendable that some interesting grassroots innovations are unfolding. No matter how well-intended the government policies may be, if they are formulated in very narrow perspectives, they can be harmful when examined in broader perspectives. Choices that we make today will significantly affect whether more promising experiments will be conducted or narrow consideration with serious counter ef-

fects will prevail. The future is up to us.

Notes

- 1) Aldrich (2012 : 3) defines disaster as “[A]n event that suspends normal activities and threatens or causes severe, community-wide damage.”
- 2) These numbers are based on the information bulletin number 150 of the Fire Defense Agency (2014) (消防庁). These numbers remain largely intact as of March 11, 2015 (警察庁広報資料).
- 3) This is based on the Survey of Prefectural Economies by the Cabinet Office (内閣府 県民経済計算).
- 4) Shinoda (2013) provides excellent account of Tohoku in modern Japan.
- 5) For the international disaster database, see <http://www.emdat.be/database>.
- 6) This argument resonates with what Joseph Schumpeter (1883-1950) advocated as creative destruction. His idea was useful for economic innovation. Economic structures are revolutionized from within and the new system would replace old ones. This notion became popular in the 1950s, but this discussion was conducted apparently in a different context (Aldrich 2012 : 3).
- 7) Unfortunately, the repeated delays in recovery and reconstruction contribute to fading effects of 3.11, which is very significant in western parts of Japan, where ordinary people nowadays have little interactions with those affected by 3.11.
- 8) See the site in Japanese, <http://www.env.go.jp/press/15188.html>.
- 9) IUCN advocates ecosystem-based disaster risk reduction (Eco-DRR) in which sustainable management, conservation and restoration of ecosystems contribute to reduce disaster risk. IUCN considers that the New Sanriku Reconstruction Park is in line with their Eco-DRR. See for instance, Sudmeier-Rieux et al. 2013.
- 10) The site in Japanese (<http://future-city.jp/>) provides useful information.
- 11) See also the following Japanese language site, http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_sosiki/jichi_gyousei/c-gyousei/bunken_kaikaku.html.
- 12) See the following website <http://www.un.org/en/events/iyof2011/forests-for-people/awards-and-contests/forest-heroes-video/>.
- 13) Among the numerous writings, probably Elliot (2013) and Hymans (forthcoming) are helpful to grasp overall picture of Fukushima after 3.11.
- 14) See the website in Japanese : <http://www.saiseikoizumi.com>.
- 15) But as the government pledged to secure funds for relocation site preparation, this idea subsequently disappeared. Personal interview 9 September 2014.
- 16) In fact, there was an idea that Koizumi would merge with the neighboring administrative unit in the south to form an independent local government, instead of becoming a part of the city of Kesenuma. This fact illustrates that the identify of Koizumi is not entirely rest with that of Kesenuma.
- 17) Personal interview 9 September 2014. In addition, on 10 September, I was allowed to observe the night meeting of key members of ATWTFK.
- 18) See an excellent discussion in Tohoku History Museum 2008 (in Japanese 東北歴史博物館).
- 19) Although Koizumi has demonstrated social cohesion, such cohesion is not entirely free from problems. Along the coastal areas of Tohoku, many of the traditional institutions have been strong. But many of these institutions tended to be gender biased. It deserves much discussion that if rebuilding local community is critical, in what ways gender and other equity considerations need to be applied in local settings. This is a difficult question without any easy answers.
- 20) Another example of important role played by an expert is Prof. Mikiko Ishikawa in rebuilding Iwanuma City, Miyagi Prefecture (Ishikawa 2011).
- 21) The Japanese book written by Association of Those Who would like to Think about the Future of Koizumi (ATWTFK) is an excellent documentation of the whole processes (ATWTFK 2013).
- 22) This number includes those not only directly killed by the tsunami but those who passed away subsequently as well (information by the Prefecture 2014 復興の進捗状況).
- 23) See the document : www.pref.miyagi.jp/uploaded/attachment/43036.pdf.

- 24) One such example is the Association of those who Study the Sea Walls (<http://seawall.info/>). Among the original members included the son of the founder of the Forest is Longing for the Sea, and the Sea is Longing for Forest. Personal interviews on 10 and 11 September 2014. In addition, one fisherman in Minami Sanriku Town whom I interviewed on 1 November 2014, expressed his frustrations frankly. See his writing of Chiba (2013).
- 25) <http://www.nacsj.or.jp/katsudo/higashinihon/2013/02/post-13.html>.
- 26) http://www.kahoku.co.jp/tohokunews/201407/20140725_13033.html.
- 27) What is puzzling is that he appears to be very inflexible compared to the Governor in Iwate Prefecture. There, the prefectural government is not imposing a top-down solution. Instead, it is ready to accept what comes out of discussions between lower level local governments and local residents. Thus, there have been no serious controversies over the sea wall constructions.
- 28) The islands off the famous coast of Matsushima were also hit by the 3.11 tsunami. In these islands the extent of the sea wall before 3.11 was limited. However, as the islanders had a very high-level of tsunami awareness and they were prepared to execute evacuation plan in case of tsunami, only three residents lost their lives. These victims in fact once safely reached the evaluation shelter but as they were senior people with chronic diseases, they returned home to obtain medicine. Then they lost their lives. One of the residents strongly expressed his view: we do not need gigantic sea walls. If budgets could be spent for the sake of making our lives better, the money should be spent on education and health for children not on the sea walls. (personal interview, 4 September 2014).
- 29) Personal interviews with several informants, 11 and 13 September 2014.
- 30) The official website is http://www.env.go.jp/water/mizu_site/index.html.
- 31) In December 2014 Nature Conservation Society of Japan sent their views to the prime minister (of the government of Japan), the minister of national Reconstruction Agency, and the governor of Miyagi Prefecture (<http://www.nacsj.or.jp/katsudo/higashinihon/2014/12/post-22.html>).
- 32) Personal interview with a key Koizumi person, 9 September 2014.
- 33) A documentary broadcasted by NHK (Japanese public broadcasting company) on 30 May 2014 nicely captures this sort of unsettled feelings of the victims.
- 34) Much more nuanced discussion of the negative effects of social capital is needed. Aldrich and others point out that social capital is a double-edged sword in post disaster situations. For those who are well connected with networks tend to outperform those without. Such situation further marginalizes, either intentionally or unintentionally, those who are not well assisted by government and/or civic relief operations in post disaster period (Ranghieri and Ishiwatari 2014: chapter 19). In short, social capital further exacerbates the question of equity (Aldrich 2012: 2, 15-16, 43-44, 163). While this line of argument is very useful, the story of Koizumi appears to demonstrate that the negative aspect of social capital does not derives from the exclusion to the social networks. Instead, the negative effect is caused by the success of the social capital itself. The local residents feel that they are almost entrapped in the success of the social capital, which they do now wish to lose. This paradox seems to differ from the negativity pointed out by Aldrich and others.
- 35) Interestingly enough, a recent self-evaluation report by the Miyagi Prefectural Government over the process of 3.11 disaster management only refers to one line (in 1000-page report) in relation to the sea wall construction: “we are considering how to design and implement the construction based on agreements with local communities” (2015: 904).
- 36) Hasegawa (2014) provides a good overview of pre- and post-3.11 situations of civil society in Japan.
- 37) See the official website of <http://greatforestwall.com/>.
- 38) See <http://globalthinkers.foreignpolicy.com/#naturals/detail/miyawaki>.
- 39) In the process of Hill making, a no-small role has been played by Mr. Doryu Hiroki, a Buddhist monk at Rin-no-ji temple in Sendai city. He has formed a forum for Promoting Forested Coastal Embankments (<http://morino-bouchoutei.com/>).
- 40) A noticeable exception is the city of Higashi Matsushima. In this city, the city adopted the basic charter of urban regeneration in 2008, which became effective in 2009, two years before the 3.11 disasters. This charter articulated roles and responsibilities of the city authorities and other stakeholders. Thus, when the 3.11 disasters hit this city, the immediate evacuation as well as management of emergency shelters were conducted with much less problems than in other places.

- 41) Discussions with professors at Tohoku University in Sendai, 2 September 2014.
- 42) There were numerous activities for promoting branding of agricultural and fishing products along the coast of the affected areas. (In Japan this is often called the promotion of the sixth industry.) Some of them have formed a loose alliance to promote their products in large cities. A good example is <http://madehni.jp/>.
- 43) One such example is Ishinomaki 2.0. An interview was conducted on 1 November 2014, which informs that this NPO has been providing a platform for cross-sectoral collaboration with strong emphasis of corporate social responsibility. See their website <http://ishinomaki2.com/>.

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(論文資料等の共通書式)

1. 『国際社会文化研究所紀要』に発表する「論文」「研究資料」「研究ノート」「書評」等(以下「論文資料等」という。)は、いずれも他に未発表のものに限る。
2. 「論文」は、原則として20,000字とする。
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6. 指定研究プロジェクトは、
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(その他)

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11. 運営会議で掲載が不適切と判断した論文資料等は,掲載しないことがある。

12. 掲載論文資料等については,1件につき50部の抜刷を無償で提供する。50部を越える抜刷を希望する場合は,執筆者が超過分の実費を支払うこととする。

13. 掲載論文資料等の著作権は執筆者に帰属するが,本学及び国立情報学研究所等が論文資料等を電子化により公開することについては,複製権(注1)及び公衆送信権(注2)の行使を国際社会文化研究所に委託するものとする。但し,電子化による公開については,執筆者の許諾を得た上で行うものとする。

注1 複製権:著作物を有形的に再製することに関する権利

注2 公衆送信権:著作物を公衆向けに「送信」することに関する権利

14. 本要領に定めのない事項については,運営会議にて議する。

15. 本要領は2009(平成21)年度のプロジェクトから適用する。

以 上

附則 1998(平成10)年6月17日運営会議決定

附則 2003(平成15)年1月16日運営会議改正

附則 2006(平成18)年4月26日運営会議改正

附則 2009(平成21)年3月2日運営会議改正

附則 2010(平成21)年3月10日運営会議改正

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